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Arabs in Spain V.

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THE
ARABS IN SPAIN;

AN
HISTORICAL ROMANCE.

“ Whilome on those banks did legions throng
“ Of Moor and knight, in mailed splendour drest
“ Here ceased the swift their race, here sunk the strong,
“ The Paynim turban and the Christian crest
“ Mixed on the bleeding stream.”

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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PREFATORY INTRODUCTION.

CHAPTER I.

General remarks—The primeval centre of the eastern tribes—Their religion—Its changes and reforms—Emigration of the tribes.

EASTERN NATIONS.

THE early ages of this earth are obscured in a thick and impenetrable veil. Neither the ingenious conjectures of the antiquary, nor the blind credulity of the enthusiast can satisfy research, or convince reason. The laws of nature, and the limits of probability can alone guide

us through a dark and doubtful period, in which history has failed to enlighten or instruct mankind. But in the existence of a cause, and origin of all this mighty scene all men agree. In the vast circle of the earth, we shall not find the nation which has lived without some profession of faith, and without some form of worship. In the most obscure traditions of the most ancient time, we find mention of creeds, mysteries, and ceremonies which equally proclaim the forms of faith, and of superstition. All mankind allow, therefore, the existence of divine power, and the animals of the creation, and the works of nature beautifully prove it ; the study of natural philosophy also, adds another testimony, (and perhaps the most interesting and useful of all,) to the truth of this universal belief.

To the historian, the study of this science is highly advantageous, it will prevent him from admitting the marvellous, from attributing events to wrong causes ; it will teach him to trust the evidence of reason and experience, and hence, to infer juster conclusions. It opens the great field of religious contemplation, by enabling a man better to understand the great God, and to render to him in the heartfelt emotions of gratitude and admiration, the only praise worthy of his acceptance. With an ignorant world, God is deprived of that praise, and the worship which is paid him is tainted with mean notions of his attributes, or meaner and more groundless fears of his power.*

* The Physiologist needs no *system* of religion, no pompous assertions, no inconsistent doctrines, to show why men and animals are subject to pain, to

The opinion that Asia was the country where the human race had its beginning, and whence its increase was spread over all the earth, seems supported by many strong arguments ; and by none more so, than by the fact of its religious traditions having gradually, and from a period too remote for any history to mention, prevailed, and been adopted by all other

disease, and to death. He knows that the cause of our being, of our force, both of mental and bodily duration, is derived from the same source, which produces our infirmities, and that to this cause, we are indebted for the longing desire to avoid danger, and to discover every means of prolonging life and health. Of the former, man is more tenacious than other animals, for man is more timid than they are, from the very superiority of his mental faculties ; yet the chief part of his fears may, perhaps, be owing to ignorance and obstinacy, and the machinations of his more cunning fellow creatures.

nations. The formation of the world, the fall of man, the war of giants, the deluge, and the saving of one family, are found detailed in the Chaldean and Indian, Phenician, Egyptian, Persian and Jewish annals. The Celts carefully preserved, and the Druids mysteriously explained, all these reports or traditions.

“ Tracing the people up to tribes, and the tribes to families, we are conducted at last if not by history, at least by tradition to a single pair, from which nations have been successively produced. The question has been asked, what was the first family? where was it settled? It is a question of fact, and should be answered by history; but history is profoundly silent; her first records have been destroyed by time, and the few lines preserved by Moses, serve rather to excite, than to satisfy our curiosity.” In

the feeble rays of its early dawn, which are faintly perceived about two hundred years before the commencement of our present chronology, the whole of Asia, and part of Africa are already occupied by a variety of nations. The warlike struggle is already in full activity, and here and there, are polished states, with useful inventions which must have required long time to produce and develope. The rest of the human race consists of wild hordes, occupied merely with pastoral pursuits, hunting, and robbing. Soon after, a weak glimmering discovers to us Europe in a similar state of population ; here and there traces of culture, industry, and commerce. All this, however, is perceived in only a remote obscurity, where a few points of light occasionally shoot across, to show us the germs of future history, which is still

silent respecting the time and place of such events. Nothing then is left us, but humbly to assume the garb of ignorance, and to look around in the great archives of nature, to see if there are any documents which may lead us, at least, to conjecture.

It is the opinion of Sir W. Jones, that Iran was the original centre of the primeval race, and that its dynasty Mahabedian is the oldest in the world; that from Iran went out the numerous tribes, in all directions, to the limits of the north, south, east and west. It is to be remarked, that Iran is not only Persia, but all that country extending from the Caspian to the Persian gulph in length, and from the Euphrates to the Arbis, if not the Indus, in breadth. That this supposition seems

true, may appear from the following considerations. The Saxon chronicle brings the first inhabitants of Britain from Armenia ; the Goths are supposed to come from Persia, and both Irish and old Britons from the borders of the Caspian sea. We can have but little difficulty in supposing, that as nations going forth, became oppressed by danger and suffering, they also lost any little civilisation which they might have originally possessed, and that their children, born in different circumstances and in colder climates, became the hardy savage race they were everywhere found,* while the parent

* But even among these may be found one of the great characteristics of the old Persian in the fidelity with which they keep their promises. The word of a savage once passed, no inducement can make him

states being settled, and daily obtaining power and ease, may be presumed sooner to have acquired civilization. Let us allow, that the different religions of the world may be traced to one common origin, and if that origin be, (as seems probable,) to be found in the Assyrian or Chaldean territories, the religion they possessed there must have been that, from which all the other nations took theirs. Pure Theism was probably the first and sole religion; but when generation succeeded to generation, and the world was peopled, and nations arose and dispersed, the cares of life, time, and distance, all contributed to alloy these distinct tenets,

break it; they despise all threats, and the sophistry of civilized men they do not understand.

while those of Sabaism soon succeeded. Surely nothing could be more natural, considering how difficult it is to conceive and retain the ideas of abstracted spirit separated from all matter, we may ask, how was the early rude wanderer to pursue these tenets amidst the labours and increasing distresses of mortality? He raised his eyes to Heaven, and was struck with the splendour and power of the sun, diffusing light and heat over all the earth. He owed him thanks for the ripened fruits and flowers; and, as a direct emanation from the divinity, prayed to him and for him; soon this idea degenerated, and the sun became the vehicle or body of God and was worshipped as such.

The material nature of God once ad-

mitted, it naturally followed that the Sabaic system would be introduced. What more reasonable than that God when tired of watching and cherishing his world, should retire to repose, setting the moon to defend it during his absence. The Asiatic glorified the moon as the queen and guardian of the night ; to this followed the wish of approximating human nature to its God, and men hoped and soon believed the air, groves, temples, and fountains to be the favourite abodes of Demigods, an intermediate race, to whom they might address themselves more familiarly, and who would intercede for them at the throne of Omnipotence. The Demigods soon became gods ; the same principle of admiration and gratitude, led men to deify their

heroes, and then these heroes became gods ! Fables, craft, cruelty, and priesthood all now rise upon the scene.

If Sabaism then had been introduced before any emigration among the tribes took place, a plain view might be laid down, (and one connected by a chain of probability,) of the rise and formation of the different religious systems of the universe. In Assyria were found the first men, who if any ever did, must have entertained pure and just notions of the divinity ; they (as has been seen and known by historical records) professed the Unity, Omnipotence, and Omnipresence of God. Soon this creed, from circumstances already mentioned, became confused and unsatisfactory to the human mind which required some more

visible object upon which to rest its faith, and to which it might address its prayers. It, therefore, embraced the highest species of idolatry, called Sabaism or the worship of the powers of nature, and first above all was the sun ; to him, the Assyrian nation raised a temple called in Chaldaic Ba-Bel, or temple of the sun, and which first effort, according to the Jewish scriptures, was overthrown by God's anger, and the nations confounded in speech ; we may presume this account to be an inaccurate narrative of facts, or what is still more probable, an allegory. In either case we may infer, that about the period of the introduction of the worship of Bel,* the emi-

* That the worship of the sun or Bel was universal among the nations of the earth is apparently probable

gration of the various tribes took place ; these carried with them this religion of Sabaism, and verging out to the four quarters of the globe, laid down their tents, and in glorifying God poured forth their sacrifices and praises to the sun. For we find this Bel to be the worship of all the known nations of the earth, and among the easterns, it was evidently the origin and foundation stone of their mythology. Besides this, the east and west received ideas of a still higher divinity—that of God, among the eastern people ;

from the following considerations :

DENOMINATIONS OF THE SUN AMONG THE
DIFFERENT NATIONS.

Assyrians, Bel.—Persians, Belus.—Indians, Vishnoo.—Phenicians, Adon and Bàal.—Egyptians, Osiris.—Greeks, Βελος.—Latins, Belus or Sol.—Jews, Baal.—Northern nations, Sol.

this idea, in spite of the rising idolatry was kept very pure, especially among the Persians and Indians who had very sublime notions of their Ormuzd and Brehme. The Jews, as far as Unity and Omnipotence, must stand very high in the scale, and these with the Egyptians and Phenicians are found to agree also respecting the doctrines of Duallism.*

We may, perhaps, then with some probability conclude that the north west part of Iran commonly called the kingdom of Assyria and Chaldea contained the primitive tribes of earth, and that there the

* Good and Evil Spirits.

Persians.	Ormuzd.	Ahrâmen.
Indians.	Vishnoo.	Seeva.
Jews.	Jehovah.	Satan.
Egyptians.	Osiris.	Typhon.
Phenicians.	Adon.	Saturn.

doctrines of the primitive religion were taught. That very early before any history commences, Sabaism was introduced, that the Assyrians built a temple called Babêl, which at that time was only intended to represent the majesty and splendour of God, and that about this period, the tribes began to emigrate, and carried this system with them, and established it over all the earth.*

* The rise and progress of idolatry is also apparent, augmenting and diverging in the different nations according to particular circumstances. Among those who resided near the source, such as the Persians, very pure notions were entertained what the Chaldeans professed, we may infer from Persian history and from the fact that Abraham, a native of Chaldea, seems to have entertained sublime tenets as regards the unity and Omnipotence of God. That the Indian religion was founded on the tenets of philosophy, and

Among the earliest characters of ancient time appears Abraham, a native of Chaldea, but his history is obscure

was calculated to produce both civilisation and mildness of manners, the readers of Hindostanee history, will, I think, readily admit. Among the Egyptians, the primitive idea remained for some time, till distance, time and superstition, altogether changed it. Those nations secluded, and living in peace, preserved the original simplicity of their religious faith, pretty exactly, while others such as Phenicians, Medes, Arabians and Egyptians, altered very greatly. The nations of the west, such as Greece and Rome seem to have no sooner embraced the great idea, than they again confused it with conceits and fabulous theology.

In ancient times, (*i. e.* when their religion was first imported,) the heathens believed there was but one God ; when it lightened they called him Jupiter ; when at sea, Neptune ; when in council, Minerva ; when in war, Mars. That the nations of the

and unsatisfactory ; he has been considered to have been the reformer of the Persian, Indian, Arabian and Jewish religions, and to have spread his tenets over the tract of country which lies from the Euphrates to Palestine. His father's name was Agar or Tharé, of low origin and of a servile trade. The religion of his country had risen or sunk into idolatry, and Tharé turned his talents towards making images for the temple of Babylon. It seems probable that there,

west drew their ideas from the eastern sources cannot be doubted when we remember Jupiter and the Giants, Pluto and Hell, the rape of Proserpine and all the conflicts of their good and evil Daimonía. Apollo was imported from Egypt into Greece ; his original name was Theba, hence, *φοιβοι*. The Egyptians said he was the son of Jupiter and Latona, that meant he was created of God out of the Chaos Latona—hidden.

both Sabaism and Divi were, at this period, mixed up, and formed the prevailing religion of the state. Where Abraham received his better notions of the divinity is uncertain ; perhaps contemplation and the ancient traditions of his country naturally led him to infer the great axiom of the unity of God. It appears certain he possessed and laid it down as his great tenet, and throughout all those countries which possessed the Milet, Ibrahim, we find it universally believed, and there seems also to have been another tenet of his, the credence of Duallism, a singular and important article. The different histories all treat him as a great and holy man, the friend of God and of true religion, and the reformer of the corrupted worship of India, Persia, and Syria. He abandoned idolatry, and for attempting to reform and purify the church of Babylon,

he incurred the vengeance of its priesthood, and was constrained to fly ; he was honourably received by the Persians, Arabians and Jews, and among all these people, he introduced his doctrines and purified their minds. We learn also that he was skilled in astronomy and arithmetic.

The eastern nations all claim to be his descendants ; the Persians, Arabians and Jews, have each their history of him. In the former, he is represented as a wise and benevolent man, a corrector of abuses, and a pattern of virtue and goodness. In the Arabic, he has the qualities of a mighty conqueror added to all these attributes ; in the last, he has so particular and so different a biography that we might fairly suppose him to be another Abraham, whose feats and adventures

were narrated, were it not that his birth, parentage and country, all refer to one and the same person. His name has been magnified among the sons of men, and we may surmise that, in all probability, he lived in a period when Babylon, Persia, Phenicia and Egypt were all highly civilised and idolatrous. He was a Chaldean, and a man of a superior mind, and much above the station in which he happened to be born; all nations agree in allowing him a prolonged life, but the Easterns dispute about the place of his interment. The Jews declare he lies in the valley of the Hebron, the Persians say otherwise, and the Arabs perform their religious duties in the perfect confidence that he lived and died at Mecca; we find his name in all ancient history, and among the mild philosophers

of the Indus, their great father the grave, the simple and the virtuous, Ibrahim was always mentioned with the deepest respect and affection. In perusing the religious notions of the east, we shall find none more philosophic and sublime than those the Hindoos entertained of God, nor a purer manner than that in which they describe his divine nature ; Omniscience, Omnipotence, Omnipresence, without beginning and without end. By it, are all men animals, and things enlivened, nourished, and destroyed ; every work of nature is an emanation from the divinity ; God is eternal, feels not the past, the present, or the future. Indifference to worldly things from time to eternity ; such are the attributes of the Hindoo God.

No doctrine of Atheism, no tenet of

annihilation is laid down in the religion of Brahma, or in the belief, that after many years of trial, we shall be made perfect, and all in due season be gathered together and reunited to that great essence of bliss and perfection from whence we derive our origin.*

* On the contrary, instead of Atheism, I see great philosophy, and a religion at once simple and sublime.

In the Celtic Eda we find Gylphe, an ancient king of Sweden or Scandinavia, gaining entrance into Heaven (in a vision,) and there permitted to ask certain questions, the answers to which prove that the people of the Celtic nations took their religious creeds from the old source, Asia, and that these creeds differ only inasmuch as the divinities appear here with names and attributes suited to the genius of a sea-faring and a warlike people. Frigga or Frea, was the wife of the supreme. Frea was the earth, and

Without guessing at the essence of divine nature, the Shasta lays down an express prohibition against seeking into

this again tallies with the Egyptian and Phenician theories. Thor was the first emanation of this conjunction. Thor was the great hero of Scandinavia. He was at once their Mars and Jupiter ; we discover also that Thor was the Tarran of the Gauls, (see Luc. Phars. Lib. 1. V. 444, and Commocas.) And that Taran was Welch for thunder, and that in the Highlands of Scotland, Toron expresses the same phenomenon. Can we doubt the origin of the northern religions, or not perceive the great connexion ? The sun rays the Edda, devours the moon, and such was their idea of eclipses, and such the origin of the fable alluded to both by Greek and Roman authors. (*Vide Juvenal, Sat. VI. and Mém. de la Chine, Acad. de B. L. Vol. II.*) also

In Chaldee,	Ur was.	} Sun or Light.
In Egypt.	Or.	
Greek.	Ayr.	

the nature of God, and this prohibition is enjoined for the best of reasons, that it is not possible that God should be discovered. The description of events, handed down by ancient tradition, are told with majesty and grace ; the rebellion, the fall, and the subsequent pardon are narrated with the most rigid simplicity. For in the Shasta, neither God nor Heaven, nor the Angels, nor their numbers are attempted to be described, and

Latin.	Aurora.	} Sun or Light.
Assyrian.	Shor.	
Egyptian.	Tauros.	

Also Northern Deities were described by opposites. Such as——

Thor,	Jupiter,	Dios or Zeus.
Scater,	Saturnus,	Typhon, &c.
Treiga,	Diana,	V Venus, V Isis.

no picture of hell or of the Majian torrents which decorated the other theogonies of the east. The immaterial essence of all power is spoken of with becoming reverence, and no effort is made to give form or figure either to the whole or to its parts.

The theology of India bears the stamp of great meditation, and its author or authors must have lived at a period when civilisation had made great progress, and when physical and moral causes and effects had been long considered and deeply investigated. The Brahmins pretend to have possessed the Shasta above fifty thousand years ; but without either augmenting or diminishing this long period, we may allow that the religion of Brahma, Vishnoo, and Seeva, has a most remote place in the records of antiquity.

The more religion is studied, the more philosophic it will appear ; and the more it is compared with the other religious creeds of infant nations, the more readily will the highest place be conceded to its doctrine. It wants the magic of Chaldea, the brilliancy of Persia, the splendor of Arabia, and the *real* materialism of Judea ; but its creeds, though mystified, may be explained, and when explained, will be found to contain the simple truths of nature amplified by a high, though speculative, philosophy. For under the name of Brahma, Vishnoo, and Seeva, (the creator, cherisher, and destroyer,) the Brahmin worshipped one God, and two causes, the sun and time.

The former was loved as the preserver

of all nature ; the latter was feared, and propitiated as the corruptor and destroyer. The symbols of their worship were found to be the bodily representations of these things immaterial.

The priesthood has mystified the simplest, and darkened the least clear portions of these doctrines till it has thus added a no inconsiderable load of folly and superstition. But the priests of Brahma are surely not singular, nor can we allow ourselves to deny the philosophy, because we may be disgusted with the visible forms of a religion.

The more we view the ceremonies, the more we read of the ideas, and customs of the Hindoos and compare them with those of Egypt, the more we shall be convinced of the probability of these two

having mixed together at a very early period, or of their having had one common origin.*

In the former part of this chapter, I have attempted to infer, that the much talked of magic of Chaldea was once a pure and simple religion. That the first deviations from it produced Sabaism, and that Babel was built in honour of the

* It is asserted, by many writers, that Chaldea was the first, and Persia the second station of the Nomad tribes, and that their religions were widely different. Every reason induces me to believe that they were originally the same, and that the sooner civilisation arrived, the more quickly idolatry was introduced ; it is probable that in the valleys of Cashmere and on the banks of Indus, they were kept purer for a longer period than among those who remained at the centre of the civilising community.

sun, the language of Chaldea, the site of Babylon, and the posterior name of its temple appear to prove the truth of this assertion.*

I also assume the magic of Chaldea to have been produced by the progress of civilisation, and the nature of the country and climate, acting on ardent and specu-

* Ur, the birth-place of Abraham was celebrated for its University or school of astronomy, and doubtless magic and other arts. (*Vid. Strabo Lib. 16, Diodorus Siculus. Lib, 2.*

Chaldeans were called in eastern language, “ *Chasidim*, from, as (is supposed) one Chesed or Chas. The Greeks, like the French, were a vain people, and loved to call nations and places either by a corruption of the original name, or from derivation of their own. *Χαλδαιοι* was the name they gave the Chesadim, hence *Chaldeans*.

lative minds. By the study of physics, the Chaldeans acquired much knowledge, but in the practice of astrology they imagined more.

CHAPTER II.

Climate of India, and its fertility—Conquest of Alexander—The Ancient Trade, the Voyage of Vasco da Gama—Remarks on the Antiquity and Literature of Hindostan.

INDIA.

OF all the countries on the Asiatic continent, India has excited the greatest interest and enjoyed the highest celebrity. The exploits of the conquerors, who made it the object of their warlike expeditions, as also the splendid productions of na-

ture and art, which were thence imported, procured for it a great name, even in the remotest ages of antiquity.

It has always appeared to the imagination of the western world, as adorned with whatever was most splendid and joyous, abounding in gold and gems, and redolent of fragrant odours. Although in these magnificent conceptions, the hand of poetic illusion has a share, still, India forms, unquestionably, one of the most remarkable regions on the surface of the globe. The varied grandeur of its scenery, and the rich and copious productions of its soil are not excelled in any other country ; and it is extremely probable that it was, if not the first, one of the earliest seats of civilisation, laws, arts, and of all those varied qualities which constitute the charm of social life. These, it is true,

had at no period advanced to the same pitch of refinement as they afterwards did in Europe ; but they were developed in very splendid and original forms, and displayed human nature under most striking and singular aspects. The territory of India, a rich and fertile district, “ whose streamlets are as rivers, and whose rivers may be compared to oceans,” * had at a very early age attracted the attention and avarice of the ancients ; but Dr. Robertson thinks, and with most conclusive reasoning, that Sesostris never saw India,† nor was it till

* Major Rennell’s India.

† Robertson’s disquisition.—Major Rennell says, he inclines to believe a colony of *Egyptians* peopled India, at least the maritime parts, as the trade was of course carried on *by sea*. He adds, “ this might be expected from a nation so enterprizing as to under-

the Macedonian monarch and his armies crossed the Paropamissus, that these plains were made visible to European

take the circumnavigation of Africa, as there *can be no doubt* the *Egyptians* did under one of their Pharaohs!" This is truly surprising, when and where, till the age of the Ptolemies did he find the Egyptians were a maritime people. In every record, both of ancient and modern times, we find arguments and proofs to the contrary. See Plinii, Hist. Nat.; Herodotus' Typhon, Book 2; Robertson's India, and Gibbons' Misc. Works, Vol. iii. In Herodotus' Melpomene, we find the mention of this interesting subject, as undertaken by the *Phenicians* during the reign, and at the command of the Egyptian King Nechos. He says they took three years in doing it, that they went on shore in Lybia, sowed corn, waited the harvest, and put to sea again after cutting it. Thus nearly *two years* were consumed, and the third they put to sea again, and pursued their journey, and passing the pillars of Hercules, returned again to Canopus. Gibbon tries to confute the whole of this

eyes. Although the armies of Europe, up to that period, had never penetrated into the interior of India, yet some nations had an intercourse for trade with it from the remotest time. Among these,

narrative; but there is nothing very improbable in it. For when Vasco da Gama sailed from Portugal in after times with better shipping, and better maritime knowledge, he took ten months for his voyage to India, which was not longer than surrounding Africa, and returning by the pillars of Hercules to Egypt. Gibbon, in his Dissertation, makes it an objection that the Phenicians should have taken so long a time, but does not seem to consider that they both replenished their stores and consumed a great deal of time in Lybia, which well accounts for it. Gibbon, *Misc. Works*, Vol. v, p. 170. For more probable arguments why Indians and Egyptians were originally the same, see Sir Wm. Jones's *Dissertations on India*, Vol. i. p. 112. See also the words of Arrian, on Alexander's Expedition, *Lib. vi, cap. i.*

the most conspicuous were the Phenicians, celebrated for their enterprize, and enormous riches. The Egyptian hated and abandoned the ocean, and the Persian religiously abstained from entering on its bosom. The Phenicians seized by conquest some ports on the Arabian Gulf, and there built ships. They traded to India for many centuries, and the monopoly they enjoyed, raised the envy and admiration of the surrounding nations, and of none more than that of the Jews. By one of these people, the glories and the pride of the Phenicians have been described, and her commerce minutely detailed. From him we learn what magnificence was displayed by the Princes of Tyre, and while their opulence excited his admiration, their pride called down

his vengeance.* To the monopoly of the Phenicians, the invasion and conquests of Alexander the Great placed considerable obstacles at first, and at a later period put an entire end. In the character of Alexander we see, not only an undaunted general, but a sagacious statesman, whose plans for conquest were formed with some definite purpose, and who more than any ancient conqueror seems to have studied, while gratifying his ambition, the interests of mankind. The spirit with which the Tyrians defended their capital, while it, perhaps, contributed to its destruction, showed Alexander with what energy a commercial people could struggle for the treasures and independence which its enterprize and industry

* Ezekiel.

had procured; probably, therefore, the Macedonian determined to build some similar city, which should be the depository of the east, and the emporium of the whole commercial world. He selected the spot where Alexandria now stands, and after ages approved the judgment, and acknowledged the sagacity of the founder. The goods from India were carried from the Red Sea across the desert to the Nile, and thence shot down that river to Alexandria. Again in India, after having conquered the brave Porus, with what tact and generosity did he secure the fierce Indian as his constant ally.* In returning from India he gave orders to remove the dams which shackled the course of the Euphrates and Tygris, and

* Arriani, Exped.

which a blind superstition had placed there, in order that those rivers might supply his Asiatic, while the Arabian sea did the same for his African and European dominions.

In character he was violent and intemperate, and he was by birth a king, and a soldier. The king of half the world would not be likely to submit his will, or consult that of others, and the licentiousness of his private life was copied from parental authority, and was at once the manner and the disgrace of his age. Yet in taking a survey of the character of this great warrior, I am inclined to think we shall find the severe and cruel acts of his public life suggested by an idea of their necessity, while the benefits which he conferred were the effects of his own sagacity, and the promptings of a mind

originally generous, and which had been enlightened by the philosophy of Greece, and the instructions of one of its wisest citizens. The ire of the conquered Indians might have been roused by the ambition of Alexander, but it was softened and appeased by his prudence and kindness, while their friendship was confirmed by his good faith towards them. He sought not to overturn their altars, he did not think himself entitled to insult their deities, or force a foreign and unknown creed into the temples of Hindostan. His prudence and policy were long and faithfully remembered by the Indians and praised by their ultimate posterity. As he was the first, so he was the best conqueror who ever entered Hindostan, nor has any subsequent invader had an equal success, or obtained an equal friendship

with the natives of that country. At the death of this monarch, and the division of his immense empire, India, (so admirably had he formed his policy) remained under the government of Seleucus, nor did Porus and others, though aware of the death of their benefactor, ever throw off their obedience to his successors. The expedition of Seleucus is uncertain and obscure, but about one hundred and twenty-six years before the christian era, a band of Tartars or Scythians passed the Jaxartes, poured in upon India and destroyed the Greek dominion, after one hundred and thirty years of continuance. From that period to the close of the fifteenth century, no military excursions were made into India; but the Asiatic nations continued to traffic for her precious commodities with eagerness and

advantage. The city of Alexandria had become the emporium of trade, and the reigns of the Ptolemies had given to Egypt a navy and a brilliant name for industry and opulence. When the Egyptian kings disappear and the dignity of the country was merged in that of a Roman province, under Augustus Cæsar, the trade with India was carried on in the same manner as heretofore. Besides, the maritime commerce by the Red Sea, caravans entering the eastern confines of Persia and Armenia, spread the riches of the Ganges over the environs of Asia Minor. The trade was also greatly increased, owing to the enormous wealth of the Romans, and principally those of the capital. The chief imports from, were precious stones, especially pearls, spices, and fragrant aromatics, and silks from the Sera or

Siamese territories, or in other words, China. The exports, owing to the fertility of India, and exquisite skill of the natives consisted chiefly of silver and gold coins. Hippalus an acute and intrepid mariner struck out a new route by bearing immediately towards the south head-land of Arabia, and then sailing direct for Bomzaga;* but although this was at once a shorter, and, with a little experience, a safer course, the people trading in these latitudes preferred the old way of creeping down one coast and up another—a long and tedious method continued from timidity or prejudice. So greatly was silk esteemed, that the Roman emperors

* Danville, *Geogr. Antiq. Asia*, vol. i. Dr. Robertson's *Disquisition, Charta antiquæ Asiæ*, by Ptolomæus, Amsterdam, 1618, fol.

tried every means to discover the secret of its manufacture but in vain ; and a long period elapsed before two travelling monks from China revealed to the emperor* that it was an animal and not a vegetable production. Their zeal was rewarded, the industry at Constantinople was eagerly encouraged, and the trade between Europe and China suffered a considerable decline. About four hundred years from this epoch the Mahometans had spread their dominions from the confines of Persia, to Gibraltar, and from the extremity of Assyria to the Indian seas. They possessed in Alexandria, the key to Indian commerce, and shut out the Europeans from the intercourse which had previously subsisted. To prevent the Greeks of Asia Minor being supplied

* Gibbon's Decline and Fall, Vol. x.

by means of the Persian Gulf, they there built the fortified city of Bussora ; yet, the desire and determination to possess the Indian luxuries, was so great that the dangerous and tedious track through the north of India, through Scythia, down the Oxus into the Caspian, and from thence by land to the river Phasis, which falls into the Euxine, was continually traversed, though subject to the attack of the Scythians and Colchians ; these nations always considering the caravans as lawful pillage. By degrees the Venetians commenced a small trade with the detested infidels, and found it so profitable, that they demanded and obtained from the Pope a bull, by which they were allowed to renew their commercial intercourse with Alexandria, and the east. This was speedily arrang-

ed, and the Venetians continued to enjoy, for many years, a rich and increasing monopoly. The states of northern Europe, growing up from barbarism into rich and polished societies, affected and sought the elegance and delicacy of Indian manufactures. The city of Bruges became the storehouse of this part of the world, and the Venetians acted as purveyors ; but two great events now took place, which changed the channels of commerce, and excited the other nations of Europe to enterprize. Columbus discovered the new world, and Vasco da Gama opened a new route to India by doubling the long talked of, and much dreaded Cape of Storms, now called, of Good Hope. In spite of the strenuous efforts of the Venetians, and the frequent fleets of the Sultans, the Portuguese

established their power in India, wrested Ormus from the Persians, and rendered Lisbon the emporium of the east. This enterprising nation, under a sagacious monarch, and brave leaders, overthrew the monopoly of Venice, defeated the power, and derided the threats of the Mussulman, and soon supplied all Europe at a better price, and in a more ample form than was ever known before ; the consequence was, that Indian luxury was spread over all the European continents. There still continued to be a caravan from China to Asia minor by the old route, and an immense inland commerce from the caravans of Syria and Egypt in their annual pilgrimage to Mecca, which benefited both the temporal and spiritual concerns of the faithful. Such is a brief and imperfect sketch of

the political history of old India. But if the precious commodities, which India could furnish to the luxury of Asia and Europe, were sufficient to produce from very early times, and for many centuries, such enterprize, such emulation, and such industry, as that which the Tyrians began, and Vasco da Gama completed, the intercourse with India, from the time of Alexander's expedition to the present epoch, had been no less assiduously cultivated from another and a very different cause. When Columbus landed in America, he found a rude and simple race of warriors, who possessed few institutions, either moral or political, and had no tradition, save oral, of their history or ancestors.* Some of the tribes were very

* Robertson's America, Vol. i. Voyages of Columbus, by W. Irving, Vol. i.

fierce, and others less so ; but in none were the marks of a civilized state visible. The arts they practised were in the rudest state, and literature or science were alike unknown in meaning, and unexpressible in their language. They had a religion of superstition, and this was absolutely the only mark by which they might claim alliance with their European or Asiatic brethren. But the intruders beyond the Indus, and those landing on the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, found, with surprise and interest, a society far advanced in the civilized duties of life, and a mild and contemplative religion filled with the best precepts of morality and human patience, embracing ideas of the highest philosophy, and diversified with light and agreeable fancies, though stained with frivolous and unworthy ideas.

They were presented with an association, religiously and politically organized in a manner, that was at any rate equal to the most refined of the European states.* They found the Indians divided into four separate castes, inalienable, impossible to be mixed, and which they contended were ordained by divine revelation.† The first of these was marked out for their priesthood, the second for their kings and generals; the third for agriculture and traffic, the last for menial labour. As

* Arriani, *Exped. Alex.*; he says the Indians were divided in seven castes, *vide cap. vi.*

	Meaning.	Indication
† The tribe of Brahma.	Mouth.	Wisdom.
“ Chehtenc,	Arms.	Strength.
“ Bicè,	Stomach.	Nourishment.
“ Sooder,	Feet.	Subjection.

no Hindoo ever thought of aspiring to a higher caste than that in which he was born, it is evident that each man following the same destination or business of life, must have been the means of perfecting each art and science, though, at the same time, it tended to depress enterprize, and thus retard, if not destroy, the progressing spirit of the nation. And the Hindoos were in that position in fact, for while they had brought perfection to the arts they practised, and the sciences they had studied, these same seemed to have descended to them from a remote ancestry. The spirit of improvement slept, and that of innovation, even if it had ever existed, had expired. The rulers of the nation were the Brahmins ; these had ordained the laws, these had separated

the tribes, and like that of Levi among the Jews, had appropriated to themselves the power and riches of the people, clothing their authority with religious forms, the sole interpreters of the will of God ; they preached the decrees and service of that worship, in an unknown tongue, and the priest of Isis, and the prophet of Israel, and the Pontiff of Rome never possessed more power than did the ministers of the god of Brahma. The Paria was a name which struck deeper terror to the soul of an Indian, than ever were produced upon the heart of the catholic by the fiercest anathema hurled from the Vatican of Rome. The accounts of twenty-two centuries ago, represent the Indians as a people who stood very high for civilization. They were skilled in architecture, and their temples possessed

many monuments which combined the magnificence of Egypt with a lighter and more elegant taste. They had considered the abstruse questions of metaphysics and made considerable progress in the science of natural history. They had far advanced in astronomy, and when Europe attributed to the Arabians the useful invention of the ten numbers, these were candid enough to acknowledge that they had brought them from the banks of the Ganges. In the art of poetry, they had produced their Homer, and in the drama, they had possessed works which were not inferior in morality or majesty of sentiment to the frigid declamations of the Greek stage.* One thousand two hun-

* While the Roman senators were spreading their empire, and losing their firmness and virtue, while

dred years before the Christian era, the

the north of Europe was hid in obscurity, and its inhabitants were savage, the people of India beheld the efforts of a poet, and enjoyed the amusemēt of an elegant and ingenious drama. *Sacotalà* or the *Fatal Ring*, a play in six acts by *Cálidasá*, was represented at the court of *Vieramádyá*, a polished and learned monarch, with all the splendour and dress of scenery which the opulence of the country could furnish. *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. x. *Jones's Essays*, Vol. iii.

PLOT OF THE DRAMA OF SACOTALA.

The plot is as follows : *Dushmanta*, a King hunting in a forest, is met by a holy Brahmin, who invites him to go into the sacred hermitage, and behold the beautiful *Sacotalà*, who, in the absence of her father, the sacred *Comma*, will receive and pay to strangers all due honours. The King accordingly enters the grove, and on seeing *Sacotalà*, is powerfully smitten with her charms. *Sacotalà* is attended by two of her female friends, *Anusuya* and *Priameda*, who soon

Vedas had been propounded to the natives perceived that both the King and their protégée are equally taken with each other, and they, admiring the appearance of Dushmanta, rather encourage him, while they banter Sacotalà on her bashfulness and pride, which is increased by their discovering Dushmanta to be the King, upon his presenting Sacotalà with his ring. In this scene, the author has displayed talents of no common order ; the modesty and pride of the maiden, at the first address of Dushmanta, her increasing love struggling with that pride displayed in the reproofs she addresses to her young damsels, her elegant speeches, her refined yet true coquetry at last finishes a scene of great dramatic display and effect. The second act introduces Madharya, a court buffoon or jester, not probably considered a dishonourable employment, since we find he is of the Brahmin caste. If we are not excited to broad laughter by his wit, there is no disgusting allusions to offend or tire, yet his remarks are pertinent, and his pleasantry considerable.

Sacotalà made ill by the violent effects of love,
as well as Dushmanta appears attended by her

of Hindoo, and four hundred years after-

maidens, to whom in a scene of great taste, she confesses the cause of her illness ; at which moment the King unperceived approaches, and hearing it, is delighted. The lovers, on some slight pretence, are left together, and a scene of animated courtship closes the third act. The fourth act is full of pathos and reality. Sacontalà is married by her two friends ; An and P, are doubting in what manner her father Comma will receive the news, when they are interrupted by a curse uttered from the lips of choleric Durrisah upon Sacontalà, who when he craved admission, was so absorbed in her love, as not to hear. As P. frightened by his imprecation which was to the effect, that when her husband should see her next, (the King had departed to his capital Hastinapma) he should forget her entirely, earnestly implore him to revoke his words, and appease him by all the means in their power ; at last Durrisah, though he will not recall his words, states that the spell will be removed when Dushmanta shall see his ring. Comma returns already informed of, and highly approving the

wards, or eight hundred years before

marriage, and giving orders for the journey of Sacotalà to Hastinapma ; this delights the two friends, who plan how they may convey the ring to Dushman-ta. They agree not to agitate Sacotalà, by informing her of the imprecation, and depart ; the preparations then commence, and the author has clothed the remainder of the act with every possible grace of a brilliant fancy, and poetry. The regret of the venerable Comma, the weeping damsels, who while they recommend firmness to the bride, cannot refrain from tears themselves, and more than all the affliction of Sacotalà, her fondness and respect for her father ; her love for her friends, her affection for each plant, and tendril among which she has been reared, and which have claimed her earliest cares ; the place of her childhood and happy youth, all are drawn with a truth and energy of description, which surpass our expectation, and strongly claim admiration and interest. At last, amid the tears and blessings of the hermits and wood nymphs, she departs, and the act closes. The fifth act opens, and discovers the palace

Christianity, the Menu had been deliver-

of Dushmanta; the hermit with Sacontalà arise, and are introduced ; the spell of Durrisah operates, the King cannot remember his wife ; they all upbraid him, and Sacontalà attempting to show the ring, she finds she has it not. The King thereby is more than ever convinced the whole thing is false, and Sacontalà's affliction is greatly augmented. Her relation Giratini suggests, perhaps, that she has dropt it in a river, where she stopped to perform a lustration ; this has no effect on the King. The hermits, after bitterly upbraiding him, leave Sacontalà and retire, and she, in the greatest misery is about to follow, when the priest of Dushmanta offers to receive her in his house till the child of which she was pregnant should be born ; to which the King assents with cold indifference, and Sacontalà follows bewailing her fate, and, as she supposes, the monarch's duplicity ; a prodigy appears, when Sacontalà is lifted up by divine power in a blaze of light, and disappears ; upon this being reported to the King, he is convinced there has been sorcery throughout the case. Act six—a fisherman

ed to them.* The laws of Menu, the son

is apprehended with the ring in his possession. He declared he found it in the belly of a fish; the King upon receiving it, exhibits great agitation, he orders the fisherman to be released, and gives him an enormous reward. His memory is now returned, grief and the deepest penitance succeed; all jubilee is forbidden, and he dresses in sad coloured garments; his mind is heavy with affliction, and his body wasted. In the meantime, Sacotalà has been concealed and protected by Menaca, her goddess mother, (she being the child of Menaca and a great King,) a nymph is sent to attend the King, and watch the symptoms of returning love. While the King is plunged in woe, his jester, Madharya is carried off by Matali charioteer of India. Dushmanta releases him, recognises Matali, and goes off with him on an expedition in his car above the clouds, where the seventh act opens. Dushmanta descends with Matali in a grove where he perceives a fiery boy playing with a

* Jones's Discourses to the Bombay Society, Vol. vii. Asiat. Res.

of Brahma consist of twelve chapters, and are, in fact, a code of morals, religion, and legislation delivered by Menu, the son of Brahma, to Brigie, and may be compared with those delivered by Moses to the Israelites.* Whatever fanciful ideas and

young lion; he approaches him; the attendants discover him to Dushmanta, they run to announce the same to Sacontalà; the meeting takes place, affection is renewed, happiness restored, and Sacontalà rightly divined the cause of all her affliction, by the reappearance of the Fatal ring.

* They are digested in the following order :—

Chap. 1. Of the Creation.

“ 2. On Education of Priests.

“ 3. On Marriages, 2d. classes.

“ 4. On Private morals.

“ 5. On Diet, Purification, and Women.

“ 6. On Devotion, 3rd. and 4th. class.

“ 7, On Government, 2d. class.

frivolous sentiments may be herein found,

LAWS OF MENU.

The following are among the most striking verses in these chapters. The Indian Cosmogony is thus explained, and fully set forth.

CAP. I. S. 7.—He whom the mind alone can perceive, whose essence eludes the external organs, who has no visible parts, who exists from eternity even HE, the soul of all beings, shone forth in person.

S. 8.—HE (*a*) having willed to produce various

“ 8. On Judicature.

“ 9. On the Commercial class.

“ 10. On the mixed classes.

“ 11. On Penance and expiation.

“ 12. On Transmigration, and final Beatitude,

Ibidem, Vol. iii.

(*a*) It had been before said that HE was essence immaterial. *Divine substance* is merely an epithet, not an attribute. The God of Brahma was permanent, *immaterial*.

however inferior they may now appear to

beings from his own *divine substance*, first with a thought created the waters, and placed in them a productive seed.

S. 9.—That seed became an egg, bright as gold, blazing like a luminary with a thousand beams, and in that egg HE was, in the form of Brahma, the great forefather of all spirits.

S. 10.—The waters are called *nárá*, because they were the production of NARA, or the spirit of God, and since they were his first Ayana or place of motion he thence is named *Máráyana*, or moving on the waters.(b)

S. 11.—From that which is, the first cause, not the

(b) Here is the point whence Bryant takes his analogy. The Indian cosmogos begins after the flood, the egg is the ark and Brahma is Noah, when the Indians may have confounded with Abraham, the great fore-father of all spirits. Considering the *antiquity of these books*, the idea must have risen from their *own knowledge* of the deluge.

an age enlightened by revelation and

object of sense, existing everywhere in substance, not existing to our perception, without beginning or end, was produced the divine male, famed in all worlds under the appellation of Brahma.

S. 12.—In that egg the great power sat inactive a whole year of the Creator, (a) at the close of which, by his thought alone, he caused the egg to divide.

S. 13.—From the two divisions, he framed the heaven above, and the earth beneath, in the midst he placed the subtil ether, the eight regions, and the permanent receptacle of waters.

S. 14.—From the supreme soul he drew forth mind existing substantially, though unperceived by sense, immaterial, and before mind or the reasoning power, he produced consciousness, the eternal monitor, the ruler.

S. 31.—That the human race might be multiplied HE (i.e. the Creator) caused the Brahmin (Scripture) Cshatriya (protection) the Vaisya (wealth) and the

(a) About 365,000 years.

truth, the antiquary will revere them for

(Sudrabor) to proceed from his mouth, arm, thigh, and foot.

S. 32.—Having divided his own substance, the mighty power became half male, half female, or nature, active and passive, and from that female *he* produced briah. And Viraj produced, first ten Lords of the Creation, holy men, and then came benevolent genii, fierce giants, nymphs, demons, &c. &c. and all beings, and effects of nature.

For the duties of the four orders, vid. v. 87 to 93.

For the rights and principles of a Brahmin, vid. S. 99. When a Brahmin springs to light, he is borne above the world, the chief of all creatures assigned to guard the treasury of duties, religious and civil.

S. 100.—Whatever exists in the universe is in effect, although not in form, the wealth of the Brahmin, since the Brahmin is entitled to it all by his primogeniture and birth.

S. 101.—The Brahmin eats but his own food,

their long standing of nearly three thou-

wears but his own apparel, and bestows but his own in alms. *Through the benevolence of the Brahmin, indeed, the other mortals enjoy life.*

This is out-heroding Herod.

CAP. II. S. 25 to 190 contains the ceremonies to be used when a Brahmin is born and named. The duties of his early youth, humility, devotion, self-denial, austerity and respect to his parents and preceptor, and the greatest chastity.

S. 220.—Good choice in marriage, as at S. 240.

244.—That Brahmin who has dutifully attended his preceptor till the dissolution of his body, passes directly to go to the eternal mansion of God.

249.—The twice born man, who shall thus without intermission pass away, shall after death ascend to the most exalted of regions, and no more spring to birth in this lower world.

CAP. IV. Tells us the duties of a Brahmin : after his education is over, he is to take a wife, his and all men's duties in the married state, and at all times :

sand years ; the historian will view them

much that is absurd, but more that is just and beautiful.

I now pass to the 12th and last Chapter.

S. 15.—From the substance of *that Supreme spirit* are diffused like sparks of fire, innumerable vital spirits, who give motion perpetually to creatures exalted and base.

16.—By the vital souls of those men who have committed sins in the body reduced to ashes, another body composed of *nerves* with fine sensations, in order to be susceptible of torment, shall certainly be assumed after death.

17.—And being intimately united with minute nervous particles, shall feel in that new body the pangs inflicted by Yama i. e. Pluto.

18.—When the vital soul has gathered the fruit of sins which arise from a love of sensual pleasure, but must produce misery, and when its taint has been removed, it again approaches those two most effulgent essences, *the intellectual soul and the divine spirit*.

as the base on which were founded the

20.—If the vital spirit had practised virtue for the most part, and vice in a small degree, it enjoys delight in celestial abodes, clothed with a body formed of elementary particles.

21.—*But* if it had generally been addicted to vice, and seldom attended to virtue, then shall it be deserted by those pure elements, and having *a coarser body of sensible nerves*, it feels the pains to which Yama shall doom it.

22.—Having endeavoured, it again reaches the fine pure elements in the order of their natural distribution.

23.—Let each man, considering with his intellectual powers, these migrations of the soul according to its virtue or vice into a region of bliss or pain, *continually fix his heart on virtue*.

87.—For in the knowledge and adoration of one God, which the Veda teaches, all the rules of good conduct are fully comprised.

laws of a great, polished, and interesting

EXTRACTED FROM THE "MANAVA SASTRA."

V. 123.—Him, some adore as transcendantly present in elementary fire, others in Meru, lord of creation *or an agent in, the creation* ; some as India regent of the clouds and atmosphere, others in pure air, others as the high eternal spirit.

118.—Let every Brahmin with fixed attention consider all nature ; both visible and invisible ; as exist in the divine spirit, for when he contemplates the boundless universe existing in the divine spirit, he cannot give his heart to iniquity.

124.—He who pervading all beings in five elemental forms, causes them by the gradations of birth, youth, and dissolution, to revolve in this world until they deserve beatitude like unto the wheels of a car.

125.—Thus the man, who perceives in his own soul the supreme soul present in all creatures, acquires equanimity towards them all, and shall be

people ; and the philosopher will admire precepts and a style which have an austere majesty that sounds like the language of legislation, and extorts a respectful awe. The sentiments of independence on all beings but God, and the harsh admonition to kings, are truly noble. The many panegyrics on the Gayatri, the mother, as it is called, of the Vedà, prove the author to have adored not the visible sun, but that divine and incomparably greater light, to use the words of the most venerable text in the Indian scripture, “which illumines

absorbed at last in the highest essence, even that of the Almighty himself.

Here ended the Manava Sastra of Brigi, the son of Menu, who was the son of Brahma, who was the son of God.

all, from which all proceed, to which all must return, and which alone can irradiate our intellects.”* The beauty of India, its climate and the yielding nature of the soil, which produces almost instantan-

* The History of the Hindoo people shows them as of great antiquity, of civilized manners, possessed of arts and science carried to elegance and perfection, and of a language whose structure is both most original and curious.

No specimens of genuine oratory, says Sir W. Jones, can be expected from nations, among whom the form of government precludes even the idea of popular eloquence; but the art of writing in elegant and modulated periods has been cultivated in Asia from the earliest ages: the Védas as well as the Alkoran are written in measured prose, and the compositions of Isocrates are not more highly polished than those of the best Arabian and Persian authors.—Dissertations, Vol. i.

neously,* invited the attacks of their more hardy neighbours, and rendered Hindostan an easy prey to the foreign invader. Hence, we find them successively conquered by the Persians, Tartars, and Mogols, and it is probable, that like the Chinese, they have seldom had a dynasty of kings from their own countrymen. The most horrible cruelties, and most atrocious insults were offered by the Mahomedans ; the race of Hindoos were unable to compete with the wild descendants of the pastor-kings ; they fled, and the banner of the crescent floated on the altars of their mild and peaceful religion. At present, the enterprise of European commerce has taken an eminent position in India, and brought

* Juvenalis, Sat. vi. L. 464.

into that country a change in laws, customs, and government. The ancient religion has given way, and the trial by jury is fast superseding the ancient trial of the Veidamà. The power of an old superstition is on its wane, and the priest of Brahma partially recedes before the minister of Christ. Yet mistaken kindness, or violent bigotry have conduced to render the sign of the cross, at times, as hateful as the red ensign of the prophet. The one religion annihilated the race, the other has tormented it. May the former cease from interfering with the religion of many millions, whose well directed industry will add largely to the wealth of Britain, and who ask in return no more than protection for their persons and places of abode, justice in their temporal concerns, indulgence to the prejudices of

their own religion, and the benefit of those laws which they have been taught to believe sacred, and which alone they can possibly comprehend.”

CHAPTER III.

Persia—Its early history very obscure—Probable origin of its inhabitants and religion—Zoroaster, his reforms—Translation of the Sadder—Overthrow of the Magi, and decline of the Persian worship under the successors of Mahomet.

PERSIA.

THE kingdom of Persia, anciently called Iran, was probably one of the earliest formed on the earth; situated in the close proximity of the primeval nation or tribe, the settlers to the east and west,

diverging from that great centre, Chaldea or Assyria, soon discovered and civilized the magnificent and fertile province of Iran. Its ancient history, however, the history of a learned, warlike, and opulent race exists no longer either to instruct or amuse the present age. Its great Mahabedian dynasty has left no record ; its original language, the oldest in the world, has been dimly discovered as a mixture of Chaldaic and Sanscrit,* and the relics of its arts and literature have perished either by time or accident. Its first founders, however, were doubtless the tribes passing from Assyria to the eastward, its old language, the name of its old dynasty and the slight notions still left of its ancient religion and sciences, tend to

* Sir W. Jones's dissertations, vol. 1, p. 187.

strengthen the assertion so boldly made by Sir W. Jones, that a Hindoo tribe were the founders ; a Hindoo priest the lawgiver ; and a Hindoo dynasty the first race of Kings of ancient Persia.

The language was a mixture of Chaldean and Sanscrit, the law-giver was another Menu with his fourteen Avatars, and the word Mahabedian distinctly marks a division of the people into four tribes, religious, civil, military and servile, and were analogous to the four primary tribes of the natives of Hindostan.*

In its succeeding history, for many centuries, a vague opinion only can be entertained, and even for a more recent date in the Persian annals, we can only con-

* Dissertations, p. 199, &c. Halbed's Dissertations. Robertson's Disquisitions.

sult the Greek historians, among whom, in treating of the same personages and times in Persia, the greatest discrepancy occurs, and the reign of the great Cyrus, one of its most illustrious monarchs has been considered by many as the fabulous narration of Xenophon, under the title of the exploits of this Persian prince.*

As it is not here the place to discuss the political history of Persia, nor of its many vicissitudes in victory or defeat, the obscurity that reigns over its kings, and conquests does not affect the consideration of its moral religion, and of the ancient philosophy of the state. The tribe diverging from the Chaldean territories, in settling over the beauteous province

* Sur la Monarchie des Mèdes. Gibbon's *Mis* works, p. 56. 148.

which we are now discussing, brought with them the lovely principle of primeval religion among man, the firm belief that one supreme God made the world by his power, and governed it by his providence, a pious love and adoration of him, a reverence for parents and for aged persons, and an affectionate feeling for the human species, to which was naturally added compassionate kindness towards the lower animals, a system of devotion, a philosophy of worship, a simplicity of religion too sublime and too pure to be of any long duration. Sabaism speedily took its place, and superstition superseded the light of reason and reflection; to these again succeeded grosser ideas, and a system which required pretended revelations to sanction, and a vast mystery to enable it to sustain

its place. For this purpose, a complicated theology was constructed, its tenets were couched in an obscure phraseology, its very institutes were often locked in a learned and comparatively unknown language, and a special order of men were alone privileged to enlighten and explain the faith of the people according to law and prejudice.

It could only then be owing to particular circumstances, that some nations preserved and followed a purer faith than others ; and perhaps the Persians enjoying a country, and a position so beautiful, and an ancestry so remote, were enabled to preserve the purer creeds of Sabaism, and to acknowledge above all, the higher power of God.

In the obscurity which hangs over all ancient Persia, we are totally incapable

of discovering when, and where, and to what extent Sabaism was carried. We are led to suppose that the religion received from time to time many reforms and purifications, which tended to renew the great tenet of the unity and omnipotence of God.

Zeratusht or Zoroaster, has been considered as the great reformer and religious law-giver of this people, he condensed their precepts into one code, entitled the hundred gates of life or the Sadder, he promulgated the proper ceremonies to be used in worship, the duties of priests, and their privileges, and he corrected and abolished many of the gross abuses of the prevailing faith. But in no way can he be considered as the *founder* of the Persian religion. His precepts are evidently copied from some which had long existed, since they were

universally established and believed, and his aim throughout seems to have been to consolidate and purify the religion, rather than to attempt to give his countrymen any new or original doctrine. In his time,* the worship of Bel, and the sacrifice of the fire was fully established ; the priesthood was a strong and numerous body, and the temples of the Guebhrs, were well endowed, and splendid in the extreme.

Zeratusht attempted to correct the worship and the sacrifice by substituting once more the principal faith of unity, and reducing the sun and fire to mere symbols ; and it is to the credit of the priesthood, as well as of the Persian peo-

* Hyde *Religio veterum, Persarum* C. xxiv, which treats of Gushtasp, or King Darius's conversion, a truly oriental story, and very amusing.

ple, that he appears to have very effectually succeeded in this projet.

The time of Zoroaster is stated to have been that of Gushtasp, or Darius Hystaspes, and one of the famous acts of his life, was the conversion of that king, to the reformed religion.* This epoch, if correct, would fix the reformer's time in the year of the world 3482 and 522, A. C. The precise time cannot be certainly ascertained, but he was the most celebrated high-priest, or prophet of Persia. †

* In this attempt, the Persian law-giver has far outshone the leader of the Hebrews in charity, and liberality of spirit. See Exodus passim.

† The Sadder or 100 gates of life, were left to the nation, under the following form :—

Porta 1. Asserts the true religion, and that it is contained herein, and mentions the two angels, the bridge of hell, &c. &c., such as we find similar

From the Sadder, as well as from many

accounts of in the Alcoran and Exodus.

Porta 2. Sin not ; for sinners shall hereafter be accursed in hell fire.

Porta 3. General precepts of justice.

Porta 4. Not to despair of God's mercy, exemplified in the story of the sheep.

Porta 5. Give alms ; and a long explanation of the rewards consequent thereon, like Mahomet's fifth paradise.

Porta 6. Do good works, for they have their rewards ; and some trivial and superstitious ceremonies to be observed.

Porta 7. Superstition founded on the principle of duellism.

Porta 8. Obedience to the priesthood and paying the 10th to the same ; and all kinds of rewards held out for doing this.

Porta 9. *Vetita est perpetratio Pedicationis*: and a long and vehement curse on the same. In totâ religione aliquod peccato hoc majus non est prohibitum.

other fragments, we may infer that the

Porta 10. Religious ceremonies about giving alms, and the putting on the girdle, with a description of the powers of the same.

Porta 11. For the preservation and honour of the fire, and the great importance of the same.

Porta 12. Respecting the linen garments of the priests, and the stuff of which, and the manner in which they should be made.

Porta 13. Love thy father and thy mother (not that thy days may be long in the land) but, “ that felicity may be thine *hereafter*.”

Porta 14, 15, 16, 17, and 18. Superstitious ceremonies.

Porta 19. The importance of marrying, and the penalties attached to not doing so. (Nearly the same as in the Alcoran.)

Porta 20. Agriculture, and the part or first fruits to be given to the church.

Porta 21. Charity, feeding the hungry, and giving drink to the thirsty, considered in the same sublime light as in the New Testament.

Persian Magi taught, and the people pro-

Porta 22. The importance of saying grace before meals.

Porta 23. Give alms, and the 10th to the church, that your salvation may be sure.

Porta 24 and 25. Abstain from too much meat, but do not fast.

Porta 26. Baptism ordained, as in the New Testament.

Porta 27. Prayers for penitence.

Porta 28. Good faith with all men, "*sive sit cum aliquo in religione nostrâ, sine extra cam.*"

Porta 29 to 34. Concerning the education of children by the priesthood, learning the catechism and prayers of the Church, and of liberality towards all men.

Porta 35 and 36. Giving a portion to dogs, and superstitious ideas concerning cocks.

Porta 37. The sin of burying a corpse.

Porta 38. About slaying of animals.

Porta 39. About prayers on rising, washing your face, and others equally ridiculous.

fessed a religion as pure as any ever

Porta 40. General precepts of charity, benevolence ; the virtues of truth and upright dealing, abstaining from slander and malice, &c., admirably set forth and communicated upon.

Porta 42 to 43. Concerning the religious feasts of the Persians, the purification of water, and conservation of fire.

Porta 44. Obedience and filial love inculcated.

Porta 45. Respecting the conduct of women during child-birth.

Porta 46. Against calumny and fraud.

Porta 47. Rewards held out for the destruction of noxious animals, such as toads, frogs, scorpions, and leaches.

Porta 48. Against going barefoot.

Porta 49. Confession of sins to priests ordained, and this maxim laid down, "*Quicumque eo momento recitaverit Pitùpht (i. e. Miserere) ejusdem peccata ei remittit Deus Justus, et quamvis infinita habuerit peccata, eum tamen in inferno non collocavit.*"

practised in the East. Their system

Porta 50 to 54. Confirmation at fifteen years of age.

Prayers for parents, great care to be taken in boiling an egg — and the morning lustrations commanded.

Porta 55 to 60. The first strenuously ordains the education of children by one of the college of priests ; the next two are purely religious superstitions. The 58th, comments on the man who is married and has no children, and points out the course he must pursue. The next recommends charity, and the 60th is minute, ludicrous, and offensive to good feeling and to common sense.

Porta 61 to 63. Against killing Hydra (the serpent), the water dogs (beavers), and the office for the dead.

Porta 64. About dressing out the dead, and the garments for the same.

Porta 65. Obedience to husbands.

Porta 66. Curses on apostacy.

Porta 67 and 68. Against telling lies, and exercising on all occasions truth, comparing the latter to the

seems to have consisted in the Unity and

bright sun, for “ Verily,” saith the Lord to Zeratust, “ he that speaketh truth is brighter than the burning sun, but whosoever lieth goeth straight to hell.”

Porta 69. Against fornication, and showing particularly the sad effects of such conduct to society in general ; as also adultery.

Porta 70. Thou shalt not steal.

Porta 71. A long and philosophical precept enjoining benevolence, veracity, and liberality with the people of God, and these two commandments.

1. Do not invade the property of others, for Heaven hath in store more than all this world can afford, for here as five days are, so there is eternity.
2. Do unto others as you would they should do unto you, and live in charity with all men.

Porta 72 and 73. Religious ordinances.

Porta 74. Against concubinage.

Porta 75 to 80. All religious ceremonies and ordinances.

Omnipotence of the Divinity, and that

Porta 81 to 84. Religious ordinances respecting impurities in animals; giving bread to the sinner, and morning lustrations.

Porta 85. To the husband, requiring him to be very cautious in not defiling the water.

Porta 86 and 87. Respecting women in child-birth, or in cases of abortion.

Porta 88. After a death, the family not to eat flesh.

Porta 89. Commending liberality.

Porta 90. On the wonderful merits of repeating certain prayers (Ashim) at rising, eating, and sleeping.

Porta 91. Zeratusht asserts his divine mission. “ And the Lord God said unto Zeratusht Espintâman. In the whole world is there no one more pleasing to my sight than thou; for thy sake I created the world, and for all ages thou art my chosen: I created thee between the beginning and the end, from the beginning Keimóvâs unto the age are 3000 years, and from the age to the resurrection

this was the true, primitive, and ortho-

are 3000 more. I created thee in the middle, because the middle is better than either the beginning or the end. As the heart is in the middle, so art thou to me."

Porta 92 and 93. Respecting purification, and preserving the fire.

Porta 94. Commands the celebration of the six Gháháubâr (i. e. the period in which God made all things) which are divided thus :—1. Created he the heavens in forty-five days. 2nd. In sixty days he created the waters and the sea. 3d. The earth in seventy-five days. 4th. The trees and shrubs in thirty days. 5th. The animals in eighty days. 6th. Man in seventy-five days. Thus making three hundred and sixty five days for the time of the creation. Then follows an eastern tale about how, in feasting, the devil came into King Gêms hid's kitchen and asked the cook for food, and how he dressed oxen and sheep, and horses even, and yet nothing would satisfy him, and how Gêms hid prayed to God, and

dox sect. The Persian also acknow-

God sent his angel, Behman or smoke, to cook the devil a *red* cow in old vinegar, and added garlick and rue, at which the devil was so frightened that he fled, &c.!!

Porta 95. Gratitude for benefits received.

Porta 96. Salutation to the sun commanded.

Porta 97. *Not* to weep for the dead.

Porta 98 and 99. About learning the litany and other canonical regulations.

Porta 100. The curse against any priest who shall dare to explain to any person, whatsoever, the meaning of these Scriptures or any of the mysteries connected with the religion of Zoroaster.(a)

(a) This last commandment may be found in the books of the Egyptians, Hindoos, Jews, Greeks, and Romans, and in the Catholic church of the west, and it would appear that in all nations and times, as well ancient as modern, this great principle and canon has

ledged the principle of Duellism, that is to say, that God created two spirits, the one the Agens boni, whom they called Ormurd, the other the Agens mali, whom they denominated Ahrèman, and whom to show their utter detestation of him, they always wrote thus : *uēwəɾəyV*. As to the divinity, himself, they said “*Deus est in abstracto, bonitas ipsa et purissima, essentia ab omni vel boni vel mali impressione ac passione prorsus exempta*

been strenuously inculcated, and while it was rigidly obeyed, no reform could take place, no purifyer could rise up.

Thus ends the *centum portæ*, or hundred gates of the life of Sadder, a book like all others of the same nature, in which are found many good precepts, some bad superstitious ordinances, pure and audacious inventions, and the most ludicrous pretensions to divine origin.

et immunis.” A sublime and pure creed, copied, or rather inherited, from the Indians,* and which they had introduced in the earliest times. At a later period, the Persians became Sabaists, and, if we believe Herodotus, much worse.†

* In this the Hindoos perfectly coincided, for Brahma the Essentia, created the two principles Vishnoo and Seeva, and so, in fact, it will be found in the Egyptian records, and in the Jewish scriptures, excepting that these last have made the Essentia contending with his creature, and thus have the appearance of denying the omnipotence of divinity.

† Herodotus in Clio, says the Persians, had at one time established a temple to Venus, where “se feminae prostituebant,” and which was continued to the time of Antiochus Epiphanes, who was killed in the temple of Venus, 180 years, A. C. vide Livii O. L. 54 C. 59.—Strabo C. 16.—Hyde religio Vet. Pers. C. 3.

The religion purified under Zoroaster, exhibited, again, the adoration of one God alone, and paid its salutations to the sun and fire as secondary, and as the great visible symbols of his power and splendour; and this, while showing the concordance which exists between the Persian and the Indian religions, may lead to the inference, that their common religion was Chaldean, the origin and fountain of all the eastern nations.

Dr. Hyde seems to think the Persians owe their religion to Shem and Elam, and that it had existed ever since the flood. That Zoroaster lived about the time of the captivity of the Jews in Babylon, from which people the maji first learnt the use of fire in the temples, but he is decidedly of opinion that the Per-

sians never worshipped the fire, but merely used it as the most splendid and purest element in their ceremonies ; there are two epochs in the Persian church which should be noted.

First, that period during which they retained their religion pure and primitive. Secondly, when they first mixed Sabaism with their worship. “ *Interpolatio sabaitica prima,*” and which according to Hyde,* Abraham had with great zeal, tried to eradicate. After his time, the Persians again relapsed, “ *Secunda interpolatio,*” and even became Image worshippers, partly from seeing so many

* The work of Dr. Hyde opens with a long account of the birth, parentage, and exploits of Abraham, vide C. 2.

in the Grecian temples which they conquered. From this state Zoroastes laboured to raise them again to their purity and simplicity.

Thus was the Persian religion kept pure, and from salutary reforms, from time to time has descended for unnumbered ages, to the present day.*

* In his 31st. chapter, Hyde allows the high purity of the Persian creed, and declares them to have been, in his opinion, in high favour with God, because they alone with the Jews preserved the true faith ; and then anxious to prove the truth of Isaiah's prophecies on Cyrus, and somewhat unable to account for this love of God for the Persians, says "*quamvis Persæ multas nugas cum dei cultu miscuerint, deus tamen connivebat propter grande opus quod à Cyropersarum rege præstandum decreverat !*—C. 31. p. 382. He here also mentions that the first Magi

I shall not enter into the glorious and exciting tales of Herodotus or Xenophon. They are covered with much doubt, and critics have not been wanting to defend and assail these historians, and to throw the political history of Persia into worse confusion ; yet I cannot but remark that in the days of Xerxes or Ardishir, the Magi seem to have lost their dignity and changed their occupation.

They seem to have been reduced, in this age, to mere ordinary sooth-sayers and astrologers, who followed the splendid camp of that monarch, and were

eat no kind of flesh, proving that they were believers in the Indian creed of the *Metempsychosis*.
(p. 375.)

always ready to predict his good fortune and the success of his army.*

After the conquest of Persia by the Arabians, and the establishment of Maho-

* Herodotus, in his 7th. book, describing the march of Xerxes from Lydia to Thermopylæ, mentions this fact and states also that Xerxes scourged the Hellespont. This I cannot believe, for many reasons, and principally because it was quite contrary to the religious opinions of the Persians, as it would have been insulting one of the elements or powers of nature, (*vide Hyde, Rel. Vet. Pers.; and Robertson's Disquisition on India.*)

One may also doubt the number which Herodotus states as the army under Xerxes, namely, five million and a half; no doubt, however, it was very extraordinary. It was in the interest of both parties to augment the number, as much as possible, of Xerxes before the war, and of the Grecians while he was retracing his steps.

met's religion, many of the natives* embraced that new code, while many, more devoted to their ancient faith, fled into the plains and recesses of more tolerant India ; and even to this day, the descendants of Zoroaster, and the Magi may still be met with on the banks of the Ganges or the shores of Guzzerat, clad in white to suit the prejudices of that country ; but excepting in their garments, which rightly should be of flame colour, the exact representatives of their dignified ancestors.

* Vide *passim* for the general history of this people, Herodotus, Ctesius, Strabo, Xenophon and Cyropedia, Diogenes, Laertius, Herbelot, Dict. Oriental, Pocock's Abulpharagius, and last, though not least, Gibbon's critical remarks in his *Monarchie des Mèdes*.

CHAPTER IV.

EGYPT.

Analogy between the various religions of antiquity—
One origin—The hypotheses of Mr. Bryant regarding Noah considered—The ancient Egyptians—The voyages of the Phenicians under Nechos, and the disquisitions of Gibbon, Bruce, and Dr Doig considered—The Ptolomies—Prosperity and decline of Egypt—Roman province under Augustus—Submits to Mohammedans, and afterwards to the Turks.

FROM earliest times 'all men have

agreed in acknowledging the existence of a superior power, but when asked his nature or his attributes, have been always found to differ in their opinion or tenets. The infirmities of a finite comprehension compelled mankind to adopt a likeness of the divinity, and as nothing superior to the human race had been visible to man, so in the weakness of his intellect, he imagined God after his own image.

But what idea can be more contemptible or ridiculous than to suppose, like Homer,* the supreme God with a head of auburn locks, and black eyebrows, and that he cannot shake his head without making the heavens tremble. We may observe also how the image of the

* Vide Platonis dissertatio de natura Deorum, for the remarks of Maximus of Tyre.

Godhead has been always fashioned according to the genius and character of each different people ; and as no nation has ever been found without some idea of worship, so is it equally true that no two nations have ever possessed the same conceptions of God, or of the worship which such power was to receive. All have agreed but in this, that their particular Deity was the first, the greatest, and the best of all, and indeed without this notion, each system of religion must have fallen to the ground.

Thus, we find that the warlike had their Mars ; the civilised, their Adonis, their Isis, and their Diana ; the voluptuous selected Venus ; and the literary paid their court to Minerva and Apollo.*

* Probably the earliest defined notions of religion

The Chaldeans, as the earliest tribes, must have first possessed notions of the science of astronomy, and it is not im-

may have been produced by a long and attentive observation of the powers of nature; nor can we conceive indeed anything more attractive than the face of the heavens, more suitable for such a purpose. In later times these observations produced astronomy, which must be allowed to be a science which has done more to annihilate the principle of atheism, than any other moral cause known to mankind. In viewing the wide and splendid ether filled with bright stars and wondrous comets, in beholding the sun and moon, in reflecting on their size, uses, and wondrous evolutions, and more than all on their eternal regularity (*a*) and power, the heart must be callous, which does not experience the most sublime emotions, and narrow the mind which does not perceive and acknowledge the unity, the beauty and the omnipotence of God.

(*a*) Platonis, Dial. XI. Cicero de natura Deo.

probable that the temple of Belus served for the contemplation and observations of the heavenly bodies. The Chinese, (as some will have it from Noah) also very early received ideas of the same kind, though they appear to have been most superstitious and absurd in their astronomical observations.*

The Phenicians knew and made great use of their scientific discoveries. Egypt was famous for them in later times, and Moses seems even to have had some glimmerings, obtained probably from these latter ; the ancient Persians were acquainted with astronomy to a great extent, as Pythagoras has informed the Greeks.†

* Juvenal, De Guignes Mém. de la Chine, vol. 1. and 2.

† That the universe was composed of four elements

Of the various traditions handed down from all time, and found universally among ancient nations, that of a deluge holds a most remarkable place. It is proved by a great many works of antiquity, that the idea of a deluge, and of an ark or ship in which one man and his family were saved, was extremely general.*

From this fact, Mr. Bryant has inferred

and had the sun in the centre, that the earth was round and had antipodes, that the stars were worlds, and were inhabited, that the milky way is from the number of stars, and that Venus is the evening and the morning star. Vide Bayle, Article Pythagore and *Origine des Découvertes*, 7.

† Abydemi, historia. Berosi Chron Manethon's fragment, Moses, Genesis, Saconiathon in Eusebio. Plutarch in Iside and Osiride, Plato in Atalante, Pausanias, Ovidii Metamorph.

the following most improbable conclusion: that the primeval religion was Noachism and not Solicolism, that is, the veneration and worship of Noah prior to that of the sun. The proofs of the contrary seem however to be as numerous as they are distinct, and tend to destroy his assertion.

Mr. Bryant lays down, in support of his theory, the following arguments.

First, he supposes Noah to have been the God or Jupiter, the Ζεύς or Διός of the whole Gentile world. Second, that in the east he continued to be called Naus or Νᾱς, Nauchus, or Inachus.

In Egypt he was called Bacchus from Chus,* the grandson of Noah or Nusos

* Mr. Byrant also thinks that the Cushites peopled most of the eastern settlements.

from Nausus, hence Διονυσος, and that afterwards he was called Osiris and Sesostris. In Phenicia, Phutruth, Cronos, and Zeus. In Chaldea, Zuth and Xixothros. In Armenia and Persia, Xuth and Zeus; Zeus in Greece, and Jupiter in Rome. In Scandinavia, Thor. Further he remarks the exact analogy which exists between the Mosaic and Egyptian observances, such as that Osiris was shut up in a box, (i. e. Noah in the ark,) that the tears of Isis were allegorically meant for the deluge, that Theba or Thebes was the name of the ark, and that in this city Sesostris dedicated to Osiris a ship two and eighty cubits long, that not only in Egypt, but in Phenicia, Syria, Armenia, and Greece, the ark was ever visible under the names of ships, such as the following Θεοι ναυιλλοντες, and the sun

in the figure of a man sailing on a float,* and that the Egyptians did not represent the sun and moon in chariots, but wafted about on floats.†

Also, Baris was in Egypt, the ship or navicular shrine carried about in the festivals of Isis, and again Baris was (according to Nicolaus of Damascus,) the name of the mountain in Armenia on which the ark rested. In Smyrna, says Aristides, upon the Dionysia, a ship used to be carried in procession, the same custom at Eleusis and Olympia; and to conclude, both ships and temples received their names from thence, *ναος*, and Nautai, navis, and our word naval; of

* Vide Porphyry.

† Plutarch in Iside.

course, Dionysius, Deucalion, Ogyges, Perseus, &c. &c., were all the same person.

Mr. Bryant then mentions the Apamean medal, and then goes on to the Indians. Here we find Buddà or Budó.* This is the same as Boutos of Egypt, Battus of Cyrene, and Boëthus of Greece ; and the account given of Typhon agrees with this personage, as regards the irruption from his mother's side. In China, the deity upon the waters in a lotus was a favourite emblem from the West. The insignia of the dragon was from the same quarter. The Cuthites worshipped *Cham the Sun*, hence every thing in that part of the world, splendid

* Mélanges Asiatiques, vol. i, c. 14. Asiatic Researches, vol. 10.

or magnificent, is compounded of that word.

Thus, this ingenious and learned man proves the universality of that tradition regarding the deluge ; but his hypothesis, that Noah was the founder of all religions, and that he is the being worshipped under the various names found among all the nations of antiquity, does not appear supported, either by probability, or by the evidence of history. On the contrary, the reader of ancient history, will, in all likelihood, reduce his conclusion, that the sun and the solar system were the objects of worship of the primeval ages, after the pure spirit of religion had become impaired.

It is not proved that N³ was ever the supreme deity, in either Chaldea, Phenicia, or Egypt, or Persia. The names,

attributes, and emblems of worship in all these countries, apply exclusively to the sun ; Belus, or Bel, Baal, Osiris, Dionusos, Di, or Dis, Phœbus, all are special names which indicate his heat, lustre, or magnificence.

Temples and towns were also named after him ; such as Babylon, Sais, Helio-polis, Diospolis, Ur, Shur, Theba or Phoibos, and many others.* Moses, who was bred up amongst the Egyptians, does not give any notion that Noah was the subject of all these appellations, nor does Herodotus make the least mention of it.†

It may, therefore, be allowed that the Deluge was a general tradition, which

* All these are epithets for light or lustre.

† Herodotus does not even mention the deluge.

the nations of the world adopted, and of which they preserved symbolic representations in their religious ceremonies. The analogy, however, which subsisted in the religious forms of worship, and in the very names of the divinities which composed the mythology of the old world, is very great, and is another proof of one common origin to all.*

* We find the sun worshipped universally, under the following denominations :—

In Assyria,	Bel.
Persia,	Bel or Belus.
India,	Vishnoo.
Phenicia,	Adon or Bâal.
Egypt,	Osiris.
Greeks,	Belos vel Ηλιος.
Latins,	Belus vel Sol.
Northern nations,	Sol.

The moon, as the female or softer light, was worshipped under the following attributes :—

In the creation of the world, the wars

Egypt,	Isis.
Phenicia,	Phtha.
Sicily,	Proserpine.
Crete,	Diana.
Rome,	Bellona.
Eleusis,	Ceres.
Cyprus,	Venus.
Phrygia,	Cybele.
Athens,	Minerva.
Ephesus,	Diana.

She was the sister to Apollo or Phœbus, the appellation of the sun, and thus we see the various forms of worship all springing, as it were, from one common stock or root, for these various names are but the characteristics of each nation, while in all they seem to have followed the adoration of the Indian religion, in worshipping the creative and creating powers of the universe.

Again, in Duallism the different nations have much agreed ; thus we find—

Among the Hindoos, Vishnoo. Seeva.

of the angels, the fall of Satan, and that of man, we perceive a faint outline among all the people. It has already been observed, how great a resemblance exists in all the accounts of those other olden traditions of the flood, and of the salvation of one man and woman in an ark or float ; the medal found at Apamea confirms this to a very great extent. That this medal related to Deucalion's, and not to Noah's flood, to Ovid's, and not Moses' narration, has been most ably and satisfactorily contended for by Mr. Barrington,* “ for,”

Phenicians,	Adon.	Saturn.
Egyptians,	Osiris.	Typhon.
Persians,	Ormuzd.	Ahraman.

and with their peculiarity Jehovah. Satan, among the Jewish tribes.

* Archælogia, vol. iv. French Acad. des Bl. Ls.

says he, "all is thus explained; the smallness of the vessel, the cap on the man's head, the veil on his wife, and the attitude of the upraised hands, all prove it to be Deucalion and Pyrrha."* But what then was ΝΩΕ? the dual of Εγω, which again, corresponds with Ovid's story. The deluge of Noah was, probably partial, for if universal, and covering the whole globe, why should Mount Ararat have appeared as the first dry land? by no means the highest point in the East.†

tome xxiii, p. 129. For a refutation of the analysis of Mr. Bryant, the reader is referred to Richardson's acute, and most diverting treatise, entitled "Answer to an Apology by J. Bryant," p. 450 to 454, &c. appended to his valuable and eloquent "Dissertation." Oxford, 1778.

* Ovidii, *Metamorph.*, lib. 1.

† The highest land in Asia would be found on the

That the Eleusinian mysteries much resembled, and were partly derived from Egyptian ceremonies seems also highly probable. Herodotus tells us that the Attic Ceres was Isis, and, if we consider some of the details of these Grecian mysteries, this opinion seems confirmed ; for we find, that at the conclusion of each festival, the high-priest pronounced the ineffable words, *Koyx, Om ; Par.*, which are almost pure Sanscrit, and are used to this day by the Brahmins, at the conclusion of the Indian ritual, being, in Sanscrit, thus, *Canschà*, signifying the object of our most ardent wishes ; *om* is the famous monosyllable used at the beginning and end of prayers, as *Amen*, and *Pachsa* means, viz : change, place, north of the rivers Indus and Ganges, and near the valley of Thibet.

fortune, and was used to denote silence.*

The western nations, and more especially the Greeks and Romans, took their religious customs and ceremonies, and many of their superstitions from the Egyptians, who were the depositaries of arts and sciences, as they were, later on, the purveyors of the elegancies and luxuries of civilized life, and however much the Romans may have despised and hated them,† nevertheless, they had copied their customs and manners, and, in many in-

* Essay on the Mysteries of the Eleusinian Ceres, by Ouvaroff, s. 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6. “Ommè signifie, en Arabe, le principe et l’origine de toutes les choses. Omni signifie Mère.” D’Herbelot, *Bibl. Orientale*, vol. ii, p. 649 and 650.

† Juvenal, *Sat.* xv.

stances, followed the worship of Egypt under a different name.

The inhabitants of Egypt were possessors of a small, but most fertile, country,* and their antiquity recedes before the search, till it is utterly lost in the darkness of unknown and unrecorded ages.

The earliest commencement of Egyptian story brings to view a nation well versed in astronomy, agriculture, and writing ; in the occupation of the most magnificent cities, and with a religion which was maintained in a style of splendour unknown in modern days. Its priesthood possessed the learning and the power of the land. From this bod

* Occasioned by the inundation of the Nile, which begins in the month of June, and lasts three months. *Antiquités de l'Egypte*, vol. i, p. 25.

the judges and high officers were selected, and their advice and decree governed alike the monarch and the people.

The temples of the deity were numerous throughout the kingdom ; at Sais, Heliopolis, and Thebes, the sculpture and riches of these places of worship were displayed in their greatest splendour ; at the first named city, was the temple with that celebrated inscription, which denoted the attributes of the deity, and which was alike consonant to truth and nature, “ I am that which was, and is, and ever shall be, and no one yet has lifted the veil which covers me.”

The tenets of all the old religions, the real worship of the cause of all existence, were here concealed under the mysteries and forms of public ritual and superstition, and

while the priests maintained among themselves the essence of their original precepts and belief, they shadowed it forth to the people under a hundred different guises, and keeping the key of language in their possession easily governed one of the most superstitious races that ever seem to have existed. The fertility of the soil in Egypt, and the ease with which all commodities grew to hand, rendered external commerce at first unnecessary to the inhabitant, while all maritime expeditions were repugnant to his religious feelings. Yet the earliest monarchs, of whose history nothing but fable is left us, and whose reigns are covered with a mist, now for ever impervious, such as Sesostris, Osiris, Menes, Busiris the supposed founder of Thebes,

and others are reported to have led the armies of their country to frequent enterprise, in which the valour of the Egyptian soldiers was rewarded with rich booty, and the ambition of the monarch by an extension of territory.

Psammitichus embellished the kingdom, and improved its agricultural knowledge, and his son Nechos gave orders for that celebrated voyage by the Phenician mariners, who circumnavigated Africa in three years.

Herodotus relates in great detail these circumstances, and the assertion of the deed seemed to have met with no opposition or doubt in his time. Since then learned dissertations* have been written

* Gibbon's Dissertation on the meridional line, &c. Misc. works, vol 5, p. 170.'

questioning the authenticity of this evidence of the skill and enterprise of the Tyrian mariner, as well as the voyages to Ophir and Tarshish, which the same nation executed by the orders of the King of the Hebrews, Solomon.*

* Dissertation on Ophir and Tarshish by Dr. Doig, 1 vol.

The Nechite expedition has been argued by Gibbon, and he gives it as his opinion, that they never did perform the circumnavigation of Africa; and says “ Since the modern discoveries of the Portuguese, we know the *possibility* and suppose the *reality* of an ancient circumnavigation,” &c., and disregarding the minute and exact details of Herodotus, or rather attributing them to the superior skill and science and fore-thought of the Egyptian priests, “ that a lucky guess might have usurped the honours of actual discovery.(a) The honour in the other tradition has been disputed by Mr. Bruce in his disserta-

(a) Gibbon ut sup. p. 183.

But, whatever was his success in this
 tion, and with some probability ; but Dr. Doig (*a*)
 places Tarshish on the *coast of Spain*, and Ophir on
 the *western coast of Africa*, and he argues nearly thus :
 It is well known that Moses gave to each country the
 name of the original settler in it, and which was
 afterwards continued. Thus Havilah was Mesopota-
 mia, and Tarshish was the son of Havilah, probably
 Tarshish settled somewhere near Havalah, say in
 Cilicia, hence Tarsus (*b*). Now Tarshish's descen-
 dants were known to have gone far *westward*, (*c*)
 they had always been esteemed navigators, and had
 been much mixed up with the Tyrians and Phenicians.
 They, the descendants, may be supposed to have peo-
 pled Spain. The commodities mentioned as imported
 from Tarshish, may prove it to have been placed in
 this country, namely, silver, iron, and tin (*d*).

(*a*) Doig's Dissertation.

(*b*) Vide Psalms 48. S. 7. 72. S. 10.

(*c*) Isaiah 22 C. Ezekiel 27 C. S. 12. and Genesis
 C. II. S. 26.

(*d*) Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, Polybius, Plinii, Hist.
 Nat. and Jeremiah.

case, Nechos was less fortunate in the

Moreover, by looking at the ancient division of Spain, we obtain another argument in favour of this supposition. Bœtis, Lusitania, and Tarraconensis, were the three divisions. Bœtis is the modern Andalusia, and stretched from the fretum Herculis to the Guadalquiver. The river Bœtis divides this district, and was called Tartessus, probably from Tarshish, thence Tarseshos and Tartessos; thus Dr. Doig supposes that the ships went up from the Syrian coast to Spain, through the straits to Tarshish, and hence, south-west, to Ophir; and here he draws a conclusion, or rather makes an assertion, of a most extraordinary nature, that afterwards they doubled the Cape, and came up the Arabian into the Elanitic gulph, *thus circumnavigating Africa!*

To prove this, he observes that Solomon's sailors were Phenicians, and that the voyage took three years; that 200 years afterwards the Phenicians undertook to circumnavigate Africa, and did so, taking, also, three years, as narrated by Herodotus.

Now, it is to be remarked, that Herodotus relates

result of a more splendid and more difficult undertaking, that of the great canal, by which he intended to have joined the Nile to the Arabian sea, and where the failure of his project was accompanied by the loss of 120,000 of his subjects, who were employed at its construction.

this as a wondrous, and almost, to him,^(a) incredible fact; and that, had it been so constantly and ably performed as Dr. Doig supposes, the Greek historian would not have mentioned it in the manner which he has done, but stated it as a thing which had been done before, and have possibly stated the time and occasions; for if the Phenicians had done it so often under Solomon, there was nothing very extraordinary in what the Nechite Phenicians are said to have performed.

(a) Particularly, that where the Phenicians declared they perceived the sun on their right hand, which is, however, one of the strongest proofs of their voyage.

This monarch conquered Jerusalem, and assigned its sceptre to Joachim, exacting from him an annual tribute. In the decline of his life, fortune abandoned him, and the King of Babylon deprived him of this, as well as of many others of his conquests. In the 600th year before Christ he died, and was succeeded by his son Psammis.

120 years from this time, the Persian King Cambyses overthrew the Egyptian monarchy by a single battle, and established the Persian government throughout the kingdom. His people remained possessors of Egypt till the all-conquering arms of Alexander the Great overthrew the monarchy of Persia, and subjected Egypt to his dominion. By his command the city of Alexandria was founded ; destined

to be the emporium of commerce, and the seat of learning and arts for many centuries.

The race of the Ptolomies succeeded to the government of Egypt, and, under Lagus, or Soter, the first of that race, many useful and splendid works were undertaken and accomplished. The town of Alexandria was beautified, and enriched with vast numbers of specimens of arts and luxury. At the entrance of the harbour he constructed a tower of white marble, on which were lighted nightly fires to indicate to the sailor his position and danger. In the famous library of Alexandria he collected, at vast expense, 400,000 volumes, and, in another range of apartments, he collected 300,000 volumes. The first of these splendid

collections perished by accident, and the second, on or before the taking of the city by Amrou.* In the reign of this king, the whole prosperity of Egypt was revived, and the people restored to self-respect, union, and dignity, enjoyed once more the blessings of peace and liberty. Agriculture was improved, commerce augmented, enterprise, in every branch of art and industry, was encouraged, and Ptolomy Soter left to his son Philadelphus, one of the most opulent, industrious, and flourishing kingdoms in existence.

Ptolomy Philadelphus followed in the footsteps of his father, and cultivated peace with his neighbours, and the arts

* General of Omar Ben Alchitaf, Caliph of Medina. This event is *said* to have happened, A. D. 641—2.

and luxuries of peace in his own kingdom. He sent presents to Jerusalem, and obtained, in return, a copy of the Books of Moses. The Septuagint version was the result of this acquisition. Manethon, Theocritus, Hipparchus, and others, men at that time of great literary fame, were visitors, and honoured visitors, at his court, and Philadelphus possessed the happy art of keeping on the best terms with the Roman republic, without sacrificing his dignity or proper station.

The dynasty of the Ptolomies lasted till the fall of the Roman republic, but the power of its monarchs had long been weakened by their own vices and misfortunes, and the pride and power of the people was gradually and surely decaying. The vices, and the pomp of the last

queen of Egypt, Cleopatra, equally the last of her renowned race, placed the Egyptians in the hands of Augustus Cæsar, and, at her death, ended the last of the dynasty of the Ptolomies, and the nominal independence, even, of Egypt. From that period it became a Roman province, and continued subject to the Emperors of Constantinople, for centuries.

In the year Anno Dom. 642, the Arab chieftain seized the kingdom of Egypt and the city of Alexandria, in the name, and by the authority of Omar, the Caliph of the Prophet. In 200 years afterwards, it was made the theatre of various tumults and rebellions, caused by the different governors or Emirs sent from Bagdad. In an after time, it owned the

superb Saladin as Vizier ; and, in the 13th century, the race of the Mameluke Sultans held the reins of government in Alexandria. In 1517, the Sultan of Constantinople took possession of Egypt, and it has, ever since, acknowledged the commander of the Turks as its sovereign.

In all times, and under every government, it has excited attention and care, and has been the depository of the most curious relics of ancient ages. It was, for centuries, the storehouse of nations, the mart of a gigantic commerce, and the residence of a learned, luxurious, and opulent people.

Its religious superstitions, and its political constitution were firmly established before any known era is recorded by his-

tory ; and its pretensions to be ranked among the very earliest settlements of a polished tribe, and of an augmenting civilization, appear to be borne out by proofs of unquestioned veracity.

CHAPTER V.

THE HEBREWS.

Probable origin of the Hebrews unknown—Their wanderings under Moses—His great influence—His views ably supported by Joshua—Successes of the Hebrews in Palestine—Building of Jerusalem—Death of Saul—Accession of David—Remarks on the concluding history.

“ In the reign of Timæus, king of the Egyptians, it came to pass that the vengeance of heaven took effect upon this people. For a mighty crowd, called

Hicksi or shepherd kings, came from the east, and they waged war, and overthrew the Egyptians, and their cruelty was very great. They burnt the cities, and overthrew the temples of the living God ; they put the men to the sword, and carried away into captivity the women and children. For two hundred and fifty-nine years did they rule Egypt. And after that time, it came to pass, that Thethmosis, the king of upper Egypt,* came down with a great army to deliver the people, and he fought the shepherd kings, and overthrew their power and compelled them to flee ; and they journied across the desert, to Syria ; and because they were afraid of the Assy-

* The kingdom of Ethiopians who were descended from the Cushites or Cuthites. See Bryant's mythology. Josephus' Ant. Jud. Lib. i.

rians, they entered the land of Judea, and there they built the temple of their God, and the city of Jerusalem. And their number was two hundred and twenty-four thousand men, women, and children.”*

The uncertain and confused traditions which help the present age darkly to imagine the chronology, position, and histories of the great nations of the east, leave it no means whereby any proof can be brought forward, to show the probable origin of minor tribes, who sprung, as it were, from secondary causes, and took their rise from a re-emigration.

Few, indeed, of these lesser tribes are of any importance, but that of the Hebrew, or as they were called in later times, Ju-

* Extract from Manethon, quoted in Euseb. Prep. Evangel.

deans, from that land where they finally settled, demands our attention, on account of the celebrity which this people have enjoyed, owing to their singular belief, laws, and government, and more than all, to the circumstance of the country having given birth to the founder of Christianity—a system which has changed the manners, customs and laws of half of the globe.

Over the vast deserts which separate Egypt from the coast of Persia, numerous savage tribes wandered from spot to spot, and the life of the Bedouin Arab at this day, presents a faithful continuation of that of his remote ancestry, the descendants of Hebur and the Pastor kings. Of these, the tribe of the Jews seem early to have visited and harassed the civilised

and luxurious Egyptians, till as it would appear (by the extract already cited in this chapter,) by a vast effort and by foreign assistance from the Ethiops, they succeeded in driving the Hebrews out of the kingdom, and thus delivered themselves from their marauding dispositions. From the testimony of their own records, we find this people led on by skilful and brave warriors and chiefs of the names of Moses, Aaron, and Joshua, and at last discover them settled in the inland tract extending from Damascus to Idumea, north and south, and from the kingdom of Edom to Phenicia, east and west ; and to which country have been given the names of Judea and Palestine. The Jews, like their ancestors, and in common with all the other nations of the

east, professed the omnipotence and unity of God ; but long slavery and corrupted ignorance, had entirely banished this tenet from among them ; and at the period when they fled before the armies of the Egyptian king, into the wide deserts of their original settlements, they appear to have been the most ardent followers of idolatrous worship, of whom history has left us a record.* It seems to have been the project of their celebrated chieftain Moses, to lead them to some spot, where they might become a settled, and, perhaps, a mighty people ; and over whom he and his descendants might rule. For this purpose he chose the land of

* See the various instances cited in Exodus, and the after books of the old Testament and Josephus, Lib. 3 and 4.

Palestine, where the Arabian desert terminates, at the north, for their future habitation, and he excited their ardour, and inflamed their courage by every means, both human and divine. By laying before them the creation of the world, the beautiful and truly oriental allegory of their first parents, and of the fall of man, he engaged their serious attention, and while he unfolded to them the cause of that fall, and the loss of the golden age on earth, his audience might have sighed to think, no human efforts could restore it.* But Moses proceeded

* It seems every tribe, when migrating from the original seat, were supposed to proceed whither God led them. Vide Josephus Antiq. Jud. Lib. 1, c. v. See also, the amusing allegory on the creation. d'Herbelot, Bibl. Or. Art. Adam. Adama is in Arabian and

to develope the grand scheme he had in view ; he told them that he was the chosen leader, and themselves the elect people of the one God ; that to them had been adjudged, above all the people of the earth, the preference by that God, of confiding to them the sacred charge of preserving his religion, that they were taken under his special protection, and that the land, he (Moses) pointed out, was the land assigned them by his decree. There they were to rest from trials and risks, from poverty and labour, and to enjoy in peace, the riches of a land “ flowing with milk and honey.” The

other Eastern tongues *Agricolis*, Vide *Silv. de Sacy. Dict. Arab. Schulten's Treatise*. For the origin of the Hebrews from Heber. See *Josephus, Antiq. Lib. 1, c. vi, S. 5.*

Jews believed the words of their leader, and for years fought their way through dangers and privations, till at his death, a more warlike and a more fortunate general, Joshua, led them from the desert where they had so long lingered, and where they had time to form their laws and religion, to the conquest of the petty tribes, which it was necessary to overcome before the promised land could be obtained. Several desperate struggles took place in which the Hebrews generally came off victorious ; and as Joshua was in their eyes invested with miraculous power and under the divine protection, and as he was doubtless of great personal courage, he was able in victory to carry all advantages to the utmost, and in defeat, to reanimate the spirit and to rally the firmness of the Jewish soldier,

to those efforts which were necessary to achieve the grand object. This, added to several terrible examples, among which the most striking was the destruction of Jericho, where every human being of that town was slaughtered, of every age and of either sex, with the bright exception of a public courtesan, brought terror and defeat to many of the small tribes. These fled before Joshua,* to join, perhaps, in the deserts, the original stock, perhaps to add themselves to some growing settlement, such as the Ishmaelites, who were beginning to dwell and civilize in the

* According to a monument or monuments in Africa and Syria, with these words engraved, "We flee before the face of Josuah the Robber, the son of Nun." Procopius de Bell. Goth.

western and southern extremities of the great desert. The Jews successively fought and conquered the Philistines, the Amalakites and the Ammonites, and finally possessed themselves of the land of Judea and the city of Salem, where they established the residence of their priesthood, and the capital of their kingdom. By this time, the death of their first king, Saul, had occurred, and the celebrated David, the great grandson of Booz and Ruth, had ascended the throne of Jerusalem.*

This was about one thousand years

* The manners of the Orientals of this period must have been extraordinary. The *modesty* of Ruth and the *surprise* of Booz are concisely described in Segur, Hist. Anc. Vol. iii, p. 260.

before the birth of Christ, but owing to that great event, the Hebrew history, (unlike all others) has assumed a peculiar character, and has fixed the deep attention of succeeding ages, and thus ceases to be ancient long before the modern period. The historian who pursues it to the end will have to narrate much that is sublime, and much that is worthy of notice among this people, and he will detail how, at least, the illustrious founder of Christianity died a victim to the power of a long established Theocracy, a martyr to the base corruption and utter degeneracy of the country in which he lived. But his religion took a firm root, and Jerusalem, the hated and despised city sunk beneath the Roman arms ;* its

* Josephus, Wars, Book 6, c. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10, and Book 7, c. 1.

streets were watered with blood, its ashes were given to the winds, its inhabitants dispersed for ever ; while the Jewish nation is chiefly remembered for the virtues and the fate of Jesus, and for the sublimity of the Christian Doctrine.

THE ARABS IN SPAIN.

CHAPTER I.

Arabia—Its Geographical Position—The Origin of the Arabs—Early Language and Religion—The Koreishites—They visit Alexandria—Rise of Civilisation among the Arabs—Poems recited at Ocadh.

IN that great district or division which extends from Chaldea to the Indian Ocean, and from the mountainous coasts of the Red Sea to the Persian Gulf,* were found,

* From the Euphrates to Babelmandel is about 1400 miles, and from the city of Bussorah on the Persian Gulf to Suez on the Arabian Sea, comprises a distance of 1200 miles.—*D'Anville, Géograph. Antiq.* According to Volney, this country was called, in

and still reside the nation of the Arabians.† The early origin of this people is unknown, but conjecture and probability combine to place them coeval with the most ancient nations of whom time

very early times, Arabàh, from that eastern word, signifying west, traffic, mixtures.—*Voyages de Volney*.

† Who deduce their name from Yarib, the son of Yektan or Yooktan, the grandson or direct descendant of Noah.—*D'Anville, Géog. Antiq.* p. 115. *Kimschè, Orient. Hist. Bibliothèque du Roi, K.*

Shem, or Theni, or Sem, the third son of Noah, had five sons, who inhabited the country which began at Euphrates, and extended to the Indian Ocean. Heber, one of these sons, begat Yoktan, who had many sons, and these inhabited from Cophen, (*Cophenes, vid. Arrian Expedit.*), an Indian river, and in part of *Aria* adjoining it.—*Josephus, Antiq. Jud.* lib. i, c. 6.

or history have left any records.* The ancient geographers divided Arabia into three parts, to which they gave the names of Petræa, Deserta, and Felix.† The first extended from the confines of Idumea to

* The language of Arabia was the same with the Chaldaic and Hebrew tribes, and these were presumed the oldest in the world.—*Vide Sir W. Jones's Dissertations on the Arabs, and Plin. Hist. Nat.* who says : “ Assyrian letters had always existed : some give this invention to the Mercury Trismigistus of the Egyptians, some to the Syrians.” Indeed, this author infers that writing was always known, for in lib. vii, he says, speaking of the Assyrians : “ exquo apparet æternus literarium usus.” c. 56.—*Vide also Niebuhr's Travels and Richardson's Learned Dissertations.*

† Ptolemy, Strabo, Edrissi. This last composed his work on geography in 1153, A.D., for the explanation of a silver globe, made by the order of Roger, one of the Norman kings of Sicily and Naples.—*Vide d'Herbelot*, vol. i. p. 625, 4to. *Antiq. de Calabre*, vol. i, p. 118. *D'Anville Géogr. Antiq.* vol. i.

the rocky deserts on the northern extremity of the Arabian sea, and its western borders were the outposts of the Lower Egypt. The second is a vast desert stretching eastward, over whose arid tract, no water is found to allay the thirst of the traveller, nor shade to afford him protection from the scorching rays of a cloudless sun. The very air spreads a suffocating vapour, and nature is exhibited in her most dead and dreaded form. The Persian Gulf terminates the misery of the pilgrim and the boundary of this dreary waste. But in Arabia Felix or Yemen which skirts the shores of the Indian Ocean, near the straits of Babelmandel, and in the Highlands that overlook that sea, the presence of woods and streams allows the race of man to dwell, the air is freshened by the vast

currents that blow from all points ; fruits, aromatics, corn, and the means of life are found in abundance, while the fertility of the soil and beauty of the climate have invited the industry of the husbandman and the speculation of the enterprising mariner.*

Defended on the east and south by an expanse of unknown waters, and by the great Desert ; on the west by the Egyptians, to whom they were for a long

* From Macoraba or Mecca comes that celebrated balsam, called the gum of the Amyris opobalsamum, so excessively rare, that the sultan receives only 5lbs. weight of it per annum. This shrub is no longer found or known in Palestine. The most part of the balsam sold as Baume de la Mecque is spurious.—See a note in *d'Anville, Géogr.* vol. 1, p. 121. *Art. Macoraba, and the 12th Book Plin. Nat. Hist.* which is entirely filled with the aromatics, oils and perfumes of the land of frankincense.

period an abhorrence ; and by the sands and rocky mountains from the incursions of their northern neighbours,* the Arabians lived an isolated and uncivilised people for upwards of two thousand

* Demetrius Poliorcetes besieged the town of Krac or Petra, in the Stony Araby, and after many vain efforts to take possession of this fortress, was dissuaded from further attempts, and recalled to a sense of their futility by the following speech of an Arab chief :
“ Prince ! what is it you can desire ? what motive can have led you to wage war in the desert, where grow neither corn nor wine ? The love of liberty alone induces us to inhabit these barren plains. Our ideas and sentiments you will never change, and the want of the means of subsistence must shortly force you to retire. Accept, then, our presents, and persuade your father to enrol us on the list of his friends.” Demetrius abandoned the enterprize.—*D’Anville, Géogr.* vol i, p. 114. *Diodorus Siculus*, vol. ii, lib. 19.

years, during which long period, the surrounding nations of the east had experienced great vicissitudes, and had far progressed in language, sciences and laws. The ancient language of Arabia has not been preserved, but it probably differed but little, if at all, from that central idiom which distinguished the Chaldean, the Phenician, and the Hebrew tribes.*

In the western part of Arabia was stationed the tribe of Koreish, which was

* It appears that the art of writing was introduced into Arabia by the line of Hamyarite or Homerite princes, who ruled in the western division, and over the Koreishites, and that this was coeval, or very little prior to Mohammed's birth. Respecting the idioms and language of the Arabs, see Sir W. Jones's *Dissertations on the Arabs*. Dr. Hunt, *de Orat. Arab.* Pocock, *Specimen Arabum*. Shulter's *Essay on Languages*. Golius, *de la Langue de l'Orient*,

from earliest times the richest and most civilised sect. Its territories lay on the borders of the Red Sea and the town of Mecca, and its Caaba were under its special protection.* The religion of the Arabians was Sabaism,† and the worship of the powers of nature, and this religion remained for centuries till the contending fury of the Christian and Jewish converts peopled the cities of the desert with devotees, fanatics and philosophers, who introduced new creeds; and proposed new modes of worship to the consideration of the Ishmaelites. At the birth of Mohammed, the *learned* Arabs had par-

traduit en français, in the Bib. du Roi, Catal. “Goliath,” and Richardson’s Dissertations.

* Hyde de Rel. Vet. Pers.

† Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, vol. iii. D’Herbelot,

tially renounced the practice, and privately discarded the faith of idolaters. The Bible of the Hebrews, and the Testament of the Christian had already been translated into their native tongue, and in the story of the Hebrew patriarchs, the Arabs were pleased to discover the fathers of their common race.* They applauded the birth and promises of Ismael, revered the faith and virtue of Abraham, traced his pedigree, and their own to the creation of the first man, and imbibed with equal credulity the prodigies of the holy text, and the dreams and traditions of the Jewish Rabbin.

When their name became less hated

* Gibbon, c. 50, where is a most elegant and concise history of the early Arabs.

by the Egyptian people, the love of commerce and a laudable curiosity induced the Koreishites to visit Alexandria, at that period the brilliant receptacle of learning and the arts.* There the rude sons of the desert partook of the tree of knowledge, and returned home to refine their manners, to celebrate Olympic games at Mecca, to introduce festivals of poetry, music and philosophy, and to institute the great fair or national assembly of Ocadh, where, while the commodities of existence were bartered, the

* Under the Ptolomies, who ruled Egypt from about 360 before, to about the Christian era. The Arabs, however, had always continued, from the earliest times, a commerce with India, and the tribe who conducted all this traffic, was the Koreishites.

luxuries and elegancies of civilized life were introduced and matured.*

In the lapse of one thousand years from that time, after receiving a new religion, and gaining a pure, rich, and expressive language, they quitted the deserts of their native land to overthrow the sovereignties of the Eastern world, to spread their political and religious creeds over half the globe, and to harass, deride, and ultimately destroy the slow decaying power of the Roman Empire.

* The prize poems were suspended in the Temple of the Caaba, at Mecca ; and Europeans, through the labours of Sir W. Jones, have been enabled to judge of the merits of these productions.—*Vide Jones's Poems—Seven Golden Poems*, vol. i. Ocadh was for years the place at which this great assembly was held. The poems were called Mòállábàt.—*D'Herbelot*, vol i, p. 310.

CHAPTER II.

Birth, Parentage, and early life of Mohammed—
Declares his mission—The Koreish persecute him
and his proselytes—Determine his death—Moham-
med flies to Medina—His success—Acquires a
small army—His first expedition—Battle of Beda—
Battle of Ohud—Siege of Medina—Defeat of the
Koreish—Ali, Amrou, Kaled and Omar embrace
Islamism—The attack on Mecca contemplated—
That city yielded up to Mohammed by the Koreish
—The conquest of Arabia—The invasion of Syria
against the Romans—The death of Mohammed.

ABOUT the year 659 of the christian

era, the birth of Mohammed took place at Mecca. The genius, the policy, the tact, and the enthusiasm of one extraordinary mind, changed the destiny of the Arab nation, and the fate of half the globe.

It were vain to discuss, since it is impossible to discover, the true foundation of his apostolic mission. The historians of Christendom have naturally derided all his pretensions, and have treated him as the vilest and most subtle impostor. They have compared his tenets and his practice with those of Jesus, and have drawn, it must be allowed, most striking and forcible contrasts from the parallel. Yet some have attempted with more zeal than accuracy, to decry his origin and birth,* and have in many instances, partly

* Hothinger, *Historia Oriental*. Sherlock's disc.
Vol. iii.

from ignorance, and partly from prejudice, attributed wrong notions, and ascribed imaginary actions to the prophet of the east.

The race whence Mohammed sprung, was the noblest, richest, and most civilized of Arabia. His grand-father was Abdal Mothleb or Motalleb, the son of Hashem, and of the Koreish tribe ; the princes of Arabia, the judges and priests of Mecca, and the hereditary guardians of the temple. Mothalleb was a keen and sagacious warrior,* who appears to have enjoyed, during a long life, the honours of his native tribe, and the affections of his fellow-citizens. He had six daughters and thirteen sons, and from the marriage of his son Abdallah, with the beautiful Amina, the birth of Mohammed took

place. While young, he lost both his parents, but his grandfather and his uncles were both able and willing to protect him: and one in particular, Abou Thaleb,* was the guardian and benefactor of his youth. In early life, Mohammed entered the service of Kadijah, a noble lady of Mecca, and before many years had elapsed, the charms of his mind and person had won her affections, and she became his bride. By her wealth, he rose again to his proper station in society, and occupied his time till the mature age of forty, in the cares and duties of domestic life. In the journies which he

* It is a question whether his uncle Abou Bekr, his constant companion in misfortune and prosperity was not always the favourite of his nephew. (Ockley, Hist. Saracen.)

performed in pursuit of mercantile gain, he of necessity, associated with the world, and a mind so acute, a genius so distinguished, may have soon imbibed extended ideas, and conceived gigantic projects. From his youngest days he was addicted to religious contemplation, and in the caves near Mecca, he was accustomed to retire, and may have, perhaps, then first imagined in the spirit of a great, and with the enthusiasm of an ardent mind, the idea of preaching a new religion, and of proclaiming himself its prophet.

The fundamental principles which Mohammed inculcated, was the one great truth—the Unity of God; and it was probably from a consideration of the then state of the various sects, that he may have been partly induced to promulgate it

The Jews, the Christians, the Sabians, the Magi, and the Pagans were all at that time visitors or inhabitants of Arabia. The Jews had proclaimed their former state in their history and their present expectations; but their religion had fallen into much obscurity, and many of its learned professors disagreed regarding its doctrines. The Christians had lost the spirit of the gospel, in the fierce disputes and mummeries of their churches. The Sabians were becoming converts to a better light, and the Magi and Pagans were Idolaters. Among these jarring and disconnected elements Mohammed determined to announce the great original truth; that God is one alone; and in order, the surer to make converts, he was necessarily obliged to add that Moham-

med was his prophet. Amidst the eloquence, the visions, the pageantry, and the miracles which the Alcoran sets forth, this tenet was never once suffered to be concealed, or in any way attempted to be perverted. The doctrine of the prophet was pure and simple, the ceremonies and forms he prescribed were, though trivial, necessary ; and were admirably adapted to his own nation, and to his future hopes. He honoured, or professed to honour, the lives, the missions, and the names of Abraham, Moses, and Jesus. Each of these prophets was greater than the other, according to their succession, and he, Mohammed, as the last, was the greatest of all. By these means, if he did not bring converts to his faith, he at least conciliated the Jews and Christians, and

avoided making, in the very beginning of his arduous enterprize, unnecessary enemies. As he denied all divinity to any preceding prophet, so at the same time he humbly professed, that himself was but the destined vessel of God, to receive and to transmit his commands unto the world. The religion of Mohammed was soon adorned and disguised with the mysteries, the fables and the splendour of the east, and which, as in all religions, have been essential to attract and amuse the vulgar, and to confirm the wavering. But the learned professors of that faith may candidly avow their utter disbelief in the miracles, while they sincerely defend the moral essence of their prophet's creed, since miracles were needless either to assert or confirm the religion of nature, and a truth so simple, and so sublime

sought no further assistance than the liberty of promulgation, to be received by the mind, and to be engraven on the hearts of men.*

By slow and painful degrees Moham-med converted a few proselytes of his own family, and at a banquet given in Mecca, for the express purpose of declaring to them his great mission, he only gained the enthusiastic devotion of his cousin Ali, who from that hour to the last moment of the prophet's life, ever

* It does not appear, that the faith of the learned Mussulmans is so general, as that of the common people, and the remarkable journey of the prophet, is mystified by the timid, though denied by the bold, into the mere dream of an over-excited intellect. Vide Specimen Hist. Arab. p. 19. Sale's notes to Koran, C. 17, p. 216. note, 7.

continued his generous friend and firm ally. The remainder of his guests appeared astonished at the audacity of this new Messiah, and the father of Ali tried in vain to dissuade him from his projects; his enterprising and enthusiastic nephew replied, "Not if they should place the sun on my right, and the moon on my left, should they turn me from my course." Still the new faith received but few converts, and those only within the walls of Mecca. But ten years had not elapsed before the uncles of Mohammed, and the brave and severe Omar had left the ranks of the idolaters to embrace Islamism. The people or rather the priests of Mecca, were the most implacable enemies of the new faith. The long pre-eminence of the Koreishites was insulted by a new rival, and the cry that Mohammed had deserted,

and meant to destroy the established religion was loudly repeated. Supported, however, by most of his family, the undaunted prophet pursued his course, and the Koreishites offended beyond measure, proceeded, by a public decree, to forbid all intercourse with him or with the Hashemites, and ordered all men to persecute, or else deliver up Mohammed and his followers as victims to the insulted majesty of the Arabian Gods. Thus the new proselytes were obliged to flee their native country and become exiles. The death of Abou Thaleb, at this time, was a great affliction to Mohammed, joined to the loss he had also incurred in that of his beloved wife, and first disciple Kadijah. Abou Sophia* an implacable foe of

* One of the first characters of the Ommiades, who

the new religion and of the Hashemites, succeeded to the presidency of Mecca ; and the *death* of Mohammed was resolved on. Deprived of his friends, and given up to the power of his enemies, the prophet withdrew secretly, and at night, from the impending danger, and with his uncle Abou Bekr was concealed for three days in those caves near Mecca, where it is said, he had first contemplated the grand project of his after life. In a little time, the fugitives were enabled to resume the road to Medina, near which city they arrived safely, after having, as it were by miracle, escaped out of the hands of the Koreish soldiers. After some prelimina-

figure in history. D'Herbelot, Art. Abou Sophia and Ockley, Vol. i.

ries, the people of Medina seemed inclined to receive the new faith and its founder with respect ; and the treaty by which they were each bound to the other, was characteristic of the mind of Mohammed, and of the ardent enthusiasm of the Arabs. After promising to make him their general and prince, and swearing to him fealty and obedience, they demanded of him, whether, should he be ever recalled to Mecca, he would abandon them? “Everything,” replied Mohammed, “that is mine is now yours, all things shall be in common between us ; I am, and ever will be the friend of your friends, and the foe of your foes.”—“But,” said the Medinites, “what shall be our reward, if we are struck down while fighting for thee?” And the prophet answered, “The joys of

paradise.”* The treaty was ratified, the people were content, and in sixteen days from his flight from Mecca, he entered Medina, and was proclaimed the priest and the prince of that city. In six years after that time, the army of the prophet was in the field, and numbered from 1500 to 2000 fighting men.

Up to this moment, the son of Abdallah had been the peaceful and persuading missionary of a simple and tolerant faith. While thus quietly executing the commands of God, he had been subjected to insult, oppression and cruelty from his own countrymen, and had been forced to fly his native land, in order to preserve

* Gagnier, *Vie de Mahomet*. D’Herbelot, p. 446, Vol. ii. Ockley’s *Saracens*, Vol. i., see also *Discourse prefixed to the Alcoran* by Sale.

his life. But he had, at last, by slow steps, considerably altered his position. A small army of proselytes led on by their natural bravery, and the invincible spirit of religious fanaticism, was under his guidance. The people of Medina had invested him with the authority and attributes of a prince, and he assumed a pretension, in his future declarations, to command that belief in his faith and mission by fear or force, which up to that period he had been contented to solicit from the impulses of reason and common sense. A large assortment of merchandize destined for the Syrian markets, and which proceeded from Mecca under the conduct of the Koreish chief, Abou Sophia, first attracted the attention of Mohammed and his followers. Three hundred and fifty of these assembled in the

valley of Bedr, to wait the coming caravans; but the approach of nearly one thousand of the Koreish soldiers induced Mohammed to abandon the chances of pillage for those of victory. In the encounter, the Mussulmans were sorely distressed, till their leader assuming a miraculous power, mounted his horse and casting a handful of sand against the enemy, exclaimed, "Let their faces be covered with confusion."* The Koreishites fled from this pretended miracle, and while victory secured the safety of the prophet, a rich booty confirmed

* See for a detail of this miracle and the exact mode in which a handful of sand was made to operate on so vast a surface, d'Herbelot, *Bib. or Art. Mohammed* and Gagnier, *Vie de Mohamet*, Vol. i, where it is fully and tediously set forth.

the faith of his followers. The Koreishites resented the loss they had suffered, and soon reappeared at the head of a powerful force, of three thousand men, while the Islamites scarcely numbered one thousand. This second battle was fought on Mount Ohad ; at first, success seemed to favour the Mussulmans, but the love of plunder tempted them to a too precipitate pursuit ; the retreating enemy rallied, the person of the prophet received a severe contusion, and several martyrs to the holy cause fell dead on the field of battle. The pride of Mohammed was severely hurt, the success of his new religion considerably endangered. But in the following year, when the city of Medina was invaded by the armies of the Koreishites, the prudence of Mohammed, the courage of his faithful Ali, and the

tempests of heaven all conspired to defeat them, and they retired in utter despair of either conquering the prophet, or of stifling the divine voice. In about four years afterwards, the great generals Amrou and Kaled embraced the new creed ; ten thousand men were ready for the conquest of Mecca, and the Koreishites, overcome by surprise and the conviction of superior force, opened the gates of their city, acknowledged the power of Mohammed, and were *convinced*, at last, that he was the apostle he declared himself. The possession of Mecca was the stepping stone to the conquest of Arabia. Once more the Koreish tribe, and four thousand Pagans defied the truth and power of Mohammed, and on the field of Honyan were again defeated by the troops of Medina, Mecca and the desert, while the

politic and sagacious victor pardoned his enemies and showered rich presents on their commander, Abou Sophia. From this date, the Arabians may be styled Mussulmans. The Jews, in the commencement of the Mohammedan creed had been favoured by the prophet, their religion coincided with his views, and they both acknowledged that omnipotence could alone belong to unity ; the Kebra, or point of attraction in prayer, had been fixed at Jerusalem ; but the obstinacy of this unhappy people had refused to hear his declarations, or believe his mission, and had opposed his progress and his creed by every means in their power. They were now destined to attract the attention and severity of the conqueror ; many were slaughtered, and others removed to distant provinces, or exiled.

In the conquest of his christian subjects he granted them the freedom of commerce, and toleration of their religious faith ; for the followers of Jesus had never attempted to thwart his power ; they were, moreover, the enemies of the Hebrew tribes, and both or either of these causes operated on the mind of the politic Mohammed to secure them his favour and protection.

The Roman power was insulted by the standard of the Arab, but a long march and a vain display were all the results which accrued to the arms of the prophet.

In the year 632 A. D., the apostle of God was destined to close his earthly labours. In the bosom of his family and in the arms of his youthful wife, he quietly expired,* bearing to the last the

* Abulfeda and Gagnier give this version, but d'Herbelot says he was poisoned.

dignified air of his assumed station, his enthusiastic ardour, and his wonted courage. The Syrian expedition was deferred, and the loud clamours of grief filled the whole of the city. The people refused to credit his death, until Abou Bekr appeased the tumult, and

He was particularly domestic, kind and sincere to his family and friends. When Kadjah died, his regret was long and profound. "What," said Ben Zeid, "do I see?" "You see," said the prophet of Arabia, "a friend who mourns the death of his most true companion;" and when the blooming Aischa asked with surprise, and, perhaps, jealousy, "What! was not Kadjah aged?" The answer of Mohammed was as splendid as it is immortal, "No," cried he, "no; find me a better or a worthier woman; when I was despised, she trusted me; when I was poor and persecuted, she relieved me, and she was among the first who was numbered in my cause."—Abulfeda, *Vie de Mohammed*, par J. A. Savary.

convinced their reason of the fact. He attested the immortal nature of God, and the perishable frame of his prophet.

The soldier and the citizen retired in respectful sorrow, and Arabia mourned her prophet and her chief, in the silence of despair.

CHAPTER III.

The character of Mohammed — The influence of his religion.—The reigns of the four succeeding Caliphs—Abou Bekr—Omar Ben Al Khetab—Othman Ben Affan—And Ali.

THE motives and the actions of Mohammed are viewed by the sectarian of Christianity in the black colours of an impious though successful imposture ;*

* Above all, see *Life of Mohammed*, by Prideaux ; indeed the Dean of Norwich has written rather a tirade against, than a life of Mohammed.

by the votaries of Islamism as the emanations of divine power, and the dictates of the divine will. The philosopher may possibly pass them by as unworthy of *his* serious consideration, while the historian may be allowed to exercise the most impartial judgment that his faculties will permit ; and the review of contending opinions, mellowed by time and circumstance, may enable him to deliver.

It is to be observed that a degree of *sincerity* appears to attach to the character of the Arabian prophet, since, though endowed with high rank, a captivating person, and an amiable disposition, he could have claimed and might have enjoyed great consideration among his countrymen ; yet, after gaining the social advantages of his position by mar-

riage, he abandoned, in order to promulgate his great tenet, an easy and honourable life, to encounter the persecutions, the perils, and perhaps death, to which all innovators on the established religion of a state have been ever exposed, and more especially when attempted among an ignorant and superstitious people.

The grandson of Mothalleb disdained the idolatry of the pagans, and was dissatisfied with the perishable nature of the Sabian gods ;* and he might, perhaps, have had some fears of the perfection of a religion which, in five hundred years

* First, he might feel disposed to worship the sun, but though awed by his exceeding splendour, still his decline and disappearance convinced the Prophet “ that he neither could be his Creator, his Lord, or his God.”—*D’Herbelot*, vol. 1, p. 65.

from its foundation, had raised the most violent persecutions, given cause for the most acrimonious disputes, and filled the cities of the desert with the exiles and refugees of its contending sects. In the Jewish creed he discovered and acknowledged the one great truth, but the unhappy and misguided votaries of that faith had fallen from their high estate ; their original religion had descended to the fables and mysteries of their rabbin, and their obstinacy and unwillingness to associate or explain with any but their own race, remained as unaltered as it had ever been remarkable.*

It is not, then, the great truth which Mohammed published, but the great fic-

* Tacitus, *Annales* XVI, XLI. Plinii, *Epistolæ* ad Trajanum, and Juvenalis, *Sat.* XIV, v. 9 to 106.

tion which he joined to it that has caused the malediction or derision of his enemies. Yet, as he was acute enough to perceive that truth, so he was sagacious enough to feel convinced, that without the assumption of a prophetic character, neither he nor his country could hope to reap any lasting advantage. Had he lived only among philosophers, he might have dispensed with all that was fictitious, and have successfully advocated so sublime a doctrine. He, probably also observed that all the prophets who had preceded him, had been either unable or unwilling to risk the preaching of their faith, without the assumption of a divine mission. Abraham, Moses, and Jesus, were the examples which attracted his attention and excited his respect; and the ambitious mind of the

Arab might have been pleased perhaps with the reflection, that although the *doctrine* that these had preached, and which he was now again to publish to the world, had receded before the gross and sensual minds of the vulgar, yet the names of the *preachers* had for ever remained. Again, might he have thought, “the great truth of the unity may become an old and forgotten notion, but the name of Mohammed shall call forth the wonder of thousands, and shall be handed down to the deep veneration of a long and dimly seen posterity.”

We do not hesitate to avow that Mohammed was an ambitious man ; but his enterprize was mighty, and his object sublime. The success of his attempt was rapid and complete, but this should cause no astonishment. He called the

Arabs to freedom, he led them to conquest, and he gave to them a name ; he allowed them the enjoyment of every pleasure here, he excited them with the hope of those pleasures being hereafter augmented, and endowed with eternal force. His eloquence was great, his courage abundant, his enthusiasm boundless. Can we wonder, then, that he inspired his hearers ? The revelations which he propounded were addressed to his wild and impassioned countrymen in the richest dialect, and delivered with the most terrible fervour. At other times, the Arabians beheld their mighty leader, their inspired prophet, the noble Koreishite, contentedly fulfilling the offices of private life, and evincing the affections and attributes of an amiable and humble mind. Though the success

of his faith need not surprise, yet its immutability may naturally excite our wonder. The tenet which he laid down, from the pulpit of Medina, was carefully preserved, through a series of generations, in the mosques of Damascus and Bagdad, in the temples of Cordova, and in the plains of India, and is, at this day, held sacred and unaltered among the superb minarets of Constantinople. The followers of Mohammed have uniformly withstood the temptation of levelling the object of their supreme worship to the likeness or the conceptions of a man.* The frenzied zeal of a few sectarians, less honoured than despised, have raised divine attributes to his friends;† but the

* Gibbon's Rome, vol. 9.

See d'Herbelot, vol. 1, p. 185.

prophet neither claimed nor has ever received more than human respect might well accord to the illustrious founder of his creed and country. By joining the functions of the Imam* to those of the Caliph, he humanely preserved his followers from the systems, the avarice, and the ambition of an established clergy, and they enjoy the additional advantage of being able to decide all general disputes, by a reference to the precepts of the Koran.

The immediate benefits which Mohammed conferred, remain to be noticed. He called the Bedouin of the desert from his wandering and his pillage, to the conquest of civilised nations, and to

* Ockley, vol. 1. D'Herbelot, Art. Imam. Ali. Almamon, etc.

the dignity of a soldier of the faith. He excited the inert inhabitant of the Arabian cities to power and the pride of civilisation ; he concentrated the abilities of his countrymen in one great focus, he turned their united force, both in arts and war, against foreign tribes and enemies ; and at his death,* he left

* See, for the fable of his tomb being suspended in the air, what Pocock says, which proves the Mahomedans treat this as an idle tale of the Christians.—*Specim. Hist. Arab.* p. 180.

The influence of women among the Arabians has always greatly existed, and the rights which they enjoyed were important and extensive. They could enjoy independent property by gift, by inheritance, by settlement, by will, by purchase, and “ to the consideration and weight which property, by the laws and customs of the Arabians, gave to the female sex, it may even, perhaps, be no extravagant stretch of thought to trace the success, if not the origin, of a

them the elements of future renown in the success which he had already obtained, and in the unquenchable ardour which he had inspired.

On the death of Mohammed, it became necessary to elect his successor,* and

religion, which, from the extensiveness of its operations, may be considered as one of the greatest events in the history of mankind. Poverty, as Cardinal de Retz justly observes, is the grave of many a great design; and so low in circumstances was Mohammed in the early part of his life, that had it not been for the weight and power which he derived from his marriage with a rich widow, his enthusiasm might perhaps have just existed and expired within himself. vide p. 331, 332, *Dissertation on ancient Eastern nations, Richardson.*

* Mohammed declined naming any successor, appearing to have wished the caliphate to be an elective and not an hereditary right. Vide *Ockley. Gagnier.*

two parties in the state, the one named the "Protectors," or Medinites, and the other, the "Refugees," or exiles from Mecca, contended for some time as to which should elect the new chief. At last, by common consent, Abou Bekr, the uncle and father-in-law of the prophet, ascended the throne, and assumed the title of Caliph, which signifies the vicar or successor.

The Arabs now turned their attention to the extent of their territories, to new acquisitions by conquest, and to the diffusion of their religious creed among the surrounding nations; vast armies were dispatched, under the vigorous

D'Herbelot Bib. Or. See also *Mills' Hist. of Mohammedanism*, p. 44, c. 2.

command of Kaled, surnamed the Sword of God, to the assistance of Mohanna, the Arab general, then waging war against the Persians. Their labours were rewarded with the capture of the cities of Hira and Anbar, in Chaldea, and Kaled then received orders to conduct his army into Syria, in order to oppose the mighty forces which the Emperor Heraclius* was sending against the Mussulmans. The Arab hero encamped with 3,600 men on the borders of the Barmuc, and in sight of the Roman forces, said to amount to 200,000 troops. Here he received the news of the death of Abou Bekr. His prudence concealed this event from his soldiers ;

* D'Herbelot, Art. Kaled. Gibbon's Rome, vol. 9. Ockley, vol. 2. The Arabs had refused to pay any tribute to the treasury at Constantinople.

his ready invention suggested the idea of a fast coming troop of cavalry to assist their operations, and in the hour of battle, his bravery overthrew the vast army of the Romans, and secured an enormous booty, of which one fifth was, according to law, set apart, and sent to the sacred treasury of Mecca. Kaled then resigned the command to Abou Obeid, the general of the new Caliph, Omar, and returned to his native city. Abou Bekr had been seized with a slow fever, which, at his age, speedily put all hopes of recovery out of the question. He cast his eyes around to choose his successor, and in spite of the remonstrances of his nephew, Ali, he selected Omar Ben Al Kehtab, who eventually ascended the throne, in the 13th year of the Hejira, Abou Bekr having at that

time expired in the 63rd year of his age, after a reign of two years and three months. Abou Bekr had been surnamed by the Prophet, Seddick, or the faithful witness,* in consequence of his having attested the miracle of the nocturnal voyage or ascension. This Caliph was of a mild and peaceable disposition, preferring the arts of persuasion to those of war, wherever it was possible. He possessed great influence among the tribes of Arabia, and had, from the first, embraced the new religion with fervour, and had throughout zealously sustained it. He was laid, after death, by the side of his son-in-law, Mohammed, in the city of Medina.

* Which means, the Faithful Witness, *D'Herbelot*, vol. i, p. 76.

The Caliph, Omar, obtained the preference ; the threats and discontent of Ali were disregarded by the electors in the council, and the new sovereign hastened to spread the name and power of his country. The intrepid Kaled, reinvested with the command and government of Syria, advanced against the Romans, fought and took the city of Damascus, and at the battle of Monteb despised the power and the presence of Heraclius, at the head of 100,000 of his imperial troops. The Sword of God raised with his own hand the standard of the faith, fought like his inspired master, and drove the weak and trembling Emperor from the province ; the myriads of the Romans were considerably diminished, and almost all the officers slain. The Caliph advanced in person

against the province of ancient Judea ; he commenced the siege of the Holy City, of which, and of all the province, he obtained an easy possession. The mild patriarch and his followers had the good fortune to please the severe yet generous Omar. The Arab forces took possession of Jerusalem in silence, and without committing the least disorder. The Caliph allowed the inhabitants an honourable capitulation, modestly demanded of the patriarch a site for his mosque, and laid, with his own hands, the first stone, on the place pointed out, in which example of humility and devotion he was followed by all the chiefs of his army. In the meantime, the wars of Persia were at an end ; the last of the Sassanides, Jezdegird, had been defeated in the grand battle of Cadesiah ; the idolatrous

kings of that great monarchy and dynasty had ceased to reign, and the powerful, rich, and fertile Iran was annexed to the dominions of the caliphate.

Amrou Ben Allas, proceeded into Egypt. Anxious to defend this rich and important province, Heraclius once more attempted to oppose the progress of the Arabs. The efforts of the feeble and degraded Emperor were vain ; the followers of Mohammed defied his numbers and his discipline, besieged and possessed Alexandria, and elated with such vast success, pushed on their conquering army over the shores of Western Africa, and in the town of Tripoli and throughout all the intervening country proclaimed the name and law, and enforced the tribute of their Prophet. During the reign of the triumphant Omar, the con-

quest of Mesopotamia, and the Median provinces of Korassan and Gihon, or the country of the Oxus, were added to the rich and splendid acquisitions of the East and West. The town of Bussorah, on the Persian Gulph, was a mark of Omar's sagacity, as far as regarded the commerce of his country, as by the erection of this fortress, he prevented the Persian and Greek trade to India. The capital of the caliphate was beautified and enlarged, but the manners of the prince were simple, and his actions virtuous and modest. His conquests abroad, and the benevolence of his government at home, did not, however, prevent the cabals of the envious, nor the treachery of the assassin. Omar Ben Al Khetab fell under the dagger of private revenge,* or treason, in the 24th

* Firouz, or Abouloula, a Persian, the slave of one

year of the Hejira, and in the twelfth year of his short but successful reign.

On the death of Omar, the council of state, in whose hands he had placed the choice of his successor, assembled for this purpose. Abdelrahmen persuaded his colleagues to allow him to propose the name of a noble Arabian. This was acceded to, and Abdelrahmen chose Othman, the son of Affan, and who had been named Dhoulmouram, or two lights, having married Rakiah and Cathoun, two of Mohammed's daughters.

Mogairah, against whom, the slave, Omar had decided, but a few days before, in a cause of complaint concerning wages, between Firouz and his master.—*D'Herbelot, Bib. Or.* vol. 3. p. 69, 70.

Omar was the first who added to the title of Caliph, that of Emir, "Commander of the Faithful."—*Ibid*, p. 69.

In spite of Ali's opposition, who again preferred his former and invidious claim, on the score of hereditary right, the election of Othman took place.

The great province of Khorassan yielded to the Arabians, and all the coast of Africa, from Tripoli to the straits of Sebtah, or Gibraltar, were added to the dominions of the caliphate. The Caliph also fitted out a strong fleet, by whose valour and success,* he took from the Romans, Cyprus, and other islands in the Mediterranean Sea, and the arms of the Mussulmans were severely felt in the interior of Egypt. For eleven years, the liberal and generous Othman wielded the power of Arabia and added to the splendour of her name. The friends of Ali

* Ockley vol 2, *D'Herbelot*, vol. 3, p. 85.

conspired against him ; they brought forward the specious charges that he had enriched his own family at the public expence, and had caused various assassinations to be made of those whom he feared or suspected. The servile deputies of some African or Egyptian provinces, then in Medina, were seized on by the factious, arms were given them, and all hastened to invade the palace of the Caliph, which they closely besieged for more than three months. The treacherous Ali professed to defend the person and the cause of his sovereign, while in secret he fomented these dissensions. The mother of the Faithful, Aischa, the last beloved wife of Mohammed, had been frequently consulted, and had advised the forgiveness of Othman and the restoration of domestic peace. In vain ;

her counsels were disregarded and rejected, the courageous Caliph appeared before his malicious enemies ; with the Koran in his hands, he referred to its laws, expressed his willingness to be governed by its decision, and loudly denied the truth of the charges brought against him. The rebels were the strongest party ; they were deaf to his proposals, the hand of the murderer respected not even the sacred book, which was covered with the blood of Othman, whose body was insulted even after death, and was left for a long time without the decent ceremony of interment.

No sooner had the assassins despatched the unfortunate Caliph than they offered the vacant pulpit and throne to the son of Abou Thaleb. But the proud claimant of an hereditary right was not likely to

allow the dependent deputies of a foreign province to bestow on him the sceptre of the kingdom. He refused to listen to them, and frankly told them that the privilege of election could in no manner belong to them. He referred to the Council of the Elders, the Protectors and Fugitives, and even when these had signified their approbation, the politic Ali refused to act until he had demanded the sanction of the powerful chieftains, Thaleya and Zobair. These chiefs arrived ; they tendered or professed to tender their allegiance,* and the “ Lion of God,” in consequence, proclaimed himself the Imam and the Caliph of Arabia.

The acts of this prince were not calcu-

* See the suspicion thrown on their sincerity in Bib. Or. *Art. Ali*.

lated to allay the anger of his enemies, or preserve the empire from civil war ; and dissension may be said to have accompanied his government from his accession to his death. The imprudent attempt to remove the governors of the provinces, who had been selected by his predecessor, inflamed the anger and the hatred of the Ommiades. The lieutenant of Syria, the artful and persevering Moawyah proved his most deadly and implacable foe. The Caliph, while he attempted to flatter the vanity, refused to gratify the pride of Thaleya and Zobair, who had requested to be made governors of Cufa and Bussorah. The irritated chieftains withdrew to Mecca and concerted with the mother of the Faithful the overthrow of her cousin. A terrible faction soon threatened the power of

Ali, and the peace of Arabia. The revengeful Ommiades, the chieftains, Thaleya and Zobair, and the implacable foe of Ali, the widow Aischa, raised a large army, and proceeded to besiege and take Bussorah. As soon as the news of this formidable enemy reached the ears of the Caliph, he used so much diligence, both in his preparation and his march, that he very quickly appeared before Bussorah and in the presence of the insurgents. Their numbers seem to have caused him little alarm, and he jocosely remarked, on seeing Aischa at their head, that though Othman, when he had quitted them was bearded like a man, he perceived that he had returned without that necessary appendage. Overtures of peace were vainly attempted ; the battle of the Day of the Camel was fought with an

obstinate bravery on both sides. The Othmanites had the advantage in number, the Caliph in discipline, and his arms prevailed ; seventeen thousand Arabs fell on the field, and Aischa became a prisoner. The Commander of the Faithful disdained to take advantage of a woman and a relation ; he treated her with kindness, escorted her with care, and sent her back honourably to Mecca. The death of Thaleya, who was shot by an arrow in the battle, relieved him also of an inconstant friend and a dangerous enemy.*

After a victory so complete, Arabia was once more at peace, but the standard of rebellion was again raised in Syria by the address of Moawyah. This foe to Ali

* Bib. Or. vol. i, p. 176.

carried the bloody vestment of Othman to Damascus, with the mutilated fingers of that unhappy prince, where he excited the indignation of the people who revolted against the perpetrators of so cruel an act. Moawyah followed up his advantages by long philippics against Ali and his party. The lieutenant of Palestine, Amrou, also arrived at the camp and took the oath of allegiance to Moawyah, acknowledging him the legitimate Caliph. This preconcerted scheme was highly applauded by the soldiers and people, who at the same time swore fealty to Moawyah.

The Caliph employed every gentle means, every persuasive art to stifle this rebellion, and to bring back the Syrians to their allegiance to the throne of Medina ; but the sedition was artfully en-

couraged and increased ; large numbers daily swelled the ranks of the hostile party ; all further remonstrance or negotiation became useless, and Ali once more took the field and marched to the frontiers of Syria at the head of ninety thousand men. During one hundred days frequent skirmishing took place, in which the Syrians are said to have lost forty-five thousand troops, while the Caliph only numbered among the dead of his army five thousand men, and some officers of note, the companions and fellow soldiers of the Prophet. Moawyah and Amrou placed copies of the Koran at the head of their lances, and their army advanced, exclaiming that the book should decide their differences and put an end to the war. By this stratagem they succeeded in sowing dissension in the army

of Ali, who retired in deep disgust to Cufa, reluctantly leaving the honest but too simple Abou Moussa to assert his rights against Amrou Ben Allas, these being the two chosen arbitrators.

The cunning Amrou persuaded the referee of the Caliph to pronounce publicly that neither Ali nor Moawyah were entitled to the caliphate, and agreed to follow and confirm the judgment. But the Ommiadan general refused to ratify this compact, and in the tribune addressed the people, and cried out, that though he entirely agreed with Abou Moussa in denying Ali's right, he, however, adjudged the throne to Moawyah.

In the meantime, the Kharegites revolted against the Caliph. Ali condescended to reason with them on the grounds of honour and good sense, but

he was unable to satisfy them, and they elected Abdallah Ben Vaheb as their general, and chose Naharvan for their rendezvous. They thus assembled in great numbers from Cufa, Bussorah and Arabia. The thoughts of the Caliph were, however, directed towards, in his opinion, the more formidable enemy, Moawyah, and it was only when he learnt that the Khagerite rebels amounted to twenty-five thousand men, and that they were putting to death many Mussulmans who refused to espouse their party or embrace their opinions, that he determined to put down a sect and extinguish a rebellion that might otherwise overthrow or deeply injure the religion of Mohammed. In this instance, he preferred to use the means of peace and persuasion to the ex-

terminating process of war. He offered a free pardon to those who should enlist under his standard ; a safe asylum to those who should prefer retiring to Cufa. These means succeeded, the army of the rebels melted away, and Ali turned his undivided attention, and concentrated all his forces to subdue Moawyah, and assuage the tumults which had occurred in Egypt.

The wiles, the bravery, and the various successes of Moawyah and of Amrou in turns distressed and worried the Caliph, and the cruel particulars of the death of his friend and general, Abdallah Ben Abbas, caused him the most poignant sorrow. At this period also, his own brother, Okail, embraced the party of Moawyah, alleging as the reason of his

defection, the frivolous pretext, that Ali had only treated him as a simple citizen, and not as the brother of the Caliph.

But an event now occurred which threatened to exterminate all the chiefs of the contending parties, and to throw the new empire of Islamism into anarchy and dismay. In the city of Mecca three fanatic Kharegites met and discussed the affairs and state of the whole nation, and they agreed that all things would go well in their opinion, if the Caliph, and Amrou, and Moawyah were in the tomb. Each made a solemn vow, each chose his victim, and then severally departed on their strange wild mission.

The assassin of Moawyah struck not with sufficient firmness, the slayer of

Amrou mistook the object of his revenge or fanaticism, and died with inflexible firmness, exclaiming : “ I willed the death of Amrou, but God willed that of another ;” but the unhappy Ali fell beneath the blows of his murderer in the very mosque at Cufa, and thus expired after a turbulent reign of five years, in the sixty-third year of his age.

The tomb of Ali was by his own desire, it is reported, concealed from the eyes of the Faithful for a long time. His cause was warmly espoused by the Persians, and by others of the Islamite creed, while his name was held accursed by the house of Ommiah ; until, at the expiration of fifty years from his death, one of their descendants relieved the cousin of the Prophet from the male-

diction, and while he thus retrieved the credit of his family, evinced his own generosity and sense.*

The Caliph Ali is esteemed among the Easterns as a poet and a philosopher. One hundred moral sayings have descended to us from his tongue or pen, and the celebrated work entitled “Gefr or Giammé,” is attributed to his genius.†

* Omar Ben Abdelaziz.

† Ockley, vol. ii. Bibliothèque du Roi, no. 1169, MSS., 3, 9. The Gefr or Giamé was a collection of prophecies and mysteries written on the skin of an ass or sheep ; some say, cut out on a shoulder blade of mutton.

CHAPTER . IV.

Accession of the Ommiades—Reign of Moawyah—Yezid—Moawyah second, and Marvan—Review of the state of the Eastern and Roman Empire at the birth of Mohammed—Of the conquest of Persia, Syria, Egypt, and western Africa by his followers—The arrival of Musa Ben Nozeir, as the Caliph's lieutenant in Africa—Count Julian's offer to him—Musa meditates the conquest of Spain—Sends off a courier to Damascus—Review of Spain at the time of the Gothic invasion, and of the incursion of the Arabs—The courier returns from Damascus—Musa sends five hundred warriors under Tarik—They land in Spain and return to Tangiers loaded with spoil—An army fitted out—Its general—Tarik lands on the rock of Gibraltar—Attacks the lieutenant of the Gothic King—Theodoric's letter to Roderick—The Arabs take Seville—Roderick advances towards Cadiz—The great battle of the Guadaleta and the overthrow of the Goths and death of their King Roderick.

THE Ommiades succeeded to a divided empire ; the provinces of Irak or Chaldea, and Arabia, acknowledged the sway of the mild but feeble Hassan, the eldest son of the deceased Caliph, while the Syrian and Egyptian swore obedience to Moawyah. Six months, however, had hardly elapsed before the devout Hassan abdicated his high office, and in the respectable exercises of his religion and of humility, forgot his birth and station, and resigned to Moawyah the undisputed title of the Caliphate. Yet this modest, though degenerate offspring of the “ Lion of god,” escaped not the fate of his predecessors on the throne.*

* Giaadah, a woman of Medina was bribed by the Syrian Caliph Moawyah, and poisoned the son of Ali in that city. His brother Houssain assumed the

The son of Abou Sophia thus established upon the chair of the prophet, saw, during a reign of nineteen years, the arms of his country invade and conquer the Western Africa, where they first mingled with the Berbers,* a wild and savage race, whose genealogy was doubtful, whose institutions were descriptive of no civilisation, and who were utterly destitute of every art except that of war and rapine.

Towards the north, the Caliph sent his title of Imam, and the sect of the Alides, and the Persian Shiites or Schismatics considered Ali Hassan, and Houssein as the chief Imams of Mohammedinism.—Vid. Ockley, vol. 3 ; d'Herbelot, vol. 2.

* The ancient name of Barbary ; it extended from the hilly coasts of Mauritania to Algiers. The Berbers pretend to a common origin with the Arabs ; these, say they, descended from the Amalekites conquered by the Hebrews when they took possession of Palestine.—Bib. Or. vol. 1, p. 396—397.

eldest son Yezid, who advanced against the Greeks, and overcame the provinces of Armenia and Anatolia. He ultimately pitched his tents in the suburb of Constantinople, and held that capital so long in a state of siege, that he is reported to have sown and reaped the harvest of the surrounding country.

The seat of the Caliphate was removed to the ancient and superb city of Damascus, before whose walls the Arabs, under Kaled, and the mild Abou Obeidah had so gallantly and so successfully contended against the skill, the pious devotion, and the last expiring struggles of the Syro-grecians of the Empire.* In this noble city the first Caliph of the Ommiades was interred, and in this city

* See Bib. Or. under the words Damaus. Kaled, Obeid, &c. Ockley, vol. 8. and Gibbon, vol. 9.

all his descendants reigned till the princes of the house of Abbas drove them from power, and transferred the throne of the prophet to Bagdad. Yerid Ben-Moa-wyah succeeded to his father ; cruelty, and blasphemy, and all the crimes to which unrestrained passions and an impious mind give place, stained the character of this Prince.

No conquests abroad, no internal ameliorations remained to retrieve his character, or bear evidence of a wise or a politic mind. On the contrary, he appears merely in the character of a fierce and treacherous robber, under the guise and with the authority of the Caliph.

At the age of thirty-seven years, the second son of Ali Houssain abandoned the hopes of ambition and public life,

and passed his time in Medina in the peaceable occupations of charity and devotion, and in the contemplation of that philosophy which teaches the abstinence from sin by the strict regulations of the passions, and the practice of virtue by an attentive comparison of human infirmities

On the accession of Yezid, that tyrant feared or affected to fear the claims of Houssain, and sent orders for his death, as well as that of Abdallah, the son of the celebrated chieftain Zohair. Excited by this cruelty, they both proceeded to Mecca, to assert openly their claims and to declare themselves against the power of Yezid. Soon after this, the Cufites who remembered the mild government of Ali, invited them to their city, and accordingly Houssain proceeded there. In

the desert which separated Cufa from Mecca, the general of Yezid surprised Houssain and his small troop, among which were the litters containing his wife and children. The enemy numbered ten thousand horses, the troop of Houssain seventy-two; resistance was hopeless, yet death was inevitable. The bravery of the unfortunate Haschemites cost the general of the Caliph a severe loss; but they were entirely defeated, and slain, together with the women and children. The remains of Houssain were dishonoured, his head was sent to Damascus, and insultingly exposed by the Caliph, and by this act the fury of the Abbasides was provoked; by its remembrance refreshed and preserved; till the descendants of Moawyah were driven from the throne, their lives sacrificed to its deadly

nature, and their uttermost descendants exiled from the east.

Arabia was delivered from the infamy of Yezid by his death, which occurred in a town in the Syrian territory after a reign of four years, and in the 683rd. year of the Christian Era.

The son of Yezid was chosen under the title of Moawyah Second, to be the commander of the faithful. He demanded of his tutor, the venerable Omar Al Macsous, if he should do rightly in assuming the great office. "If you feel," replied Omar, "that you can conscientiously discharge its sacred duties of a judge and ruler, accept it; but if not, O! my son, beware!" At the expiration of six weeks Moawyah Second, determined to renounce his right. For this purpose he convened the elders of

the tribes, and thus stated his resolve :
“ Brethren,” said the young and philosophic prince, “ I had wished to have followed the example of Abou Bekr, and to have named my successor ; but unlike him, I cannot find any one worthy or capable. I then intended to have imitated Omar, and to have left the decision to a chosen council of six ; but now where can I discover that number of persons worthy of exercising this great duty. To you then I now look, convinced that you will, by your selection, do that which will be for our own credit, and for the interests of our holy religion and Empire.” The assembly assured him that they and the people would gladly accept and obey any choice he might make
“ Nay,” said the ingenuous Moawyah
“ the advantages of the Caliphate I have

never enjoyed, nor is it unreasonable for me to decline its most odious duty. Therefore I trust that you will appoint among yourselves, him who, in your opinion, may appear the most fitting for discharging such sacred duties." The choice fell on Marvan the son of Hakem of the same family though of a collateral branch.*

* The following comprises the list of the Ommiadan caliphs.—

Caliphs of the East.	Reigned.	Died AD.
Moawyah. .	19 years. . . .	683.
Yezid I. .	4. . . .	687.
Moawyah. .	0. . . .	
Marvan. .		689.
Abdamalec. .	1. . . .	690.
Walid. .	9. . . .	699 or 700.
Soliman. .	11. . . .	699 or 712.
Omar. .	3. . . .	714.
Yezid II. .	4. . . .	718.

Among the innumerable nations who

Heschem.	.	19.	.	.	.	.	737.
Walid II.	.	1.	.	.	.	.	738.
Yezid III.	.	$\frac{1}{4}$.	.	.	.	.	
Ibrahim.	.	$\frac{1}{4}$.	.	.	.	.	739.
Marvan II.	.	$5\frac{1}{4}$.	.	.	.	.	744 or 745.

Thus, there were fourteen Caliphs, whose aggregate reigns occupied the space of only eighty years. The enmity of the two houses of Ommiah and of Abbas was active and incessant, and produced continual warfare ; the Abassides attacked Marvan II. who retreated to Damascus, and from thence fled into Egypt, where he was slain in battle, and his head sent to the victorious general Abdallah. This occurred in the year of the Hegira, 132, and was called by the Arabs, “ Kalb,” from the three letters K’af, Lam, and Beh, which in their arithmetic denote the value of 132. (Bib. Or. vol 2, p. 569. 570. 571.) All the race of Ommiah were then cruelly slain save one, Abdalrahmen, who was destined to reign in after years in Spain.

bowed before the power of Rome, Arabia was alone excepted. Its inhabitants refused to sacrifice, and had nobly defended their liberty. The vanity of the Romans induced them to fancy a province called Arabia ; but, in fact, the rocky desert had defied their assaults, and the roving inhabitants eluded their pursuit. Thus Araby was free, although she remained barbarous. During a long period of ignorance the Arabs were but brave and savage warriors ; the light of science was obscured, and the softening nature of the arts was unfelt and unknown. The race of Kehtan were the scheiks or chieftains of the various tribes, and the nominal empire was hereditary in the least barbarous clan, called the Hamyarites.

Two divisions comprised all the na-

tion : the dwellers in the towns (if straw and mud villages could deserve the name), and the shepherds inhabitants of the desert.

The former were the tillers of the earth, and the owners of the flocks and cattle, while the inhabitants of the fertile Yemen and the land of frankincense, were induced to embark in the perils and profits of commercial life. The wild inhabitant of the desert was, as now, the Bedouin. He wandered over the sandy waste, and where he found some small and fertile spot, planted his tent, and raised his temporary habitation. These resources exhausted, he again removed to another oasis, till, on the approach of winter, he was sheltered on the frontiers of Irak, or on those of the province of Syria. The existence of Mohammed changed

the scene. The shepherds became the warriors of God, and the conquerors of all the country, from the banks of the Ganges to the shores of the Atlantic ocean. Civilization arrived with rapid steps ; and it is difficult, if not impossible, to believe such vast and uninterrupted success, were we not to remember the invincible spirit which the policy of Mohammed had inspired. “ Victory and all earthly treasures here,” said the talented Prophet, “ or death and paradise hereafter.”

To this consideration we may also add that of his views and projects being so well adapted to the existing state of all other great nations. The luxurious Persians were losing their power and firmness in the lap of ease, and of an inglorious repose, while internal dissensions

were continually recurring, which dis-
severed the union of their force, and
weakened their means of defence. The
ridiculous successors of the Romans
were occupied entirely in discussing
doubts, and attempting to explain theo-
logical mysteries ; they were blind to
passing events, obstinate in their pride,
and equally regardless of the origin of
their greatness, or of its visible decline ;
they appeared content to exist on the re-
nown of former splendour, and, while
they looked on its forms, still fancied
themselves the possessors of its sub-
stance. The Northern and Western
Europe was wasted by long and san-
guinary wars, and buried in the profound
trance of gothic barbarity and ignorance.
Mohammed expired, but the Caliph Abou
Bekr divided his army in two sections ;

one was destined to invade Syria, the other to march against the Persians. Previously to their departure he addressed them in that memorable discourse, which contains the rules, that for centuries after governed the actions of the Arab armies. “Soldiers,” said Abou Bekr, “when you meet your enemies in battle, remember you are the descendants of Ishmael. In your marches, in your combats, rally round the standard of your faith, obey with readiness the voices of your leaders. Never turn your back to the enemy, for it is for God you fight, and, inspired by this sacred truth, you may rush, without fear, and without counting their numbers, among the hostile ranks. If God grants you the victory, be humble, and your swords will never be sullied with the blood of women, of

the aged man, or of the helpless infant, and freely pardon those who ask it. In your march across the country of your foe, respect the face of nature ; cut not down the trees, nor lay the fields and villages in desolation ; seize only the fortress and the stronghold, and raze them to their foundations. Cut to pieces the enemy who will not submit, make prisoner the proud rebel and the traitor, but to all who ask it grant mercy, that God may also, in his day, show you the same. Be frank and loyal in all your treaties with your enemies, behave to all with generosity, and never fail in your promises." These instructions produced their full effect. I may not here enter into all the interesting scenes, nor detail the thrilling acts of chivalry, and the magic splendour of their success.

The consequences were shown in the conquest of all Syria and Palestine, the rich and powerful provinces of Irak and Persia, and, more than all, by the possession of the opulent kingdom of Lower Egypt. The conquest of Alexandria is described by the pen of Amrou, in terms which show the just notions he had of its importance. "I have taken," wrote that general to the Caliph Omar, "the noble city of the West ; its beauties and riches are vast, and too various for description ; but I would chiefly observe its four thousand palaces, its four thousand baths, four hundred theatres, and forty thousand Jews who pay tribute. We have granted no terms, and your troops, Oh ! Caliph ! demand the fruits of their victory." But Omar refused the permission to pillage ; a vast sum was divided among the soldiers, and a heavy

tribute annually imposed on the Egyptians. It is generally attributed to the disgrace of Omar, that he permitted the great libraries of the Ptolomies to be ransacked, and the contents distributed among the baths of the city ; but I am unable and unwilling to believe this fact. The laws of the Islamites enjoined no such injunction as that stated to have been sent from Medina. Omar, though of a warlike, was not of an ignorant or barbarous character, the Arabs were already too civilized and too inquisitive not to appreciate such treasures, and the act appears against the policy of their government, and as opposed to their well-known character.*

The conquest of Egypt, and the further successes against the Greeks on the coast,

* "The kings and great men of the East," observes Richardson, "long rivalled one another, in no-

and against the barbarians in the interior of Africa, had led the standard of the Prophet to the shores of the Atlantic ocean. The impetuous Ocbah, the general of the Arabs, had spurred his charger into the waves, and, with an uncounting more than in the excellence of their libraries. With incredible attention and expence, they stored them with every valuable manuscript they could possibly procure; and whatever unrelenting severity a vanquished prince might, by eastern custom experience from his more fortunate competitor, his books appear to have been ever an object of uncommon care." Dissertation, p. 65., and he quotes Konde-mir's preface in truth of these remarks, *inter multa alia*; vide also Sismondi, "*Littérature du Midi*," vol. i. c. 2, on the improbability of the fact alleged against Amrou; and Gibbon, vol. ix., who says that Ammianus Marcellinus had declared the library of Alexandria no longer to exist. Two Christian historians of Alexandria are silent, and an historian of a later date (700 years), is all the authority for a fact which is in every way improbable.

querable fanaticism, exclaimed, “ O God of Mahommed ! if these waters did not prevent, I would prove the power of thy name in the far and unknown West !” Abdelmalec had ascended the throne of Damascus. Vast bodies of troops were marched into Africa, and the tottering power of the Greeks was buried and forgotten amidst the ruins of Carthage. The Moors found in the followers of the Prophet, the same manners and language, and the same love for a wandering and a warlike life, and they gladly threw off the vile yoke, both of Greek and Goth, to accept with enthusiasm the standard and the creed of Mohammed.

The savage Berbers still remained unsubdued, and the wild spirit of their prophetess and queen Cahina led them against the Arabian arms. The consequence was a total defeat. Barbary sub-

mitted to the Caliph, and the arts of conciliation were preferred to the fiercer alternative of the sword. The finest horses were sent to occupy the stables of Walid, and the most lovely women to adorn the apartments of his palace.

The brave and sagacious Ben Nozeir solicited and obtained the government of Africa. He had reduced the still existing tribes of the Berbers and the Moors, and all the great province (excepting a few towns held by the Goths), was in a state of the most submissive peace. The *means* to obtain a further conquest were abundant—the *object* was wanting. Before long, however, it presented itself to the eyes of the Mussulmans under the form of a new country; the name of Andalouz, or Spain was then heard at the Emir's court. Accounts of its fertility, riches, and of its feeble and di-

vided government soon reached the ears of Musa ; his cupidity was excited, his enthusiasm was inflamed. The fortresses of Tangiers and Ceuta, on the African coast, still resisted his attacks. The Governor, Count Julian, offered to lead the Arabs to the coast of Spain, and to prove his sincerity, he placed the citadel of Tangiers in the Emir's hands. In that fortress, the Arabian is said to have acquired the most exact information both of the climate and government of Spain, and now, assured of the value of his object, and fired with the ease by which it could be obtained, he wrote to the Caliph the following dispatch :—" I have reduced to thy sway, Oh ! Commander of the Faithful ! the cities and the tribes of Derâr, Zhab, and Mazmoud, and the savage Berber is become thy subject and thy friend. The sacred ban-

ner of our Prophet floats from the lofty towers of Tangiers ; and from hence to the shores of Andalouz, a narrow gulf is all that opposes the conquerors of Africa and the zeal of the Faithful.” He detailed the offer of the Gothic lieutenant of Ceuta, the accounts which had reached him of the new country and people, and solicited his permission to lead the armies of Africa to the conquest.

The accounts which were laid before the Arabian Emir, were, indeed, sufficiently tempting, nor can we be surprised at his eagerness to seize and enjoy the object pointed out, when we consider the state of the Gothic dominion in the southern provinces of Spain. Besides this, on one side, Count Julian offered Musa every information and assistance which it was in his power to give ; on the other, his own followers and the new-

adopted Moors were loudly beseeching him to lead them to the conquest of a country, which had rightly been said to contain all that can form or augment a nation's prosperity.

Possessing a rich soil, a lovely climate, a numerous population, and a geographical position of unequalled felicity, the Spanish Peninsula, at the time of the *Gothic Invasion*, had become a feeble and enervated state. Two hundred years of a corrupting slavery, of long wars, and eternal faction, had banished the spirit of patriotism, and quenched the national pride, while riches had but served to increase the evil, till the gratification of ease and luxury had become the sole object of its inhabitants. The fierce and valiant Odoacer had no sooner seized on the throne of Augustulus, than he decreed this delicious province to the sway

of Evaricus. Gallicia alone remained unsubdued, till Leoviddus one of his successors, reunited it by conquest, to his crown, and all Iberia obeyed the sceptre of the Goths. But this fierce people were unable to appreciate the sagacious policy of the Romans, who conquered not only to obtain the country, but the very power of the people, whom they overcame, and who presented to the view of the wondering savage, the elements of happiness in the manners and refinement of civilized life.* The barbarous Goth

* In the provinces of Andalusia and Grenada dwelt in barbarous periods, the tribe of the Bastitani. For nine months of every year, their food consisted of acorns, dried and reduced to a kind of paste, and they used oil for butter. Their beds were of dried leaves, and they wandered about in the open air. They were fond of their dance, to which they played a sweet discord on the horns of bulls or cows. Vide Strabo. *Iberia*, and d'Anville, vol. ii, p. 205.

sought in the conquest to assuage his thirst for blood, and to satiate his avarice in spoils, which, when obtained, his ignorance debarred him from enjoying, while the unhappy victims whom his sword had spared, exchanged a violent death for an iron slavery, and the noble savage of Gaul and Germany disdained to mingle his pure blood with that of the feeble warriors he had enslaved, or to obliterate the ever recurring marks which distinguished the victor from the vanquished. During the latter days of the Roman government in Spain, the tribe of Moses had increased to many thousands, and these also the Goths had not failed to use and to abuse to the utmost of their power.

At the time of the *Arab incursion* the Catholic clergy had been long acquiring

the influence and the high places in the government. The manners of the Goths, so celebrated for their stern purity by the Roman historian of a former age,* were relaxed and corrupted, and they had lost much of their former energy without acquiring the redeeming attributes of polished life; and thus Spain, possessed of all the riches the bounteous hand of nature could bestow, was ruled or rather wearied by a divided government, defended by an enfeebled army, debased by a dissolute clergy, and impoverished by uncultivated lands. Besides this seducing picture of an easy and most important conquest, the petty jealousies or the vain hopes of Count Julian, and the state of the then prevailing factions, was disclosed

* Tacitus, de Mor. Germ. S. xxx., &c.

to the Emir of Africa. Vitiza, King of the Goths, had recently expired in the agonies of a mortal poison, and Rodericus or Roderick, the Duke of Cordova, hastened to seize on the throne. The children of the murdered monarch, fearing the power and the vengeance of the usurper, had retired to the coast of Africa, where Julian offered them a safe asylum within the walls of Ceuta. This brother-in-law of Vitiza might justly dread the hatred of Roderick, while Oppas, Julian's brother, eagerly combined his efforts, and lent an attentive ear to the ambitious projects of the Count. Under pretext of replacing the children of Vitiza on the throne of Spain, they eagerly sought out partizans among all the enemies of Roderick in that kingdom, but these appear to have considered their party not sufficiently strong,

since among the mountains near Consuegra, the Count Julian imparted to an assembly of his friends, the project of the invasion of Spain by the Arabian soldiers. The apologists for this national treason have always supposed, that in thus abandoning his country to the sword of the stranger, the Count merely meant to have used his assistance to reestablish order or at most, to have gained his own views, and had never intended the Arabs to have made the conquest, and obtained the possession of his country. But Julian had fought against these fiery warriors on the burning sands of Africa, had witnessed their terrible ardour, had been forced to acknowledge and admire their unconquerable enthusiasm, and he must have equally known or feared that of the mass of his own countrymen. Such apo-

logies cannot palliate the treason, and only serve to make us suspect the sagacity or the imbecility of the Gothic prince.*

* Another motive for the conduct of Julian has been ascribed to revenge, for the injury done to his honour and family, in the licentious conduct of Roderick towards his daughter. This has been almost universally mentioned by all the Spanish historians; and Mariana enters into a particular detail of the Circes. He states that Roderick first conceived a desire on this point, by seeing the damsel, Cava, at the funeral of his queen, Egilona, to whom she was maid in waiting, and his lust became unaccountable. When shortly afterward he chanced from a window in the palace, to behold her charms more minutely, "*corpus quod magnâ ex parte nudasset Cava, cum æqualibus ludens.*" Mariana, Liber. vi, c. 21.

Though it is here stated that Egilona was dead, yet we find she married afterwards an Arab prince the son of Muza. Vide Cardonne, Vol. i, p. 110.

The courier returned from Damascus. The pride of Walid was gratified by his Emir's activity, and his fervour as the Imam of Mohammed, and his ambition as the prince of Islam, were roused by the hope of still further spreading the faith, and the dominions of the prophet. He readily sent the desired mandate, and

Conde in his history of *Los Arabes en España*, says, speaking of the entry of Muza into Merida, "y entrò Muza en ella dia de Alfitra....tomò en las manos la juventad, mas principal della ciudad con la reyna Goda muger del rey Ruderic, y otras gentes," vol 1, c. 13. It was therefore, perhaps Goda, and not Egilona, that became the wife of Abdelaziz. Regarding the story of Cava, and Don Roderick, Conde says, "Los nombres de Caba, de su doncella, Alifa, y toda la série de este cuento descubre que fu ficcion Morisca fundada en las hablillas y canciones vulgares que corrian entre Moros y Cristianos." Note, vol. 1, c. 8.

Muza lost no time in assembling a chosen band for the first attempt. A small troop of five hundred warriors under the command of the intrepid Taric sailed from the coast of Africa, and returned shortly after to Tangiers loaded with spoils. His success was evident, and his report most encouraging. A powerful army was then organized ; its command was again invested in Taric, who departed for conquest and unfurled his banner on the rock which, from that day, resumed, and has till now preserved its name of Gebel, Al Taric or Gibraltar. As soon as Theodmir, the lieutenant of Roderick heard of the landing of the Arabians, he immediately called together his troops, and at the head of seventeen hundred horse succeeded in considerably harassing the enemy during several days. But in more

close skirmishing, the impetuous valour of the Arabs astounded and disconcerted Theodomir, and could alone have prevented the small body of Spanish cavalry from attempting a general engagement, even had the numbers on both sides been equal. Theodomir wrote therefore to King Roderick begging for immediate and powerful aid, at the same time plainly intimating how desirable the royal presence might prove on so important an occasion.

“ A numerous band of Africans,” run the letter, “ has just landed on our coasts. I know not whence they come, from heaven or from hell. They have attacked me, and I opposed to them all the force I have with me ; but I cannot cope with their numbers, and the impetuosity of their charge is irresistible.

They have encamped upon our plains. Send me then, without delay, all the troops you can possibly assemble, and I even think, that in so critical a position, your presence would be of much importance."

Roderick was alarmed on the receipt of this information. He called around him all the nobles and the clergy, and at length advanced towards the coast, at the head of nearly one hundred thousand men against the enemy, whose numbers could not exceed above one-fifth that of the Spaniards. In the interim, Taric, with the aid of the valiant captain El Roumi, had spread around great terror by the skirmishings of his detached bands, throughout the neighbouring country, while he gradually reduced with the body of his army all the district lying between

the Algesiras and Seville, of which fortified city he obtained an easy possession.

The Spanish King advanced towards Cadiz, with his immense force, and the valiant Arabs prepared to meet him with that intrepidity which past success inspires, and with that ardour for action, that assurance of victory, which religious fervour can bestow, and which they alone possessed. On the 26th of July in the year 711 A.D., and in the ninety second year of the Hegira, the two armies encamped on the large plain, at about eighty miles from Cadiz, and on the spot where now stands the town of Xerez de la Frontana, separated from each by the stream of the Guadaleta. At the dawn of day, the battle commenced, nor was it suspended till after the setting of the

sun. It was renewed for two subsequent days with equal spirit and for an equal length of time, till the Arabs, oppressed with the vast number of the Goths, gave way and partially receded. On the instant, Tarik perceived this fatal sign, and flying along the ranks, addressed himself to his followers, "Soldiers of the prophet," cried he, "conquerors of Africa, whither are you retreating? Know you not, that flight is death? Before you stand your enemy; behind the fathomless depths of the ocean. There is no chance of safety, but in courage; no hope, but in your trust in God. Mussulmans, follow me; imitate my example." Saying which, he rushed into the midst of the enemy, followed by the bravest of his troops. The shock of the eastern warriors is said to have caused a sudden panic: all that

opposed were struck down, while Taric, charging even to the royal standard, with one blow slew Roderick the King.* This renewed attack had caused great confusion through the ranks of the Gothic army, and when the death of Roderick

* Many, perhaps most historians, assume the death of Don Roderick to have occurred by drowning in the waters of Guadalquivir, where, says Gibbon, vol. ix, p. 474, " His diadem, his robes, and his courser were found on the bank ; but as the body of the Gothic prince was lost in the waves, the pride and ignorance of the Caliph must have been gratified by some meaner head, which was exposed in triumph before the walls of Damascus." Also, see Cardonne. *Hist. Arab.* Ascargorta, *Hist. Spain*, and others. I follow here the text of Mr. Conde, the librarian of the Escorial, who wrote his history from original MSS. of the Arabic writers, who all affirm the death of Roderick, by the hand of Taric, and that his head was sent to the Emir of Africa, Muza.

became known, it spread universal dismay. From that moment, the victory was certain, the slaughter was continual, the dead bodies of the Christians were heaped on the ground, and the Arabs remained the masters of the field of Cadiz, and in fact of the kingdom of Spain.

The great monarchy of the Goths, so long decaying, had entirely fallen, and their power, cemented by blood and sustained by slavery for the space of two hundred years, had thus expired in a single day before the valour of a small, but united band of Arabs.

Terrible example, says Mr. Conde, of the danger of reigning over a nation, where the cause of the people is as nothing; not less terrible for those who seek to separate the interest of the monarch, from those of his country.

The banner of the prophet now floated from the walls of Cadiz, the impetuous torrent of its success, had for a moment been checked more by the numbers than by the force of the Goths ; that moment had passed away ; while pausing, its followers had glanced back at their long train of success, and re-inspired at the view, they again resumed their march, again unfurled their holy standard, to run the same rapid course with increased splendour, throughout the lovely provinces of Andalouz.*

* Though Spain appears to have been known to the Phenicians, who imported from it large quantities of silver, near one thousand years before Christ, and their Tarshish seems to have been the little isle of Tartessus, near Gades, yet it seems hardly to have been disclosed to the Greeks in the time of Herodotus. When the Greeks established a colony at Marseilles,

they must soon have discovered the northern part of this fertile region, which, from the noble river Iberus or Ebro, they styled Iberia, and from its extreme situation in the west, it was also called Hesperia. The Romans called it Hispania probably from some native term.

CHAPTER V.

Effects of the victory—Taric's address to his soldiers—Cordova—Toledo taken—Arrival of Muza—Fall of Merida—Meeting of Muza and Taric—Continued success—Muza and Taric recalled—Annoyed by the Asturians—Projected conquest of Gaul—Siege of Tours—Victory of Charles Martel.

THE victory of the Guadaleta placed the Arabs in possession of all Andalouz ;*

* The Arabs gave this name to the whole of the Spanish Peninsula, although now it is confined to the southern province. The origin of the name appears to have been doubtful ; it may have been taken from Vandalouz or country of the Vandals, but more probably from the Arabic word "*Handalouz*," signifying the region of the evening or setting sun. Vide d'Herbelot, vol 1, p. 233, and Casiri, Bib. Arab. Hisp. tom. 2, p. 327.—Why Mr. d'Herbelot (loc. cit.) thinks

and the defeated Goths were allowed, for the time, to retire without occupying the attention or exciting the fears of their conquerors.

According to the custom of the Arabs, Taric Ben Zayad hastened to despatch to the African Emir the head of Roderick, and with it, a detail of his brilliant success, of the vast riches of the country, and of the barbaric splendour which he had found among the spoils. But though Muza affected to receive these tidings with the highest satisfaction, he in reality envied Taric's renown, and in writing to the Caliph, attributed the great success to his own talents and good fortune. At

the Arabs were ignorant of the conquests of the Vandals, seems extraordinary, since they had driven them from Carthage, Mauritania and Africa.

the same time, he resolved to pursue this good fortune in person, by embarking for Europe without delay ; in order to prevent any accession of fame to his lieutenant, he wrote to him to suspend all hostilities, alleging the necessity of a strong reinforcement to his army, and suggesting the propriety of waiting the further orders from Damascus. The passion of jealousy, while it turns to gall the noblest feelings of the heart, appears to attack and undermine both the sagacity, and intellect of its victim. For the Caliph smiled in derision at the empty boast of Muza, and the hero of Spain penetrated, at a glance, his unworthy motives. Induced by this knowledge, and by the state of the conquered province, he disregarded the instructions, and ventured

to push on his career of victory, without loss of time. The situation of the Gothic troops, the alarm of the inhabitants at the new and unknown invaders, rendered it highly necessary not to allow time for the former to reassemble in bodies, or for the latter to diminish in its intensity. For this purpose, therefore, he held a grand council of war in Seville, where he proposed his plans, which were received by his comrades with enthusiasm, and acted on with energy. In the parting review of his soldiers, Taric distributed among them rewards, and extolled their bravery, and while he pointed out to them the scenes of further conquests, he laid down the most effectual methods, by which they could be achieved, by recommending the strictest discipline

among themselves, and the utmost possible clemency towards their enemies. The sentiments, and nearly the words of Abou Bekr to the invading army of Syria, were repeated by the son of Zahad to the forces of the Caliph, on the rich plains of Andalousia.

“ Spare, O soldiers of Mohammed, spare the vanquished, and let your swords descend only where resistance makes it unavoidable ; beware how you spoliage the poor and unresisting inhabitant of the country, and remember that you can only lawfully pillage after the storming of those cities which have refused to surrender to our generosity and thus brave our vengeance.”* Maxims of

* MSS. of an Arabic writer in the Escorial, (French translation.)

unparalleled forbearance, rarely recommended by the sagacity of the generals, still more rarely obeyed by the exulting soldier in the heat of conquest, or flushed with the intoxication of the battle field.

Taric then divided his army into three divisions, the first of which, led by the valiant El Roumi, was dispatched for the conquest of Cordova ; the second, under the orders of Aben Kesadi, advanced towards Malaga ; while he assumed the command of the third himself, and marched by Jaén, on Toledo, the residence of the Gothic Kings.

El Roumi offered the Cordovans protection for their persons and property, on condition of receiving the troops, and paying the tribute of the Caliph. Em-

boldened by the strength of their ramparts, encouraged by the presence of some few soldiers of the shattered forces of Roderick, they had the imprudence to refuse the mild proposal of the Arabian, and to offer resistance to his arms. In the obscurity of night, the Moslems scaled the walls, and opened the gates to the remainder of their forces ; the garrison fled for refuge to one of the churches, and the inhabitants, astounded at the activity of the Arabs, surrendered at discretion, to the mercy of their conquerors. El Roumi, after attacking and destroying the church and all that it contained, re-established order in the city ; caused certain hostages to be delivered up as guarantee for its submission, and then quietly resumed his march, and continued his conquests.

Aben Kèsadi, on his side, pursued the same measures, and met with similar results. Before the magnificent city of Toledo, Taric Ben Zàhad encamped his forces. Soldiers of the discomfited army had already retired within its walls, to spread the renown of the Arabs, by exhibiting their own disgrace, and to augment the number of the forces, by that exaggeration which is ever produced by fear. The comrades of Don Roderick were slain, or wandering in unknown places ; many of the nobles had retired, with their families, from Toledo on the first alarm, and in this position, the citizens, unable and unwilling to contend with a conqueror whose fame had inspired them with dread and admiration, sent out deputies to offer capitulation, and to treat the terms. The generous Arab received these messengers with urbanity, mildly discussed the con-

ditions, and offered those who wished to depart free permission ; but in that case their property was confiscated ; to those who chose to remain, full protection for their persons, their property, and their trade, the free exercise of their religion, the possession of their churches and the administration of their own municipal laws by magistrates of their own choice. He seized for his own use all their arms and horses ; he exacted a moderate tribute for his sovereign ; he restrained the citizens from augmenting the number of Christian temples, without express permission, and from having any jurisdiction except on their own particular affairs. Such* was the treaty proposed, which was eagerly, one may

* MSS. of an Arabic writer in the Escorial, (French translation).

imagine, gratefully, accepted by the Toledo citizens, who received within their gates a chieftain whose name is as famous for his sagacity, moderation, and mild firmness, as it is for his indomitable enthusiasm and reckless valour in the field. In the palace, Taric found enormous wealth, piled in barbaric and useless splendour, and the crowns of the twenty-five monarchs of Spain, who ruled from Evaricus to Roderick.

At this juncture, Muza, the victim of envy, arrived in Spain at the head of about 20,000 men, chiefly drawn from the Berber and African provinces. He had left his eldest son Abdelaziz as governor during his absence, and was accompanied by his two younger children, Abdallolà and Mernan, and many

warriors of distinction had followed the army of the Emir.

But while Muza pursued his designs against Taric, he was sagacious enough to approve and imitate his wise policy. The town of Seville, after that warrior had departed on his career of victory, had revolted against the Arab power, and thither Muza directed his steps, blockaded the town, and, on its surrender, dealt leniently with its inhabitants. Bending his course westward, he took successively many towns of Lusitanas and the Algarve, and at length pitched his camp before the walls of the lovely Merida. This ancient capital excited his admiration; its numerous temples, its lofty walls, its palaces and commanding situation, rendered it, indeed, an object worthy of conquest. Here the

Arabians encountered a long resistance, and the sagacity of Muza, anticipating such an event, had already caused orders to be sent to his son Abdelaziz, to reinforce, with another strong body of men, the Emir's troops. The siege was obstinate, and lasted, with various success, till the arrival of the son of Muza with 7000 horse, and a large detachment of Berber warriors. The sight of this fresh accession of strength, joined to the continual and harassing attacks of the Arabs, produced vast depression among the Meruans, and, at length, decided them on offering to capitulate upon easy terms. The deputation from the city was, for this purpose, introduced to the presence of Ben Nozeir, and were struck with his venerable and majestic appearance. The credulous historians relate

an absurd story of the tact of Muza, on this occasion ; but the trick, if attempted, would easily have been discovered, and is equally too much against probability, and beneath history to notice.*

Touched by their modest pretension, and respecting the courage they had displayed, the Emir granted them the most lenient terms. On the 7th of July 712, the Arabs entered and took possession of this opulent city. Meanwhile, Taric pursued his advantages to the utmost. Placing a governor in Toledo, he pursued the flying bands of his foes into the recesses of the mountains, fought, and dispersed them ; crossed the Gua-

* A notion prevailed that Muza was very old, and he is said to have dyed his beard black, and thus deceived the deputies of Merida. Vide Casiri, Cardonne, &c.

dalaxara, and penetrated into the district of Galicia, where, in a town whose site is now uncertain, he found and seized the famous table, at that time supposed to have been brought from Jerusalem, and which afterwards figured, on a memorable occasion, before the Caliph at Damascus.* Hence he returned,

* When at Damascus, Muza claimed, as his own conquest, this precious table; the Caliph Suleiman observed that one of its legs was of a different make and material from the others; to this Muza replied, that in this mutilated state he had found it, and had added the wanting one by the leg in gold, whereupon, Taric produced the real leg, which he had broken off and kept back, to the utter discomfiture of the envious Muza.

For the vast designs of Muza as to conquest and dominion, see Cardonne, tome i. p. 95 and 96, and Novairo, Hist. Sb. tome i. The former says the fate of Taric was never known, and he therefore pre-

crowned with laurels to Toledo, and towards that city Muza Ben Nozeir now advanced to confront his lieutenant, and to make him render an account of his disobedient conduct. Taric, well aware of the part it was expedient to play, appeared before the Emir with that confidence which a clear conscience inspires, but without any of that presumption, which, by irritating the jealous feelings, might draw down the irreconcilable hatred of Muza. The chieftains met at Talavera ; the anger of Muza was calmed by the respectful demeanour of his lieutenant, and his cupidity was gratified by the rich presents which had been brought for his acceptance. Taric represented that he had acted from zeal, and thence he passed the remainder of his days in quiet obscurity.

and from the wish to pursue that line of conduct, which, he felt persuaded, the Emir himself would have adopted, had he been in Spain.

Muza received the gifts, but not the apology, and no sooner were they within Toledo, than he divested Taric of the command, as having disobeyed the orders of the Caliph. The council of war, in whose presence this despotic act occurred, preserved a heavy silence, till El Roumi, the faithful friend and comrade, opened his speech in these terms : “ Oh ! Emir of the Caliph ! the brilliant exploits of my friend are the admiration of all our army. Not disgrace, but the greatest rewards should rightly be his. Beware, then ! how you excite the hatred of the soldiers ; the virtues of Taric have surrounded him with many friends, and

the sight of his ill-treatment might cause fatal results."

Unoffended by such boldness, Muza conferred on El Roumi the command, which he refused to restore to Taric, and feelings so unworthy of himself and of his high station, remained unchanged towards that general.

Abdelaziz, after the subjugation of Andalousia, led his triumphant soldiers into the province of Murcia. In this part of Spain, under the title of Prince of the Goths, resided Theodimir, the ancient lieutenant of Roderick, who had vainly attempted to stem the torrent of the first Arabian descent. There, after the disastrous day of the Guadalèta, he had sought, behind the Sierra Morena, an asylum and retreat from the fiery warriors of the East, and by prudence

and valour, had contrived to unite a small force, rallying round his standard the remains of the conquered army. Abdelaziz, now proceeded to attack him, but the Arabs found Tadmir Ben Gobdos, as they termed him, a sagacious, as well as valiant enemy.

Remembering, and fearing the attack of the Arab cavalry, Tadmir avoided all the plains and valleys, and on the gorge and the hill-side he planted his troops, who, thus advantageously placed, waged a tedious and harassing warfare with Abdelaziz. But vainly the Goth flattered himself with the hopes of a permanent resistance, Abdelaziz, and Hahib his lieutenant, at length forced him to the desperate alternative, of seeing his capital Murgos seized, or of venturing a pitched battle. Theodomir reluctantly

threw himself on the latter expedient, and his defeat attested, at least, his sagacity. The Christians were totally routed, and forced to retire behind the ramparts of Auriola. Here Theodimir attempted a successful stratagem. With very few soldiers, and no chance of a reinforcement, he dressed a number of women in military array, and placed them along the walls and towers of the citadel.

The Arabs were deceived, and instead of rushing to the assault, advanced slowly and cautiously towards the walls. Theodomir reaped the benefit of his ready invention; he demanded and obtained a parley; he was his own ambassador, and the treaty* between the

* Bib. Arab. Hisp. de Casin., tome ii. p. 106.
Conde, vol. i. c. 15.

Arab prince and the Goth, is alike creditable to generosity and justice, and when the latter explained the mystery of his success to the wondering Arabs, their Sheiks applauded, nor was Abdelaziz angry at the happy deception.

Granada, Jaen, and other towns submitted with little or no resistance, and thus Murcia was added to the empire of Damascus. In the palace of that city the feelings of Muza were not viewed by his sovereign in the manner he had either hoped or anticipated, and the result was a positive command to reinstate the deprived general in all his honours ; an order which was inevitable, though reluctantly obeyed.

After their forced and affected reconciliation, these two officers divided the strength of their army, and Taric turned

his conquering steps towards the east. Muza went northward, and victory followed all his actions. Salamanca and other places yielded at his summons, while the siege of Zaragossa, undertaken by Taric, was so valiantly defended, that the army of Muza was forced to cooperate, ere this rallying point for Spanish heroism* could be overcome and taken. After this important conquest, the two commanders again separated ; while Taric following the Ebro, reduced a vast number of towns to submission. In all these expeditions, the noble integrity of Taric

* Celebrated in the annals of Rome, of the Goths of the Arabs and of the Spaniards, for valour and patriotism, and in our days Palafox, and the maid of Saragossa are names as familiar as they are respectable.

was most conspicuously contrasted with the conduct of Muza, for while Ben-Nozeir scrupled not to enrich himself and family, on all occasions, Ben Zayad set apart, with the zeal of a loyal subject, and a devout Mussulman, one fifth part of the booty taken for the Caliph's treasury, while he abandoned the remainder to his officers and soldiers. The avaricious conduct of Muza was severely commented on by Taric in his despatches to the Caliph, and Muza did not fail, on his side, to colour the motives, and blacken the character of Taric.

This conduct produced a fatal result not only to Spain, but to the two generals implicated, for Walid recalled them both to Damascus, as well to put a stop to complaints, of which he was weary ; as

to prevent any reverses to the success of the Arabs, which their jealousy and mutual vindictiveness might occasion. Leaving the lieutenant Hahib at the head of the forces, Taric departed instantly to obey the orders of his sovereign. He was received by Walid with all the admiration that the conqueror was entitled to expect, and the Caliph alleged, as the motive for his recall, that the power of Muza, and the number of his children had rendered Spain no longer a safe residence for Ben Zayad.

The ingenious Taric entered at length into an explanation of his conduct, and ended by these emphatic words: "As for my actions, sire, ask all the Mussulmans in thy armies, what Taric Ben Zayad has ever proved; whether in Africa,

whether in the Spanish land, ask it even of the Christians ; let *them* declare if they have ever seen me act the coward, the tyrant, or the spoiler.”

The Caliph replied, that he was well aware of the true facts, and that he applauded both the policy, and the bravery of his general. Muza Ben Nogier quitted the luxuriant fields of his triumphs, with a slow and unwilling step, and arranged the governments of his emirship in a manner, that plainly indicated his hope in a speedy return.

Abdelaziz was named deputy governor of all Andalousia, Abdala that of the army ; and after fixing the seat of the government at Seville, and intrusting its councils to the wise and prudent Ayub, (also a relation,) he quitted Spain on board the admiral's ship for Tangiers,

where he arrived in safety, and loaded with enormous treasure. Here, he placed his second son Abdalala, as sub-governor of western Africa; and then continued with a heavy heart, his road to Syria. As he approached, he met the tidings of the death of Walid, and of the accession of Suleiman, and his apprehensions rose on the news. Nor were his forebodings vain; forgetful of his services, of his age, and of his long career of brilliant success, the new Caliph received him coldly, degraded him publicly; and then, excited by the most odious of all feeling, hatred to the man he had so basely injured.* This vile successor of the prophet, proceeded to enact one of

* “*Proprium humani genii est odisse quem læseris,*”
is the remark of Tacitus.

those bloody tragedies, of which the palaces and the passions of Asiatic monarchs have so often been the theatre and the cause.

The sons of Muza who were left in Africa, were deposed and secretly murdered ; and the Caliph sent on mandates to Spain, to carry on the same intentions into effect against Abdelaziz, the governor of that province, and the eldest son of the aged Muza.

This young and gallant prince, the friend of Tadmir the Goth, and the mildest of conquerors, had closely allied himself with the Christian cause by espousing the widow of Roderick, of whose charms he had become enamoured on his entry into Seville.*

* Arab MSS. in the Escorial, Casiri, Conde, Joseph and Novain, tom. 1. p. 310.

These circumstances enabled the Caliph's myrmidons to execute their orders with the greater facility, since the first steps they took, were to raise suspicions among the faithful of the sincerity of Abdelaziz.

From his country residence, the Arab prince repaired to the mosque of Seville, to render up his matin prayers; the assassins chose this hour for the perpetration of their deed, and his head was sent to Damascus, in token of the instructions having been obeyed, with a refinement of cruelty hardly credible. The ferocious Caliph exhibited the head of his son to the unfortunate father, asking him at the same time if he recognised it. The wretched Muza, after bestowing no measured curses on the murderous despot, quitted in haste the palace, the city,

and the world, and rushing into the deserts of Arabia, there found in death, the effectual relief to his misery.

Suleiman survived but a year, (A.D. 716) the victim of his tyranny ; the Arab Scheiks of Spain elected Ayub the nephew, or son in-law of Ben Nozeir, who continued to fight and to conquer. The jealousy of Omar the second, deposed this governor on account of his relation to Muza, and named Alhaur El Kaisi in his place. This governor invaded the Narbonnese territory ; but greedy of plunder, and savage in temper, he only enriched himself with the hatred of both Arab and Christian.

In the most inland parts of 'northern Spain, amidst mountains almost inaccessible, and in a province whose length and

breadth are comprised within thirty miles,* the last and the most hardy remnant of the Goths of Guadaleta, had found a safe retreat, and established a government of their own. One of their warriors, whose birth is uncertain, and whose name is imperfectly known as Pelasgus, seizing from time to time opportunities as they occurred, assembled forces and ammunition, and now after a lapse of some years, came boldly forward to harass the power of the Moslems, and to offer a powerful resistance to the torrent of their success.

In the towns of Gallicia, Leon, and the Asturias, the discontents of the Chris-

* Geogr. de Danville, tom 2. p. 195. Edrissi, p. 913, and Malte-Brun Geogr. Univ. p. 496, 497. Ed. 1838.

tians were manifest and considerable. Their obstinate bravery had caused great trouble to their conquerors, and the terms of their submission were consequently less mild and supportable than those imposed on the southern provinces ; the result was necessarily that the submission was imperfect.

Thus a formidable power was gradually rising against the standard of Islamism, and which, while it kept from time to time the Moslems in check, sagaciously seized the opportunity of their growing dissensions to augment and extend ; till at length the seed sown by a few hardy warriors on the ruins of their despair covered the whole land, and led in turn to the overthrow of the Arab power and pride. For the space of twenty years,

the attacks and defence of the bands of Asturias annoyed and surprised the soldiers of the Caliph ; at the expiration of that time, their sagacious chief Pelasgus had increased his territory, established Oviedo as his capital, and left to his successors, and son in-law Alphonso, an augmenting power and people.

Alhaur-el-Kaisi was succeeded by Ambisa, and his power was again cut short by the nomination of Abderhamen to that post by the Caliph's governor in Africa. The sagacity and the temperate firmness of Abderhamen appeased the growing dissensions of the Mussulman, and again consolidated their power. But Ambisa by ingenious representations to the Emir in Africa, denounced this general as unworthy of the trust reposed

in him. Related by birth to the Emir, his suggestions were adopted, and he succeeded to Abderahmen's place.

The generous warrior testified neither resentment nor surprise ; he complimented Ambisa on his accession, and resumed the post he had previously held, as an officer in the army. Ambisa, however, does not appear altogether unworthy of our esteem ; he applied himself to regulate the finances, and to the collecting of the taxes ; and with a rare justice and benevolence, he gave to his countrymen only such lands as were unappropriated, allowing no infringement of the property of Christian or Jew.

He constructed a beautiful bridge at Cordova, and otherwise embellished that town ; and in a personal survey of the provinces, he redressed, with a rigid im-

partiality, the grievances of all sects and creeds. The Tarragonese were defeated by him in an attempted revolt, and he more than once invaded the territories, and alarmed the inhabitants of Gaul. About this period, the news that the long expected Messiah of the Jews had appeared in Syria, in the person of one Zhonar, induced this credulous people to leave riches, family and friends, to hear and follow their new prodigy. Ambisa quietly saw them depart, and then confiscated their chattels to the crown.

The following year he was slain in battle near the banks of the Rhone, in an attack which he had made on the Gauls. Othman became his successor, and was speedily deposed by the order of Haschem the Caliph.

Alhaitam a Syrian, was the next gover-

nor of Spain, of a low and servile disposition, harsh to his friends, cruel to his enemies, he was at once hated and despised by his countrymen, and by all in Spain. Plots were carried on against him by the Arabian Sheiks, and confused disunion checked the progress of dominion, and gave renewed strength and hopes to the enemies of the Caliphate. In the end, the court of Damascus was constrained to send an officer, Mohammed Ben Abdallah, to inquire into the conduct of Alhaitam, and to calm the troubles of the army.

He deposed Alhaitam, and reinstated the philosophic and faithful Abderahmen in his post. This excellent governor applied himself with sagacity and zeal to rectify abuses, and to increase the prosperity of the people.

Two whole years were employed by him in going all over Spain, in listening to complaints, and in redressing grievances ; in his decisions, he allowed no difference in religious tenets to have any weight. He divested many Cadi of the power they had abused, and of the trusts they had violated ; he restored to the Christians the temples of which they had been deprived, and he attempted, by all the means of which he could avail himself, to palliate the evils of the conquered tribes, by restraining the rapacity of the victors.

After these acts, one mighty object of ambition occupied all his thoughts, namely, the conquest of the entire of Gaul, if not of Europe. For this purpose, he wrote to the African government to send over large bodies of troops,

and his demand had been immediately complied with. He marched these towards the frontiers, and wrote to the general commanding the Pyrennean passes, to attempt, without delay, an entrance into the Narbonese.

This Arab was Abou Neza, Othman, or Mugnoz,* an officer of great distinction, and much ability; and had there existed in his mind an equal desire to extend the power of the Caliph, or to carry further the creed and standard of the Prophet, all Europe would have reeled under the coming shock, and many centuries might not have been found sufficient to have stemmed the course of Mohammed's followers, while

* Mons. Conde names him Othman, but most other writers give the name of Mugniaz, or Mugnoz, or Abou Neza.

this meditated attack on the great powers of Europe might have been the prelude to a long and varied struggle between the cross and the crescent. In this event, the warriors, who, three centuries later, buckled on their shield and swords to invade the Moslem in his own fastnesses and in his own land, would have been occupied in defending their ancestral domains, and in withstanding the charge of the impetuous Arab on the plains of Europe

But the lieutenant of Abderhamen answered not the call; he had become enamoured of a Christian maiden, and the charms of Lampagia, the daughter of the Duke of Aquitaine, had secured the friendship of the Arab for her country, and his fond affection for herself. Among the narrow gorges of the Narbonnese

frontier, the noble warrior had fixed his residence of Alhûb, or the gate, and had concluded a treaty of peace, if not of alliance, with his father-in-law Eudes.

Irritated by this account, which was dispatched to him, Abderahmen sent soldiers to Alhûb, to watch the motions and prevent the treachery of Abou Neza. This last precaution was already too late ; the Duke of Aquitaine was apprised of the fearful preparations in hand ; while the appearance of the Sheik Gaahdi, and the Emir's troops, spread dismay on all the household of Abou Neza. Gaahdi pursued him and his suite to the fastnesses of the mountains, where he harassed him by a close and continual pursuit. At length, wearied with anxiety and fatigue, Abou Neza stopped to assuage the thirst of a hot day's march, in

the calm shadow of a fountain, and there attempted to reanimate the drooping Lampagia, the beloved companion of his flight. But he was suddenly alarmed by the tramp of his pursuers, and looking round, beheld the soldiers of Gaahdi. His retinue instantly fled, and Abou Neza sold his own life, at the expense of many, among his foes. His head was cut off, and Lampagia led away captive, and both were shortly afterwards forwarded to Damascus; the one to ornament its walls, the other to adorn the harem of its prince.*

* Her name is imperfectly known; her fate appears accurately recorded. She may have been called Lampazia, or Menina, or Memerania, but she married the Governor of the Pyrenees, she was the daughter of Eudes, and she ended her days at Damascus. Vide MSS. Arab.—Abrégé Cronol. tome

The news of this event, the hopeless loss of his daughter, and the rumour of an approaching army of 250,000 Arabians, struck the Duke of Aquitaine with feelings of grief and despair ; feelings, daily augmented, by the fearful rapidity with which the army of the 'crescent marched and triumphed, from the frontiers of Catalonia to the city of Bordeaux. In that place, uncertain accounts lead us to suppose, the Prince of Aquitaine fell in battle. At the passage of the

p. 192. Marianna, Hist. tome i. Casiri Bib. Hisp., Arabic, tome i, p. 199, &c. The name of the lieutenant of the Caliph is called by Conde, Othman Ben Neza, or Abou Neza ; he says " Este Abou Neza es el que en nuestras antiguas cronicas y en las de Francia, se llama Munuza, fue facil depravar el Abou-neza en Munuza, en algunas copias Aribigas, le llama Abous Tezza."—Vol. i, chap. 23.

Garonne, or the Dordogne* the army of Abderahmen was again opposed, and in vain, by the troops of Poitou and Angoulême.

Covered with booty, and satiated with carnage, they pursued their march. City after city was attacked, defended, and sacked, till the walls of Tours, at length, met the eyes, and excited the desires of these impetuous children of the desert.

All France now rose up in arms at the terrifying news; each province, alarmed at such an invading, and apparently, invincible force, united to defend home, and altar; the petty feuds of rivalry and jealousy were forgotten or quenched, and the hero of Austrasia, Charles Martel, took the command of

* Here the Christian and Arabic historians are at variance with each other and among themselves.

that army, on whose success hung the destinies of France, Europe, and, perhaps, the universe.

In the year 743, the siege of Tours occupied the Arab arms, and its possession increased their hopes and their pride. In the autumn of the same year, in the plains between that city and Poitiers, the ensign of Mahommed, and the banner of the cross were seen arrayed against each other in deadly strife. For the first, and for the last time, the ancestors of St. Louis, and of Cœur de Lion, waged war with the Infidel on Christian soil.

The battle is said to have lasted seven days, and all that skill and devoted bravery could suggest or achieve, was brought to bear on the last and most important day. Each commander strove, with all his ar-

dour, intelligence and valour. To the Arab, his defeat would prove an insuperable barrier, to all further progress, and would force him to retreat, step by step, over foreign ground, and amidst the retaliations of people of a different faith and tongue, and smarting from newly received injuries to the Frenchmen ; the victory would be the means of retrieving their honour, repelling in future the attacks of enemies as formidable, as they were hateful.

Fate decided for the Christians ; in streams of blood, Charles Martel washed away the insult, which the appearance of the Arab standards in Touraine had inflicted ; and the setting sun of this portentous day glared upon the tremendous slaughter of of the Arabs,* the

† See Ximenes of Toledo. Hist Arab, c. 12. to 14.

death of Abderahmen and the waving banners which proclaimed the victory and the safety of the Christian warriors of Europe.

and Cardonne tom 1. p. 131. 37,500 Arabs, and only 1500 Christians were attempted to be palmed on the world as the respective losses of the Moslemah, and Franks on this great day.

END OF VOL. I.

