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MEADOWS OF GOLD AND MINES OF GEMS.

BY:-

EL

:- MASUDI

PREFACE.

"Some authors treat in their works exclusively on history, as el-Mas'údí in his book entitled THE MEADOWS OF GOLD; in which he describes the state of the nations and countries of the East and West, as they were in his age, that is to say, in 330 (332), A.H. He gives an account of the genius and usages of the nations, a description of the countries, mountains, seas, kingdoms, and dynasties; and he distinguishes the Arabian race from the Barbarians. El-Mas'údí became, through his work, the prototype of

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وقد كان الناس يغردونه ( ) بالـ يقف كما فعله
المسعودي في كتاب مروج الذهب هذا ح فيه احوال الامم
والاناق لعهده في عصر الثلاثين اما اية غربا وشرقا وذكر
محلهم و عوايدهم و و صف ا والجبال والبحار والممالك
ودوله

all historians to whom they refer, and the authority on which they rely in the critical estimate of many facts, which form the subject of their labours.

"Then came el-Bekri, who followed the example of el-Mas'údí, but only in geography, and not with respect to other objects (ethnography and history); for the events which had taken place in his time, after el-Mas'údí, in the relative position and state of nations, and in the spirit of times (literally, the generations) were not material. But, at present, at the end of the eighth century, a complete revolution has taken place with the Maghrib, where we live.

"I take advantage, in this book, of all the opportunities of collecting information

والدول وفرق شعوب العرب والعجم فصار اماما للمورخين
يرجعون اليه واصلا يعولون في تحقيق الكثير من اخبارهم
عليه ثم جاء البكري بعده ففعل مثل ذلك في المسالك
والممالك خاصة دون من الاحوال لان الامم والاجيال
لعهده لم يقع فيها ما قال ولا عظيم تغير واما لهذا
العهد هو اخر المائة قد انقلبت (انقلبت) احوال
المغرب الذي نحن نسكنه

which are at my command here in the Maghrib, to give an idea (of human society and its history), and a systematical and full account (of the facts referring to this subject). But my particular object is to describe the Maghrib, and the condition of the inhabitants of this part of the globe in different periods (literally, the condition of the generations) and of its various nations, and to give a narrative of the kingdoms which flourished here, and of the dynasties which ruled over it. I must exclude the history of other countries, for I do not know the condition and circumstances in which the Eastern countries, and the nations who live there, are; and mere report, however exact it may be, does not enable me to accomplish the task which I have in view. El-Mas'údí has fully accomplished this task, having made very extensive journeys, and

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وانا ذاكر في كتابي هذا ما امكنني منه في هذا
قطر الغربي اما صريحا و اما (او) مندرجا فى اخباره
و تلويحا لاختصاص قصدي فى التاليف بالمغرب واحوال
اجياله و امه وذكر ممالكه ودوله دون ما سواه من الاقطار

form of religion for the uneducated, and as philosophy or as an instrument to lead the great mass, for men in power, have grown up from the character of each nation, or were embraced by the nation, if they had been first pronounced by one man or a prophet. He shows us particularly, in the second part, how such opinions served as a spiritual link to connect man with man, to strengthen the ties of blood and language, and to cover interests with the veil of sacredness; and how religious opinions brought nations into conflict with each other.

El-Mas'údí has the merit of treating the tenets of all sects with equal attention; and ancient traditions which had existed in the East for thousands of years, seem to have been melted, as it were, in his mind, into one original idea, as they had flowed from one common source. In this respect, even his History of the Creation is of interest; for he unites the traditions respecting cosmogony which were kept up in the East, together with the documents of Moses and Sanchoniaton, with the Scriptural accounts*.

* This may be shown by the classification of the fruit trees

Although the praise which Ibn Khaldún gives to El-Mas'údí, considering him as the Imám of all Arabic historians, does not apply to the first period of Arabic literature; yet he may indeed be considered as the representative of the learning of the second period: the importance of his work must therefore be identified with that of Mohammedan literature generally. But the usefulness of Oriental studies has been questioned by a class of men whose opinions deserve

which el-Mas'údí gives, p. 60 *infra*, which is a tradition of the Guebres, and agrees as well with the Zend-Avesta, as if it were a translation: " Tout arbre qui vient dans les deux Mondes, (dont) le bois (est) sec ou humide, et qui est cultivé (par la main de l'homme), porte des fleurs et des fruits, est de trente espèces.

Dix (de ces) espèces (portent des fruits) dont on peut manger le dédans et le dehors, comme le figuier, le pommier, le coignassier, l'oranger, la vigne, le mûrier, le dattier, le myrthe, et les autres arbres de cette espèce.

Dix (espèces portent des fruits), dont on peut manger le dédans, comme le dattier, le pêcher, l'abricotier blanc, et les autres arbres de cette espèce.

Ceux-ci (les dix dernières espèces, portent des fruits), dont on peut manger le dédans, et dont on ne doit pas manger le dehors, sçavoir, le noyer, l'amandier, le grenadier, le cocotier, le noisetier, le châteignier, le pistachier sauvage, le noyer, dont le fruit a la coquille tendre. Il y a encore beaucoup d'arbres fruitiers de cette espèce." (Boun Dehesch xxvii., vol. ii., p. 406.)

respect. These dry grammatical studies, being mostly a task for memory, enslave the mind, and contract its horizon, instead of enlarging it; whereas, all pursuits which have no practical use should contribute to raise the energies of man, to enlarge his views on the condition of mankind, and to make him more free. This is their language. It is, therefore, the best introduction for the reader to our author, and for our author to the reader, to devote this Preface to some considerations on the relation of Oriental studies to the present state of European knowledge. It is the more necessary to speak on this point, that the reader may know the tendency of the notes of the translator, otherwise he might be blamed for his endeavour, because it cannot be denied, that the senseless learning displayed by some philologists, of all denominations, in their notes, full of useless quotations, are the overflowings of a weak brain, but industrious hand, and as offensive to common sense as the eructations of a weak but overloaded stomach, with which they may be compared.

It may be presumed that, if we had an

exact picture of the rise, progress, height, and downfall of a nation, we might, by comparison, come to the result, that there are certain laws in the growth of nations, as we observe them in individuals, which develope certain faculties and feelings at certain periods of historical life.* And how should it be otherwise,—since we find that certain tendencies, wants, and ideas, are as constantly met with in the mind of man, under every climate and circumstance, as the laws of nature are in matter? So, for instance, there is no human being who has not a tendency to rise above others, as there is no matter without gravity. The spirited feels this tendency as ambition, the idle as vanity, the weak as fashion, the affectionate mother as love and foresight for her child, and only the self-conceited carries his vanity so far as to think that he is free from it. In a society

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* Ibn Kaldún, who started this idea four or five centuries before Herder and Lessing, devotes a chapter of his Prolegomena to it, which is inscribed فى ان الدول لها اعمار طبيعية كالاشخاص "that ruling nations go through natural periods of life like individuals."

where all are equal, every one will strive to raise himself above the rest, and to rule; and if one man stands so high that he cannot be outdone, it will appear a worthy prize of exertion to approach him, and to gain his favour by servility. The ambition of youth consists in noble enthusiasm; but as soon as man has been taught by disappointment to be *wise*, and as soon as he is rooted and fettered to life by wife and children, his objects are morematerial. There is no great action, good or bad, to which youth cannot be led by imagination, as there is no baseness and dishonesty to which a married man is not ready, provided it promises a safe profit for himself and his race. We find exactly the same in nations. What high actions were performed by the Arabs when they first came forth from their deserts; and to what baseness did they sink when their state had become old and rotten! The Greek and Roman history presents us with more known, but not more decided, examples; for the rest there is no need of going so far; we find examples at home. The history of modern Europe dates since the Crusades, when the sceptre of the

and be distinguished neither by majesty nor by a greater share in the revenue, nor will his person be particularly protected and sacred. He will not enjoy any privilege before the rest, as a natural consequence of patriotism, which alone gives conquest, and which does not (immediately) cease after victory.

"In the second phase the man who stands at the head of the dynasty, acquires the sovereignty over his own nation: he appropriates to himself exclusively the royalty (over the conquered nation), and

في هذا الطور اسوة قومه فى اكتساب المجد وجباية المال و المدافعة عن الحورة والحماية لا ينفرد دونهم بشي لان ذلك هو مقتضي العصبية التى وقع بها الغلب وهي لم تزل (بعد) بحالها*

الطور الثانى طور الاستبداد علي قومه والانفراد دونهم

* By rendering the word العصبية, I change an Arabic idea into an European notion. The Arab loves his family, his tribe, and his nation: they are his parents, his brothers, his children. But the free Bedouin is not attached to the soil. We have a similar predilection for our native soil. Compare the note to page 176, *infra*.

keeps his tribe at a distance, instead of allowing them an equal share (in the emoluments of the conquest), and of associating with them. The characteristics of this phase are, that the sovereign will connect a great number of men with his personal interests, by office and adoption, with whom he surrounds himself to counteract the overbearing character of his countrymen (relations) who have assisted him in the conquest; and who, having equal claims by birth, demand an equal share in power. He excludes them from the administration, keeps them at a distance from his person, and repels them if they should intrude, to the end that the power may remain in his hands, and that his family may be distinguished by the ma-

بالملك وكبحهم علي (عن) التطاول للمساهمة والمشاركة و يكون صاحب الدولة في هذه الطور معينا (معنيا) باصطناع الرجال و اتخاذ الموالي والصنايع والاستكثار من ذلك لجدع انوف اهل عصبيته و عشيرته المقاسمين له فى نسبه الضاربين فى الملك بمثل سهمه فهو يدافعهم عن الا مور ويصدهم عن موارده ويردهم علي اعقابهم ان يخلصوا اليه حتي يقر الامر في نصابه ويفرد اهل بيته بما يبنى من مجده فيعاني من

jesty of which he has laid the foundation. He is now as anxious to keep them off, and to subdue them, as the first conquerors were in their contest for the kingdom: and he goes still further than they did; for they had to do with foreigners, so that the difference between the two parties was distinctly marked, for they were all connected by patriotism in their wars, whereas he has to contend with his relations; and his assistants in his manœuvres are the minority, consisting of strangers: he must therefore brave difficulties.

"In the third stage he gives himself up to comforts, for he has attained his object, and is now enjoying the fruits of the supreme power, indulging in pleasure, for which the

مدا فعتهم و مغالبتهم مثل ما عاناه الاولون في طلب الامر او اشد لان الاولين دافعوا الاجانب فكان ظهرا وهم علي مدافعتهم اهل العصبية باجمعهم و هذا مدافع الاقارب (و) لا يظاهره على مدافعتهم الا الاقل من الاباعد فيركب صعبا من الامور (الامر) ۞

الطور الثالث الفراغ والدعة لتحصيل ثمرات الملك مما ينزع طباع البشر اليه من تحصيل المال و تخليد الاثار

human mind has a natural inclination: as to increase the revenue, to found lasting monuments, to have great fame. The sovereign, therefore, directs his intentions towards the revenue department and increases it; he keeps the balance between income and expenditure; he calculates the expenses and the object which he gains by them; he erects numerous buildings, great fabrics, extensive cities, and lofty public monuments; he receives the nobles of the nation and the chiefs of the tribes who come as envoys to his court to do him homage; and he is kind to those who are in his service. His favourites and suite enjoy at the same time great wealth and importance; his standing army is kept

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وبعد الصبيت فيستفرغ وسعه فى الجبايات و ضبط الدخل والخرج واحصاء النفقات والقصد فيها و تشييد المبانى الحافلة والمصانع العظيمة و الامصار المتسعة و الهياكل المرتفعة واجازة الوفود من اشراف الامم و وجوه القبايل وبث المعروف مع اهله هذا مع التوسعة علي صنايعه و حاشيته فى احوالهم بالمال والجاه واعتراض جنوده وادرار ارزاقهم وانصافهم في اعطياتهم لكل هلال حتى يظهر اثر ذلك عليهم فى ملابسهم و زيهم وشارتهم (وشكتهم) ايام الزينة فيباهي

in good order; they have ample pay, which is regularly received every new moon; the consequences of this regularity are to be seen in their dress, uniform, and appearance, on parade days. The allies of the sovereign in this phase boast of his friendship, and his enemies are filled with fear. This is the last phase of the sovereignty of those who stand at the head of the dynasty (*i.e.* the conquerors), for, hitherto, the conquerors have had absolute power to follow their views; they were distinguished by grandeur, as luminaries to posterity.

"The fourth phase is that of being contented, and of conservatism. The man who stands at the head of the conquerors

بهم الدول المسالمة ويرهب الدوله المحاربة وهذا الطور اخر اطوار الاستبداد من اصحاب الدولة لانهم فى هذه الاطوار كلها مستقلون بارايهم بانون (قانون) لعزهم موضحون الطرق لمن بعدهم ۞

الطور الرابع طور القنوع والمسالمة و يكون صاحب الدولة فى هذا قانعا بما بنى اولوه سلما لانظاره من الملوك واقتاله (واقياله) مقلدا للماضين من سلفه بتبع اثارهم حذ والنعل بالنعل ويقتفي طرقهم باحسن مناهج الاقتاد ويري ان

will content himself with keeping up what his predecessors have done; (he is no longer the mere *Emir of the conquering tribes,*) but he is equal to any other king, being an autocrat: he confirms what his predecessors have done and imitates them step by step (literally, he follows their slippers and shoes with his shoes). He acts in all instances after precedents, considering any deviation from their institutions as destructive, for he thinks they must have best understood the principles upon which they built his majesty.

"The fifth phase is that of prodigality and extravagance (and reform). The sovereign will squander away in this phase what his predecessors have gathered; giving himself up to pleasure and lust, and by prodigality

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فى الخروج عن تقليدهم فساد امره وانهم ابصر بما بنوا من مجده ۞

الطور الخامس طور الاسراف والتبذير و يكون صاحب الدولة في هذا الطور متلفا لما جمع اولوه في سبيل الشهوات والملاذ والكرم على بطانتها وفي مجالسها و اصطناع اخدان السوء و خضراء الدمن وتقليدهم عظيمات الامور التى لا

towards his intimates and courtiers, by patronising favourites of bad character, and a numerous rabble without principles, whom he appoints to the most important offices, which they are unable to manage; for they know neither what they have to do, nor what they have to avoid. Thus the great men who guide the (ruling) nation (by moral influence) and those who had come to importance through the favour of former sovereigns, are injured; hence, they take a dislike to the sovereign, and refuse to lend him their assistance: his army will thus be ruined, for the luxurious court spends the means in pleasures, instead of giving them their pay; he excludes them from every office in the administration, and does not show them any attention. Thus he destroys

يستقلون بحملها ولا يعرفون ما ياتون ويذرون منها
مستفسدا لكبارالاوليا من قومه وصنايع سلفه حتى يضطغنوا
عليه ويتخاذلوا عن نصرته مضيعا من جنده بما انفق
اعطياتهم في شهواته وحجب عنهم وجه مباشرته وتغقده
فيكون مخربا لما كان سلفه يوسسونه وهادما لما كانوا
يبنون وفي هذا الطور تحصل في الدولة طبيعة الهرم و

what his predecessors have built. In this phase the symptoms of the decline of the dynasty manifest themselves, and it suffers under a chronic disease, of which it cannot be cured: it hastens to dissolution."

The English reader will be surprised to find in the last two phases the outlines of the history of the present state of his own country,—the struggle between conservatism and reform,—written by an author who lived more than four centuries ago, in Africa, and hardly knew the name of England. Thus, his idea, "That ruling nations go through natural periods of life, like individuals," is confirmed; and this is the individual life, or historical career, of nations, and the result and object of particular history.

By comparing a great number of biographies of such nations as succeeded each other

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يستولي عليها المرض المزمن الذي لا يكاد يخلص منه ولا يكون لها معه برء الي ان ينقرض MS. of Leyden, No. 1350, i., fol. 66, *verso*. MS. of the British Museum, No. 9574, fol. 100, *verso*.

on the stage of history in the rule of the world, and in whom all the activity of mankind was concentrated and represented as at present in Europe, it might, perhaps, be proved by facts, what philosophers presume, that there are even certain laws as to when and how different nations enter on the stage of history, and what part they are to perform; for although certain qualities are universal to all men, every nation has an innate national character which constitutes its individuality, and predestines it to a certain career, just as a woman is destined to a different vocation from that of a man.

This is by no means to be taken in a mystical sense, for nothing can, for instance, be more natural than that the sober and simple Arab, who used thousands of years ago to make inroads upon Persia, should be so successful as to plant the standard of the doctrine of the unity of God upon the graves of the Khosraws, at the period when the Parthian rulers had outlived their time, their minds being corrupted by the vices of the most luxurious court, by the most artificial religion, and the grossest superstition. The

Arabs were the *liberators* of the subjects who suffered under an artificial, over-refined state of society, and under the arbitrary spoliations of an insatiable and innumerable nobility. In the same way, it is not less natural that the stage of history should, in its origin, have been in the south (in Asia), and that modern European civilization should have begun in the congenial climate of Italy and Spain, than it is, that those countries have their spring in advance of the more northern regions.

If the general road which nations have to go could be laid down and deduced from incontrovertible facts, the results would be more valuable than all other human knowledge. They would give us an insight into the condition and object of mankind. "Behold the tales of the time," says an Arabic author, "and when thou knowest where we come from, see where we are going to." They would prove that the fate of nations does not depend upon chance or the arbitrary actions of a few individuals. Men who are the actors in a great crisis are the product of time, and not time the product of

their talents; they will not succeed if they act against the spirit of the age. A history in this sense would also point out the sphere of individual activity in public life; for if the periods of the life of nations are laid down in certain laws, and if the attempts of the privileged cannot change their course, it would follow that the grievances of mankind arise from those desperate attempts of men in power to interfere with the course of things, and to retard their natural progress, or from those men of a destructive character who, misled by enthusiasm, mean to accelerate events beyond their natural course; and if we could determine, by such a view of history, for a given period (for instance for the present moment), what is the unalterable course which a nation will pursue, the men who do their best to smooth the way could be positively distinguished from those who, under pretence of principle, attempt to interfere with the course of the nation, turning it to their own advantage; and history would show the final triumph of the former over the latter, pointing out, that talent counterbalances wealth, that reason stands against

prejudice, energy against the power of public opinion and inherited privileges, persuasion and faith against hypocrisy and ecclesiastical tyranny, enthusiasm against fashion, and freedom against the power of interest and servility, and that the struggle between these different tendencies is decided by eternal laws, by Providence, in favour of moral power. Individual stands against individual, and *he* is victorious who goes with the spirit of the times: he may be a prince or a beggar.

European history, however, will lead us neither to a correct idea of the individual life of nations, nor of their mutual succession on the stage of history, without a knowledge of the East. There is not one nation in European history whom we can follow from the moment it entered upon the stage of action down to its fall. The period of existence of modern nations is not yet elapsed. The origin of the Greeks and Romans is fabulous; and the documents which we possess respecting them do not reach higher up than the time of their power. There are only one or two great revolutions related in European history, in which the rule over the world

passed from one race to another under the rise of new ideas, which exemplify the succession of nations. The few accounts of Greek authors, of the ancient dynasties of Babylon and other countries of the East, derive their value only if they are illustrated by the history of later parallel facts from more modern Eastern history, of which we possess exact and numerous accounts in Arabic authors. Lest it should be denied that the history of the Greeks is very imperfect, and that their ideas and institutions are secondary, and mere fragments of a more ancient nation, it will be necessary to enter into some details before it can be shown that the study of the East furnishes us with materials both for ascertaining the natural periods of the individual life of a nation, and the succession of nations on the stage of history.

The Greeks had escaped from the tyranny of a priest caste which kept their northern and southern neighbours in ignorance, monopolizing knowledge. Freedom inspired them with love for their native country and fame; and patriotism brought them to the

highest perfection that mankind has yet attained. Worship of arts was their religion, sublime poetry their code of laws, refined taste their moral guide, and freedom their tie of union. But although their originality of conception cannot be disputed, the material of their science, as well as of their arts, is not their own: they derived it either from imperfect recollections of their former home, or imported it from the East, and gave to it a more popular form. Creuzer has lately collected some passages of Greek authors in proof of this assertion. Facts are a stronger proof than testimony; and as scattered fragments of a vessel, for instance, are posterior to the whole, and the germ anterior to the plant, so we may rest satisfied that a country in which we find all ideas coherent, understood and derived from one source, although less developed, is anterior to another in which we find them sacredly preserved, but not understood, and numerous beyond measure. In order to show that this is the relation of the East and Greece, it will be necessary to anticipate a theory of the nine spheres of the heaven, which may be consi-

dered as the creed of the *esoteric* in Babylon, and in many other Eastern countries, and the basis of the religious notions of the Greeks, although they never understood it.

The origin of existence is the great problem of all philosophy; for the Lord of life and death is the God whom the mortal feels bound to worship. It is certainly the most natural idea, that all life should be derived from an ultimate male and female principle. The male principle was the fifth and divine element, the ether*, of which the stars are only the concentrations; the female principle was the earth, which rests quiet and passive in the centre of the circumvolving ether, according to the ideas of the ancients. Hence Aristotle† says, "The principle of motion, which gives the first impulse to generation,

* On the ether see the note to page 179 *infra*, and the Fihrist *apud Hottinger*, *Historia Orientalis*, edit. alt. p. 283.

† *De Generatione Animalium*, lib. i., cap. 2. The Chinese have the same idea, but apply it particularly to their emperor as the representative of the creation, (see the note to page 326, *infra*). Respecting the change which this idea underwent among the Semites. See the note to page 58, *infra*.

is called male (and father), and the (passive) principle which yields the material, is called mother . . . Hence the earth is considered as female, and the mother (of all that exists), and the heaven (ether) as the male, and the father." If motion is the characteristical quality of Divinity, the planetary sphere which is most remote from the earth has the greatest claim to divinity, for its revolutions are the most rapid. Saturn will, therefore, be the highest and oldest god; he is the *Sator*. Opposite him stands his wife and sister the Earth, which is eternal and uncreated like him; and from them proceed all other beings. Festus seems, therefore, to be correct in deriving the name of this planet *à satu*. He was, however, dethroned as soon as this theory was further developed, as the reader will soon perceive.

As soon as these two poles were once defined as the male and female principle, the poets in their imagination, and philosophers in their abstraction, knew no bounds in commenting upon them. The principle of motion, or the male pole, was conceived to be active, possessed of the supreme intellect;

the female pole passive, but feeling, mild, and affectionate, whilst the male principle was thought to be harsh and selfish. About forty million miles above the female pole, and nearly as many under the male pole, in the middle between both, there must be perfect equilibrium. This was, therefore, the place of the sun, according to the ideas of the ancients, although he is in reality about nine times more distant from Saturn than from the earth. Ptolemy's agreeing with this wrong computation shows us whence he derived his information. The sun is, therefore, the son and mediator between heaven and earth; for, in him, the nature of both is combined; in him rests the affection of his parents, which, in a physical sense, is warmth, and, in mysticism, the law of love; and he is indeed the source of heat. In all ancient religions, the sun is the regenerator and redeemer, not the creator; but this has been frequently misunderstood by the exoteric.

Having now developed the trinity of the ancients, we may proceed to state whence the qualities attributed to the planets, which

were the souls or individuals اشخاص of the ether, took their origin; for the insignificant peculiarities which may be observed in them, and some of which have been noticed in the notes to page 222, *infra*, cannot satisfactorily account for the same attributes being given to the planets throughout all the world.

In Oriental psychology, of which the reader will find farther details in another part of this work, all the qualities of men are said to be based either on sympathy المحابة, which is female and passive, or on antipathy and selfishness العداوة, which is male and active: they are both neither good nor bad in themselves. These two fundamental qualities are manifested either with warmth and violence الشدة, or with system, and tempered by justice العدالة, or with coolness and reflexion الفكر. The female qualities, based on sympathy, must be predominant under the sun, according to what has been said, and the male qualities, founded on antipathy, above this luminary. Now, as the sun is at the same time the source of warmth in a mystical as well as physical sense, we may form the following scale:

Antipathy with coolness	=	the ill-natured SATURN.
Antipathy tempered	=	the royal* JUPITER.
Antipathy with warmth	=	the pugnacious MARS.
	The SUN.	
Sympathy with warmth	=	the enamoured VENUS.
Sympathy tempered	=	the meek MERCURY.
Sympathy with cool reflection	=	the tender MOON.

The Arabic astrologers allude to this theory, for they had been the initiated before Mohammed; and when they found it more expedient to serve as companions to the khalifs, professing the Islâm, than as priests in their temples, they gave to their doctrines a different shape. This theory is the soul of all ancient religions, and pervades their philosophical sciences and those of the Arabs.

The testimony of authors, in proof that this has been the theory of the initiated in the East, and the farther development of the changes which new discoveries produced in it, and of the political revolutions which were occasioned by such changes, will be explained in another volume of this

* It must be observed that the sovereign is considered in the East as the moderator الوازع, and as prohibiting for the sake of his own selfishness; for he is the head of the soldier caste الدولة, so that Jupiter stands in his right place.

work. Our purpose here is to show, that the Greek history of mythology consists of misunderstood fragments, of a more ancient system; and, therefore, that Greek history has, without the knowledge of the East, no beginning, and does not lead to those results of the study of history which gives it an infinite importance.

The Greeks, uninitiated in the mysteries of the priest class, and superior to the lower classes, continued to attribute to the planets these characters, without knowing why. They personified, therefore, the idols,* and invented fables, in explanation of the worship, being ignorant of the reasons. From these fables grew up their poetry; from the personifications their fine arts; and this, as we have said, was the object of their life. But even in their fables they remained faithful to eastern notions, which tradition had preserved, contenting themselves with giving to them a more pleasing form.

In the same way, every theory of the natural philosophy of the Greeks had been

* See note to page 218, *infra*.

previously known in the East. If Aristotle, in whom all the knowledge of antiquity on this head is concentrated, who subjected to the laws of reasoning what the uninitiated believed on authority, and who profaned the mysteries of the initiated as far as he had a knowledge of them, quotes mostly Greek authors, in speaking of subjects connected with natural philosophy, and alludes but seldom to the wisdom of the Chaldeans and Egyptians, it must be borne in mind, that most of their opinions had been imported into Greece long before the Stagirite, and had thus become Greek, or they had been inherited from the first Greek settlers, and thus always been in the nation; and that he has followed the dialectic system of didactics, in which everything is founded on reason, authority being named only of well-known opinions which are rejected, and form the subject of polemics, in order to explain and exemplify those which are defended as laws of reason, not of authority,—which is, therefore, not named.

The doctrine of the ether, of the five

elements, and other central theories of Aristotle's natural philosophy, are found in Tatary, China*, Persia, Egypt, and all other nations of the East. Nearly half of the names of medicines in Dioscorides and Galen may be derived from the Persian, Arabic, and other Oriental languages, and the use of those exported from India must naturally have first been known in their native country before they were exported.

When Alexander had opened the East, not only Greek science but even Greek arts took a more decided Eastern character. Their poetry became more romantic; their sculpture less grotesque; in former times their gods had been represented as men, and now they received the character of genii; their schools of astronomy and medicine partook more and more of Eastern ideas, as they proceeded, and they proceeded as they were guided by these new materials. Ptolemy adopts even the chronology of the Babylonians. And the temperaments of

* See Visdelou, *apud* D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. Suplem. and the note to page 179, *infra*.

Galen are as ancient as the world; they are connected with star worship*, and pervade the whole of Galen's or rather Eastern ideas on anatomy, physiology, and pathology†; even in materia medica the same idea is followed, and every medicine has its crasis (or temperament).

The Greeks had the merit of bringing the materials which they collected in the East (I doubt whether from books) into a system, to compare them with experience, and to found them upon reason; whereas, they had existed as faith or mystery amongst Eastern nations. When the East was revived by the Arabs, the works of the Greeks were so very welcome, because the Eastern nations found in them their own ideas systematically arranged.

These few hints may be sufficient to show that the ancient history of Europe is incoherent and incomplete in itself. Even many

* Compare page 206, *infra*.

† In the literary history of the Arabs, down to el-Mas'údí, some curious eastern theories from Ibn Jauzí, of which the translator possesses a beautiful manuscript, which is probably the only one in Europe, will be given, to confirm what is asserted here.

forms of Greek grammar cannot be explained without the assistance of the Sanscrit and Zend languages. The Roman history is still more in the dark. The fables with which it is headed by Roman historians are a confession that their institutions want an historical explanation; but that they did not find any either in their annals or in their popular traditions. There is, therefore, no nation in Europe, nor has there ever been any, of which we have a complete account, from the moment when it entered upon the stage of history to the end of its career, and from the progress and fall of which we could draw a picture of the life of nations: and it can still less be expected that the history of Europe should give us an idea of the succession of nations on the stage of history. The periods of life are much slower in the North.

The East, on the contrary, is rich in experience: the periods of life rapidly succeed each other, and are decided in their character; the revolutions, so violent, that they cannot remain unobserved; one empire was founded upon the ruins of another;

dynasties rose and faded with the rapidity and splendor of meteors. Towns, like Bagdad, el-Kúfah, el-Káhirah, were built like camps; and on the Oxus, for instance, we see the Tatars, Persians, Greeks, Parthians, Arabs, and Uzbeks, as rulers, within the comparatively short period of three thousand years. On account of these frequent, rapid and decided changes, the idea of the mutual relation and succession of nations was, at least with reference to Irán, known to the ancient Persians, and forms one of the theories of the Zend-Avesta; and a perfectly correct division of the then known human races in the Semitic, Negroes (Hamites), and Tatars, including the Caucasian race (Japhetites), is even found in Genesis. We cannot better illustrate and confirm what has been said above, than by following up the ideas of the Zend-Avesta. Such an inquiry enters the more into the plan of this preface as it will enable the reader to form a correct judgment respecting the place which the history of the Arabs occupies, with reference to other nations.

First, we must have a clear notion of

Irán, or rather Khunnerets, as connected with irrigation. "If the water," says our author*, who gives us some precious notices on this subject, "retires four hundred cubits from its original place, this place will be waste." He exemplifies his statement by the different state in which el-Hírah was in his time, and that in which it had been a few centuries previously. The country in which Niniveh was situated is now a desert, and the gardens of the khalifs are covered with sand. As the sun produces the most luxuriant vegetation, if his rays fall on watered ground (the female element), so are they destructive if they meet no humidity. It is for this reason that the sun is represented in these two opposite characters in Siwa. There is, therefore, no cultivation of the ground possible without irrigation. To keep up the irrigation is nothing less than to control enormous rivers, to dig new ones, and to drain countries; it is a much more gigantic work than all the railroads of Europe. Hence, an almost infinite number of hands

* Page 254, *infra*.

must be employed for this purpose; and this, in the infancy of society, can only be done by a powerful government which rules extensive countries, and, as a great government can never be free—by a despot. This is borne out by the system of gathering the taxes of these countries. Abú Yúsof says, in a letter to Hárún er-Rashíd which must be considered as an official document, "Such land as was waste and is now cultivated and irrigated by the water of the heaven (rain), or from wells or brooks, or large rivers, which are nobody's property, (like the Tigris, the Euphrates, the Oxus, or Saïhún) pays only the Tithes; but if the land is watered by the canals which were dug by the ancient Persians, as the Nahr el-Melik, or Nahr Yezdejerd, the Kheráj is to be paid for it, although it may be cultivated by a Moslim." As these regulations have been copied from the Persians *, it is evident that

* Whenever the Arabs conquered a town or province of Persia, they called the Dihkans, asked them what taxes had been paid under the Khosraws, and confirmed generally the ancient regulations. En-Nowaïrí (MS. of Leyden N. 2 D.) gives us, in the History of the Sásánians, an account of their regulations of

the land tax was levied for the irrigation, since those lands which did not require artificial irrigation were exempt.

This formed the character of the population of such countries (deltas), amongst which Babylonia (Khumerets) at present claims our attention. As the cultivation of the soil was dependent upon a powerful monarch, the very existence of the cultivators was connected with despotism. No wonder, therefore, if servility is so deeply impressed on the character of all nations who live in deltas. The king is the god of fertility, who, by directing his attention to irrigation, may double the number of inhabitants in less than twelve years, as they perish by thousands if it is neglected. It has been asserted, that the climate forms the character of a nation, and Oriental

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the land tax, which agrees literally with what Abú Yúsof considers as law under the 'Abbáside khalifs. And as the Sásánians had been the restorers of the ancient state of things, to what they were before Alexander, we may trace the same institution to the ancient Persians.

Lands, under artificial irrigations, are called ضياع, which has been rendered in this translation by *estates*.

despotism has, for this reason, become proverbial. History shows, however, that now monks celebrate their processions in the streets through which the triumphant Roman citizens marched, and that the slavish Babylonian lives between the Bedouin—the freest and happiest man on earth—and the independent Kurd. The national character depends upon institutions and education.

A rich country will soon produce men of talent and cunning, who earn their living by teaching or deceiving; and they are the priests, who will form a caste as soon as a man rises amongst them who unites their doctrines into one system, which, in order to be adopted by the nation, must of course be in harmony with their institutions, and will therefore be kept sacred as long as those institutions last. Thus, we have the three fundamental classes of society of the population of deltas, fat and slavish cultivators, cunning priests, and a luxurious court and soldiery; or, applying it to Babylon, the Nabateans, Magi, and the Daulat الدولة (dynasty). The first of these three classes are fixed to the soil; the third is

constantly changing, passing through the phases and revolutions which Ibn Khaldún describes in the passage quoted above; and the priest caste is intermediate between both. The priests were the masters of the king and kingdom, as long as the state was founded upon their theories: and they formed an amusing society of *savans* round the courts of the Khalifs when their doctrines no longer found faith.

When such a monarchy (daulat*) is in the height of its activity, it will extend its grasp after conquests, as it will be the aim of conquerors when it is in decay. The nearest object to excite the avarice of Babylonia are the fertile banks of the Oxus, as a Bactrian monarch can find no worthier object of his ambition than Babylonia. These two countries were, therefore, united under one ruler at all periods when Western Asia was in a flourishing state, and they form Irán, in its greatest extent, the stage of history of Western Asia, and the object of our present observations.

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* The primary meaning of the root of Daulat is, *the vicissitudes of fortune.*

South-west of Irán extend the deserts of Arabia, which are bounded on the south by a fertile mountainous country. This may be considered as the native soil of the Semitic race. History has recorded several successful Arabic invaders who have subdued Irán. Scripture names Nimrod; from the third volume of el-Mas'údí we shall learn the names of Sheddad Ben 'Ad and many others; and in Persian traditions Zohak is mentioned as a Semitic conqueror, previous to the Mohammedan conquests. In the same manner it is reported by Herodotus, by Mongolish traditions and Persian poets, that the Tatars, who have their original seats in the steppes north-east of Irán, conquered this country in ancient times, previous to the Seljúks, Jingiz-Khan, and Taïmur.

These two nations stand like the two magnetic poles, opposite each other, with reference to Irán, in their national character as well as in their geographical position. Both were originally nomades: and the main body of the nation, continuing wandering habits, remained at all times in the primitive condition of man. But the Tatars are pas-

turing soldiers, whilst the Arabs are warlike shepherds. The Tatars are used to blind obedience and discipline. The basis of all their social institutions is hereditary aristocracy. A Tatar magnate has, amongst other privileges, that of committing nine crimes. To be a slave is the pride of a Tatar; and they have acted as such at all periods, at Eastern courts. If they become masters, they dig their own graves by imbecility, idleness, and cruelty. An example of their passive obedience are the Cossacks. Jingiz-Khán may be considered as the representative of the national character of the Tatars. His strict discipline, order in the camp, and simple regulations, render him one of the greatest generals recorded in history, and the extent of his conquests, and the valorous opposition of some of his enemies, fill the reader of his life with astonishment; but no man ever shed more blood, laid waste more countries, and committed greater cruelties, than Jingiz Khán. The captive enemies had to serve him as shields against their brothers, and were forced to fight against them before

they were slaughtered. When he took a town (Balkh, for instance), the lives of the inhabitants were spared until their temples were profaned, their wives and daughters ravished, and their houses burnt; and when he had thus tortured their feelings, men and women were promiscuously put to the sword. The Tatars were called the nation of Mars by the Iránians.

The Bedouin, who is the prototype of the Semitic race, on the contrary, is perfectly free and independent*. He is capable

* Harith Ben Keldah described the character of the Arabs before Khosraw Anúsharwán, in the following terms:—"Their minds are liberal, their hearts cheerful; their language is expressive, their tongues are eloquent, their pedigrees pure and genuine, their ancestors noble; the words flow from their mouths like arrows from the bow, but milder than the breezes of spring, and sweeter than honey; (literally, the water of a certain spring of Paradise;) they feed the hungry in the time of need; they fight the strong in war; they do not permit that their high feelings should be hurt, that their neighbour should be injured, that their wives or daughters should be profaned, or, that the noble should be humbled."

قال الحرث ايها الملك لها انفس سخية وقلوب جرية
ولغة فصيحة و السن بليغة و انساب صحيحة و احساب
شريفة (يحرق) يمرق من افواههم الكلام مروق السهم من
نبعه الرام اعذب من هواء الربيع و ابين من السلسبيل
المعين مطعموا الطعام فى الجدب و ضاربوا الهام فى الحرب

of the noblest enthusiasm, but he has less imagination than any other nation, hence his poetry is lyric*; the long-winding epos and drama are unknown to him; his reason-

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لا يرام غيرهم (عزهم) ولا يضام جارهم ولا يستباح حريمهم ولا يزل (يذل) اكرمهم ۞

Ibn Abí Osaïbiah, MS. of the Brit. Museum, No. 7340, fol. 44 verso. The variants are from a MS. of the Royal Library at Paris.

* Nothing can better illustrate the peculiar character of Arabic poetry than the verses of the Koran, given in the following page. (Súra, 91, translation of Sale.) God swears:

"By the sun and its rising brightness; by the moon, when she followeth him; by the day, when it showeth its splendour; by the night, when it covereth him with darkness; by the heaven and Him who built it; by the earth and Him who spread it forth; by the soul and Him who completely formed it, and inspired into the same wickedness and piety; now is he who has purified the same happy."

Heaven and earth are too narrow for the spirit of Mohammed, whilst the hero of Homer swears by so trifling an object as a stick, which he paints in several verses:

"Yes, by this sceptre, which will no longer shoot either leaves or rind, for it once left its stem on the mountains, nor will it ever blossom again; the sharp knife has pruned around both the leaves and bark. Now this sceptre is intrusted into the hands of the judging sons of Greece, Jove's delegates, from whom all wise laws emanate,—thus I utter a great and solemn oath to you."

As the rhyme of the Arabic original is as characteristic for sublime, and romantic poetry as the grave Hexameter for the apos, the original is here added:—

ing is clear and logical; and thus the Bedouins were the founders of the spirit of the middle ages. The Arab is, therefore, not the tool of dreams and hopes; his object is to enjoy the moment, and *to be*—to be good, to be wise, to be free, to be happy; whilst the endeavour of other nations is to *have*, and to be *possessed*—to have goods, to be possessed of knowledge, to have power, to have the means of rendering themselves happy—and thus they are possessed,

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و الشمس و ضحاها

و القمر اذا تلاها

و النهار اذا جلاها

و اللیل اذا یغشاها و ما بناها

و الارض وما طحاها

و النفس وما سواها

فالهمها وتقواها

قد افلح من زکاها ۞

Ναὶ μὰ τόδε σκῆπτρον, τὸ κὲν οὔποτε φύλλα καὶ ὄζους
Φύσει, ἐππειδὴ πρῶτα τομὴν ἐν ὄρεσσι λελοιπεν,
Οὐδ' ἀναθηλήσει· περὶ γὰρ ῥά ἑ χαλκὸς ἔλεψε
Φύλλα τε καὶ φλοιόν· νῦν αὖτέ μιν υἷες Ἀχαιῶν
Ἐν παλάμῃς φορέουσι δικασπόλοι, οἵτε θέμιστας
Πρὸς Διὸς εἰρύαται· ὁ δέ τοι μέγας ἔσσεται ὅρκος.

Iliad, I., 234–239.

and fettered in their own golden chains. The Arab is as anxious to obtain wealth as other men, because he is active; but it is against his nature to store up wealth. If he wishes to have great means, it is in order to entertain his friends, to be more liberal and hospitable than others, and to give riches away as fast as he obtains them. These habits of prodigality became a law of religion (the alms), and continued even to the time of the Khalifat, however adverse they were to civilized society and ruinous to the state. The Arab obeys no one; he has no wants; a few dates suffice for his meal. What he takes, he takes by force—the native right of the stronger; but he gives out of charity. Thus he feels himself greater than the rest of mankind, and despises them. What can make a man a slave who has no wants? His only master is honour and conviction: hence, a sound religion alone could unite the nation. His obedience to the Sheikh is that of a son to his father; it cannot be enforced; and the orders, or rather advice, of a Sheikh is the expression of the will of the tribe. The only social tie which guarantees the life of

the inhabitants of the desert is the blood revenge founded on the love of relations. If a man is slain, the family of the deceased will not rest, if they should perish to the last man, before they have retaliated the death of their relation on the tribe of the murderer. Atrocities are therefore avoided out of love to one's own relations.

As the character of the Semites and Tatars is opposed, so are their tongues; for language, like a faithful wife, follows the character of the mind, and gives birth to its children. The Tatar forms compound expressions as he has received joint ideas; for the different modifications of one notion and its relation appear to his shallow mind like several ideas; thus he uses compound expressions like "lordship," (*i.e.* the shape of a lord,) and, I *have* said, although he has only one idea to express. In Tatar languages, compounding words and heaping grammatical terminations and suffixed syllables is carried to such an extreme, that the words which express the objects are buried under them. The riches of the Semitic languages, on the contrary, do not consist in compounding ideas which have no natural

relation to each other, but in organizing the roots; so the Arab would say *teeth*, and not *many* tooth;* I *saw*, and not I *have seen.* The Arabic language has no compound words, and hardly any grammatical terminations. Words are formed and grammatically construed by changing the vowels of the root; by internal organisation, and not by juxta-position. Such a language can only be spoken by a nation which expresses more the sentiments and ideas of its heart, and which gives, even in describing objects, the feeling which they produced in the mind, than a narration of the surrounding world. The Semitic languages are what the Germans would term *subjective* tongues, whilst the Tatar languages are *objective.* The reader may now easily guess that the Arab will apply the same root to quite different objects, if they produced a similar impression on his mind; thus the root *jara,* which has primarily the signification of *to flow,* means also, if pronounced with different vowels

* The *s*, which forms the plural in most Hindo-Germanic languages, as well as the *lar*, which forms the plural in Tatar tongues, is to be considered as a corruption of some ancient word meaning *many*, or *a number.*

and accents, a brave young man, a lively girl, a ship, and the sun. As the Bedouin calls the sun the Runner, if his attention is exclusively directed to its motion, in the same manner, he may call it the White (البيضا), or the Luminary (النيّر or السراج), if the impression of its colour or splendour is prevalent in his mind,—and so with other notions. The reader will find, for the same reason, numerous hysteron-proterons in Arabic expression which have been preserved in this translation; for, as the Arab expresses even facts as sentiments, he says *first* what makes the greatest impression upon him. Thus we read* first, that Zakaríyá was put to death, and then it is described how he was killed.

As long as the government of Irán was in the vigour of life, these two nomadic nations assisted it against other powers. We find them in the account by Herodotus of the army of Xerxes; and under Khosraw Anúsharwán fifty thousand Tatar troops came on the Persian frontier, demanding to be taken into his service: "For," said they, "we gain our living by the sword;

* See page 122, *infra*.

and, as our country cannot give us food, we must be thy enemies, if thou wilt not receive us as friends, and provide for us and our families." It appears from el-Wakedi's *genuine* account of the Mohammedan conquests, as quoted by early authors, that the inhabitants of Yemen were driven by a similar motive to join the banners of the Islám. The population was too dense, and so they came, uncalled for, to Medinah, and asked 'Omar to send them against some enemies of the faith.

When the rulers of Irán had passed through the periods of life described by Ibn Khaldún, and sunk under their own weight, the Arabs and Tatars made predatory incursions upon the unprotected cultivators, as they did under the successors of Anúsharwán. For, dependent as nomades in some measure are upon civilized nations, they are always on the alert for making plunder. The Arabs and Tatars are like two reservoirs of water over Irán; if a breach is opened, they will naturally come down upon Irán, and make the breach wider, to irrigate it if guided, and to inundate it if not controlled. Success fills them with

self-confidence; the prospect of rich booty attracts new invaders, and unites them. And what can resist them if they are united?—A tradition is related of Mohammed, that he expressed sanguine hopes of the rise of the Arabic power, on the occasion of a victory of a predatory corps of the Temimites over the Persians; so that it is very likely, that his religious enthusiasm was heightened by the prospect of victory and political ascendancy; the more so as he exhorts the Koraïshites, in one of the last Surahs of the Koran, to be united,—for union would give to them wealth and power.

The conquests of Irán by these nations appear to have been alternate. Thus, under 'Omar, the Arabs poured over Irán, and pushed their conquests to other countries, until the surplus population* of Arabia was exhausted. When the storm had subsided, they passed as Daulat دولة of the country [that is to say, as the soldier caste and nobility, as the Normans were in England], through the periods of life described by Ibn

* Ibn Khaldún, who defends this idea, gives an estimate of the number of conquering Arabic populations of that time. But it does not seem very correct.

Khaldún*. In the mean time, the Tatar steppes were over populous and full of vigour, whilst the Semitic rulers were drowned in luxury. Thus it was their turn to inundate Irán, after the Arabs had possessed it four centuries†.

We find on the banks of the Tigris a pure Semitic population; and as Babylon was the seat of Semitic learning and civilization, so the name of Bokhárá is derived from a Mongolish word meaning, according to Abulgházi-Khán, "wisdom," because it was the centre of Tatar civilization‡; and the main population on the banks of the Oxus seem at all times to have been Tatars. From whence came the Persians, and other Hindo-Germanic nations, who are of a race distinct from the Tatars and Semites, and to whom no delta is left in western Asia? It seems they are the product of the mixture of those two opposite nations, as their language combines the character of the tongues of both, having compositions and internal organization; so that it must be posterior

* Page xv., *supra*.

† The Seljúks came in 432 A.H.

‡ Page 46 of the Tatar edition.

to the Tatar and Semitic languages, for a more perfect development is naturally posterior to a more simple structure. Although I could not defend this theory of the origin of the Hindo-Germanic nations, so much is certain, that they are the nations of civilization, and that civilization will no more rise without the intercourse of opposite nations, than one sex alone can give birth to a child. These alternate conquests of the Arabs and Tatars must be considered as having given birth to civilization. They illustrate, therefore, the succession and mutual relation of nations in history better than anything else.

Our author*, Hamza of Ispahan, and the Zend-Avesta mention four other nations, —the Semites, Tatars, and Irânians included —which answer to the seven Kishwars or climates†, and which surround the passive inhabitants of Irân, like six stamina the pistillum, invading and reviving it in their turn.

South of Irân live the Hindus. A successful inroad of some Hindu conqueror is

* In his Taulûh; and after him Haji Khalfa, in his Bibliog. Diction.

† Compare page 198, *infra*.

recorded in the eighteenth chapter of this work; and they were, even at the time of Anúshirwán, so strong, that he expresses his fears of them in his last speech. As the Germans, for their high intellectual character, their tendency to mysticism, their political passiveness and insignificance, bear a resemblance to the character of the slavish cultivators of Irán, so India may be compared in its geographical position and character with Italy. The Italians, like the Hindus, are buried under the ruins of their former grandeur, and vegetate, in unmanly occupation, in the plundered temples of their Benares, on the Tiber. The French bear a resemblance to the Arabs; both have shown themselves equally capable of fighting for principles, and of being united by enthusiasm, and not by the fear of a master. The Russians are the Tatars of Europe, and the main body of the subjects of the Autocrat are of Tatar origin. South-east of Irán lie Thibet and China, which have been compared with the Turks by Hager in a learned article in the *Fundgrubens des Orients*. Egypt is situated in the West, from whence the Persians have experienced

several invasions. Tyrus and the empire of Crœsus, whose attack upon the Persian empire failed, were north-west of Irán, and may be called the Great Britain* of the ancient world. Subsequently, the Byzantine empire succeeded, and was at constant war with the rulers on the Tigris—both the Khosraws and Khalifs. The struggles of these six nations, but particularly of those of the Arabs and Tatars, their mutual relation, and their power over Irán, offer a wide field for studying the succession of nations in the stage of history; whereas the contests of India, China, Egypt, and Asia Minor, against Irán, and among themselves, are less important; for here doulat fights against doulat. Their conflicts do not give us a view of the connexion of the first principles from which states grow up, but only of the opposition of the interest of states and monarchs.

Thus far as to the relative position of nations to each other, and their succession on the stage of history. We may now pro-

* This comparison of the nations of Asia with those of Europe could be carried much futher into detail; for similar circumstances have similar effects, and similar processes of life produce, in physiology, similarly organized formations.

ceed to show, that the history of the power of the Arabs furnishes us with better materials for studying the individual life of nations than that of any European country. Their history is complete, and we have trustworthy accounts from the moment when they entered upon the stage of action, to the time when they went back into their deserts again.

Their own poetry and traditions, as well as foreign authors, show us the Arabs before Mohammed exactly in the same condition as they are now. They have no state, but simply families; and they make, therefore, no progress, nor are they subject to decay as a nation. Their endeavour is, as we have said, not *to possess*, but *to be*: existence ends with the life of the individual, whilst his possession remains. The Bedouin history is the genealogy only of those to whom they owe their existence; they cannot point to changes in state, nor to progress in arts and literature, nor to any beneficial influence in society which their fathers have made, for all these things are connected with possession; and revolutions in states are effected because rights and property are transferred

from one class to another by the change of ideas. The ideas of nomades can make no progress, for the natural feelings of man are at all times the same; and knowledge is a possession which changes with new discoveries, and is useless, if not applied to life and and property. When the Persians and Byzantines were enervated by luxury, and drowned in the forms of civilization, the spirit of which was gone, the constant inroads of the Arabs were more successful, and a too dense population had made them more reflective; for necessity is the mother of invention. Prophets arose in all parts of Arabia; and the Mohammedan doctrine of the unity of God was crowned with success six centuries after the introduction of the Christian religion, and about three after Arius had first declared himself against the trinity.

The Koraïshite tribe stood first, as the head of the Arabs, and they thought it safer for their freedom to have the Omaïyides as their Khalifs than the Alites, who raised their claims by divine grace. The Omaïyides, who were merely Emirs, went through the five phases of life, but in

them the first two were particularly developed. Hejjáj Ben Yusof drowned the spirit of freedom in el-Kufah and el-Basrah in their own blood. The baptism of monarchy—the mild and fatherly form of government—cost the lives of twenty-one thousand men. Their death did not give so much alarm; for they did not fall in the open field, but under the hand of the executioner, in prison,—and the servile part of the population was well fed. The victims who fell in the open field were innumerable. Hejjáj was the precursor of the 'Abbásides, although he was their enemy. This new dynasty went through the five phases. They were 'Alites and Kings (no longer Emirs), supported, in spite of the Koraïshites and their allies, by the Nizár tribes, who lived near the Tigris, and who were more used to a master by divine right, and by the Khorásánians; for the first want which they felt after they had recovered from the shock of the Arabic conquest, was that of having a monarch, to counteract the rapacity of the governors, and to promote irrigation. The 'Abbásides represent particularly the third and fourth phases. At the beginning of the

fourth century, the 'Abbáside power was at an end; physical force and money* now alone gave right to power, and every governor made himself independent in his province. Each of these molúk et-Tawaïf went through the above periods of life; but they represented particularly the last phase—that of reform and dissolution. Till now the power of the kings was owing to the Arabic conquests, although some were Tatars: whereas the sovereignty of the Seljukians, Jingiz-Khánians, and Taïmúrians, rested on the success of the Tatar arms. The Arabs, by degrees, turned back into the deserts, or were humbled to the state of cultivators. Their original character vanished, and they became like the Nabatheans†, who had been deposited there by the Bedouins thousands of years ago, and so they remain at present.

Thus the periods of life are distinctly marked in Arabic history, and nothing can exceed the fidelity of their historians. They believe till they are persuaded of the contrary,

* Thus the Ghaznewides and Khowárezmshahians owed their power entirely to the treasures of India.

† The Nabatheans were looked on with such contempt by the Bedouins, that their name had become a nickname, at the time of the author of the "Nabathean Agriculture."

and adhere closely even to the terms of the source whence they derive their information, naming the whole series of persons through whom they have received traditions. Orientalists should study the lives and characters of the traditionists before they enter into history, for this alone can enable them to form an estimate of the critical value of the accounts. El-Mas'údí gives us only one instance of such a way of treating history, in the first volume*; but many in the last. An Arabic historian will relate a fact without changing it, although it may be against his views. An instance is found in our author, where he relates the ridiculous ideas of el-Jáhit respecting the unicorn†. How much more valuable such simplicity is, in history, than modern criticism, may be shown in an example. Goethe, the German poet, speaks, in his *Westœstlichen Diwan*, on the march of the Israelites from Egypt to Syria, and means to prove that they would not have been longer in the desert than two years; the reasons which he alleges are too ridiculous to be recounted here. Ibn Khaldún, adhering to the text of Scripture, thinks

* Page 57, *infra*. † Page 392, *infra*.

that the Israelites, debased by the slavery which they had endured in Egypt, were unable to oppose the Philistines, until the old generation had died off, and a new one grown up in the hardy life of the desert.

It has been our endeavour to show, that the fruits of the study of history ought to be, to obtain a view of the individual life of nations; and to ascertain, by connecting these particular histories, the laws of the succession of nations in the rule of the world. European history, it has been asserted, does not lead to these results; for modern nations have not yet arrived at the end of their career; and the Greeks and Romans, (as it has been shown at some length, for fear of the prevailing Helenomania among the learned of Europe,) borrowed their institutions and the material of their science and arts from the East: hence the study of the East alone can lead us to the above-mentioned results. We attempted to illustrate the succession of nations by a few hints, bearing on this subject as far as Irán is concerned; for this is the stage of the history related by our author; and, finally, we meant to intimate, that the his-

tory of the power of the Arabs is the only complete biography of a nation which can serve as the standard in judging others. Now this would be the place to show how far our author contributes towards these two objects. It is, however, much better for the reader to peruse *The Meadows of Gold*, and judge for himself. It may suffice to say, that he treats, besides history, on almost all the branches of Arabic science, poetry, and common life. It seemed, therefore, well, occasionally, to supply, from other authors, what is wanting, to give to the reader a perfect insight into the life of the Arabs at the time of their power; to show whence el-Mas'údí derived his historical information; to assist the reader in the criticism of facts; and to throw some light on the time and manner in which the Arabs cultivated various sciences and arts. The first will be done in additional notes, or little memoirs, which were first intended to be added at the end of each volume; but for want of time they must be postponed to the end of the last volume of each of the two sections of which the whole work consists, and the latter will be done in a sepa-

rate volume, which will form the last part of this work, and contain the literary history of the Arabs, down to the time of el-Mas'údí, together with our author's own life* and literary connections. I have already collected for this purpose notices on the lives and works of several thousand authors, partly from their own writings, and partly from extracts and notices found in later authors, where the original works are lost.

I have seen, and partly perused, nearly twenty copies of the whole or part of *The Meadows of Gold*, preserved in public or private collections, at Paris, Leyden, Oxford,

* The reader may find an excellent Mémoire on the life and writings of el-Mas'údí, written by M. Quatremère de Quincy, in the Journal Asiatique, (IIIe série, tome vii., No. 37, Janvier, 1839, p. 5 to 31,) with which he may compare D'Herbelot, article Massoudi; Abulfeda, Ann. Mosl. vol. ii., adnot. 208, p. 118, adn. hist.; Deguignes, not. et extr., vol. i.; Silvestre de Sacy, ibid., tome viii., p. 132; *idem*, Chrestom. Arabe; Langlés, Voyage en Egypte et Nubie de Norden, tome iii., p. 292, note 1; Hamaker, *Spec. Catalogi*, pp. 46, 48; d'Ohson, Des Peuples du Caucase, pref. iii., viii.; Frœhn, Ibn Fozlan; Charmoy, Sur les Slaves, in the Memoirs of the Academy of St. Petersburgh, t. vii., Nov. 1832 and 5 July 1833; Nicolls, *catal. Bibl. Bodleyanæ*; Gildemeister, *de Indis*, Bonn, 1836. Mr. Gildemeister has translated into Latin, and published the whole of the seventh chapter of el-Mas'údí. I have to regret that I could not take advantage of his excellent work, having been in the country when my translation of that chapter went through the press. The difference of the MSS. will account for the difference of the translation of some passages.

Cambridge, and London. Including the extracts found in other authors, the number of copies of which I possess some knowledge may be calculated to be above fifty. They all agree in certain faults; the variants are material and innumerable. It seems that the autograph was written in a bad hand: perhaps it was the bad state of the MSS. of the first edition of *The Meadows of Gold* which induced the author to publish a second edition, of which he speaks in the Tanbíh; but as this edition is nowhere to be found, criticism on the work is rendered difficult, if not impossible. The reader will do better to consider what has been done in this translation, than what remains to be done.

The translation of this volume has been made from a manuscript of Leyden (No. 537, *a*), which ends with the thirty-second chapter. It is very ancient, made by a man of great learning, and therefore very correct. Sometimes, however, when he found a corrupt passage, he gave a wrong sense to it in his corrections. But it is, at all events, the best copy in existence. On the margin one sometimes finds valuable variants, written by a later hand. I am

indebted for the perusal of this copy to the kindness of Professor Weijers, D.D., and the liberal institutions of the library of the University of Leyden: hence it has resulted that nowhere in Europe has so much been done for Oriental literature as in Holland; and yet not one MS. of the rich collection of that university has been lost or damaged. How many useful works would be saved from the worms, and how much credit would it throw on the literary character of the University of Oxford, if they would follow this example! Before I sent the translation to press, I compared it with several other copies: as,

A manuscript of my esteemed friend, M. de Gayangos, who, although he is enriching Oriental historiography with his own labours, throws open his valuable collection of Oriental manuscripts to his friends with as much liberality as if he had collected them solely for their use. This copy is modern and carelessly written, but complete.

A manuscript of the Asiatic Society of Paris, which contains only the first chapters, and those not complete.

The manuscript of Leyden marked No.

282, *A*, which contains the whole of the first part, that is to say, the first sixty-nine chapters. It is better than most other copies of el-Mas'údí, however numerous its faults are.

A manuscript of Cambridge, which had been imperfect; but Mr. Burckhardt, its former owner, took care to have it completed. Besides, I had several extracts from the MSS. of the Royal Library at Paris, and others.

Lord Munster had the kindness to go over the whole translation, to correct faults against the English idiom. But as it is impossible to reconcile the Arabic style with the genius of the English language, without working over sentence after sentence afresh, the mistakes which may still be found in this translation in English diction, must not be ascribed to his Lordship,—whereas the translator has to avow, that he had, in many difficult expressions of the original, recourse to his Lordship, and derived a great deal of information from him for the notes, and a lucid understanding of the text. In many instances, a literal translation has been preferred to an idiomatical English expression, for reasons which the reader will easily discover.

Brighton, April, 1841.

EL-MAS'UDÍ'S MEADOWS OF GOLD, AND MINES OF GEMS.

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Clement! Praise be to God, to him is due all praise and glory! Blessed be Mohammed, the highest of the Prophets, and his pure family.

FIRST CHAPTER.

The Object of this Work.

El-Mas'údí says: We have described, in the introduction to our work, called *Akhbár ez-zemán*[1] (*on the history of time*), the figure of the earth, its towns, wonders, and seas, its heights and depths, mountains and rivers, the produce of the mines; the various waters, marshes, and the islands of the sea and of lakes. We have also given descriptions and historical sketches of large edifices and lofty temples, an account of the beginning and last origin of things, and notices of inhabited districts, and of such tracts as had been land and became sea, or which had been sea and became land; together with the causes of those changes, both proceeding from sidereal and natural influences. We proceeded then, in that work, to divide the

[1] في اخبار الزمان

climates according to the stars which preside over them, and the lines on the globe, and the extent of the districts. We also entered into details on the discussions on history, and on the different opinions of its beginning, and on the priority of the Hindus and other pagans. We have mentioned the accounts of sacred and other books, and the traditions of the Rabbis[2]. After this introduction, we have related in that work the history of ancient kings, former nations, and distinguished men, and of tribes of past times, according to their different origin, classes, and religion. We have given an account of all their wise institutions, the sayings of philosophers, and of the history of their kings and emperors (Cæsars[3]) who have passed on the wings of time. In another chapter we have followed up the history of the prophets, holy men and devotees, until God completed his bounty by sending MOHAMMED his prophet. We continued our history in relating his birth, youth, and prophetic mission, his flight, his military expeditions, both those commanded by himself, and those commanded by his leaders[4], down to his death.

Thus we have followed up the history of the Khalifs and of their empire, which grew up attended with constant disputes and wars with the Talebites

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[2] الربانيون [3] القياصر plural of قيصر.

[4] غزوات و سرايا

who descended from Fátimah[5], down to the time when we write this book, which is during the reign of el-Mottaki Lillah, in the year 332, A. H.

After the Akhbár ez-zemán, we wrote our book the *Kitáb el-ausat*[6], which is also a historical work, chronologically arranged from the creation down to the time when we concluded our great work, and the Kitáb el-ausat which follows it. Subsequently we thought it useful to reduce into a smaller compass what is said in detail in the larger work, and to shorten what we have related in the Kitáb el-ausat, so that we may give the essence of the contents of those two works in a less voluminous book, in which we shall mention, besides, different sciences which are not noticed in those two works. We have to excuse ourselves, if it should be found too short, and to apologize, as our mind got disturbed and our strength reduced by the privations of travelling, and by crossing seas and deserts. The object of these journeys has been to satisfy our thirst for knowledge, and to learn the peculiarities of the various nations and parts of the world, by witnessing them, and the state of foreign countries, by seeing them; in this way we travelled to INDIA[7], EZ-ZINJ[8], ES-SINF[9],

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[5] الطالبيين الطاهرين. [6] كتاب الاوسط The middling work.

[7] A. & B. الهند; C. السند. [8] الزنج.

[9] A. الصنف; B. الضف; C. الصف; C. adds والصين, "and China."

EZ-ZÁNIJ *. We have also traversed the East and the West. Sometimes we were in the extremity of KHORASAN, other times in the centre of ARMENIA[11] and ADHERBIJAN[12], ER-RÁN[13] and EL-BAILKÁN[14], then again in EL-'IRÁK and in ESH-SHÁM (Syria). We went from one quarter of the earth to the other as the sun makes his revolutions. As some poet says:—" We rambled through the different parts of the country, sometimes we were in the extreme east and other times in the west, like the sun, the ardour of the mind which remains unimpaired, is unsatisfied until it reaches the region (the other world,) which cannot be approached by travelling."

Then we had intercourse with kings of different

[11] A. & C. الراج; B. البراخ. [12] ارمينيه ادربيجان.
[13] A. & B. الران; C. المزان; C. adds والمرار.
[14] A. & B. البيلقان; C. السلغان.

* Arabic Geographers seem not to have been very well acquainted with this name from the various ways of spelling it. Jaubert's translation of Edrisi (vol. I. page 59, et seq.) alone presents us with four varieties; *er-Ránij*, *ez-Zálij*, *ez-Zánij*, and *er-Rabij*. The MSS. of Mas'údí add to this list *er-Rábih*, الرابح and *ez-Zábih*. The reading adopted by most authors is *er-Ranij* الرانج I preferred "ez-Zánij" on the authority of a most ancient and carefully written MS. of the British Museum, (N. 7496, add. MSS.) which seems to be an extract from Beládori's *Kitáb el-boldán* and the autograph of the abbreviator.

usages and politics, and by comparing them we have come to the result, that illustrious actions have faded in this world, and its luminaries are extinguished. There is a great deal of wealth but little intellect. You will find the self-sufficient and ignorant, illiterate and defective, contented with opinions, and blind to what is near them. Subsequently, this sort of knowledge did not appear to us a worthy task, nor did we consider it worth our while to devote ourselves to these pursuits, so we wrote rather our works on the different opinions and various beliefs, as the book on the "Exposition of the Principles of the Religion[15]," and the "Tracts on the Principles of the Religion[16]," the work on "The Secret of Life[17]," and another on the "Arguments of the Principles of Dogmatics (philosophically) arranged."

The last-mentioned book contains the principles of jurisdiction and the rules of passing decisions: as defence against argumentation, and deciding on one's own authority; rejecting opinion and grace; the knowledge of what is abrogated (in law), and what is put instead of it, and of how far and in what points there is only one opinion; the distinction between particular and general, between positive

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[15] كتاب الابانة عن اصول الديانة.

[16] كتاب المقالات في اصول الديانات.

[17] كتاب سر الحياة.

and negative commands, and between disapproved and permitted, then the traditions which are generally acknowledged as true, and those originally reported only by one man, the example of the prophet, and the juristical decisions founded thereon. We added our own opinions on the subject, both those which are controversial, and those which are in accordance with others [18].

" Reflections on the Imámship, and statement of the opinions of those who maintain the rights of the Imám to be hereditary, and of those who make him elective, together with the passages (of the Koran, &c.,) which both parties bring forward in proof of their opinions [19]," and "The Book

[18] As every word of this sentence is a technical expression, I add the original. كتاب نظم ادلة في اصول الملة وما اشتمل عليه من اصول الفتوي و قوانين الاحكام كنفي القياس و الاجتهاد في الاحكام ودفع الراي و الاستحسان و معرفة الناسخ و المنسوخ و كيفية الاجتماع و ماهيته و معرفة الخاص والعام و الاوامر والنواهي والحظر والاباحة\وما يتبعها من الاستغاضة والاحاد وافعال النبي عليه السلام وما لحق بذلك من اصول الفتوي و مناظرتنا الخصومات فيما نازعونا فيه و موافقتنا في شي. For an explanation of these terms I refer the reader to the additional notes at the end of this volume.

[19] كتاب الاستبصار في الامامة و وصف اقاويل الناس في ذلك من اصحاب النص و الاختيار وحجاج كل فريق منهم،

of Sincerity (the impartial book) on the Imámship[20]."

We have, besides, inserted occasional remarks on these subjects in our works on various sciences, empirical and mystical, evident and occult, passed or still existing.

We have called attention to those subjects which the vigilant observe, and upon which the intelligent reflect, and to what they mention of the splendour which enlightens the world and is diffused over its barrenness, and to the results of researches in the ruins, which ever have been famous and glorious in their origin, and which may lead to further explanations. We entered into the art of government, as the government of cities, and its natural laws, and the division of the parts of these laws.

We entered into speculations on the first origin and the composition of the world and the heavenly bodies, and of what is tangible and not tangible, and what is dense, and what is the reverse.

We have been prevailed upon to write these books on history, and the explanation of the events of the world, by the unanimous example of the wise men and philosophers who have done their best, that there may be kept up in the world the recollec-

[20] كتاب الصفوة في الامامة..

tion of what there is praiseworthy and digested in science. We found that authors have observed two ways in writing books, the one to explain the matters in full length, the other to shortén them; and, again, the one elucidates whilst the other abridges. But we found that the accounts are increasing in number with the progress of time. The learned stands frequently higher than the intelligent and clever. But each of them has a part assigned to his faculties. Every climate has some wonders which the inhabitants do not understand, and no man who has zeal for science can rest satisfied and content, with what natives may report of their countries; but he can trust to a man who has spent his life in travelling, and passed his days in researches, and who has minutely explored the mines (of knowledge), and carefully collected all that can interest.

Men have written books on history at all times, some are of more, some of less, value. Every one has exerted himself according to his powers, and has deposited therein the stores of his wit and talent, as

1 Wahb Ben Monabbih وهب ابن منبه.

2 Abú Mikhnaf* Lút Ben Yahya el-'Ámeri ابو مخنف لوط بن يحيي العامري.

* The most copies of Mas'údí bear *Mohnif* and this is the reading adopted by Kosegarten in his edition of Tabarí. The

3 Mohammed Ben Ishak محمد بن اسحق.

4 El-Wákedi الواقدي.

5 Ibn el-Kelbi ابن الكلبي.

6 Abú 'Obaïdah Ma'mer Ben el-Mothanní ابو عبيدة معمر بن المثني.

7 Ibn 'Ayyásh* ابن عياش.

8 El-Haïthem Ibn 'Adí et-Tay† الهيثم ابن عدي الطاي.

9 Esh-Sharki Ibn el-Ketámí الشرقي ابن (الشرني) القطامي.

10 Hemmád er-Ráwiyah حماد الراوية.

11 El-Asma'i الاصعي.

12 Sahl Ben Harún سهل بن هرون.

13 Ibn el-Mokaffa' ابن المقفع.

14 El-Yezídí اليزيدي.

15 El-'Otbí el-Omawíy العتبي الاموي.

16 Abú Zeïd Sa'íd Ben Aus el-Ansárí ابو زيد سعيد بن اوس الانصاري.

reading which I have adopted rests on the authority of the Kámús, (edit. Calcutt. p. 1160) and the Fihrist (874. anc. fond. MS. Arab. Royal Library at Paris.)

* One copy bears ابو العباس الهمداني The addition of the patronymic "el-Hamadání," in this wrong reading makes it probable that it is the same person mentioned in Tiedemann's *Ibn Khallikan* under N. 364.

† Haji Khalfa (N. 2140) makes "el-Háyi" of "el-Táy" but this is wrong

17 En-Nadhr Ben Shomaïl النضر بن شميل.

18 'Obaïd-ullah Ben 'Ayeshah عبيد الله بن عايشة.

19 Abú'Obaïd el-Kásim Ben Sallám* ابو عبيد القاسم بن سلام.

20 'Ali Ben Mohammed el-Medáini علي بن محمد المدايني.

21 Demád Ben Rafí' Ben Selmah دماد بن رفيع بن سلمه.

22 Mohammed Ben Sallám el-Jomhí محمد بن سلام الجمحي.

23 Abú 'Othmán 'Amr Ben Bahr el-Jáhith ابو عثمن عمرو بن بحر الجاحظ.

24 Abú Zeïd'Omar Ben Shabbeh en-Nomaïri ابو زيد عمر بن شبه النمري.

25 El-Azraki el-Ansári الازرقي الانصاي †

26 Abu Sáib el-Makhzúmí ابو سايب المخزومي.

27 'Ali Ben Mohammed Ben Soleïman en-Naufeli علي بن محمد بن سليمن (سلمان) النوفلي.

28 Ez-Zobaïr Ben Bekkár الزبير بن بكار.

29 El-Injilí (الاعملي) الانجلي.

30 Er-Riyáshí الرياشى.

31 Ibn 'Abid (عايذ or ابو عابر) ابن عابد.

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* Other readings are ابو عبيد القسم بن سلامة and ابو عبيد الله القسم بن السلام. The reading which I have adopted in the text rests on the authority of Ibn Khallikan.

† The readings differ الورقي or الرزقي or الوقي or الزرقي.

32 'Ammár Ibn Wathímah * عمار ابن وثيمة.

33 Abú Hassán ez-Ziyádí (حبان الحسان) ابو حسان الزيادي (الرمادي).

34 'Isa Ibn Lahí'ah el-Misrí (لهيبعة) عيسي ابن لهيعة المصري.

35 'Abd-ur-Rahmán Ben 'Abd-ullah Ben Abdul-Hokm el-Misrí عبد الرحمن بن عبد الله بن عبد الحكم المصري.

36 Abu Keïsán el-Hádí ابو كيسان الهادي.

37 Mohammed Ben Músa el-Khowarezmí محمد بن موسي (عيسي) الخوارزمي.

38 Abú Ja'fer Mohammed Ben Abí-s-Sari ابو جعفر محمد بن ابي السري.

39 Mohammed Ben el-Haïthem Ben Shebámah (Shebábah) el-Khorásání محمد بن الهيثم بن شبامة (شبابة) الخراساني the author of the Book *ed-daulat* (الدولة the dynasty.)

40 Ishak Ibn Ibrahím el-Mausilí, the author of the Song-book, and of other works اسحق بن ابرهيم الموصلي صاحب كتاب الاغاني.

* There is a great difference in the readings of this name. The MS. in M. Schultz's collection in the Royal Library at Paris gives the reading which I have adopted in the text. The MS. of Leyden bears علي ابن وثبة المصري and another copy has عمار المصري. I believe it is the same man whom Haji Khalfa (N. 2120) calls *'Omárah Ben Wathímah.*

41 El-Khalíl Ibn el-Haïthem el-Harthemí الخليل ابن الهيثم الهرثمي the author of the book on *Stratagems and Manœuvres in War* كتاب الحيل والمكايد في الحروب and of other works.

42 Mohammed Ben Yezíd el-Mobarred el-Azdí محمد بن يزيد المبرد الازدي.

43 Mohammed Ben Soleïmán el-Minkarí el-Jauherí محمد بن سليمن المنقري (التقري المبقرى) الجوهري.

44 Mohammed Ben Zakaríyá el-Ghallábi* el-Basri (el-Misri) محمد بن زكريا الغلابي البصري (المصري), the author of the كتاب الاجواد and other works.

45 Ibn Abí-d-Dunyá (er-Raíní) the preceptor of el-Moktefi Billah ابن ابي الدنيا (الربني)

46 Ahmed Ben Omar (Mohammed) el-Khozá'í, known under the name of el-Khákání of Antiochia احمد بن عمر (محمد) الخزاعي المعروف بالخاقاني الانطاكي

47 'Abdullah Ben Mohammed Ben Mahfúth el Beladí el-Ansárí عبد الله بن محمد بن محفوظ البلدي (البلوي) الانصاري the companion of Ibn Yezíd 'Imárah Ben Zaïd of Medina (Ibn

* All the copies of Mas'údí bear العلاي instead of الغلابي. I prefer the latter on the authority of the Fihrist. His work is called in some copies كتاب الاحرار and in the Fihrist كتاب الاجود. Haji Khalfa contains none of these titles.

Othmán Ben Zaïd of Medina) ابن يزيد عمارة بن زيد المدني (ابن عثمان بن زيد).

48 Mohammed Ben el-Barki Ben Khálid el-Waki el-Kátib* محمد بن البرقي بن خالد الوقي الكاتب author of the كتاب التنبيان "Exposition."

49 Ahmed Ben Mohammed Ben Khálíd el-Barki, the son of the preceding وولده احمد بن محمد بن خالد البرقي

50 Abú Sa'íd es-Sokkarí † ابو سعيد السكري

51 Ahmed Ben Abí Táher احمد بن ابى طاهر the

* This name is found only in M. de Gayangoz's copy. It is evidently very incorrect. Comparing it with the next following name, which is also only met in Gayangoz's MS., I consider "el-Wakí" as a corruption of "el-Barkí", which is to be left out the first time. The name runs therefore: *Mohammed Ben Khálid el-Barki el-Kátib.* Haji Khalfa (N. 2405 edit. Flügel) ascribes a work called "Exposition of the History of Bagdad" to *Ahmed Ben Mohammed Ben Khálid el-Barki el Kátib.* This name agrees exactly with the name of the next following author. As in M. de Gayangoz's copy frequently a sentence is written twice, I almost think the father must abdicate as an author in favour of his son.

† This author is mentioned only in a copy of the Royal Library at Paris, (collection of M. Schultz) and in M. de Gayangoz's MS. The later MS. adds, He is the author of the work ابيات العرب "Poems of the Arabs (Bedouins)" in the Fihrist and in Haji Khalfa (edit. Flügel, N. 38.) This book bears the title الابيات السايرة "Popular Poems."

author of the "History of Bagdad" كتاب اخبار بغداد and other works.

52 Ibn el-Weshá ابن الوشا

53 'Alí Ben Mojáhid علي بن مجاهد the author of the "History of the Omayyides" كتاب اخبار الامويين and other works.

54 Mohammed Ben Sáleh Ben el-Betáh (en-Nettáh*.) محمد بن صالح بن البطاح (النطاح) the author of the "History of the Abbaside Dynasty" كتاب الدولة العباسية and other works.

55 Yúsuf Ben Ibrahím يوسف بن ابرهيم the author of the "History of Ibrahím Ben el-Mahdí" and other works.

56 Mohammed Ben el-Hareth et-Taghlebí (eth-Tha'lebí) محمد بن الحرث التغلبي (الثعلبي) the author of the "Manners of the Kings" كتاب اخلاق الملوك (الملة) which he composed for el-Fath Ben Khákán الفتح بن خاقان and of other works.

57 'Obaïd-ullah Ben 'Abdulla Ben Khordádbeh عبيد الله بن عبد الله بن خرداذبه.

He is the best writer; his style is an example which has been imitated by other authors. They

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* The reading "el-Betáh" is confirmed by the authority of the Fihrist (874 MS. Arabe ancien fonds of the Royal Library at Paris;) and "en-Nettáh" by Haji Khalfa (edit. Flügel, N. 2151.)

have followed his traces and copied from his works. Whoever wishes to convince himself of the truth of our assertion, may read his *large work on history*, كتاب الكبير في التاريخ. He compiled the materials for this work with great care; arranged them in a new order, and comprised in it a vast deal of information. It contains the history of the Persians, and other nations, their kings, and the biographies of those kings.

Another excellent book of his treats on the *roads and kingdoms, &c.*, في المسالك و الممالك و غيرها. Whenever I was in want of information, I found it there, and whenever I consulted it, I had reason to praise it.

58 *History* (of Mohammed) *from his birth to his death, and of the Khalifs and Kings after him, down to the Khalifat of el-Mo'tadhed Billah, with an account of all that happened or existed in their days, and their traditions, by Mohammed Ben 'Alí el Hosaïní el-'Alawí ed-Dínaweri* كتاب التاريخ من المولد الي الوفاة و من كان بعد النبي صلي الله عليه و سلم من الخلفاء و الملوك الي خلافة المعتضد بالله و ماكان من الاحداث والكوابن في ايامهم واخبارهم تاليف محمد بن علي الحسيني العلوي الدينوري.

59 *History of Ahmed Ben Yahya el-Beládori* كتاب التاريخ لاحمد بن يحيي البلاذري and the work of the same author which has the following title,

"The countries and their subjection to the Mohammedans, by treaty or force, after the Hijrah of the prophet, and all the conquests of Mohammed, and of the Khalifs after him, also the traditions illustrative of this subject;" كتاب البلدان وفتوحها صلحًا و عنوةً من هجرة النبي عليه السلام ومافتح في ايامه وعلي الخلفاء بعده وما كان من الاخبار فى ذلك. The author describes in this book, all the countries east and west, south and north. We do not know of any better work on the conquest of the countries than this.

60 *The history of Dáwud Ben el-Jerráh,* كتاب داود بن الجراح في التاريخ. This is the great repository of the history of the Persians, and of other nations. The author is the grandfather of the vizier 'Alí Ben 'Isa Ben Dáwud Ben el-Jerráh.

61 *A history containing the events, state, and times before the Islám and after, by Abú 'Abdullah Mohammed Ben el-Hasan Ben Siwár,* known under the name of *Ibn Okht 'Isá Ben Ferkhánsháh,* كتاب التاريخ الجامع لفنون من الاخبار والكوائن والاعصار قبل الاسلام وبعده تاليف ابي عبد الله محمد بن الحسن (الحسين) بن سوار المعروف بابن اخت عيسي بن فرخانشاه (فرضانشاه). His history goes down to the year 320.

62 *History of Abú 'Isa Ben el-Monajjim* (the astrologer) *principally based on the Pentateuch,*

تاريخ ابي عيسي بن المنجم علي ما انبأت به التورية
It treats also on other prophets and kings.

63 *History of the Omayyides, their virtues, the qualities by which they distinguished themselves from other great families, and the new line of conduct which they adopted when in power; by Abú 'Abd-ur-Rahmán Kháled Ben Heshám el-Omawíy* كتاب التاريخ و اخبار الامويين و مناقبهم وما بانوا به من غيرهم وما احدثوه من السير في ايامهم تاليف ابي عبد الرحمن خالد بن هشام الاموي

64 *The history of Abú Bishr ed-Daulábi* كتاب ابي بشر الدولابي (الدولي) في التاريخ.

65 And the excellent book of *Abú Bekr Mohammed Ben Khalaf Ben Waki', the Kadi,* on history, with notices on other subjects; كتاب الشريف تاليف ابي بكر محمد بن خلف ابن وكيع القاضي في التاريخ و غيره من الاخبار.

66 *Biography and History by Mohammed Ben Kháled el-Háshemí* كتاب السير و الاخبار لمحمد بن خالد الهاشمي

67 *History and Bioyraphy by Ishak Ben Solaïman el-Háshemí;* كتاب التاريخ و السير لاسحق بن سليمن الهاشمي.

68 *Biography of the Khalifs by Abú Bekr Mohammed Ben Zakaríyá er-Rází,* كتاب سير الخلفا لابي بكر محمد بن زكريا الرازي; the author of

the "Kitáb el-Mansúrí" كتاب المنصوري and other medical works.

69 The works of *'Abdullah Ben Moslim Ben Kotaïbah ed-Dínaweri* عبد الله بن مسلم بن قتيبة الدينوري, which are numerous and extensive, as his *Encyclopædia* كتاب المعارف and other works.

70 *The history of Abú Ja'fer Mohammed Ben Jarír et-Tabarí* تاريخ ابي جعفر محمد بن جرير الطبري. No other book can be compared with this, which forms a supplement to all other works. He has collected different historical traditions and documents, so that his book contains a variety of information, which renders it very useful. And how could it be otherwise? the author having been the most learned *Divine** of his age, and the most religious person of his time. He united the knowledge of the

* "Divine," فقيه means a person well versed in law and divinity, *i. e.* 1. The Korán and its explanation. This comprehends the sacred ancient history of the creation and prophets, the outline of which the reader finds in the 3rd, 4th, 5th, and 6th chapters of this work. 2. The traditions which are intimately connected with the early history of the Mohammedans, for history derives all its information from traditions. 3. Some auxiliary sciences, such as logic, grammar, Arabic, archæology, &c. Hence it was required to be a good Divine, in order to be a good historian.

Divines of all the leading cities*, and was acquainted with all traditions and documents.

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* When the Mohammedans had conquered part of Persia, 'Omar founded on the frontier between the conquering and subjected countries (Arabia and Persia), two military cantonments, (el-Basrah and el-Kúfah) to ensure the conquests. These two cities were called المصرين sing. المصر Hence تمصير means "to form such a cantonment." Similar cantonments were founded by the same Khalif, and for the same purpose, in Syria, Mesopotamia, and Egypt. Although they were in their origin little more than camps, they rose soon to importance, being the site of the government of the conquered countries, and the rich booty collected there from all quarters of the world, changed them into splendid cities. In these cantonments the veterans who had fought with Mohammed were stationed. When peace was restored, their minds were turned to religious speculations, and their imagination was filled with the recollections of the prophet; the absence from the original spot may have contributed to exalt and embellish these recollections. They related the sayings and history of the prophet to their children, who were anxious to gather as many of these sacred traditions as they possibly could, and to compare the accounts of the same fact, as related by different persons. So in every one of those stations of the veterans, or "leading cities," to which Mekka and Medina may be reckoned, a *corpus* of traditions was formed which was first orally taught, but soon committed to writing, studied and commented upon by the divines

These cantonments may be compared, in an ecclesiastical point of view, with the primitive Christian churches, (Jerusalem, Alexandria Antiochia, &c.), with this difference, that they were at the same time the sites of learning, and that their chivalrous feelings were so strong, that the blood of more than a hundred thousand

71 Of the same description is the history of *Abú 'Abdullah Ibrahím Ben Mohammed Ben 'Orfah el-Wásiti, the grammarian*, known by his nick-name, *Niftawaïh* ابو عبد الله ابرهيم بن محمد بن عرفة الواسطي النحوي المنبوز بنفطويه. His history is full of elegant extracts from the best works, and of useful matter. He was the best writer of his time.

72 *Mohammed Ben Yahya es-Súlí* محمد بن يحيي الصولي followed his example in his book called *The papers on the history of the Abbasides and their poetries* كتاب الاوراق في اخبار خلفا بني العباس واشعارهم and in his work on *the history of the Viziers of the Benú 'Abbás* كتاب في اخبار وزرايهم. He relates anecdotes which are not to be found in any other author, for he had the opportunity of witnessing them personally; he was besides very learned and well-informed, and a good writer.

73 Of the same kind is the work *on the Viziers*,

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men who fell in el-Kúfah under the executioner of Hejjáj Ben Yúsuf could not quench their thirst for independency.

This is the original acceptation of the word مصر which was lost when the cities to which it had been applied, lost their importance and character. Modern writers use sometimes the plural امصار in order to make a sentence more pompous, and in this case it means "provinces" in a vague acceptation of the word.

by Abúl-Hasan 'Ali Ben el-Hasan, who is known under the name of *Ibn el-Máshitah**, كتاب اخبار الوزرا لابي الحسن علي بن الحسن المعروف بابن الماشطة This work goes down to the end of the reign of er-Rádhi Billah.

74 Equal merit has *Abúl-Faraj Kodámah Ben Ja'fer el-Kátib* ابو الفرج قدامة بن جعفر الكاتب. He was a good and elegant writer, who chose such words which expressed best the meaning, as one may see from his historical work, which has the title, *flowers of the spring,* كتاب زهرالربيع but his best work is the book *on the tribute,* كتاب الخراج. In these two works he justifies fully the praise which is given to him.

75 *Abúl-Kásim Ja'fer Ben Mohammed Ben Hamdán el-Mausilí el-Fakíh* ابو القاسم جعفر بن محمد بن حمدان الموصلي الفقيه wrote his historical work called *el-Báhir* كتاب الباهر (*the admirable*) in opposition to the *Kitáb er-Raudhat* كتاب الروضة (*the garden*) of *el-Mobarred* المبرد.

76 *Ibrahim Ben Máhawaïh el-Fáresí* ابرهيم بن ماهويه الفارسي. He imitates a work of *el-*

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* Haji Khalfa (No. 242 edit. Flügel) writes the name of this author *Abul-Hosaïn 'Alí Ben Mohammed el-Meshshátah* المشاطة but this is wrong. Compare the *Tenbíh* (337 MSS. of St. Germain, fol. 195 vers.)

Mobarred called "el-Kámil" كتاب الكامل (*the perfect book.*)

77 The work of *Ibrahím Ben Músa el-Wásití on the history of the Viziers,* كتاب ابرهيم بن موسي الواسطي في اخبار الوزرا. He wrote this book in opposition to *Mohammed Ben Dáwud Ben el-Jerrah's* book on the same subject.

78 The work of *'Alí Ben el-Fath* el-Kátib* known under the name of *el-Motawwak, on the history of several Viziers of el-Moktader,* كتاب علي بن الفتح الكاتب المعروف بالمطوق في اخبار عدة من وزرا المقتدر.

79 *El-Misrí's* work named *Flowers of the eyes and brightness of the heart,* كتاب زهرة العيون وجلا القلوب تاليف المصري.

80 *The history of 'Abdur-Rahím Ben Mohammed el-Warrak,* generally called *el-Jorjáni es-Sa'di*†, كتاب التاريخ تاليف عبد الرحيم بن محمد الوراق المعروف بالجرجاني (الخوزجاني) السعدي.

81 *History of el-Mausil and other places, by Abú Zokra el-Mausilí,*‡ كتاب التاريخ واخبار الموصل و غيرها لابي زكرة الموصلي.

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* Haji Khalfa (No. 242) is wrong in writing the name of this author *'Alí Ben Abíl-Fatah.*

† Haji Khalfa (No. 2193) calls this author *'Abd er-Rahmán Ben 'Abd er-Rezzák es-Sa'di el-Jorjání.* One of my copies bears *Ben el-Warrák*

‡ The name of this author in Haji Khalfa (No. 2320) is *Zakariyá el-Mausili.*

82 *The chronicle of Ahmed Ben Abí Ya'kúb el-Misrí* embracing the history of the Abbasides and other families,* تاريخ احمد بن ابي يعقوب المصري في اخبار العباسيين وغيرهم.

83 *The history of the Khalifs, from the house of Abbás, and others, by 'Abdullah Ben el-Hosaïn Ben Sa'd el-Kátib,* † كتاب التاريخ و اخبار الخلفا من بني العباس وغيرهم لعبدالله بن الحسين بن سعد الكاتب.

84 *Mohammed Ben Abíl-Azhar's* ‡ محمد بن ابي الازهر work on history, and other subjects.

* Haji Khalfa (No. 2151) writes this name *Ahmed Ben Ya'kúb el-Misrí.*

† Haji Khalfa writes *'Abdullah Ben Hosaïn Ben Ma'ad* معد.

‡ Haji Khalfa calls this author *Abúl-Azhar Mohammed Ben Mozíd,* a grammarian, who died 325. This is wrong, as we see from es-Soyútí (*lives of grammarians and lexicographers,* an Arabic MS. of Dr. J. Lee). This author says, "Mohammed Ben Mozíd Ben Mahmúd Ben Mansúr Abú Bekr el-Khozá'í, known under the name of "*Ibn* Abíl-Azhar" the grammarian, is called by some writers Mohammed Ben Ahmed Ben Mozíd.... He is the author of the work *el-harj wal-marj,* &c." With this account agrees the author of the Fihrist (Vol. I., No. 874, MS. Arab. anc. fonds., in the Royal Library at Paris, fol. 200 verso.), who gives to the author of the *el-harj wal-marj* the name of *Ibn Abíl-Azhar Abú Bekr Mohammed Ben Ahmed of Búshanj* البوشنجي.

This book has the title of *rebellion and revolutions*, كتاب الهرج و الاحداث

85 *Senán Ibn Thábet Ben Korrah el-Harráni*, سنان ابن ثابت بن قرة الحراني, * has written a work, the contents of which are not in his line and profession; it is in the form of an epistle to a friend of his, who holds office under Government; and contains dissertations on moral philosophy, and the division of the soul, into the intellectual soul (الناطقة), animal soul (or function) (الغضبية), and vegetative soul (or function) (الشهوانية). He also gives the leading ideas on the government of cities, from Plato's *Republic*, which is in two books. He speaks also on the duties of the Sovereign, and of the Viziers. Then he proceeds to history, which he believes to have from good authority, for he does not relate as an eye-witness, except the history of Mo'tadhed Billah, in whose court he lived. He gives an account of the days which he passed with him.

* Haji Khalfa (No. 2191) makes a gross anachronism, in ascribing to Thábet Ben Korrah a history from the year 190 to 363, whereas the supposed author died 288 A.H. He means probably the history of the grandson of Thábet Ben Korrah, whose name was *Thábet Ben Senán* and who is much praised as a historian, by Abúl-Faraj (*Hist. Dynast.* p. 208., and also Asemani *Bibl. Orientalis*, Vol. II., p. 317.) He died 363 A.H.

Then he goes back from one Khalif to another, but contrary to all history, and deviating from the accounts of all other historians. And even if his history were better, and if he had not gone beyond what he had seen himself, he ought to be blamed for a work which is not in his profession, and for a labour which is out of his line. He ought to have written on those branches of science in which he is unique, as on the *Science of Euclid* اقليدس, the *lineæ secantes* مقطعات, on the *Almegest*, and on *Circles* المدورات; or he ought to have entered into an explanation of the systems of *Socrates*, *Plato*, or *Aristotle*, treating on the system of the heavens* الاشيا الفلكية, on meteorological phenomena الاثار العلوية, or on natural temperaments. On causes, their connexion and conclusions النتايج. On propositions المقدمات, and compound syllogisms صنايع المركبات. On the distinction between natural and supernatural الالهيات. Also on the science of the matter, dimensions, figures, and the mensuration of forms (stereometry), and other problems of philosophy. If he had written on these subjects, no blame could be cast upon

* This is the Arabic title for Aristotle's work, *De Cœlo*, and the following one for his *Meteorologica*.

him for his labour, for he would have produced a work which is consistent with his professional science. But the learned are defective in their abilities, and the wise have some weak points. Hence, 'Abdullah Ben el-Mokaffa' says: "Whosoever writes a book exposes himself: if it is good he will earn fame, and if it is bad he will reap shame."

We mentioned only those chronicles, histories, biographies, and documents, the authors of which are known, and omitted the historical works of the persons who have written on the traditions, containing the names, lives, and classes, of men; for this volume is too limited to contain all that. Besides, in our work entitled *Kitáb Akhbár ez-zemán* and *Kitáb el-ausat*, we have named the persons who have made themselves in any way remarkable, with their biographies, and anecdotes of their lives, and we have given an account of the persons of science, and their classes; beginning from the time of the companions of the prophet and the followers* after them, we have followed up the great men of every age, in chronological order, till the year 332, according to the difference of their

* Those who lived at the time of Mohammed, and knew him, are called "companions," اصحاب and those who knew the companions, but not the prophet himself, are called "followers," تابعون

pursuits and opinions, whether they were divines of the leading cities, or other persons who espoused the cause of some opinion, sect, system, or controversy.

We have given to the present work the title, MEADOWS OF GOLD, AND MINES OF GEMS, كتاب مروج الذهب و معادن الجوهر, in order to excite a desire and curiosity after its contents, and to make the mind eager to become acquainted with history, the prominent and leading facts of which are comprised in this book, whilst they are related in full detail in our former works on the same subject, and with the interesting accounts selected for these pages from our other writings. We have dedicated this book as a present to kings and men of learning, having treated in it on every subject which may be useful or curious to learn, and on any knowledge which arose in the lapse of time.

We have pointed to the subjects of our former works, repeating here everything that a clever and well-informed man ought to know. There is no branch of science, nor any object of interest, of which we do not speak ; nor is there any important fact which we do not distinctly mention in this book. We have compressed it into the form of a summary, interspersed with various hints, and illustrated with occasional observations.

Whosoever changes in any way its meaning, removes one of its foundations, corrupts the lustre

of its information, covers the splendour of one paragraph, or makes any change or alteration, selection or extract; and whoever ascribes it to another author, may he feel the wrath of God! Quick may come the vengeance, and may the blows of misfortune fall upon him with such violence that he is unable to bear his fate in patience, and that he loses his intellect over it. May God make him an example to the reflecting, and may He take from him what he had given to him. May He who is the Creator of heaven and earth bereave him of the strength and other graces which he had bestowed upon him, to whatever sect or opinion he may belong.

We have put this intimidation at the beginning of this book, and at the end, that it may deter any one who might have an inclination, and be bad enough, to do such a thing. God will see him, and watch his doings. The space (of life) is short, and the distance (to the other world) is small, and to God we shall all return*.

Here we subjoin a list of the chapters of this book, showing the contents of every one of them

* This expression of reliance on God is borrowed from the Korán, and is constantly in the mouth of the Moslims if they see themselves wronged.

SECOND CHAPTER.

A List of the Chapters contained in this Book.

We have explained in the preceding chapter the object of this work; in this chapter we will give a list of the contents of the chapters, in the same systematical order which we have observed in the body of the book, to the end that the reader can easier refer to them.

3. The first origin.—The process of the creation, and the first generations from Adam to Ibrahím.

4. The history of Ibrahím, and the prophets after him.—The kings of the children of Israel.

5. The reign of Rákhobo'am Ben Solaïman Ben Dáwud and the Israelite kings after him. Concise account of the prophets.

6. Those who lived in the Fatrah, that is to say, in the time between Christ and Mohammed.

7. An abridged account of the Hindus, their opinions, the origin of their kings, and their lives, also their usages in holy service.

8. On the globe, the seas, the beginning of rivers, the mountains, and seven climates, and the stars which preside over them, and other subjects.

9. A concise account of seas that have changed their places, and of great rivers.

10. Account of the Abyssinian sea, its extent, gulfs and straits.

11. The different opinions on ebb and flow, and all that has been said on this subject.

12. The Greek (Mediterranean) sea, its length and breadth, and its beginning and end.

13. The Sea of Nítus* and Mánitus, and the strait of Constantinople.

14. The sea of Bàb el-Abwáb and Jorján (the Caspian Sea), and a view of the connexion of all the seas.

15. The Chinese Empire, its kings; their lives, government, &c.

16. A comprehensive view of the accounts of the seas, and their wonders, and of the nations who live in the islands of the sea, or on the coast, the succession of their kings, &c.

17. On the Caucasus, and accounts of el-Lán (Alans), es-Serír, el-Khazar, and various races of Turks†, and el-Bulghar, also of Derbend and the nations and kings of those regions.

* نيطوس is a corruption of بنطوس *Pontus*, which is so universally found in Arabic authors, that it seems to be sanctioned by use.

† The word "Turk" throughout this work is not to be taken in the meaning it generally has in the English language. For the nation which we call "Turks" are named in the east "Othmanlis," whilst the name "Turk" has with good Arabic writers about the

18. The Assyrian kings.

19. The kings of Mausil and Ninive, who are the same as those called el-Aturyún*, الاتريون

20 The kings of Babel of Nabatæan, and other origin. They are called the "Chaldæans."

21. The first Persian kings; their lives, with historical sketches.

22. The kings of the Satrapies, and the Ashghánians. These were between the first and second Persian dynasties.

23. The origin of the Persians, and what the historians say on this subject.

24. The Sassanian kings, who are the second series of Persian sovereigns, and collections from their history.

25 The Greeks†, their history, and opinions on their history.

same meaning as with us, "Tatars." I refer the reader for a more scientific explanation of this word to the 17th chapter and the additional notes to it.

* He means probably the kings of "Aturia," which is the name of the country belonging to Niniveh, in Strabo, (edit. Basil. 1549, page 669.)

† The Greeks, before they were subjected by the Romans, are called by oriental writers "Yúnáníyún, اليونانيون or Ionians. The term is originally Syriac ܝܘܢܝܐ, for the Arabs derived their knowledge of the ancient Greeks originally from the Syrians, and these were, of course, best acquainted with those Greeks who

26. The history of Alexander in India.

27. The Greek kings, after Alexander.

28. The Roman Empire, and what historians say on the origin of the Romans, the number of their kings, and their chronology. Also sketches from the lives of those kings.

29. The Christian sovereigns of the Byzantines, we mean the emperors of Constantinople, with some notices of what has happened during their reigns.

30. The emperors after the beginning of the Islám down to the emperor Romanus, who is now reigning in 332 A.H.

31. Accounts of Egypt, and the Nile, wonders of Egypt, and its sovereigns.

32. Alexandria, the edifices of this town, and the kings who resided there.

33. The Súdán (Negroes), their origin and different races.

34. The Slavonians, the countries where they

lived nearest to them, who were the "Ionians." After the conquest of the Romans, the eastern empire was called Rúm الروم I translate اليونانيون by "Greeks," and الروم for distinction's sake, by "Byzantines." Whosoever wishes for further explanation on this subject may consult Hamaker's note to the "Liber de expugnatione Memphidis et Alexandriæ", Leyden 1825, p. 60.

live, their kings, and the divisions of the Slavonian nations.

35. The Franks and Galicians, الجلالقة their kings, sketches from their history and biography, and their wars with the inhabitants of Andalus, (Moors in Spain.)

36. The Longobards, and their kings, together with an account of the country which they inhabit *.

37. The 'Adites, and their kings; a view of their history, and the opinions respecting the length of the time which they flourished.

38. The Themúdites and their kings; Sálih their prophet, and some sketches from their history.

39. Mekka, an historical account of this city, and of the holy house, (the Ka'bah,) also of the supremacy which the Jorhomites, and other tribes, held there; and what besides enters under this head.

40. On the description of the earth, and the various countries. Love to the native soil.

41. The dispute on the reason why "el-Yemen,"

* M. De Guignes, (Notices et Extraits des MSS. de la Bibliothèque du Roi, Vol. i. p. 4.) and Hamaker, (Specimen Catal.) read the word النوكبرد Nogorod. We have no doubt but that النوكبرد is a corruption of الونكبرد "el-Lúngobard," although all MSS. agree in this corrupt reading. We are confirmed in our opinion by Nowaïri, (MS. of Leyden, Nro. 273, page 50,) who spells it الانكبرد "Alangobard."

اليمن "el-'Iràk," العراق "esh-Shám," الشام and "el-Hejáz," الحجاز have received these names.

42. Yemen, the origin of the inhabitants of this country, and the various opinions thereon.

43. Yemen, and the kings called "Tobba's," and others, together with their lives, and the years which they reigned.

44. The kings of el-Hírah, who came from Yemen, and others, together with their history.

45. Kings of Syria who came from Yemen, and others, together with their history.

46. Wandering people of the Arabs, and of other nations; the reasons why they inhabit the deserts, and the Kurds the mountains; their origin and history, and all that is connected with this subject.

47. The different beliefs and opinions of the Arabs, before the Islám; their dispersion. The history of the elephant, and the invasion of the Abyssinians, Abdul Motallib, &c.

48. Opinions of the Arabs on the soul, intellect, and animal life.

49. What the Arabs say on ghosts and witchcraft, and what other nations say on this and other subjects of the same nature.

50. On ominous sounds, demons and the like, according to the opinions of the Arabs and others, both those who believe it and who deny it.

51. The ideas of the Arabs on augury, divina-

tion, physiognomics, and lucky or unlucky omens, taken from the circumstance whether game turns from the left to the right, or from the right to the left.

52. Soothsaying, how it is done, and various accounts thereof; the distinction between a rational and irrational soul, and opinions on visions, dreams, and other subjects connected with them.

53. The history of Seïl el-'Arem in the country of Sabá and Márib. The dispersion of the Azd, and their settling in other countries.

54. The years and months of the Arabs compared with those of other nations, how far they agree, and how far they differ.

55. The months of the Kopts and Syrians, the difference of their names. A view of chronology, and what is connected with these matters.

56. The months of the Syrians; how they agree with the months of the Greeks; how many days in a year.

57. Months of the Persians.

58. The years and months of the Arabs, and the names of their days and nights.

59. What the Arabs say on the nights of the lunar months, and what is connected with this subject.

60. The revolutions of the sun and moon*.

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* Mas'údí states at the end of this index that the number of chapters is 132. All MS. copies fall short of this number,

61. The influence on this world ascribed to the sun and moon, and the various opinions on this subject.

62. The quarters of the world, and what is peculiar to every part of them in the east and west, south and north, and other influence of the stars.

63. Sacred edifices and lofty temples; on the houses sacred to the worship of fire and idols. The idolatry of the Hindus, on the stars and other strange things in this world.

64. Sacred houses of the Greeks, and their description.

65. Sacred houses of the ancient Romans.

66. The sacred houses of the Slavonians, together with their description.

67. The high temple of the Sabeans of Harrán, and of other Sabean sects. The various things preserved in these temples, and the like.

68. Account of the houses of fire worship, their construction, and the account of the Magi respecting those houses, and their construction.

omitting frequently the chapter heads. Taking the chapter heads of all the copies at my disposal, I brought the number of chapters to 131. De Guignes, who gives this list, although very incomplete, in the first volume of the Notices et Extraits des MSS., after the MSS. of Paris, mentions the above chapter head, which I the readier adopt to make complete the number of 132, as Mas'údí speaks also on the course of the sun and moon in the chapter inscribed in my copies "The influence on this World, &c."

69. Conspectus of the chronology of the world, from the beginning down to the birth of Mohammed.

70. The birth of Mohammed, his pedigree, and what enters besides under this head.

71. The prophetic mission of Mohammed, and his history till his flight.

72. The flight of Mohammed, and the heads of his history, till his death.

73. Account of his history, and circumstances connected with it, from his birth to his death.

74. New dogmas which commenced with the prophet, and which had never existed before him.

75. The Khalifat of Abú Bekr es-Sadík: his pedigree, and sketches from his life and history.

76. The Khalifat of 'Omar Ben el-Khattáb: his pedigree, and sketches from his life and history.

77. Khalifat of 'Othmán Ben el-'Affán.

78. Khalifat of 'Alí Ben Abí Táleb: his pedigree, and sketches from his life and history: his brothers and sisters.

79. Account of the battle of the camel, how it began, and what there happened.

80. The occurrences between the Arabs of el-'Irak, and esh-Shám (Syria), at Siffin.

81. The two arbitrators, and the beginning of the arbitration.

82. 'Alí's wars with the people of Nahrwán, who were called "esh-Shorrát," (Schismaticks); and the result of this war.

83. 'Alí's assassination.

84. Sayings of 'Alí, examples of his abstemiousness, and some anecdotes of this nature.

85. The Khalifat of el-Hasan Ben 'Alí Ben Abí Táleb.

86. Reign of Mo'awiyah Ben Abí Sofyán.

87. History of Mo'awiyah, his government, and anecdotes from his life.

88. The companions of the Prophet, their praise. 'Alí and el-'Abbás.

89. The reign of Yezíd Ben Mo'awiyah Ben Abí Sofyán.

90. El-Hosaïn, the son of 'Alí, is killed, and many of his family and followers share his fate.

91. The names of the children of 'Alí Ben Abí Táleb.

92. Sketches from the life and history of Yezíd; some extraordinary actions of his. His wars, &c.

93. Reign of Mo'awiyah Ben Yezíd, Merwán Ibn el-Hakam, el-Mokhtár Ben Abí 'Obaïd and 'Abdullah Ben ez-Zobaïr, and sketches from their lives and history, and some occurrences which happened at this period.

94. Reign of 'Abdul-Melik Ben Merwán: sketches from his life and history.

95. El-Hejjáj Ben Yúsof; his speech, and part of his history.

96. Reign of el-Walíd Ben 'Abdul-Melik: sketches from his history, and the history of el-Hejjáj during his reign.

97. Reign of Soleïmán Ben 'Abdul-Melik: sketches from his life and history.

98, Khalifat of 'Amr Ben 'Abdul-'Azíz Ben Merwán Ben el-Hakam: sketches from his life and history.

99. Reign of Yezíd Ben 'Abdul-Melik: sketches from his life and history.

100. Reign of Heshám Ben 'Abdul-Melik, and sketches from his life and history.

101. Reign of el-Walíd Ben Yezíd Ben 'Abdul-Melik, and sketches from his life and history.

102. Reigns of Yezíd Ben el-Walíd Ben 'Abdul-Melik, and Ibrahím Ben el-Walíd Ben 'Abdul-Melik, and anecdotes from the history of their reigns.

103. The party spirit between the descendants of Yemen, and the Nizárians. And the rebellion against the Omayyides which was the result.

104. The reign of Merwán Ben Mohammed Ben Merwán Ben el-Hakam.

105. The number of years which the Omayyide dynasty has been in power.

106. The 'Abbasside dynasty: further history of Merwán; his murder, his wars, and life.

107. The Khalifat of es-Seffáh, his life and history, and the history of his time.

108. The Khalifat of el-Mansúr; his life and history, and sketches from the history of his time.

109. The Khalifat of el-Mehdi: his life and history, and sketches from the history of his time.

110. The Khalifat of el-Hádí: his life and history, and sketches from the history of his time.

111. The Khalifat of er-Rashíd; his life and history, and sketches from the history of his time.

112. The Barmekides, their history, and their influence upon their time.

113. The Khalifat of el-Amín: his life and history, and sketches from the history of his time.

114. The Khalifat of el-Mámún: his life and history, and sketches from the history of his time.

115. The Khalifat of el-Mo'tasem: his life and history, and sketches from the history of his time.

116. The Khalifat of el-Wáthik: his life and history, and sketches from the history of his time.

117. The Khalifat of el-Motawakkel: his life and history, and sketches from the history of his time.

118. The Khalifat of el-Montaser; his life and history, and sketches from the history of his time.

119. The Khalifat of el-Mosta'ín: his life and history, and sketches from the history of his time.

120. The Khalifat of el-Mo'tazz: his life and history, and sketches from the history of his time.

121. The Khalifat of el-Mohtadí: his life and history, and sketches from the history of his time.

122. The Khalifat of el-Mo'tamed: his life and history, and sketches from the history of his time.

123. The Khalifat of el-Mo'tadhed: his life and history, and sketches from the history of his time.

124. The Khalifat of el-Moktafí: his life and history, and sketches from the history of his time.

125. The Khalifat of el-Moktader: his life and history, and sketches from the history of his time.

126. The Khalifat of el-Káhir: his life and history, and sketches from the history of his time.

127. The Khalifat of er-Rádhí: his life and history, and sketches from the history of his time.

128. The Khalifat of el-Mottakí: his life and history, and sketches from the history of his time.

129. The Khalifat of el-Mostakfí: his life and history, and sketches from the history of his time.

130. The Khalifat of el-Motí': his life and history, and sketches from the history of his time.

131. The second conspectus of the chronology, containing the period from the Hijrah, down to the present time, *i. e.*, Jomádal-ewwel of the year 336. Thi sis the date when I finished this book.

132. Names of the leaders of the pilgrimage.

El-Mas'údí says, these are all the chapters contained in this book. We shall give, in every chapter, the contents pointed to in the preceding list, and besides, various other histories and accounts not mentioned in this list, but they form only separate paragraphs of the mentioned chapters. So we give in our chronicles of the Khalifs, and the length of their lives, in a separate paragraph their biography and history; and then we add another paragraph containing an account of the occurrences during their reigns, the history of the Viziers, and the sciences which were the object of their literary

circles. We have put into a different shape what we have said in our former works on the same subject.

The number of chapters contained in this book is one hundred and thirty two. The first chapter contains the *object of our work,* and the second the *list of chapters contained in it,* and the last chapter contains the *names of the leaders of the pilgrimage from the beginning of the Islám down to* 335, A.H.

IN the name of the Merciful and Clement God!

THIRD CHAPTER.

On the beginning of all things, process of the creation, and the progress of generation.

ABÚL-HASAN (el-Mas'údí) says: the learned Moslims, of all sects, agree that God, the Almighty, created the universe without model, and from nothing. The first thing created, acccording to a tradition based on the authority of Ibn el-'Abbás and others, was water; upon it was the throne of God, and when God intended to accomplish the work of creation, he produced smoke* from the water, which rose over it, and he called it السماء *heaven.* He made the water dry, and changed it into one earth, then he divided it into seven earths†. This was done in two days, on Sunday and Monday.

* *i. e.* The exhalation of the waters, as he says soon after.

† The Arabs received the theory of seven earths without knowing what they were. Some believe that there are six earths under the one which we inhabit; in the sixth is the throne of *Iblís,* whilst others divide the globe known to the Arabs into seven earths. (Kitáb el-Boldán, add. MS. of the Brit. Museum, 7496).

He created the earth upon a fish حوت* which is mentioned in the Korán, in the Surah, "Nun†" "by the reed (pen) and what they write, and by the FISH." This water again rests upon a large smooth stone, and the stone upon the back of an angel, who stands upon a rock‡, and this rock is supported by the wind. The rock is also mentioned in the Korán§; in the words of Lokman to his son, "O my Son, if the weight of one mustard-seed pushes on the rock, or on the heavens, or on the earth, or wherever it may be, God is aware of it, for God is clear-sighted and omniscient." When the fish shakes, an earthquake is produced. God, however, placed firmly the mountains upon it, and the earth remains firm. To this alludes the passage of the Korán¶, "He has thrown upon the earth mountains firmly rooted, lest it should move with you." He created the mountains, the nourishment of the inhabitants of the earth, and the trees, in two days, on Tuesday and Wednesday. Therefore we read in

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* This fish is named بهموت *Bahmút* or *Hamút*, (Ibn Shohna, MS. of the Asiatic Society at Paris.) الحوت is hardly ever used but as the name of the *pisces* of the zodiac. This fable seems to have been originally an astronomical allegory.

† Surah LXviii, verse 48.

‡ Ibn Shohna and others say this rock rests upon a bull (the sacred animal of the Hindus), which is called كيوثان *Kayúthán*.

§ Korán edit. Flügel, Surah xxxi, verse 15.

¶ Surah XVI, verse 15.

the Korán, "Say (O Mohammed) how can you disbelieve on him who has created the earth in two days? and how can they associate a companion with him who is the Lord of the worlds, and who has put firmly-rooted mountains, and spread his blessing in it. He provides equally for those who pray to him for it.

Then God ascended to the heavens, which were smoke. He said to the heavens and to the earth, "come whether you like or not;" they answered, "We come by good will." This smoke was the breath of the water. God made first one heaven, then he divided it into seven heavens. This was done in two days, on Thursday and on Friday. Friday was called the day of assembling (يوم الجمعة) for God has assembled (جمع) (completed) on that day the creation of the heavens and earth. Then he said I will reveal in every heaven what belongs to it, that is to say, he created what there is in it, as angels, seas and the mountains of el-Bord جبال البرد The heaven of the world is green, and consists of emerald; the second heaven is white, and of silver; the third heaven is red, and of ruby; the fourth heaven is white, and of pearls; the fifth heaven is (احمر) of gold; the sixth heaven is of a yellow gem, (Topaz); the seventh heaven is of light, and it is all covered with angels who stand on one foot, and praise God, because they are so near him. Their legs go through the seventh earth, and a space of

five hundred years' journey below the seventh earth, and their heads are under the throne of God, which they do not reach. They say, THERE IS NO GOD, BUT GOD*; HE SITS ON THE THRONE OF GLORY; so they say, from the moment of creation, to the hour of the judgment.

Under the throne is a sea, from which comes the food for all living beings. God commands, and there flows, what he likes, from heaven to heaven, till it comes to the place called "el-Abrem," الابرم then God gives his command to the wind, and it carries it to the clouds, through which it passes as through a sieve. Under the heaven of the world is a sea filled with animals, which are kept together by the eternal decree, like the water of the seas of the earth.

When God had completed the creation of the world, he peopled it with genii الجن before he created Adam. He made them of fire, among them was "Iblís" ابليس God forbade them to shed the blood of animals, nor should they show a rebellious spirit among themselves; but they shed blood, and one became the enemy of the other. When Iblís saw that they would not forbear from these bad actions, he asked God that he might raise him to the heaven, and there he worshipped God with the angels, with the greatest devotion. God sent a corps of angels,

* A verse of the Korán.

under the command of Iblís, against the genii, and they drove them into the islands of the seas, and killed as many of them as God pleased.

God placed Iblís as a guardian over the heaven of the world, but his heart was filled with pride.

When it was the will of God to create Adam, he said to the angels "I shall put a lieutenant on earth;" they answered, "Who will be this lieutenant*?" God answered, "He will have children who will degenerate in earth, and envy and kill each other." They said, "O our Lord, thou placest a being there who will spread corruption, and shed blood, and we sing thy praise, and glorify thee!" He answered "I know what you do not know."

Then he sent the angel Gabriel to the earth to fetch clay for him from the earth. But the earth said "I fly to God from thee†, if thou darest take it!" and he returned and took none from it. God sent then Michael, and the earth said the same words to him as to Gabriel, and he took no clay from it. Then he sent the angel of death, and the earth took flight to God (said the same words), but

* This story is literally taken from the second Surah of the Korán.

† The expression "I fly to God from thee," اعوذ بالله منك is borrowed from the Korán, and is of very frequent use amongst the Arabs, being equivalent to the commonest English imprecation implying "I refer to God, who will curse thee."

he said "and I fly to God, if I return without having accomplished what I am to do." And he took black, red, and white earth; for this reason the sons of Adam are of different colours. The first man was called ADAM آدم for he was taken from the surface (adím) أديم of the earth. Some have a different opinion. God commissioned the angel of death over death.

When God had kneaded together the dust, he left it for forty years, till it had become tenacious clay; then he left it other forty years, till it got fœtid and altered. This is meant by the words of the Korán "modelled from fœtid dirt." Then he gave to the clay the form of man, but left it without a soul; it made a jingling noise, like an earthenware vessel, so it remained a hundred and twenty, or, according to other authorities, forty years. This is meant, in the words of the Korán; "There passed a time over man when he was not worth notice." The angels passed on this body, and were afraid of it, more particularly Iblís. Once he passed it and struck with his foot against it; there came from it a sound like the jingling noise of an earthenware vessel. To this allude the words of the Korán, "From the jingling noise like an earthenware vessel," but some give to the word صلصال (jingling sounds) a different interpretation.

Iblís entered by its mouth, and came out by its back, and God said to him "do not go through what I have created."

When God intended to breathe the soul into Adam, he ordered them to worship him: they did so, except Iblís. He refused, in his pride, to do it, and said "O Lord, I am better than him; thou hast created me of fire, and him of clay: and fire is nobler than clay; further, thou hast made me the lieutenant in the heaven of the earth, and I am clad in feathers, ornamented with a scarf of light, and crowned with grace. I have worshipped thee in heaven and earth." God said to him, "Go forth from here, thou wretch, upon thee is my curse, till the day of judgment." He asked God for a fixed term to the day when they would be resuscitated, and he made him look forward to a definite time. So the name of Iblís (*Devil*) received the meaning which it has.

There are different opinions as to the reason why God ordered the angels to worship Adam. Some persons believe he was to be considered by them as "Mihráb *," whilst the object of worship was God. The servants of God ought to have followed his orders, and obeyed him in this trial which he had chosen. There are yet other opinions. God breathed into Adam, and as soon as a part of the

* The "Mihráb" محراب is that place in the mosque which looks towards the temple of Mekka, where the Mohammedans turn their faces to, when they say their prayers.

body was pervaded by it, it began to feel *, and God said, the creation of man went on fast †.

When his breath came into Adam, he sneezed, and God said to him "Pronounce the words, Praise be to God, and thy Lord will be merciful with thee, O Adam."

El-Mas'údí says: what we have said on the creation, is the account of the revelation, and traditions, which have been handed down from ancient periods to a more recent age, and narratives of the passed which have been preserved. We have related these traditions as we have received them from oral accounts [1], and as they are found in writing.

There are evident authorities that the world

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* I read لِيُحِسَّ although all copies bear لِيَجْلِسَ *to sit* or *to pray*.

† فَقَالَ اللهُ خَلَقَ الانسانَ عَجُولًا I was doubtful about the meaning of this sentence. عَجُولًا could be read عَجُولًا *as a calf*, which might mean *man has been created in the vigour of life*. But as the whole account of the creation consists of passages of the Korán, patched together with the view of explaining them, these words probably allude to the 38th verse of the twenty-first Surah خُلِقَ الانسانُ مِنْ عَجَلٍ which Sale translates on the authority of el-Beïdháwí, *man is created of precipitation, i. e.*, he is hasty and inconsiderate. El-Mas'údí, as we see, differs in his interpretation from el-Beïdháwí.

[1] عَلَى حَسَبِ مَا نَقَلَ الْيَنَا مِنَ الْغَاظِهِمْ

has been *created* (and does not exist from eternity), and it is illustrated by the nature of the world. But we do not quote in our account what those say who accept the revealed religion, and agree with our account, following also the traditions (and not speculations); nor do we comment on the opinions which are different from, and opposed to, ours. We have given such details in our former works. We gave however, also, in many passages of this work, a summary view of those sciences which rest on speculation, arguments, and disputes, and we have alluded to different opinions and sects, but that was done by the way of history.

A tradition, which is traced to the Commander of the Faithful, 'Alí Ben Abí Táleb, tells us that God, when he intended to establish the laws of the universe, to lay the seed of generation, and to produce the creation, gave to it first the form of fine dust before he formed the earth, and raised the heavens. He dwelt in his unapproachable glory, and in the unity of his power. Then he put down a particle of his light, and made lighten a sparkle of his splendour. The dust rose, and the light was concentrated in the centre of this floating dust. This represented the figure of our prophet MOHAMMED, on whom may rest the blessing of God! and God said, "Thou art the chosen and the elected. In thee rest my light and the abundant gifts of my bounty (or my guidance); for thy sake I have

spread the soil, and made the waters flow; for thy sake I have raised the heavens, and fixed reward and punishment; for thy sake I have created Paradise, and hell-fire. I raise the people of the holy-house (at Mekka)* to the divine revelation, and reveal to them, from the mysteries of my knowledge, the subtilties of reason, and I do not leave thee in ignorance of what is not known to them. They are to be the proof on earth (of my existence), and the apostles of my omnipotence and unity."

After this God pronounced the *Creed*†, and assumed the supreme power, and the unity, in distinction (from his creation)‡.

* One copy bears "of thy family," (اهل بيتك instead of اهل البيت). This reading is very probable, for the tradition seems to be a fabrication of the Shiites in order to prove that the supreme power, in state and religion, is not elective, but predestined from the moment of the creation, for the family of Mohammed, and his descendants, the 'Alites.

† This well-known formula which constitutes the whole essential part of the Islám runs:—"There is no God but God, and Mohammed is the prophet of God."

‡ The words are ثم اخذ الله سبحانه الشهادة و الربوبية و الاخلاص بالوحدانية The meaning of this sentence is metaphysical and dark, so that I am not quite sure of the correctness of my translation. In M. de Gayangoz's copy, the words and meaning are quite disfigured. I conceive the sense to be this.

When God had assumed these qualities, he proclaimed to the creation, the election of Mohammed as his lieutenant on earth, and he showed to the creation that the Divine guidance was with him, and that the light was his, and the spiritual

All the qualities which we assign to God are only expressions of his essence with respect to the creation as, supreme power, ربوبية bounty, &c., so that it was the first act of creation to "assume" these relative qualities. It is for the rest only by the qualities relative to the creation, that we have any knowledge of God, so much so, that Aristotle, Spinoza, and the Buddhists and Pythagoræans before them, believed the world to be eternal, like God; for, they say, God cannot exist without the world, as high not without deep. The difference of Aristotle's and Mas'údí's philosophy is, that Aristotle acknowledges only the relative qualities of God, and not the absolute ones (*i. e.* the essence of God), which, as they are not relative to the creation, are incomprehensible to man. The only way of coming to some words which may express the absolute qualities of God are negations of the qualities of the creation (اخلاص) for instance, "he is not finite, he is not composed of parts," &c., so that there remains nothing else but that he is "one," and consequently "eternal,' and this is the meaning of اخلاص بالوحانية "but he is distinct from his creation, and uninfluenced by it; for he is one;" or as Hegel expresses it (as the creation is for created beings everything that we can conceive), "he is the eternal nihilum (Nichts.)"

The reader will find such passages from Arabic authors which may prove that the above ideas are truly Mohammedan, together with a further developement of this system of metaphysics, in our introduction to this work.

empire (امامة) in his family, previous to the promulgation of the law of justice (the Mohammedan religion), for its glorious success was predestined. Then God hid the act of creation amongst the mysteries of his knowledge. After that God extended the earth, he expanded the time, he made the waters ebb and flow, he raised up the foam and smoke; he established his throne over the waters, he raised the earth over the level of the seas, and he called the creation to obey him, and it acknowledged him as its Lord.

God made now the angels partly from the lights which he created on purpose, partly from lights derived from those already created, and he joined the profession of the prophetic mission of Mohammed with the creed of his own unity. So it was known in heaven before it became known on earth*.

When God had created Adam he acquainted the angels with his high dignity, and that he had distinguished him with superior knowledge, in proof of which he made him give the names to every object.

* This is one of the grandest fables in explanation of a religious belief *(Mythus)* ever framed; it tends to make the Mohammedan religion eternal truth, and to justify the sublime words of the Korán: *the Islám is the religion of the heavens and earth.*

God made the angels consider Adam as a *Mihráb*, *Ka'bah* and *Kiblah**, to which the lights and the righteous spirits were to pray.

God informed now Adam of what rested in him †. But he concealed from him the high dignity which

* *Kiblah* قبلة is that quarter of the world to which the believers turn their faces in their prayers. This was, with the Moslims, first the temple of Jerusalem, but Mohammed changed it, and chose the *Ka'bah*, or the temple of Mekka. The part of a mosque which is turned towards Mekka is, therefore, the same as the high altar in christian churches, and is called *Mihráb*. There stands the chief person present at the prayers, and performs the ceremonies, his face turned towards Mekka, and the rest of the assembly follow his example.

† That is to say that he was one of the ancestors of Mohammed. This and the next three following chapters contain the biblical history in the light in which Mohammed and his followers conceived it. The highest object of mankind is truth, which is eternal and immutable, hence the religion which is all truth and, according to some, even the Korán, or the expression of truth is eternal. God sent, from time to time, prophets to all nations, so that the number of all the prophets amounts to not less than 124,000! in order to keep up the profession of this religion on earth. The last and greatest of all the prophets was Mohammed, he was for all nations, and for all subsequent times. The reader has become acquainted with the creation of the corporeal essence of the prophetship or *light* which became fully incarnated in Mohammed, by the perusal of the preceding pages. This essence of the prophetship rested in more or less latent life in his ancestors. They were distinguished by a light which shone from their foreheads, till they had begot a son to whom it was transmitted. The

he had conferred upon him, for he had called him *Imám* before the angels. He was the bearer of our beatitude and of our light which God had kept concealed under the veil of time until MOHAMMED made his appearance*.

ancestors of Mohammed were therefore all, more or less, prophets. They were at the same time the guardians of the sanctuary of the Arabs (the Ka'bah) which did not lose its sacredness by the new law. This will explain the following pages of el-Mas'údí.

This idea appears to us not to be in contradiction with the notions of the Jews, if we pay attention to their genealogies, right of primogeniture, &c. The more striking it is that modern theologists see in the Old Testament only a preparation and propædeutic to the doctrine of our Saviour, although they acknowledge that the natural progress of mankind is so unsafe that since Christ, serious corruptions of that doctrine had taken place, For the rest their idea is certainly more *philosophical* than the Mohammedan one.

* Copies disagree here materially; one bearing الي ان فصل محمد في ظاهر القنوات فدعا الخ literally *until Mohammed broke forth from the channels* (i.e., *appeared*), and another, الي ان فصّل محمدًا في ظاهر القنوات فدعا الخ *until (God) ordered Mohammed to detail the laws or dogmas.* However, the second reading is very improbable, for قنوات would be an unusual plural of قنوى and the sense of this sentence would logically cohere with the preceding only in the case if we explain *light* as *truth*, whilst it is evident from what preceded (page 51) that *the light which was transmitted through the channels, (ancestors,)* is the *essence of the prophetship.* But I must add that the particle ف *consequently*, with which the next sentence begins, speaks

He called mankind publicly and privately (to the true religion), and he preached to them openly and secretly. And Mohammed appointed to keep up the true religion in coming ages, and in generations which were not yet born, those who received a ray of the light* which had preceded, for they are initiated in his mysteries, and understand clearly his glorious tendency, and he consoled those who are the victims of an ungodly time.

Then the light was transferred to the distinguished men amongst us (the 'Alites), and became resplendent in our Imáms. We are the lights of the heaven, and the lights of the earth. In us is salvation, from us go forth the treasures of knowledge. We are the centre of all that is going on, by our guidance the proofs become conclusive; we are the seal of the Imáms, and the liberators of the nation; we are the noblest of the creation, the most chosen of all things, the proof of the Lord of the worlds; hence, the benefits are best which flow from our throne. This tradition is from Abú 'Abdullah

for the second reading, for the sense would run: *having been commanded to detail the dogmas or laws, he called mankind, &c.*

* He means the 'Alites. They inherited as much of the essence of the prophetship as was required to *keep up* the true religion. They endeavoured to attain, through these theories and numerous rebellions, the same infallibility in religion, and power in government, which the Popes had in the middle ages, but they were not so successful.

Ja'fer Ben Mohammed, who received it from his father, Mohammed Ben 'Alí, who had it from his father, 'Alí Ben el-Hosaïn, to him it was related by his parent el-Hosaïn Ben 'Alí, and he had received it from the Commander of the Faithful, 'Alí Ben Abí Táleb. We do not feel inclined to allege all the channels through which this tradition has been preserved, nor the different versions in which it has come down to us, as we have given a full account of these circumstances, in our former works, where we have traced every version to the authority whence we have derived it. In this book we are afraid to be too long and prolix.

What I have found in the Pentateuch respecting the history of the creation is this; God began the creation on Monday, and had accomplished it on Saturday, hence the Jews have chosen Saturday as their sacred day. The believers on the Gospel say the Messiah rose on Sunday from the grave; hence they celebrate Sunday as their holyday. But persons distinguished by their knowledge of divine law, and the sources upon which it is founded, state that the creation was begun on Sunday and accomplished on Friday. On Friday the soul was breathed into Adam. This was on the sixth of Nísán (April). Then Eve (حوّا *Hawwá*)*, was created from Adam.

* Ibn Shohna (Universal History, MS. of the Asiatic Society

They began to inhabit the Paradise when three hours of that day had elapsed, and they remained there for three hours, which is one fourth of a day, and this is equal to 250 years of the world. God now discarded Adam from the Paradise, and he placed him on Serendíb (Ceylon) سرنديب Eve at Jiddah جدة Iblis at Baïsán (بيسان) and the serpent at Isfahán.

Adam was placed on mount ez-Zahún (الزهون or النهور) in Ceylon; there were leaves with which he covered his body, and as they were dry, the wind carried them off, and dispersed them throughout India. It is said that the frequency of perfumes in India arises from these leaves, but some have a different opinion: God knows best. They say, hence are, aloes wood العود the clove القرنفل madder (?) الافاويه musk المسك and other perfumes particular to India. In this mountain sparkle diamonds and other

at Paris), believes the name *Hawwá* حوا to be derived from حى "living," for, he says, *she was created from something living*. But it is evident that the name of *Eve* ought to be written هواء *Hawá*, which means *air*. Gaia and Uranos have changed their sexes amongst the Semites; if we enter into the spirit of the mythus, and consider that spontaneous generation must go forth from the earth, under the influence of the air, temperature, &c., this changing of the sexes leads us to the important historical fact that the Semites have not understood the mythus, and can therefore not be the inventors of it, but that they have borrowed it from elsewhere.

precious stones. In the islands of India is the smyris السنباذج and in the bottom of the sea are pearls. When Adam descended from the Paradise he took a grain of wheat, and thirty cuttings of the fruit-trees of the Paradise, ten of them have shells; viz., the nut (Juglans regia) الجوز the common almond, (Amygdalus communis) اللوز the filbert-nut, (Nux avellana) البندق وهو الجلوز the pistachio nut الفستق the poppy الخشخاش the chestnut الشاهبلوط the pomegranate الرمّان the banana, or plaintain (Musa paradisiaca) الموز the Syrian oak (Quercus Ballota) البلوط*

Ten of them have kernels: the peach الخوخ the apricot المشمش the Damascene plum, (Pruna nigra seu Damascena) الاجاص the date-tree الرطب Ruellia guttata الغبيرا the lote-tree (Rhamnus nabeca Forsk. Flora Egypt., p. LXIII), النبق the medlar-tree

* Ibn el-Wardí quotes this passage of Masúdí adding الصنوبر the *pine-tree*, and النارنج the *orange*; but he leaves out البلوط. It is very probable that البلوط and الشاهبلوط are synonymous in some countries, as such they are considered by Banquiero (Libro de agricultura su autor Abu Sacaria, Madrid 1802.) But Avicenna (Lib. II. p. 148,) and Kazwíni make a distinction between these two fruits, so that there is no reason why Mas'údí should not have mentioned them both. The latter author says (MS. of the East India House, Nro. 1377, fol. 164, verso) "*Sháhballút* is a tree of Syria which is also found in Arrán, The fruits of this tree are neither so dry nor so styptic as those of the *Ballút* tree, &c."

(Mespillum) الزعرور the jujube-tree (Zizipha rubra) العناب the fruit of the *Lontaris domestica** المقل the cherry القراسيا (القراصيا) Some of them have neither shell nor any other covering besides the part to be eaten, nor a kernel; viz., the apple التفاح the quince السفرجل the grapes العنب the pears الكمثرى the fig التين the mulberry التوت the orange الاترج the cucumber (Cucumis pepo) القثا another sort of cucumber (Cassia fistula) الخيار the melon البطيخ.

It is related that Adam and Eve were separated when they came down from the Paradise. They had agreed to meet at an appointed place called 'Arafát† عرفات whence this place has its name‡.

Adam longing§ for Eve, came to see her,

* *Mokl* مقل is a gum very like frankincense, but it comes from the tree called دوم (Medical Dictionary of Mohammed Bin Yoosoof, Calcutta, 1830, p. 275.) Sprengel (Hist. rei herbar. Tom. I., p. 272,) believes دوم to be the *Lontaris domestica* or *Borasus flabelliformis.*

† عرف *'araf* means *to know.*

‡ On this holy spot, and on the ceremonies which the Pilgrims have to perform there (on the 9th of Dul-Hijjah), see Burckhardt's Travels in Arabia, London, 1829, p. 266.

§ Ibn Shohna says that Adam met Eve when he made the pilgrimage by the command of God. This sounds much better, for all these details have a tendency to show the antiquity and sacredness of some institutions and beliefs.

and she conceived a boy and a girl; they called the boy *Cain* قاين and the girl *Lúbed* لوبد and after that she bore him another boy whom they named *Hábíl* هابيل and a girl whose name was *Iklímiyá* اقليميا. There is some dispute about the name of the eldest son of Adam; the most people, and amongst them those who acknowledge the Old Testament, believe his name was *Cain* قاين but some state he was called *Kábíl* قابيل. 'Alí Ben el-Jahm علي بن الجهم says in his poem on the creation (verses), "We *had** a son and called him *Cain*; after we had given him birth, we did our best, and Habíl grew up as another fruit of our affections, Cain grew up as well, and they did not separate from each other."

Those who believe on the Old Testament say, Adam married the twin-sister of Hábíl to Cain, and the twin-sister of Cain to Hábíl, so that the twins should be separated in marriage. The law of marriage adopted by Adam, was, therefore, to separate, as much as possible, persons allied by relationship, in order to prevent, by separating them, the bad consequences, and the weakening influence upon the offspring; The Magians are of opinion

* The word which in this case means *had* in Arabic is اقتنى from *Cana*, so that it is a jeu de mots with the name *Cain*.

that Adam did not object to the marriage of relations; hence, they are not against it. They have some mystery respecting this, according to which they think it good that a man should marry his sister, and the mother her son. We have given the details thereof in the 14th Fenn الفن of our book *Akhbár ez-Zemán*[2].

Hábíl and Cain brought a sacrifice. Hábíl selected the best of his flocks, and of his provision, and brought it as a sacrifice. Cain took the worst that he possessed for this purpose*. What occurred after this is related by God in the Korán†; viz., that Cain murdered Hábíl in the desert of Ká' قاع which is in the country belonging to Damascus, in Syria. There he struck him with a stone on his forehead. Hence it is said *the beasts learnt from man to be atrocious;* for he began to do evil and to

* En-Nowaïri (MS. of Leyden) informs us that the Bedouins used to sacrifice animals, whilst the inhabitants of towns in Arabia brought unbloody sacrifices. Hence it *may* be that this tale was invented by the Bedouins, in order to throw the odium of the first crime on the people of towns amongst whom the ties of relationship are so much looser than amongst Bedouins.

† Surah v. verse 31, et seq.

كتاب اخبار الزمان ومن ابادة الحدثان من الامم الماضية و الاجيال الخالية و الملوك الداثرة.

murder. When he had murdered him, he was anxious to conceal his body, carried it (on his shoulders) and wandered about with it (not knowing what to do). God sent two ravens, one of which killed and buried the other. When Cain saw this he was struck with horror, and exclaimed the words related in the Korán* *Wo is me! I had not sense enough to do like this raven, to hide my brother's shame.* Then he buried him. When Adam heard of the murder, he was downcast, and mourned.

El-Mas'údí says: There is a poem popular amongst the people which they put into the mouth of Adam when he mourned, it runs:

"The country is altered, and all that is in it.

The whole earth has changed for the worse.

All that has life and colour is different; and the sea has lost its lovely appearance.

The inhabitants have turned the produce of the fields into poison and bitterness, and an enemy infests us.

The cursed has not overlooked man, as we perceive; for Cain has cruelly slain Hábíl, and that amiable countenance is withered.

My lot is to shed tears; for Hábíl rests in the grave.

I see a life before me full of sorrow, and all that I may meet in it will be gloomy."

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* Surah v. verse 34, edit. Flügel.

I have found in many books on history, biography, and genealogy, that when Adam said these words, Iblís replied from a place where he could hear but not see him—

"Thou now complainest about the country and its inhabitants, and thou dost feel the earth narrow.

"Thou and thy wife Hawwá were merry, notwithstanding the badness of the world; but my intrigues and machinations were at work until their abundant fruits were matured.

"And if I was not prevented by the pity of the Almighty, I should destroy the everlasting beatitude of heaven."

In another book I found a distich standing by itself, which Adam heard from a voice, without seeing who uttered it:—

"O, Adam! both are killed; for the living falls a sacrifice to the dead*."

When Adam had heard this, his pains and sorrows were increased, both for him who was no more, and for him who was still alive; for he knew that the murderer was to be killed.

God revealed to Adam:—"I will produce from thee my light, which shall flow through splendid channels and noble roots (ancestors). I will exalt

* This means, that Cain would be killed; after the general idea that "He that killeth with the sword *must* be killed with the sword." (Apocal. xiii. 10.)

this light above all other lights, and make it the seal of the prophets (Mohammed). He shall be succeeded by the best of Imáms in a continual series to the end of time. I will make the world answer to their call, and I will enlighten it through their followers. Purify and sanctify thyself, and praise God; then approach to thy wife, after she has been purified, and my promise will descend from thee through the child which thou wilt beget." Adam did what he was ordered; and when Hawwá was with child, her forehead was covered with a lustre, and light shone in her eyes and eyebrows till her confinement. Then she gave birth to Shíth شيث (Seth.) He was the most beautiful child, strong and perfect in his form and in the symmetry of his body. He was imbued with a light which sparkled from the marks and protuberances of his forehead. Adam gave him the name of Shíth. The gift of God was slumbering in him till he grew up; and when he came to riper age, Adam acquainted him with his mission and the promises of God, and told him that he would be the agent of God*, and his own successor after his death, to support truth on earth. This mission was to be inherited

* حجة الله This expression is wanting in Arabic dictionaries, although it is not unusual: رسول من حجة ملكه means a representative of the king.

by his descendants, who were to be distinguished and glorious. When Adam told this to Shíth, he kept it secret, and guarded it for the moment as a mystery, as it was only to be revealed publicly at another time. Adam died soon after, on Friday, the 6th of Nisán, at the same hour when he had been created; he had lived nine hundred and thirty years. Shíth was the guardian of the children of Adam. It is said that he left forty thousand children and grandchildren.

There is some dispute about Adam's grave. Some pretend that it is in Miná*, منى in the mosque

* Miná is a valley near Mekka, and, together with the mosque el-Khaïf, one of the sacred spots where the Moslem pilgrims resort. Mohammed kept up the Pagan ceremony of throwing there pebbles on a pillar of stone. It has probably the same origin as the usage of the Romans and Greeks, of casting stones on the statue of Mercury.

The seven idols which were in the valley of Miná, before Mohammed, according to el-Azrakí, (apud *Burckhardt, Travels in Arabia*, p. 275,) prove at once that the place was sacred to the seven planets. We see that the sacredness of the place dates from a very remote period, from its being connected with the father of mankind; and we conclude that it has been celebrated from the circumstance that its name (although it is so far from the coast) reached the ears of Ptolemy, who mentions the Manitæ. The ceremony of casting stones on the pillar is probably as ancient as the place, having ever formed the main object of the pilgrimage there. Ibn Ishak, an Arabic writer of the second century of the Hijrah, states thus the origin of this ceremony:—When Ibrahím returned from his pilgrimage to 'Arafát, and came to the valley

of el-Khaif الخيف. Others believe it to be in a cavern of the Mount Abú Kobaïs ابو قبيس*. Shíth exercised the office of judge amongst his co-temporaries, and taught them the sacred books (revealed to the prophets before him), and other books which God revealed to him.

Shíth begot Anúsh انوش (Enos). When his wife was pregnant with him, the light was transferred to her till she was delivered, then the child was imbued with the light. When Anúsh was grown up, Shíth informed him of what was latent in him, and of his pre-eminence; and he ordered him to give to his children an education adequate to their distinction and high position, and to tell them to give to their children the same instruction,

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of Miná, Satan (Iblís) contrived to obstruct his passage; but the Angel Gabriel advised him to throw stones on the foe, which he did, and, after pelting him seven times, Iblís retired. Ibrahím did the same with equal success in the middle and end of the valley when Iblís had again made his appearance. It is difficult to say whether this tradition is a mystification, to justify the Pagan ceremony, or whether it was current before Mohammed, and his motive for keeping it up. If it was more ancient than Mohammed, further researches about Ibrahím, son of Azer (i. e. fire), respecting whom the Arabs have preserved many traditions, independent of the biblical account of Abraham, son of Terah, may point out an intimate connexion between Mercury, the god of knowledge, and Ibrahím, who rebuilt the Ka'bah and imported civilization from the Sabeans of Harrán to the Semites.

* Abu Kobaïs is the name of a mountain of Mekka.

when they would be able to understand it. This legacy went from generation to generation, until the light came to 'Abdul-Motalleb (the grandfather of Mohammed), his son 'Abdullah, and the PROPHET.

This is a topic of controversy between the followers of different sects, particularly between those who adhere to the doctrine of evidence القايلون بالنص and the followers of the doctrine of election اصحاب الاختيار. The defenders of the doctrine of evidence are Imámists اهل الامامة, and form a fraction of the sectarians (Shí'ites) الشيعة of 'Alí Ben Abí Táleb and his children by Fátimah*. They believe that God does not leave mankind at any time without a man who keeps up the religion of God (and stands at the head of the believers). Such men are either prophets or guardians†, who bear the evidence of their rights in their names and

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* The words of the original الطاهرون من ولده mean literally "the pure ones amongst his ('Alí's) children." طاهر is the usual epithet for the family of Mohammed. See page 3.

† Guardians اوصيا sing. وصى means the executor of a will, or a guardian of an orphan, and hence, in opposition to *prophet*, as in the above sentence, it means him in whose hands is the *executive* power of the laws (civil and religious) which God has revealed through the *prophets*, and which must not be changed. The first seven Imáms are called الوصيون (De Sacy Chrest., Tom. I. p. 158.) The origin of the Shí'ite sect, and of the technical meaning of the word وصي is attributed to a sentence of

pedigree from God and his prophet. The doctrine of election is defended by the divines of the leading cities, the Mo'tazilites المعتزلة, a section of the Khawárij الخوارج, the Morjíites المرجية, and by many of those who admit the traditions and the generally received opinions (the orthodox), and by a section of the Zeïdians الزيديون. They believe that it is the will of God and his prophet that the nation should choose a man amongst themselves, and make him their Imám, for there are times when God does not send a legate. The Shí'ites consider such Imáms as usurpers of the dignity.

We shall have an opportunity in the course of this work to throw some light on the differences of opinions and religious controversies.

Anúsh cultivated the earth. Some consider Shíth as the father of mankind, after Adam, and do not allow that the other children of Adam had a share in the propagation of our race; but some differ from this opinion: God knows best. In the time of Anúsh, Cain, the murderer of his brother Hábíl, was killed. His murder is variously related. We refer the reader to our works, the Akhbár ez-zeman, and the Kitáb el-ausat.

'Abdullah Ben Sabá es-Saudá, who lived under 'Othmán: انه كان لكل نبي وصي وعلي وصي محمد. This sentence became the watch-word of the Shí'ites (En-Nowairí, MS. of Leyden, No. 213, p. 1056).

Anúsh died the 3rd of Teshrín, 960 years of age. He had a son of the name of Kaïnán قينان. The prophetic light sparkled from his forehead. His father took from him the oath of his office, and he cultivated the earth till he died. He reached the age of 910 years, and died in the month of Tamúz. The son of Kaïnán was Mahaláyíl مهلابيل (Mahalaleel). He begot Lúd (لود) who was the heir of the prophetic light, and gave the oath of keeping up truth. It is said that many musical instruments were invented in his time by the children of Cain. The wars of Lúd and other stories have been related in our Akhbar ez-Zeman. The children of Shíth had wars with the descendants of Cain. A race of Hindus, who descend from Adam, derive their origin from the children of Cain. They inhabit that part of India which is called *Komár* قمار: from this country the *Komárí* Aloe عودالقماري has its name.

Lúd lived 962 years, and died in Adár (March). He was succeeded by his son Akhnúkh اخنوخ (Enoch), who is the same person as Edrís ادريس (instructor) the prophet. The Sabeans* believe that he is identical with Hermes هرمس which name means 'Utárid عطارد (the planet Mercury).

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* One copy bears الصحابة the *companions* (of the prophet), instead of الصابيون.

God says of him in his book *, "that he exalted him to a high place." He lived on earth 300 years or more. He was the first man who taught the comforts of life and sewed with a needle. To him thirty books were revealed, and to Shíth twenty-nine, in which there are the two formulas, "There is no God but God," and "Praise be to God †." He was followed by his son Matúshalekh متوشلخ who bore the prophetic light on his forehead, and cultivated the land. Matúshalekh had many children. Some persons say that the Bulgars البلغر ‡, the Russians الروس, and Slavonians الصقالبة, are his descendants. He lived 960 years, and died in the month of Ilúl. He was succeeded by his son Lamek لمک. In his time was a great confusion amongst mankind. He died 999 years of age. His son was Núh نوح (Noah). In his age corruption and injustice were great on earth. Núh rose to be a preacher of God, but the people were too rebellious and ungodly, so that they would not listen to him. God ordered him to construct a ship; and when he had finished it, the angel Gabriel

* Korán, Súrah xix., vers. 58, edit. Flügel.

† تهليل و تسبيح Perhaps these two words are to be taken in the more extensive meaning: they contain the profession of the unity of God, and hymns to his praise.

‡ Another copy البرغز.

brought him the coffin of Adam, in which there was his corpse*. They went into the ship on Tuesday, the ninth of Adár. Whilst Núh and his family were in the ship, God kept the earth five months under water. Then he ordered the earth to swallow up its waters, and the heaven to withhold its rains†, and the ark stood on the mount el-Júdí الجودي. El-Judi is a mountain in the country of Másúr‡ ماسور (باسورى), and extends to Jezírah Ibn 'Omar جزيرة ابن عمر which belongs to the territory of el-Mausil. This mountain is eight farsangs from the Tigris. The place where the ship stopped, which is on the top of this mountain, is still to be seen§.

They say some tracts of the earth did not immediately swallow up the water, whilst others

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* تابوت ادم فيه رمته I was tempted to read ذمته "his covenant" as one copist writes. I shall state the reasons for which it must run رمته.

† Korán, Súrah xi., verse 46.

‡ Másúr seems to be the same word as Masius, which is the Greek name of the mount el-Júdí. (Strab. pp. 501 and 506.) The word el-*Júdí* has been compared by Bochart with the *Gordyæi* montes.

§ El-Kazwíní (MS. of the East India House, N. 1377.) informs us that there was still, to the time of the 'Abbasides, a temple on the mount Júdí which was said to have been constructed by Noah, and covered with the planks of the ark. Epiphanius (Hæres. 18) reports nearly the same tradition for his

absorbed it rapidly when they were commanded to do so. The lands which obeyed give good water on digging; but those lands which were less submissive were punished by God, the water on digging being salt, and the country sandy. The water which could not be absorbed went into the depths of the earth, and in particular places. This is the origin of the seas: they are the remains of the waters by which God has destroyed the nations. The account and description of the seas will call our attention hereafter in this book.

Núh went forth from the ark, and with him his three sons, Sám سام, Hám حام, and Jáfeth یافث, together with his three daughters-in-law, and forty men and forty women. They went upon the platform of this mountain, and built there a town, which they called Themánín ثمانين (eighty). It bears this name till our time [332 A.H.] The children of these eighty persons became extinct, and God peopled his creation with the descendants of Núh. To this allude the words of the Korán, "We have preserved his progeny, and they are those who still exist." God knows best the mean-

time. The vicinity of Harrán, which was the seat of learning since Abraham, and the centre of Sabean worship, makes it more than probable that this temple was connected with the Sabean religion, and the history of the ark owes perhaps its origin to the priests of those places.

ing of these words. The name of the person who refused the offer of Núh, when he said to him "Embark with us, my son*," is Yám يام.

Núh divided the earth amongst his sons, and gave to every one of them a part as property. He cursed his son Hám on account of his well-known behaviour towards his father. He said, "Cursed be Hám and his children may he be the slaves of his brethren; but Sám be blessed; and God shall enlarge Yáfeth, and he shall dwell in the places allotted to Sám†." Núh lived, according to the Pentateuch‡, after the flood 325 years. Some historians differ in this point.

Sám went away, followed by his children; and they took possession of the places allotted to them in the land and sea. We shall describe them in this book.

Now we shall speak on the separation of mankind, and the division of the earth amongst the three sons of Núh, Yáfeth, Sám, and Hám.

* Korán, Súrah ix., verse 44.

† These words are literally transcribed from the holy Bible, (Genesis ix., 25, 26, 27,) except that they run there, cursed be *Canaan*, instead of *Hám*. And not without reason, for the *Canaanites* were the victims of those cruelties which might be justified by this story as being the fulfilment of the curse of their father, and, consequently, according to their ideas, a divine decree.

‡ Genesis ix. 28.

Sám inhabited the middle of the earth, from the sacred land بلاد الحرم (*i. e.* the country of Mekka and Medína) to Hadhramaut حضرموت, 'Omán عمان, and 'Alij عالج. Amongst his children we name Arem ارم and Arfakhshad ارفخشد.

One of the descendants of Arem Ben Sám is 'Ad Ben 'Us (Uz) Ben Arem*; he settled in the Ahkáf er-Raml احقاف من الرمل† God sent the prophet Húd هود to the 'Adites. Another of his descendants is Themúd Ben 'Ad Ben Arem ثمود بن عاد بن ارم They settled in el-Hijr الحجر (Arabia Petrea), between Syria and the Hejáz. God sent to them their brother Sáleh صالح His history is well known, and we shall insert a summary account of it, as well as of the histories of other prophets, in the progress of this work.

Tasm طسم and Jadís جديس sons of Láud لاوذ (Lud) Ben Arem, took possession of el-Yemámah and el-Bahreïn, and the descendants of their brother 'Amalík عمليق Ben Láud Ben Arem settled in subsequent times, partly in the sacred land, and partly in Syria. To them belong the 'Amálíkites

* One MS. bears عاص بن عو ص بن ارم and another عاد بن عوص بن ارم instead عباد بن صوع بن ارم

† This means the "sand-hills," *i. e.* the desert of southern Arabia.

العمالیق who were scattered all over the country. Another brother of theirs, named Ommaïm امیم Ben Láud, settled in Fáris.

We shall speak on this subject in the (twenty-third) chapter of this book, which is inscribed "The Origin of the Persians, and what the historians say on this subject;" for some authors connect Kayúmerth with Ommaïm. Others believe that Ommaïm settled in the land of Webár وبار; that is, the country inhabited by the Genii, according to the opinion of some Arabic historians.

The descendants of 'Abíl Ben 'Us عابیل بن عوص, the brother of 'Ad Ben 'Us, settled in Medína.

Another grandson of Sám is Másh ماش Ben Arem Ben Sám. He went to Bábel; his son is Nimrúd Ben Másh نمرود بن ماش (Nimrod), who built the Tower of Bábel, and a bridge over the Shát-el-Forát. He reigned five hundred years, and was the king of the Nabatæans ملک النبط. In his time God divided the languages; so that the descendants of Sám spoke nineteen different tongues, the descendants of Hám seventeen, and the children of Yáfeth thirty-six. We will speak further on in this work as to the dispersion of the nations over the earth, and the poems which they composed at their separation in el-'Irák.

Some believe it was Fálegh فالغ who divided the earth amongst the nations, and hence he was named

"Fálegh;" for this name means "Divider:" فالج اي قاسم.

Shálekh شالخ is the son of Arfakhshad Ben Sám Ben Núh, and the father of Fálegh, who divided the earth; and Fálegh is one of the ancestors جد of Ibrahím el-Khalíl الخليل (the friend of God). 'Aber عابر another son of Shálekh, is the father of Kahtán قحطان. Kahtán's son, Ya'rob يعرب was the first man who was greeted with the title of King الملك by his children. This is the most glorious and most cursed name. Some say this title had been in use before him, with the kings of el-Hírah. Kahtán is the father of all the Yemenites, as we shall mention in the (forty-second) chapter of this work, which is inscribed "Yemen, the Origin of the Inhabitants of this Country, and the various opinions thereon." He was the first man who spoke Arabic; at least, he first made the meaning clear by terminations اعراب.

Yoktán يقطان Ben 'Aber Ben Shálekh was the father of Jorhom جرهم who was the cousin of Ya'rob. The Jorhomites dwelt originally in Yemen, and spoke Arabic; in subsequent times they emigrated to Mekka, according to the traditions respecting them, which we shall give. The children of Katúrá قطورا are their cousins. In subsequent time, God made Isma'íl settle amongst them, and he married into them, so that they were the uncles of his children.

The believers of the Old Testament maintain that Lamek لمک is still alive; for God said to Sám, "I will preserve him for ever, whom I make the guardian of the body of Adam." Sám buried the coffin تابوت of Adam in the middle of the earth, and appointed Lamek as guardian. Sám died on Friday, in the month of Ilúl, six hundred years of age: he was succeeded in his mission by Arfakhshad ارفخشد who attained an age of four hundred and sixty-five years: he died in the month of Nísan. After him followed his son Shálekh: he died four hundred and thirty years old, and was succeeded by his son 'Aber, who cultivated the country. In his days quarrels arose in different places of the earth: he died in an age of three hundred and forty years. His son Fálegh succeeded him: he was two hundred and thirty-seven years old when he died. We have spoken of him and of the confusion of languages تبلبل which took place during his life at Bábel. His successor was his son Ar'au ارعو (Reu), and during his life Nimrúd the giant was born, according to some accounts. Ar'au died in the month of Nísán, two hundred years of age. His son Shárúkh شاروخ took his place: during his days the worship of idols and of images is said to have been introduced, owing to several causes. He attained an age of two hundred and thirty years. He was replaced by his son Náhúr ناحور who followed the good exam-

ple of his fathers: during his life were earthquakes: —there had never been any before him. He is the inventor of the arts of life المهن, and of different instruments. In his lifetime the Hindus and other nations formed themselves into bodies. He lived one hundred and forty-six years, and was succeeded by his son Tárah تارح; this is the name for Azar* ازر the father of Ibrahím. In his days Nimrúd Ben Kan'án rose. Under en-Nimrúd the practice of worshipping fire and light† came first in use, and he introduced certain (holy) orders in their cultus. There were great troubles and wars in this age in the world. New empires and provinces were formed in the east and west. It was at this time when the stars and their predictions began to be an object of study. The heavens were divided into regions, and astronomical instruments were invented. Man began to understand the meaning of all these things. The astrologers observed the aspect of the

* Azar is the name of the father of Abraham in the Korán (Surah vi. v. 74); Teráh is his name in the Bible (Genesis xi. 26). The name Azar, which means "fire," and the "planet Mars," is by no means of Arabic invention; for Abraham's father is called Athar by Eusebius. It is a favourite name amongst the star-and-fire-worshippers. (HYDE, *de Relig. vet. Pers.* p. 64).

† The Moon was considered as the concentration of light, whilst the Sun is the centre of fire. (Tradition of Wahb Ben Monabbih.)

heaven for the coming year*, and its prediction, and told en-Nimrúd that a child would be born, who would expose the folly of their dreams, and do away with their worship. En-Nimrúd ordered the child to be killed; but Ibrahím was concealed. Tárah, who is the same person as Azer, died at the age of two hundred and sixty years.

* The words of the original are و نظر اصحاب النجوم الي طالع السنة. *Táli'* means originally the point of the horizon where it is cut by the parallel of the observer in the east, or the section of the horizon of which that point is the middle. It is therefore one of the four cardinal points of Arabic astrology اوتاد الاربعة (literally the four tent-poles); viz., the Zenith, وسط السماء, the Nadir وتد الارض, the Táli', and the same point of the horizon in the west الغارب. The planet which is in the moment when the sun enters into the sign of the Aries, in the *Táli'*, or in the 10th, 7th, 4th, 11th, 9th, 5th, or 3rd degree of ascension, or comes soonest to one of these points, is the Regent of the year صاحب السنة و مدبّر لها. And as the Regent exercises the greatest influence upon the destiny of the world during the year, the whole constellation of the beginning of the vernal equinox is called طالع السنة by the way of ellipsis, instead of الكوكب (السايير) في الطالع الخ (Abú Ma'sher).

FOURTH CHAPTER.

The history of Ibrahím (Abraham) ابرهيم, the prophets after him, and the kings of the Children of Israel.

When Ibrahím was grown up, he went out from the cavern where he had been concealed, contemplated the phenomena of nature, and reflected on their meaning. Looking at the planet Venus, and observing how it rose, he said: "This is my Lord!" When the moon rose, and he saw that it was much brighter, he exclaimed: "*This* is my Lord!" But when the sun displayed its splendour, he cried out full of astonishment, "*This* is my Lord*!" The commentators do not agree in the meaning of the words of Ibrahím "This is my Lord." Some believe this to be related by the way of induction and parable; whilst others are of opinion that it happened before he had come to the knowledge of truth, when he was still striving. Gabriel came now to him, and taught him his religion, and God chose him as his prophet and friend خليل. (I have to observe against this explanation that) Ibrahím had

* El-Korán, Surah vi. verses 76—78.

received the strength* of God; and he who is strengthened by God will be kept pure from sin and fall, and from any worship besides the One the Eternal.

Ibrahím blamed his people for their idolatry. When they were annoyed by the disdain with which Ibrahím scorned their gods, and which had attracted public notice, en-Nimrúd threw him into the fire: but God converted the fire into coolness, and he was preserved†. The fire did not flame anywhere on earth on that day.

* رشد الله or الهدي has nearly the same meaning as "divine grace," only pushed a little further. Education, or interest and the spirit of the time, is with most persons the sole foundation of their religious and political principles; and, as their selfishness, or want of intelligence and experience, does not allow them to appreciate the opinions of others, or to defend their own, they take refuge to divine authority, maintaining that their own infatuation is the effect of divine inspiration or predestination, and the principles of their adversaries a diabolical artifice. El-Mas'údí shows himself here, and in his opinion on the Imámship, much more in favour of the doctrine of predestination, than was general in his time amongst the Sonnites.

† El-Korán xxi. verse 20 (edit. Flügel). In order to increase the number of miracles, and to find an opportunity for an edifying comment, the Rabbins rendered אור כשדים "Ur of the Chaldees" (Gen. xi. 31) by "fire of the Chaldees;" for אור, *ur*, means "fire;" and added the above story, which Mohammed inserted in the Korán.

After Ibrahím had passed the eighty-sixth or ninetieth year of his age, Isma'íl was born to him by Hájir هاجر who was a slave-woman to Sárah سارة. Sárah was the first person who believed on Ibrahím. She was the daughter of Batuwíl, the son of Náhur, and uncle of Ibrahím. This, however, is controverted, as we shall mention hereafter.

Lút لوط, the son of Hárán Ben Tárikh Ben Náhúr, was Ibrahim's nephew, and one of those who believed on him. God sent Lút to the five towns; viz., Sodúm سدوم, Ghomúrá غمورا, Adrúmá ادروما, Sághúrá صاغورا, and Sáfúrá صافورا. The people of Lút were *Mútafikah** المؤتفكة. Some commentators derive this word from أفك, afak, "a lie." God alludes to this in the Korán in the words و المؤتفكة اهوي These five cities were situated between esh-Shám and the Hejáz, near the two Syrian provinces Jordan and Palestine. The spot of these towns is barren up to our time (332 A.H.), and the stones are marked with shining black lines. Lút lived about twenty years amongst these people, and preached to them; but they would not believe:

* El-Korán, Surah xi. verse 91 (edit. Flügel); comp. M. L. Dubeux' note to his translation of Tabarí, vol. i. p. 144; I suspect *Mútafikah* is a corruption of some Hebrew word.

therefore this punishment of God came down upon them, as it is related in the Korán *.

When Hájir had borne Isma'íl to Ibrahím, Sárah became jealous of her; Ibrahím took, therefore, Isma'íl and Hájir to Mekka, and settled them there. This is related in the Korán†, in the words of Ibrahím:—"O, my Lord, I made some of my children dwell in a barren valley, at thy sacred house!" God, hearing their prayers, gave them the Jorhomites and 'Amálíkites جرهم و العماليک as companions in their solitude, and made men love them.

The people of Lút were destroyed in the time of Ibrahím, on account of their corruption, as it is related in the Korán‡.

God ordered Ibrahím to sacrifice his son: he showed himself ready to obey; but when he had laid him down on his face, God ransomed him with a noble victim §.

Then Ibrahím and Isma'íl laid the foundation of the house (the temple of Mekka). When Ibrahím was more than one hundred and twenty years old, Sárah bore him Ishak. There is some dispute about the sacrifice of Ibrahím; some think that

* Surah vii. vers. 78—82; xi. xv. and xxvii.

† Surah ii.

‡ Surah xi.

§ El-Korán xxxvii. verse 107 (edit. Flügel).

Ishak was to be the victim, whilst others maintain it was Isma'íl. If it was to take place in Miná (a valley near Mekka), it was Isma'íl, for Ishak never came into the Hejáz; and if it was to take place in Syria, it was Ishak; for Isma'íl had never been in Syria again, after he had been carried away from that country.

Sárah died, and Ibrahím married Kítúrá قيطورا, who bore him seven sons; Zimrán زمران, Yokshán يقشان, Medán مدان, Madyan مديين, Nishán نشان (Ishbak), Shukh شوخ, and Kír قير*. Ibrahím died in Syria, one hundred and seventy years of age: God revealed to him ten sacred books.

Ishak married Rabeká, a daughter of Batuwíl[1], after the death of his father, and she gave birth to el-'Aïsú and Ya'kúb[2], who were twins, but el-'Aïsú was first born. Ishak was sixty years of age, and nearly blind, when they were born. He made Ya'kúb the chief over his brothers, and the successor in the prophetic mission. To el-'Aïsú he gave the sovereignty over his children. Ishak was one hundred and eighty-five years of age when he died, and he was buried with his father, the "Friend of

* See 1 Chron. i. 32.

[1] رفقا بنت بتويل [2] العيصو و يعقوب

God." The place where they were buried is well known; it is eighteen miles from Jerusalem, in a mosque which is called the mosque of Ibrahím, and the fields of Ibrahím.

Ishak ordered his son Ya'kúb to go to Syria, and commissioned him and his twelve children with the prophetic office. Their names are Rúbíl, Shima'ún, Láwí, Yehúdá, Yessájír, Zebálún, Yúsof, Benyámín [3].

Ya'kúb was in great fear of his brother el-'Aïsú, but God protected him: Ya'kúb possessed five thousand five hundred sheep, and gave to his brother el-'Aïsú the tenth part of these, in order that he might not do him any harm, and for fear of his impetuosity. After God had protected him, he had no longer to be in fear; (hence he refused to deliver the tithes;) but he was punished in his children, for having broken his promise. God said to him: "Thou hast not obeyed my command; hence the children of el-'Aïsú shall dominate five hundred and fifty years over thy children." This was the space of time from the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans to the conquest of that city by 'Omar Ben el-Khattáb, during which period the Children of Israel were in slavery.

[3] روبيل وشمعون و لاوي ويهودا ويساجير وزبالون ويوسف وبنيا مين

Yúsof was the favourite of Ya'kúb. His brothers envied him, and their jealousy gave origin to the story between Yúsof and his brothers, which God relates through the tongue of his prophet in the Korán *.

Ya'kúb died in Egypt, at the age of one hundred and forty years: Yúsof carried him to Palestine, and buried him at the tomb of Ibrahím and Ishak. Yúsof died also in Egypt, one hundred and ten years old.

They laid his body into a coffin of stone, closed it with lead, and covered it with a varnish which keeps out air and water, and threw it into the Nile, at the town of Memphis منف, where there is the mosque of Yúsof. Some say Yúsof ordered that he should be buried in the grave of his father Ya'kúb, at the mosque of Ibrahím. In his time lived Ayyúb (Job); his full name is Ayyúb Ben Amús Ben Dezáj (Zeerah?) Ben Da'wáyíl (Reul?) Ben el-Aïsú Ben Ishak Ben Ibrahím ايوب بن اموص بن دزاج بن دوابيل بن العيصو بن اسحق بن ابرهيم. He was in Syria, in the district of Haurán حوران, in the highland of Damascus, from whence

* In the twelfth chapter, which is therefore inscribed "The Surah of Joseph."

the plain is watered, and in el-Jábiyah*. He had a great fortune, and was blessed with many children. God proved him, bereaving him of his property and children.

He bore this trial with patience, and God restored to him what he had possessed. His story is related in the Korán†. The mosque of Ayyúb, and the spring in which he washed his body, are famous to this day (332 A.H.): they are not far from Nawá نوا and el-Jaulán‡ الجولان in the province of the Jordán, between Damascus and Tiberias. The distance of this mosque and spring from the town of Nawá is about three miles. The stone on which Ayyúb rested at the time of his affliction, when his wife died of puerperal fever, is still in that mosque.

Those who believe in the Pentateuch and other ancient books, maintain that Músa Ben Míshá Ben Yúsof Ben Ya'kúb موسي بن ميشي بن يوسف بن يعقوب was a prophet before Músa Ben Amrán موسي ابن عمران (Moses), and that it was he who sought el-Khidhr Ben Melkán Ben Fálegh Ben

* El-Jabiyah الجابية is the name of a hill and village belonging to Damascus (Athár el-Bilad).

† Surah xxi. verse 83, and Surah xxxviii. verse 40.

‡ This is probably the valley of Ajalon: the author of the *Jihannuma* (p. 559) gives this name to a mount near Damascus.

'Aber Ben Sháleh Ben Arfakhshad Ben Sám Ben Núh* الخضر بن ملكان بن فالغ بن عابر بن شالخ بن ارفخشد بن سام بن نوح

Some of those who believe in the Old Testament say el-Khidhr was the same person as Hidhrún Ben 'Imáyíl Ben Elífaz Ben el-'Aïsú Ben Ishak Ben Ibrahím[4]; he was sent as prophet to his nation, who were converted by him.

Músa Ben 'Amrán Ben Fáhit Ben Láwí Ben Ya'kúb[5] was in Egypt at the time of Fir'aun (Pharaoh) the giant. Fir'aun's name was el-Walíd Ben Mos'ab Ben Moawíyah Ben Abi Nomaïr Ben Abíl-Holús Ben Leïth Ben Hárán Ben 'Amr Ben 'Amálik[6]. He was the fourth of the Pharaohs of Egypt, and a man of great stature, who enjoyed a long life. The Children of Israel had fallen into

* Khidhr is said to be meant under the "Servant of God," mentioned in the Korán (Surah xviii. 64), as having been met by Moses.

[4] خضرون بن عماييل بن اليفز بن العيصو بن اسحق بن ابرهيم.

[5] موسي بن عمران بن فاهت بن لاوي بن يعقوب.

[6] فرعون الجبار وهو الوليد بن مصعب بن معوية بن ابي نمير بن ابي الهلوس بن ليث بن هاران بن عمرو بن عمالق (عملا ق)

slavery after the death of Yúsof, and lived under great afflictions. The soothsayers, astrologers, and conjurors informed Fir'aun that a child would be born, which would make an end to his power, and perform great things in Egypt. Fir'aun was frightened by this prediction, and gave orders to kill the children. The mother of Músa exposed her child on the Nile اليمّ by the command of God, as it is related in the Korán*.

At the same time lived the prophet Sho'aïb. His full name is Sho'aïb Ben Thoriel Ben Da'wáyel Ben Marík Ben 'Anká Ben Madyan Ben Ibrahím†, شعيب بن ثريل بن دعوايل بن مريق بن عنقا بن مد ين بن ابرهيم.

He spoke Arabic and was sent to the inhabitants of Madyan (as a preacher). When Músa had taken flight from Fira'un, he went to the prophet Sho'aïb, and married his daughter, as it is related in the Korán‡. God ordered Músa to lead the

* Surah xx. 39.

† The names of the forefathers of Sho'aïb are variously spelt in different MSS., and by different authors; but all agree that one of them was Madyan, *i. e.*, that he was a Madyanite. He is identified with Jethro, but I think without sufficient reason, probably the destruction of Madyan by an earthquake gave an opportunity for inventing the story of a preacher to whom the inhabitants did not listen, and to assign the fatal catastrophe to this sin. Compare the note at the bottom of the next page.

‡ Surah vii. verse 83.

children of Israel into et-Tíh التيه *; their number amounted to six hundred thousand adults, besides those who had not attained ripe age.

The tables which God gave to Músa on the mount Síná طور سينا were of emerald, and the writing was in gold. When Músa descended from the mount, and saw that the children of Israel were worshipping the calf, he was so much shocked at it that the tables fell from his hands, and broke. He gathered the pieces and put them, with other things, into the Tábút es-Sakínah تابوت السكينة which was placed in the tabernacle الهيكل. The tabernacle was intrusted to Hárún, for he was the bearer of the prophetic office of this age, قيم الزمان. The revelation of the Pentateuch to Músa Ben 'Amrán was completed when he was in the desert. Hárún died, and was buried in the mount Mowáb, مواب (or موان) which is not far from the mountains of esh-Sharáh الشراة and from the mount Síná †.

His grave is well known; it is in a frightful cavern, in which, sometimes at night, a great murmur is heard which frightens every living being ‡. Some say he is not buried, but only laid

* The desert near mount Sinai.

† Another copy bears from et-Tohúr, الظهور

‡ The volcanic action which manifests itself in some places near the mount Sinai, by a great noise which proceeds from the bowels of the earth, raising sometimes the sound to which this pas-

into that cavern. This cavern is very curious, as we have said. Seven months after, Músa died at the age of one hundred and twenty years. Some authors state that Músa died three years after Hárún, and that he entered esh-Shám (Syria), and fought there with the 'Amalikites العما ايق, Korbánites القربانيين Madyanites, and other tribes, as is mentioned in the Pentateuch. God gave to Músa ten books, which completed the number of one hundred sacred codes. Subsequently God revealed to him the Pentateuch in Hebrew, which contains commands and prohibitions, permissions and interdictions, regulations and decrees. It is in five sifr سفر*, which means "books." Músa had made the ark in which the covenant, السكينة was preserved, of six thousand seven hundred and fifty mithkals of gold.

The high-priest after Hárún was Yúsha' Ben Núin, يوشع بن نون who was of the tribe of Ephraim. Although Músa died one hundred and twenty years old, he bore not a trace of an advanced age; nor

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sage alludes, has been observed in ancient times, and mentioned by Procopius, and by modern travellers, (M. Gray, Dr. Seetzen, &c.,) and it is very probable that Madyan, and the other places which are said not to have listened to the exhortation of Sho'aïb, have been destroyed by a volcanic eruption and earthquakes, as Abúl-Fedá, (Hist. Anteislamitica, ed. Fleischer, page 31,) relates.

* The word is Hebrew ספר and is hardly ever used by the Arabs but in speaking of the Bible.

appeared Hárun old: both retained the appearance of youth. After Músa's death Yúsha' led the Israelites into Syria. This country was then in possession of giant kings of the 'Amálíkites عماليق and others. Yúsha' sent expeditions against them, and had many engagements. He conquered Aríhá اريحا (Jericho) and Za'r*, in the Ghaur الغور, or low country on the Dead Sea, which repels divers, and in which no fish or living creature can exist, as it has been observed by the author of the logic (Aristotle)†, and other authors of ancient and modern time. The Dead Sea receives the waters of the lake of Tiberias through the river Jordan. The

* I take this for the Arabic name of Kirjath-Jearim, which was one of the first cities conquered by the Israelites (Josh. xi, 17); there is, besides, some analogy of sound between Jearim or Ye'arim, which is the plural of יערה Ya'rah, and زعر Za'r; the meaning, however, is opposite to the Hebrew word, which means a forest, or a place rendered impenetrable by shrubs, whilst الازعر is explained in the Kámús as a place without herbs. But Yearim is perhaps the name of the tribe who had their quarters in this town; for Kirjah קריה means generally a city. El-Firúzabadi mentions a town of the name of زغر so called after a daughter of Lot, and Abúl-Fedá (edit. Reinaud, p. 48.) gives this name to the Dead Sea, so that it is very likely we ought to read Zoghar instead of Za'r. This, however, would not alter the affinity of this name with Jear, for as there is no غ in Hebrew, ع must be used instead of it.

† Εἰ δ' ἔστιν ὥσπερ μυθολογοῦσί τινες ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ τοιαύτη λίμνη, εἰς ἣν ἐαί τις ἐμβάλλῃ συνδήσας ἄνθρωπον ἢ ὑποζύγιον ἐπιπλεῖν καὶ οὐ

water of the lake of Tiberias comes from the lake Kafra el-Kera'ún كفري القرعون *, which is in the district of Damascus. The Jordan runs a great distance through the Dead Sea without mixing with its water; but in the middle the water of the Jordan sinks. Nobody knows how it comes that the water of the lake is not increased by the accession of this river, which is very considerable. There are long stories and accounts related respecting the Dead Sea, which we have inserted in our 'Akhbár ez-Zemán and Kitáb el-Ausat, together with an account of the stones found there, which have the shape of a melon, and are of two varieties. They are called the Jews'-stone, and have been described by philosophers, and used by physicians against the stone of the bladder †; this stone is either male

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καταδύεσθαι κατὰ τοῦ ὕδατος. (Meteor., lib. ii. cap. 3, p. 432, a; Genevæ, 1605.)

* The name of this lake is variously spelt in various MSS., and I have not been able to determine which is the correct reading; for other Arabic authors (Abúl-Fedá, edit. Reinaud, p. 48; Jehánnumá, p. 555, &c.) call it the lake of Bániás, from a neighbouring town which had anciently the name Paneas, or Cæsarea Philippi, and on coins ὑπο Πανειῳ, as if Paneas had been the name of the snow mountain on which the town is situated. With ancient authors the lake has the name Samochonitis, which has also no reference to the name which el-Mas'údí gives to it. Perhaps it is connected with Kaferlá, which is the name of a town twelve miles from Paneas, in Shultens' Index Geographicus.

† Ibn en-Nafís (p. 43, edit. Calcut.) and other Arabic phy-

or female: the male stone is useful for men, the female for women. Another production of this lake is bitumen, which is called حمر. There is only one lake on earth in which no living being is to be found, and this is a lake in Aderbíján, on which I have sailed. It is situated between the city of Ormiah* and el-Marághah, and is known there by the name of Kabúdán†. Some ancient writers enter into the causes why no living being can exist in the Dead Sea. Now, although they do not reflect upon the lake Kabúdán, one must naturally conclude that the same causes must be active there.

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sicians praise this stone against lithiasis, and it may be that this volcanic production is of an alcalish nature. Avicenna (lib. ii. p. 180), however, denies its litholytic properties. Mr. Maundrel found a kind of bituminous stone, which answers to the description given by Arabic authors of the Jews'-stone, excepting the size; for he says that he saw stones of this sort two feet square. Dr. Daubeny found it to be similar to that of Ragusa, in Sicily.

* Although all copies bear Armenia, I thought it quite safe to change it into Ormiah ارمية; for this is a celebrated city in the vicinity of this lake, from which it has its name in other writers, being called the lake of Ormiah, and which claims the honour of being Zoroaster's birth-place.

† The copy of Cambridge comes nearest to the true reading of this name (كبودان), bearing كنودان, of which the copyists made generally كندوان or كبذان. After the researches of Saint Martin (Mémoires sur l'Arménie, Paris, 1818, tom. i. p. 17), there can be no doubt but that all these corruptions are intended to express the Armenian name of this lake, which is K'habodan.

The king of Syria, es-Somaïda' Ben Hauber Ben Málik, marched against Yúsha', and they came to several engagements; the result of which was, that the king was killed, and Yúsha' took possession of his whole kingdom. Yúsha' came in contact with other kings of the Giants and Amalekites, and sent corps towards Damascus. Yúsha' lived one hundred and twenty years. His full name was Yúsha' Ben Nún Ben Ephraim Ben Yúsof Ben Ya'kúb Ben Ishak Ben Ibrahím. Some say Yúsha' opened his military operations with the war against the Amalekite king Samaïda' Ben Hauber سميدع بن هوبر whose dominions were in the country of Aïlah, towards Madyan. 'Auf Ben Sa'íd el-Jorhomí العرهمي (سعد) سعيد بن عوف says, in allusion to this:—

"Doest thou not see Ibn Hauber the 'Amalekite at Aïlah: he is heated and thin on account of the agitation which he is in, being invaded by an army of eighty thousand Israelites, partly without, partly with armour.

"The forces of the 'Amalekites, who march after him on foot, climbing and running, offer the same appearance: as if they had never been amongst the cavalry of Mekka.

"Somaïda' has never been in calamity before*."

* The last two distichs are only in the copy of Cambridge.

In some village of the Belká, in Syria, there was a man of the name of Bala'am Ben Bá'úr (Beor) Ben Samúm Ben Ferstam Ben Máth Ben Lút Ben Hárán, who had answered the call*: his people urged him to curse Yúsha' Ben Nún; but he was unable to do it. He advised, therefore, some 'Amalekite king to send handsome women towards the army of the Israelites. They approached to the women, and were punished with the plague, which killed seventy thousand of their men. Bala'am is the person of whom it is said in the Korán†, that he had received the signs of God, and that he apostatized.

Yúsha' Ben Nún died when he was one hundred and ten years of age. After him Káleb Ben Yúfenná Ben Báridh Ben Yehúdá stood at the head of the children of Israel. Yúsha' and Káleb enjoyed the particular grace of God.

El-Mas'údí says, I found in another copy (of the Pentateuch) that Kúshán el-Kofrí‡ was eight

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* To answer the call of somebody, means generally to join one's party; here it means that he professed the religion of God, to which everybody is called. The Arabs give to the history of Balaam a somewhat different version from that which it has in the Bible. (Numb. xxii.; xxiv. 14; Mic. vi. 5; 2 Pet. ii. 15; Jude ii.; Rev. ii. 14.) See D'Herbelot, *voce* Balaam.

† Surah vii.

‡ He means Cushan-rishataim. El-Kofrí means the unbeliever.

years the ruler of the Israelites after Yúsha', until he died. 'Othnáyíl Ben Amayáyíl Ben Kázin (Othniel, the son of Kenaz), of the tribe of Juda, ruled forty years, and killed Kúsh كوش (Cushan-rishataim), one of the giants, who resided at Márib مارب of the Belká. After him the children of Israel fell into idolatry, and God permitted that the Kana'anites should subject them ten years. After this period they were ruled by 'Amlál el-Ahbárí* عملال الاحباري (the high-priest) forty years. His successor was Shamwíl (Samuel), who reigned until Tálút طالوت (Saul) came to the throne. During his reign the invasion of Jálút جالوت (Goliath), the king of the Berbers of Palestine, took place.

El-Mas'údí says, according to the version after which we began to relate this history, the head and administrator of the affairs of the children of Israel, after Yúsha', was Káleb Ben Yúfenná, and after him Finehás Ben el-'Oziz Ben Hárún (Aaron) Ben 'Amrán†, who was twenty years the judge of the

* Probably Heli is meant: in this case his name ought to be written عيلان 'Ilán. Compare p. 102, *infra*. El-Ahbárí means generally a Jewish doctor, and not high-priest as here.

† فنحاس بن العزز The copy of Leyden bears el-'Ozir. Phinehas the high-priest was the son of Eleazer, and not of Oziz. We learn from the Chronicon of the Samaritans, which has been translated by Hottinger, that Oziz, the fifth high-priest from

Israelites. He put the books of Moses into a copper vessel, shut its opening with lead, and took it to the rock of the temple of Jerusalem. This was before the temple was built. The rock split, and in the cavity so formed another projecting rock presented itself. When Finehás had placed the vessel upon this rock, the cavity closed, and was as before*. After Finehás Ben el-'Oziz, the Israelites

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Aaron, has concealed some sacred vessels. It is very likely that el-Mas'údí, and the author of the said Chronicon, who is Abúl-Fath Ben Abúl-Hasan, have used the same sources.

* This rock, which rises about man's height from the level of the ground, is covered with a cupola, and on the side of the rock stands a chapel, and it enjoys still the veneration of the Moslims. (Jihánnumá, Constant. 1732, p. 565.) El-Kazwíní gives in his work, Athár el-bilád, several other instances of veneration for stones in Syria, as the stone sacred to Sho'aïb at Kafermendah كفرمندة, the stone sacred to Job in the Jaulán, &c. Taking into consideration the various stones which were almost worshipped in Arabia, besides the black stone of Mekka, one might almost suppose this gross fetishism formed one time a part of the national religion of the Semitic nations, owing, no doubt, to aerolithes, which may be very frequent in those volcanic countries; hence, Sanchoniathon ascribes the origin of this practice to the god Cœlus, saying they are living and animated stones.

As further instances of the practice of consecrating or worshipping stones, may be brought forward, the example of Jacob (Gen. xviii. 18), the testimony of Clemens of Alexandria (Strom., lib. vii.), and the practice of Arnobius (Cont. Gen., lib. i.): "Si quando conspexeram lubricatum lapidem, et ex olivæ unguine lubricatum, tanquam inesset vis præsens, adulabar, affabar." (Compare Calmet, *voce* Stone.)

were ruled by Kúshán el-Atim (Cushan-rishataim), the king of Mesopotamia, for they were fallen into idolatry, for which they had to endure eight years' hardship. Then was 'Othnáyíl (Othniel) Ben Yúfenná, the brother of Káleb, of the tribe of Juda, judge, forty years. After him they were subjected by Aglúm (Eglon), the king of Mowáb, who kept them under great oppression eighteen years. Then was Ahúd, of the tribe of Ephraim, their judge fifty-five years. When he had been thirty-five years judge, the age of the world was four thousand years: this, however, is controverted by chronologers. He was succeeded by his son Shá'án (Shamgar, the son of Anath). Then they were conquered by Bílís (Jabin), the Kanaanite, king of Syria, twenty years. Then ruled a woman, of the name of Dabúrá (Deborah), who was, according to some authors, the daughter of her predecessor. She joined with herself a man of the name of Bárák, forty years. After her they were conquered by the chiefs of the Madyanites, viz., 'Uríb (Oreb), Zerneb (Zeeb), Búriá, Dára' (Zebah), Salaná (Zalmunna), seven years and three months. Then Jida'ún (Gideon), of the family of Menashá, forty years. He killed the kings of the Madyanites, and was succeeded by his son Abú Málikh (Abimelech). Then Thúla' (Tola), of the tribe of Ephraim, twenty-three years. Then Nás (Jair), of the family of Menashá, twenty-two years. Then the kings of

Ammán (Ammon), eighteen years and three months. Then Yehtún (Jephthah), of Beït Lehm, seven years*. Then Samsún, twenty years. Then they were subjected by the kings of Palestine forty years. Then 'Ilán (Heli), the high-priest, forty years. In his time the Babylonians conquered the children of Israel, took the ark, through which the Israelites had expected to gain the victory over them, and they carried it to Bábel. They made the Israelites and their children captives, and carried them off from their homes.

At the same time happened what is related of the people of Hizkíl (Ezekiel), who went out from their homes for fear of death (of the enemy), although they were thousands in number. God said to them "Die;" and when they were dead, he restored them to life again. Then they were visited with the plague, and only three tribes of them escaped death†. One tribe took refuge on the sea-shore, the other to some island of the sea, and the third to

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* بيت لحم Bethlehem, the city of flesh, or incarnation. The form more frequently used to express incarnation and naturalisation, is الالتحام (Ibn Khaldún, Proleg., lib. i.)

† Korán, Surah ii. verse 244, edit. Flügel. The tendency of this story of the Korán is to show that it is of no avail to fly from an enemy; for God can restore the dead to life, and destroy men in thousands by the plague as well as by war. The fable owes its origin probably to Rabbinical traditions invented as a comment upon the thirty-eighth chapter of Ezekiel.

the summits of the mountains: after many adventures they came back to their homes, and said to Hizḳíl, "Hast thou ever heard of a people that had to experience what we have encountered?" Hizkíl answered, "No, I have never heard of a people who have taken flight from God as you have done." God sent after seven days again the plague amongst them, and they died all to the last man.

After 'Ilán, the high-priest, ruled Ashmáwíl Ben Barúhá Ben Náhúr (Samuel). He was a prophet, and administered the state of the Israelites twenty years. God gave them peace, and blessed them. But subsequently, when they were in new troubles, they said to Ashmáwíl, "Send us a king, and we will fight in the way of God." He was ordered to make Tálút, who is Sául Ben Kísh Ben Abiyál Ben Sarúr Ben Bakhúrat Ben Asmída' (Aphiah) Ben Benyámín Ben Yá'kúb Ben Ishak Ben Ibrahím, their king: he gave him power, and the Israelites had never before been all united as they were under Tálút. From the emigration of the Israelites from Egypt, under Músa, to the accession of Tálút, elapsed five hundred and seventy-two years and three months. Tálút was originally a tanner, and made leather. Their prophet Ashmáwíl announced to them, "God has set Tálút king over you." They answered, according to what God says*,

* Korán, Surah ii. verse 248.

"How shall he reign over us? We are more worthy of the sovereignty than he; and he is not in possession of a great fortune." "The proof of his sovereignty," said Samuel, "shall be the ark, in which there is tranquillity* from your Lord, and

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* The word which I render by tranquillity is *sekinah* (سكينة من ربكم). This is not considered as an Arabic word by lexicographers, and I have found it only in one instance, besides in the above sentence from the Korán, in a passage of Ibn Khaldún (Prolegomena, MS. of Leyden, folio 112, verso), which runs thus, if the MS. is correct:—وتكون الدولة قد استغلت في الاستطالة والقهر لمن تحت يدها من الرعايا فتمتد ايديها الي جميع المال من اموال الرعايا من مكس او تجارة او تعدي بعض الاحوال بشبهة او بغير شبهة ويكون الجند في ذلك الطور قد تجاسروا علي الدولة بما لحقها من الفشل والهرم فى العصبية فتتوقع ذلك منهم وتداوي بسكينة العطايا وكثرة الانفاق فيهم ولا تجد عن ذلك وليجة. "The rulers will have obtained an arbitrary and absolute power over the subjects; hence they will encroach upon all their money by introducing customs, or monopolies, or confiscations of private property on or without suspicion. The soldiers will become daring in this phasis towards the rulers; for they have lost their vigour, and the enthusiasm for their own cause and caste is declining: they have, therefore, nothing better to expect. The attempt to remedy the evil by *settling* the gratuities (and changing them into regular pay), and by making enormous expenses for them, will fail, and they will find no friend."

Maracci and Sale, in their commentaries to the Korán, and after them De Sacy, in his Chrestom. Arabe (tom. ii., p. 77),

the relics of the signs (which God had given to former prophets)." The ark remained ten years

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follow the opinion of some Arabic interpreters of that book, and consider the word as the Hebrew שכינה *shekinah*, which is derived from سكن, *to rest, to be quiet, to be present*, and means the divine *presence* in the temple of Jerusalem, which drove from thence the princes of the air (genii of the Arabs), and made it *quiet:* then it means also inspiration, and in the Targums or the Chaldee paraphrases it is used for Holy Ghost (Calmet, Dict. of the Bible). This signification, however, would be quite contrary to the ideas of Mohammed, who probably took up the term without connecting a clear idea with it; for things of which we do not understand the meaning, or which have none at all, are most edifying. Some commentators of the Korán say, therefore, the tábút es-sakínah was an ark given to Adam, which contained the portraits of all the prophets up to Mohammed. For as there are many false prophets who have wrought miracles, whilst the Arabic legate of God professed that he did not perform any other but *moral* wonders, it would indeed have been the best to have a portrait to verify the man who is to be believed. This fabrication seems to have been forged in opposition to the Jenáhians, الجناحية, who considered *descént* as the evidence of the prophetic mission of a man; and as our author seems to have been very much in favour of the latter doctrine, as it appears from what he says above, p. 54, (compare the second note to p. 55, *supra,*) he must have rejected this explanation of *sakínah*, and have taken the word in its first meaning as tranquillity. This justifies also the suggestion contained in the first note to p. 73, *supra*, which is besides confirmed by the first six lines in p. 79, *supra*, from which it appears that el-Mas'údí believed that the tábút (ark, coffin) of Adam contained his *body*, and not the portraits of the prophets.

at Bábel. They heard at dawn the noise of the angels flying round the ark, and it was carried away.

Jálút جالوت (Goliath) was very powerful, and his troops and leaders were numerous. When Jálút (Goliath), whose full name is Jálút Ben Bálúd Ben Díyál Ben Hattán Ben Fáris Ben Násúd Ben Sám Ben Núh جالوت بن بالوذ بن ذيال بن حطان بن فارس بن ناسود بن سام بن نوح, heard that the Israelites had put Tálút (Saul) on the throne, he marched with several races of Berbers البربر from Palestine, towards the Israelites. Samuel ordered Tálút to go out with the children of Israel to fight against Jálút. God sent them the trial at a river between the districts of the Jordan and Palestine, which he has related in his book*. When they were very thirsty, they were ordered how they should drink: those who doubted, lapped like dogs, and they were killed by Jálút to the last man. Saul selected from his best troops three hundred and thirteen men, amongst whom were the brothers of Dáwud (David), and Dáwud himself. The two armies met, but the battle was undecided. Tálút encouraged his men, and promised to any one who would go out against Jálút one-third of his king-

* Korán, Surah ii. verse 250. Mohammed has confounded Saul and Gideon. (Judg. vii.)

dom, and his daughter in marriage. Dáwud went out against him, and killed him with a stone which he had in his forage-bag. He threw it with a sling, and Jálút fell on the ground. This is related in the Korán*, where God says, "Dáwud slew Jálút . . . These are the signs of God."

Some say, Dáwud had three stones in his forage-bag, which united, and became one stone; and this they say was the stone with which he killed Jálút. There exist several comments on this stone, which we have related in our former works. Some pretend that it was Tálut (Saul) who slew those who lapped from the river, and acted contrary to the command of God, and not Jálút (Goliath). We have related the story of the coat of mail, of which their prophet had predicted that nobody could conquer Jálút except whom it fitted; and which fitted Dáwud: we have given details respecting these wars, and the river which dried up: and we have related the history of the kingdom of Tálút (Saul)†, and the Berbers, and their origin, in our book called the Akhbár ez-zemán, and we shall speak on it in the following pages of this work, in a more adapted place, where we give a brief account of the history of the Berbers, and their dispersion over the earth.

* Korán, Surah ii. verse 250.

† It should probably run, the kingdom of Jálút, or Goliath.

God made the name of Dáwud glorious, and that of Tálút obscure; for Tálút refused to keep his promise to him. But when he saw that Dáwud became popular, he married his daughter to him, and gave him the third part of his possessions, the third part of the revenue, the third part of his jurisdiction, and the third part of his subjects. After he had done so, he envied him, and intended to deprive him of them. But God did not permit it, and Dáwud declared himself against his intentions. All what Dáwúd did prospered. Saul died in the night, under great depression of spirits, whilst he was sitting on his throne. After his death the whole empire came under Dáwud.

Tálút reigned twenty years. The spot where Dáwud killed Jálút is said to be Baïsan, in the Ghaur, which is a district of the Jordan.

God rendered the iron soft for Dáwud, and he made coats of mail. God made the mountains and birds subservient* to him, and they praised God with him. David had wars with the people of Mowáb, in the country of el-Belká. God revealed to him the Book of Psalms, in Hebrew, consisting of one hundred and fifty Surahs. He divided them into thirds: one third fortells the history of Bokhta Nassar بخت نصر (Nebuchadnez-

* Korán, Surah xxxviii. verses 17 and 18.

zar) with the Israelites; another third predicts what would happen to them from the people of Athúr اثور; and one third contains admonitions, exhortations, and hymns. There are neither laws nor interdicts, nor permissions nor prohibitions, in the Psalms. Dáwud was successful in all that he did; and even those unbelievers who had a rebellious spirit, were filled with respect for him, in all parts of the earth. He built a house for holy service at Kúrat el-islám*, that is to say, in Beït el-Makdis. This temple is standing in our time [332 A.H.], and it is known under the name of Mihráb of Dáwud. There is at present no building in Jerusalem which is higher than this temple. You can see from its top as far as the Dead Sea and the River Jordan.

To Dáwud happened the story of the two adversaries, to which an allusion is made in the Book of God†. Dáwud, before he had heard the other, passed the sentence: "He has wronged thee in asking from thee (thy ewe), &c." The commen-

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* كورة الاسلام *Kúrat el-islám*, means the district of the islám, and is a play of words with the name of Jerusalem, with which it has some similarity of sound, it being pronounced by the Arabs, Uraslam, or Aurashlím اوراشليم, or simply Shallam شلم (el-Kámús, p. 1647). Compare the twenty-eighth chapter, *infra*.

† Korán, Surah xxxviii. verse 21, et seq.

tators to the Korán do not agree respecting the fault of Dáwud (for which he is blamed in the Korán). Some give the same explanation which we have just given, and which is justified by the words *, "We have made thee our lieutenant on earth, &c." But some say that the story of the two adversaries was a parable in allusion to Uria Ben Henan, and his being killed, as it is mentioned in the "books of the beginning" كتب المبتداء, and in other works. Dáwud underwent a repentance of forty days' fasting and weeping. He had no less than one hundred wives. Solaïmán was his son: he showed great talents, and used to be present when his father exercised the duties of a judge; and God gave him wisdom in speech and judgment, as it is said in the Korán †, "We gave to all of them wisdom and knowledge, &c." When he was dying, he made Solaïmán his heir. Dáwud reigned forty years over Palestine and the Jordan. He had an army of sixty thousand soldiers, with swords, shields, and good horses; they were men in the prime of life, full of courage and vigour.

* Korán, xxxviii. verse 25. After the words quoted stands, in this, and in several other instances, الاية, which I render by "&c.;" for it cannot mean anything else but "and the rest of this *verse*."

† Surah xxi. verse 79.

In his age flourished Lokman the Wise, in the country of Aïlah and Madyan: his full name is Lokman Ben 'Anka Ben Madyan Ben Merwan لقمن بن عنقا بن مدين (مزيد) بن مروان (صارون). He was a Nubian, and a freed slave of Lokaïn Ben Jesr لقين بن جسر. Lokman was born in the tenth year of the reign of Dáwud. He was a slave, full of virtue, and God gave him wisdom. He lived distinguished by his wisdom and abstemiousness until Yúnos Ben Matta يونس بن متي (Jonas) was sent to Ninive, in the country of el-Mausil.

After the death of Dáwud his son Solaïmán was the bearer of the prophetic office, and the judge. He extended his justice over all his subjects, his government was firm, and he held the armies in due submission. Solaïmán began to build the Beït el-Makdis (the temple of the sacred city), which is called the most remote temple مسجد الاقصي, round which God pours out his blessing. When he had finished the construction of the temple, he built a house for himself. This is called in our days the Church of the Resurrection*, and is the greatest church at Jerusalem; but there are other large

* كنيسة القمامة. See Golius' notes to Alfergani, p. 158, and Castelli's Dict. Heptagl.

churches besides, as the Church of Sahyún (Sion), which has been mentioned by Dáwud, and the Church of el-Jesmániyah* الجسمانية, in which Dáwud is said to be buried. God gave to Solaïmán greater favours than to anybody before him, and he made subservient to him men, genii, birds, and winds, as it is related in the Book of God†. Solaïmán ruled forty years over the Beni Israel. He died in an age of fifty-two years.

* This is probably the church which Haji Khalfa (p. 565) calls the Church of the Virgin Mary; for the place where it is situated has with him the name el-Jesmániyah. I suppose Jesmániyah means *corporis Christi;* for the Christian Arabs have formed a number of words after the genius of the Syriac and Greek languages, as الاقنوم, plur. اقانيم person (of the Trinity); الناسوت the human nature (of Christ); اللاهوت Godhead implying a somewhat different idea from الالوهية; الاتحاد the union (of the three persons of the Trinity), and hence quite different from the pure Mohammedan idea expressed by the word التوحيد. (Mefátíh el-'olúm.)

† Korán, Surah xxi. and xxxviii.

FIFTH CHAPTER.

The reign of Rakhobo'am Ben Solaïmán Ben Dáwud, and the Israelite kings who succeeded him. Concise account of their Prophets.

After the death of Solaïmán, his son Rákhobo'am راخبعم came to the throne. He ruled at first over all the tribes; but subsequently they separated themselves from him, except the tribes of Judah and Benjamin. He reigned seventeen years.

The king of the ten tribes was Yerúboham (Jeroboam), who had several wars, and worshipped a calf of gold and jewels. God destroyed him after a reign of twenty years.

Then reigned Abyá (Abijah), the son of Rákhobo'am Ben Solaïmán, three years. Then reigned Ahar (Asa) forty years. Then reigned Yúrám (Jehoram), who introduced the worship of idols (stars), statues, and images: he reigned one year. Then reigned a woman, of the name of 'Athalán (Athaliah), who destroyed the descendants of Dáwud, and only one boy of this family was spared. The children of Israel, indignant at her cruelty, killed her, after a reign of seven years, and made this boy their king. He was seven years of age when he came to the throne, and reigned forty

years, or less. Then reigned Amasyá (Amaziah) fifty-two years. During his reign lived the prophet Sha'yá شعيا (Isaiah), with whom he came in frequent contact. He had some wars, which we have related in our book Akhbár ez-zemán. Then reigned Yúthám (Jotham) ten years; according to others, sixteen years. After him reigned Aház: he introduced idolatry, and was an unjust king. One of the greatest kings of Bábel, named Bághín* باغين, marched against him. After long wars between Aház and the king of Bábel, the latter made Aház prisoner, and destroyed the towns of the (Israelite) tribes, and their dwellings.

During his reign religious quarrels took place between the Jews and the Samaritans الاسامرة. The Samaritans deny the prophetic mission of Dáwud, maintaining that there was no prophet after Músa. They chose their chiefs from the descendants of Harún (Aaron) Ben 'Amrán, and live in our time [A.H. 332], in separate towns, in the Jordan and Palestine, as, for instance, in the town called 'Arár عارا, which is between er-Ramlah and Tiberias, and other towns as far as Nábolos

* This is a corruption for *Tiglathpileser*, instead of which one copy bears ولعدس; so that it may be inferred, from the great difference which exists between the two copies, that el-Mas'údí wrote the name correctly, but that it was corrupted by the copyists, as it happened with other names.

(Naplous). In this last-mentioned city they are most numerous. They have a (sacred) mount which they call Túr* طور, and they offer there prayers at certain times. They sound bells of silver at prayer time, and it is they who say, "Do not touch me!" They believe that Nábolos is the sacred town (Beït el-makdis)†, and the town of Ya'kúb, and that there is the place where his flock grazed. The Samaritans are of two sects, which are separate

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* ولهم جبل يقال له طور يزيد الاسامرة عليه صلوات في اوقاتها. These are the words of the original in the copy of Leyden. De Sacy quotes this passage thus, in his Chrestomathie Arabe (tom. ii. pp. 342 and 343):—ولهم جبل يقال له طور بريک للاسامرة عليه صلوات في اوقاتها, and translates accordingly: Ils ont là une montagne nommée Tor-bérik. Les Samaritains font la prière sur cette montagne dans les temps destinés à ce pieux exercice. The MS. of Cambridge bears طوريک.

† Isstachri (edit. Moeller, p. 31) says nearly the same thing: here are his words: نابلس مدينة السامرة ويعزون ان بيت المقدس هي نابلس وليس السامرة فى مكان من الارض الا بها واخر مدن فلسطين مايلي حفار مصر مدينه يقال لها غزة. El-Edrísí transcribed this passage in his work, and corrupted it thus:—نابلس مدينة السامرة - - - ويزعم اهل بيت المقدس ان السامرة لا يوجد احد منهم الا بهذه المدينة و باخر مدن فلسطين ما يلي طريق مصر مدينة غزة. Nábolos is the town of the Samaritans, and the people of Jerusalem believe that nowhere Samaritans are found but in this

from each other, as they are separate from the other Jews. One of the two sects is called Kúshán * كوشان, and the other Dúshán (or Rúshán) دوشان (روشان). One of these two sects believes that the world has no beginning †, and other dogmas of this nature, which I forbear to mention, for fear of being too tedious in a work which professes to treat on history, and not on opinions and doctrines of sects.

Aház had reigned seventeen years before he was made a prisoner by the king of Babylon. In his captivity a son was born to him, who received the name Hizkíyá حزقيا (Hezekiah). He kept up the religion of the true God, and gave orders to destroy images and idols. During his reign Sennahárib سنحاريب, the king of Bábel, marched against Jerusalem. He had several wars with the Israel-

town, &c. (Rosenmüller, Analecta Arabica, pars iii. p. 3.—Compare Jaubert's Translation, tom. i. p. 335.)

This may serve as an example how Oriental writers are sometimes misled by corrupt readings, and may illustrate the note to page 117 of this volume; for there can be no doubt that this fault is to be attributed to el-Edrísí himself, and not to the copyists, since it is found in the copies of Oxford and Paris.

* If the Cuthæans derive their name from Cush, or Scythia, the spelling is here more correct than in the Bible (2 Kings xvii. 24, 30; Ezra iv. 1, 2); for there it is כּוּת *Kuth*, Χοὺθ.

† Arabic scholastics make a distinction between قديم, which is the term used here, and ازلي: the former meaning what has no beginning, and the latter what has neither beginning nor end.

ites, and suffered great loss; but finally he took many tribes prisoners. Hizkiyâ reigned till he died, twenty-nine years.

After Hizkiyá his son Manashá (Manasseh) reigned. He killed the prophet Sha'yá, and gave a bad example, which was followed by his subjects. God sent Constantine, the king of er-Rúm*, against

* "The Lord brought upon them the captains of the host of the king of Assyria, which took Manasseh among the thorns, and bound him with fetters, and carried him to Babylon. And when he was in affliction he besought the Lord his God . . . . And [God] brought him again to Jerusalem, into his kingdom." (2 Chron. xxxiii. 11, 12, 13.) Petavius believes that this Assyrian king was the Berodach-baladan of the Scriptures (2 Kings xx. 12), and Μαρδοκεμπαδος of the Chronological Tables of Ptolemy. As the copyists put frequently a known word instead of a name of less frequent occurrence, we may suppose that el-Mas'údí wrote Mardokempad, king of Atúr, (see our note to page 31 of this volume,) of which the copyist made Constantine, king of er-Rúm; for el-Mas'údí was well acquainted with Ptolemy's Chronological Tables, and quotes them in the Tanbíh.

But in comparing this passage with the words of et-Tabarí (who was one of the sources whence el-Mas'údí derived his information), preserved by Ibn Khaldún (MS. of Leyden, No. 1250, vol. ii. fol. 44, *verso*), we feel inclined to ascribe this gross anachronism to our author's want of attention: و في (السنة) الثانية و الخمسين بنيت بزنطية بناها يورس الملك وهي التي جددها قسطنطين و سماها باسمه.

"In the fifty-second (year of the reign of Manasseh) Byzantium was built: the founder of this city was King Yúros. It is the same town which has been renewed by Constantine, and

him, who invaded his country with several armies, put his troops to flight, made him a prisoner, and kept him twenty years in er-Rúm, in captivity; but changing his former conduct, he was restored to his kingdom. He reigned till he died, twenty-five, or, as others say, thirty, years.

His successor was 'Amún (Amon), who neither believed nor obeyed God, but worshipped images and idols. When his ungodliness had reached the utmost, Fir'aun the Lame فرعون الاعرج marched from Egypt, with a large army, against him, and after he had made a great slaughter amongst the Israelites, he took him as prisoner to Egypt, where he perished. He reigned five years. Some authors differ in their account. After him reigned his brother Túfíl توفيل, who is the father of the prophet Dániál دانيال. During his reign el-Bokhta Nassar (Nebuchadnezzar), the governor of el-'Irák, and the Arabs* العراق والعرب, under the king of Persia, who

called after his name." (Compare Eusebius, Chronicorum Canonii ad Olympiadem 30, A. H.) Now seeing the account of the captivity of the Israelites on the same page with the name of Constantine, he, probably overlooking a line, took him for the king who made them prisoners. For a similar mistake of el-Edrísí, owing to the perusal of a corrupt copy of the author whence he was compiling, see the note to page 115 of this volume.

* Perhaps it ought to read 'Irák el-'Arab, which is the name for Babylonia, and I should not have hesitated to change the reading, if Herodotus did not give nearly the same title to Sennaherib, calling him Βασιλέα Ἀραβίων τε καὶ Ἀσσυρίων.

was then residing in Balkh, the capital of his empire, marched against the Israelites; and after he had slain many of them, he took them to el-'Irák, into captivity. He carried also the Pentateuch and the books of the prophets and the histories of the king away, which were in the temple at Jerusalem, and threw them into a well. The ark of the covenant fell also into his hands, and he preserved it in some place of his country. The number of the Israelites who were in captivity is said to have been eighteen thousand. In his time lived Jeremiah the prophet. El-Bokhta Nassar made a campaign against Egypt, and killed Pharao the Lame, who was at that time the king of Egypt. Thence he proceeded towards the West, took the kings prisoners, and conquered many towns.

The king of Persia had married a woman of the Israelite captives, who bore him a child, and he sent the children of Israel back into their homes after two years' captivity. When they had returned into their native country, reigned Zorobábíl Ben Salsál (Zorobabel, the son of Selathiel). The town of Jerusalem was rebuilt, and what had been destroyed was re-established. They got the Pentateuch out of the well, and their state became flourishing. This king devoted forty-six years to the cultivation of the country; and he ordered them to keep the prayers and other obligations prescribed by the Law, which had been neglected during the captivity.

The Samaritans believe that the Pentateuch which was recovered from the well, was not the same which Músa had given to them, but that it is full of fictions, changes, and alterations. The author of the new Pentateuch which the Jews have is Zorobábíl, who collected it from the accounts of those who knew it by heart, whilst the genuine Pentateuch is in the hands of the Samaritans. This king reigned forty-six years. Another version of this history says, that the person who married a Jewish lady was el-Bokhta Nassar himself, and that *he* released the Jews from the captivity.

After Ibrahím his son Ismá'íl took charge of the house (Ka'bah, at Mekka). God made him a prophet, and sent him to the 'Amálíkites, and to some tribes of Yemen, to forbid to them idolatry. Some of them became believers; the most part, however, remained faithful to the false religion. Ismael was blessed with twelve sons, viz., Nábet (Nebaioth), Kídár, Abdíl, Mibsam, Maïsa' (Mishma), Dúmá, Dowám*, Mítá (Massa), Heddád, Taïm (Tema), Yetúrá, and Náfis, نابت وقيدار وابديل ومبسم ومسيع ودوما وديام ومیتا وحداد وتيم ويطورا ونافس. Ibrahim

* Dowám is not mentioned in the Bible (Chronicon i. 29, 30): it crept in probably by writing *Dúma* twice, once wrongly spelt; and then, in order not to have thirteen names, the copyists left out Kedemah, which is the name last mentioned in the Bible.

declared Isma'íl as his successor, and Isma'íl installed Nábet, or according to others, Kídár, to succeed him. When Isma'íl died, he was one hundred and thirty-seven years of age, and was buried in the mesjid el-Harám (the temple of Mekka), on the spot where the black stone is. After him the charge of the temple was intrusted to his son Nábet, who followed the good example and religion of his father.

There were several prophets and men distinguished by godliness between Solaïmán, son of Dáwud, and the Masíh (Messiah), as Aramayá ارميا (Jeremiah), Dániyál (Daniel), 'Ozaïr عزير (Ezra) [whose prophetic dignity is controverted], Sha'yá (Isaiah), Hizkiál (Ezekiel), Ilyás (Elias), el-Yasa' (Elisha), Yúnos* (Jonas), Dúl-Kifl ذوالكفل†,

* I preserve here, and in other Scriptural names, the Arabic sound; for some changes are as much sanctioned by use with them, as in English to say John instead of Joannes. Besides, these corruptions may yet point out whence the Arabs have originally derived their Biblical knowledge. Some Hebrew names seem even to have been originally Arabic, and to have been preserved in the language of this nation, as well as in the Scriptures. Only, in putting the vowels, I follow in preference the Scriptures, when Arabic authors do not agree: some authors write the Kámús Nomrúd, whilst others write Namrúd and Nimrúd. I prefer the latter.

† The name of Dúl-Kifl is twice mentioned in the Korán; the first time (xxi. 85) with Isma'íl and Idrís, and the second

and el-Khidhr* الخضر. A tradition reported by Ibn Ishak (or Ibn 'Abbás) makes Aramayá a pious and godly man (but not a prophet). Another prophet of this period was Zakaríyá (Zacharias), who was the son of Adan, of the children of Dáwud and the tribe of Juda. He was married to Lishyá' (Elizabeth), the daughter of 'Imrán, and sister of Maryam (Mary), the mother of Christ. 'Imrán, who was the son of Márán Ben Yo'ákím, was also a descendant of Dáwud. The name of the mother of Lishyá' (Elizabeth), and of Maryam, was Hannah. Elizabeth gave birth to Yahya (John), who was the cousin of Christ. His father Zakaríyá was a carpenter. The Jews spread the rumour that he had ravaged Maryam, and put him to death. When

time (xxxviii.) with Isma'íl and el-Yasa' (Elisha), so that one may infer that he is a Hebrew prophet who received this name from some action or event, as Jonas was called Dúl-Nún, from the fish which swallowed him. Sale adds the following note to the second passage of the Korán:—"Al-Beidâwi here takes notice of another tradition concerning this prophet; viz., that he entertained and took care of a hundred Israelites, who fled to him from a certain slaughter; from which action he probably had the name Dúl-Kifl given him; the primary signification of the word *cafala* being to *maintain*, or *take care of* another. If a conjecture might be founded on this tradition, I should fancy the person intended was Obadiah, the governor of Ahab's house."

* About el-Khidhr see page 90 of this volume.

he was aware of their intention, he took refuge in a tree, and hid himself in its cavity; but Satan, the enemy of God, pointed him out to them. They split the tree in which he was, and cut him to pieces in so doing. When Elizabeth, the sister of Maryam, the mother of Christ, had given birth to Yahya Ben Zakaríyá, she took flight with her child from some king to Egypt.

When he had grown up God sent him to the children of Israel. He preached to them what God has commanded and forbidden, and they put him to death. There were many rebellions* amongst the Israelites. God sent, therefore, a king, of the name of Hardúsh (Herodes), from the East. Under him the righteous men had the same fate as Yahya, the son of Zakaríyá; and it was only after long troubles, that he put a stop to shedding blood.

When Maryam was seventeen years of age God sent the angel Gabriel to her, and he breathed the spirit into her. She was with child of the Masíh, Jesus the son of Maryam, and she gave him birth in a country town, called Beït Lehm, which is some miles from Jerusalem. This was in the twenty-fourth of the first Kánún. His history is related

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* كثرت الاحداث The copy of Leyden bears كثرت الاحاديث "There were many traditions among the Israelites."

by God in the Korán*, and the Christians believe that Jesus observed the old religion of his nation. He read (lectured on) the Pentateuch and other ancient books for twenty-nine or thirty years, at Tiberias, in the province of the Jordan, in a synagogue called el-Madrás المدراس. A certain day he was reading the Book of the prophet Esaias, and he saw in it the passage, "Thou art my prophet and my elect: I have chosen thee for me:" he closed the book, gave it to the minister of the synagogue, and went out saying, "The word of God is now fulfilled in the Son of Man†." Some say Christ lived in a town called Násarah (Nazareth), in the district of el-Lajjún اللجون, in the province of the Jordan. Hence the Christians have (in Arabic) the name Nasráníyah النصرانية. I have visited that church: it is in high veneration with the Christians. There are some coffins of stone, with dead bodies in them, from which oil comes out, of the consistency of the inspissated juice of fruits (Roob الرب), in which the Christians find their blessing.

The Masíh came to the lake of Tiberias, where he found some fishermen, who were the sons of Zabadá, and some fullers. Matta (Matthew), Yohanna (John), Markúsh (Mark), and Luká (Luke),

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* In the third Surah, and passim.

† Luke iv. 16—21.

are the four apostles who wrote the Gospel, and preserved the history of the Masíh: they have related in it his birth and his baptism by Yahyá Ben Zakaríyá, who is called John Baptist يحيى المعمد, in the lake of Tiberias, from which the water runs into the Jordan; the wonders wrought through him, the miracles with which God honoured him, and how the Jews treated him, till he ascended into heaven, when he was thirty-three years of age.

There are long accounts of the Masíh, Maryam, and Yúsof the carpenter, in the Gospel, which we forbear inserting; for God does not mention them (in the Korán), nor has his prophet Mohammed related them.

SIXTH CHAPTER.

Those who lived in the Fatrah; that is to say, in the time between Christ and Mohammed.

EL-MAS'ÚDÍ says, many persons who lived between Christ and Mohammed, in the Fatrah, professed the unity of God, and believed that he sends (prophets). But whether there has been a prophet amongst them or not is controverted. Some allege that Hantalah Ben Safwán حنظلة بن صفوان, who was a descendant of Isma'íl Ben Ibrahím, has been a prophet, and was sent to the Asháb er-Rass*,

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* اصحاب الرس. The Asháb er-Rass are brought forward as an example in the Korán (xxv. 40), together with the 'Adites and Themúdites, as a nation, who have been punished for not having listened to their prophet. The commentators of the Korán conceive *asháb* to mean *inhabitants*, and believe, therefore, er-Rass to be a town. They have, however, been so much at a loss to find the site of this town, that they thought it might be on the river er-Rass, or the Araxes of the ancients! Now *sáhib* hardly ever means inhabitants. El-Faïrúzábádí (p. 763) gives the following opinion:—"Er-Rass is the name of a well of remnants of the Themúdites, in which they smothered رسوا their prophet, not believing on him." This leads me to think that *rass* is to be taken as an infinitive, and asháb er-rass to be rendered by *smotherers*.

who were equally descended from Isma'íl, and divided into two tribes, one of which was called Kodmán قُدمان, and the other Yámin يامن, or Ra'wíl رعويل, both of which were in Yemen. When Hantalah Ben Safwán rose amongst them, by the command of God, they killed him. A prophet of the children of Israel, of the tribe of Juda, received therefore the revelation of God, that Bohkta Nassar would march, by divine command, against them: and he vanquished them. To this allude the words of God: "When they felt our strength, they were agitated . . . . dying and perishing." It is said that they were Himyarites, and this is supported by one of their (Himyarite) poets in an elegy:

"My eyes flow in tears for the Asháb er-Rass, the Ra'wíl, and Kodmán: the punishment which the tribe of the Kahtánites suffered caused those to submit to God who had refused to do so."

It is stated on the authority of Wahb Ben Monabbih that Dúl-Karneïn, who is the same person with Alexander*, lived after Christ, in the

* Other passages of this work evince an intimate acquaintance of el-Mas'údí with the history of Alexander the Great, and the Alexandrian era. But it is the habit of Arabic historians, and particularly with our author, to give the different traditions which they have received literally as they heard them, even if they

Fatrah. He had a vision, in which he saw himself so near the sun that he seized its two extremities القرنين, the eastern and western. He related this dream to his people, and they called him "One who has both horns" (or sides of the sun) ذوالقرنين. Many different opinions respecting him have been advanced, which are to be found in our works, the Akhbár ez-zemán and the Kitáb el-ausat, and we shall give a view of his history in those chapters of this book which treat on the Greek and Byzantine sovereigns.

In the same way the historians do not agree on the men of the grotto (the Seven Sleepers): some say they lived in the Fatrah; others think otherwise. We shall insert a concise account of their history in the (twenty-eighth) chapter on the Roman emperors in this book. For the rest we have their adventures related in the Kitáb el-ausat, and in the work which preceded it, the Akhbár ez-zemán.

One of the persons who lived after Christ, in the Fatrah, was George جرجيس. His birth fell

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should be convinced they are not true. Here he states, moreover, his authority. This anachronism had its origin probably in a king of Yemen, who had the name Dúl-Karneïn from two curls of hair, and who was confounded with Alexander, as he had the same epithet. I shall again speak of this name in the chapter on the kings of Yemen. The name Dúl-Karneïn is mentioned in the eighteenth chapter of the Korán.

within the lifetime of some of the apostles. God sent him to the King of el-Mausil, to call him to the true religion, and though the king killed him, God restored him to life, and sent him a second time to him: the king killed him again; but God resuscitated him once more, and sent him a third time: now the king burnt him, and threw the ashes into the Tigris. God destroyed the king, and all his subjects who had followed him. So the story is related by believers of the Scriptures, and in the books on the beginning and on the biography (of Mohammed), by Wahb Ben Monabbih and other authors.

Another man of the Fatrah was Habíb en-Nejjár حبيب النجار, who lived at Antioch, in Syria, where there reigned a tyrant, who worshipped idols and images. Two disciples of the Masíh went to him, to call him to God. He imprisoned and ill-treated them, till they were aided by God, who sent a third man. Who he was is controverted; but most authors say that he was Peter, which is the Greek name of the apostle who is called Sim'án سمعان in Arabic, and Sham'ún in Syriac. This is Sham'ún the brasser.

But many historians and the Christians of all sects are of opinion, that the third apostle, through whom they were aided, was Paul, and the two others who had been committed to prison, were Thomas and Peter. They had a long interview

with the king, showing him miracles and proofs: they healed those born blind, and the lepers, and restored the dead to life. Paul succeeded in obtaining an audience: he gained his favour, and the king set free his two colleagues from prison. Habíb en-Nejjár* came, and he believed on them when he had seen their signs. God relates this in the Korán†, in the words, "When we sent two men to them; but they charged them with imposture. Wherefore we strengthened them with a third one," &c., down to the words "a man came in haste."

Peter and Paul were killed in Rome. Many persons relate that they were crucified with their heads downwards, after they had been a long time in contact with the emperor and Saïman سيمن (سيمعا) the sorcerer‡. After the Christian religion had become victorious, they were laid in a coffin of crystal, and deposited in a church of that city.

We have related this in our Kitáb el-ausat where we speak of the curiosities of Rome, and where we trace the history of the disciples of Christ, and their dispersion over the earth. We

* A mosque in the middle of the market of Antioch, sacred to this Habíb, was much visited by pilgrims at the time of el-Kazwíní (Athár el-bilád).

† Surah xxxvi., from verse 13 to 19.

‡ Simon Magus, to whose aeronautics the prayers of St. Peter made a fatal end.

shall exhibit a summary of their history in this book.

The contrivers of the pit* اصحاب الاخدود lived

* An allusion to this story being found in the Korán, it is related in the commentaries to that book, and almost in every Arabic work on geography. But modern authors enrich it with edifying additions and pious alterations.

The fact, as it is related by our author, is historical, and happened in 522 A.D. The heroism of a Najránite matron, and of a boy who threw himself into the flames, gave rise naturally to the popular tradition of the miracle which el-Mas'údí relates, and to which Mohammed alluded three hundred years before him.

Baronius (Annal. Eccl.; Lucæ 1741, Tom. ix., pp. 309 et seq. ad annum 522 et 523) reproduces the *acta St. Arethæ martyris*, who was the chief of the Najránites. These *acta* are exceedingly curious; and to judge from the spirit in which they are written, I feel confident they come from the pen of an Arab, and were possibly originally composed in that language. This would be an important addition to the history of the civilization of the Arabs. The frequent allusions to the Scriptures evince an intimate acquaintance of the author with the Bible. Lambeccius speaks for the rest of another work which exists in the emperor's library at Vienna, and which was written in Tifár ظفار at this period, and may serve as a proof of the literary activity of the Arabs before Mohammed: it has the title "Abrahii regis Homeritarum leges a St. Gregentio Tapharensi Episcopo compositæ."

The persecution of the Najránite Christians, and the conquest of the Abyssinians, are also mentioned by Procopius (De bello Persico i., 20), Cedrenus (ad annum 522), Zonaras, Nicephorus,

also in the time of the Fatrah, in the capital of Najrán, in Yemen, during the reign of Dú

&c. Comparing the Arabic accounts with the Greek authors, it is possible the fact was this.

Najrán was favoured by nature, and so famous since ancient times, that it seems to have formed one of the objects of the invasion of Ælius Gallus. The inhabitants, ever anxious, as it seems, to lead the Bedouins to their interests, raised a temple in opposition to the Ka'bah of Mekka, which was called the Ka'bah of Najrán, in order to attract pilgrims. But it seems that they did not fully succeed, since the town is not mentioned amongst the markets of the Arabs. This failure is to be accounted for by their situation between Mekka and San'á, both of which were sacred by age and many popular traditions, acknowledged by habit, and the one protected by the league of the Modhar tribes, whose centre it was, whilst the other was the capital of all the Himyarite tribes: hence the tenets of the Arians, which were preached to them by a monk in the fourth century of the Christian era, were welcome to them, as they condemned the black stone and the idols of the Ka'bah, to which the Koraïshites owed their power, and gave them hope to come to the possession of the Ghomdán at San'á. The sacred well of this Capitolium reminds one of the Zemzem; and the four sides, painted in white, red, yellow, and green, seem to have the same origin as the Ka'bah (i.e., square building), of which there were several in Arabia, besides that of Mekka; and, although the Ghomdán was chiefly sacred to the planet Venus, the seven stories, or roofs, imply a clear allusion to the seven planets.

The mystifications of Arianism, however, made no impression upon the sound minds of the Bedouins. The Najránites sought, therefore, in treason what they had in vain contended for through enslaving their minds; and it is allowed by Christian authors that

Nowás*, who killed Dú Shenátír† ذو شناتر. He was a Jew; and having heard that there were followers of the religion of the Messiah in Najrán, he came himself there, sank pits in the ground, filled them with glowing fire, and called the inhabitants to the Jewish religion: those who followed him were free; but those who refused to obey were thrown into the fire. There came a woman, with a child of seven months, who refused to abjure her

they had betrayed their country to the King of Abyssinia, "Dunaanus (Dú Nowás) rex, tam, ut genus Christianorum vexaret, quam, *ut Eleslaano regi Æthiopum molestiam crearet*, graviter afflixit cives urbis Nagran in Homeritide sitæ, cui præfectus erat St. Arethas."

Dú Nowás, was Lord of Phare, which is spelt Taphar in an ancient Greek Menologium, quoted by Pagius; so that there can be no doubt but that Tifár ظفار is meant. He professed the Jewish religion; for the law of Moses had found many proselytes in Arabia by its sublime simplicity; and being the protector of Yemen, he was of course obliged to check the conduct of the Najránites, and decided to eradicate the evil which was owing to their religion. But the Æthiopians revenged the blood of their brethren, and took possession of Arabia, until a reaction took place, in which the Persians were called in.

* Dú Nowás means the man with the curl, for he had a black curl hanging over his back.

† Dú Shenátir means the man with ear-rings, shenátir being the Himyarite word for ear-ring قرطة. El-Faïrúzábádí says, Dú Shenátir had this surname, because he had one finger too many. His proper name was Lakhtí'ah لختيعة.

religion. She was taken to the fire, and when she was frightened God gave speech to the child, and it said, "Go on, mother, in thy faith; thou wilt not meet a fire after this." They were both thrown into the fire. They were true believers, professing the unity of God, and did not belong to the Christian creed of this age (who profess the trinity). Shocked at these cruelties, a man of the name of Dú Tha'lebán* ذو ثعلبان (دمعلمان) went to Cæsar to ask him for his aid. The emperor wrote to the Nejáshi (the king of Abyssinia) about the case, as he was nearer. This gave origin to the invasion of the Abyssinians in Yemen, who kept this country in subjection till (Yusof†) Dú Yasan ذويزن solicited the assistance of several kings, which was at last granted to him by Anúshirwan, as we have described in our books, the Akhbar ez-zemán and the Kitáb el-ausat; and we shall give a summary of these events in the (forty-third) chapter, where we speak on the Adwá‡ and kings of Yemen. The story of the contrivers of the pit is mentioned in the

* Procopius gives him the name Kais.

† The name Yúsof is only in the Cambridge copy. Yazan is a Wádí (in Yemen), and Dú Yazan a Himyarite king who was in possession of this Wádí. (Kámús, p. 1816.)

‡ Adwá اذوا is the plural of Dú, and means literally *possessed of:* here it implies the chiefs whose surnames began with Dú.

Korán*, from the words, "Killed are the contrivers of the pit," to the words, "They had nothing to revenge on them but their belief on the almighty and glorious God."

Kháled Ben Sinán el-Absí lived also in the Fatrah: his full name was Kháled Ben Sinán Ben 'Ayyath (Ghaïth?) Ben 'Abs خالد بن سنان بن عبث بن عبس. He has been mentioned by the Prophet†, who says, "There was a prophet who has been destroyed by his nation." The story is this: a fire rose in Arabia, and caused a great commotion and disturbances amongst the Arabs; so that fire-worship was making its way amongst them. Kháled took a club, and struck on the fire, exclaiming, "Begin! begin! every grace from God alone we win: I enter the flames, and they blaze high; I come out from them, and my reward is nigh‡:" and he extinguished the fire. When he was dying, he said to his brothers, "When I am

* Surah lxxxv., from the fourth to the eighth verse.

† When the Beni 'Abs sent delegates to Mohammed he seems not yet to have been aware of Kháled's death; so that it appears this religious commotion was contemporaneous with Mohammed. (Siyar el-Halebí, Cairo, 1248, A.H. p. 378.)

‡ The copies differ materially; I followed this reading:—

بدا بدا كل هدي مودا الي الله الاعلي لادخلنها و ڪ تلظى تندا (read ثواني) وثباني منها ولاخرجن.

buried, a herd of wild asses, of the Himyarites, will come, and an ass without a tail, who goes in front of them, will kick with his hoof on my grave. When you see that, open the grave, for I shall come forth from it, and give you information about everything." When they had buried him, they saw what he had foretold; and they intended to take him out. Some of them, however, objected to it, and said, "We fear the Arabs will blame us if we disturb the rest of the dead." When his daughter came to the Prophet, and heard him reciting (the words of the Korán): "Say! he is the only God the Eternal," she said, "The same words have been used by my father." We shall further speak of this man in another part of this book.

El-Mas'údí says, Riát esh-Shanní رياث الشني (وثاب السني) lived also in the Fatrah: he belonged first to the tribe of 'Abd el-Kaïs*, and then to the Shann tribe. He was a believer in the religion of the Messiah (?), previous to the mission of Mohammed. [They heard a voice from heaven: "Three persons on earth are good: Riát esh-Shanní,

* 'Abd el-Kaïs Ben Aksá عبد القيس بن اقصي was the father of a tribe which belonged to the Asad family, and had its quarters in el-Bahraïn. (Add. MS. of the Brit. Museum, 7596.) The Abucei of Ptolemy seem to imply this tribe, which was very powerful. Shann was also a son of Aksa.

Bohaïrah the monk, and another man who is to come." By the last the Prophet was meant*.] It was observed that the grave of every child of Riát was bedewed by a slight rain.

Another man who lived in the Fatrah was As'ad Abú Karib el-Himyarí†. He was a believer in the Prophet seven hundred years before his mission. He said,

"I declare that Ahmed is a prophet of God, the Creator of life; and if I was to live to his time I should be his Vizier and his nephew."

He was the first who clad the Ka'ba with leather, saying,

"I clothe the house which is to be sacred by the command of God, surrounding it with a rich cover of various colours."

Koss Ben Sá'idah, of the tribe of Iyád Ben Nizár Ben Ma'add قس بن ساعدة من اياد بن نزار بن معد (اد) was a philosopher of the Arabs, and believed that God sends prophets. It is him who said, "Who lives dies, and who dies flies; and all what is growing devours what is going." His wisdom and intelligence became proverbial. El-

* This sentence is only in the copy of Leyden.

† His full name is اسعد ابو كرب بن كلكرب: he was the middle Tobba'.

A'shá الاعشي says, "Wiser* than Koss, and braver than the inmate of the cavern, in the thick wood at Khaffán" (i.e. the lion).

There came delegates from Iyád to the Prophet, and he asked them about Koss. They replied that he was dead; and Mohammed said, "It is as if I saw him in the fair of 'Okát† عكاظ: he was sitting on a red camel, and said, 'O people! assemble, hear, and cry, Who lives dies, and who dies flies; and what is growing devours what is going. But then, the heaven gives us information,

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* El-Mas'údí' writes احكم من قس; but the saying seems to have been اخطب من قس. See el-Maïdani, vol. i. p. 467, and p. 189; and D'Herbelot.

† 'Okát is the fair in the open country between Nakhlah نخلة and et-Táyif. It began in the new moon of Dúl-Ki'dah and lasted twenty days. The Arabic tribes used to assemble there to recite their poetries, each tribe boasting of their glory يتعاكظون. From this fair the 'Okátí leather has its name. The Arabs used also to ransom their prisoners at 'Okát, to pay the price of blood, and to settle their quarrels before an arbitrator حاكم, that the pilgrimage to which they proceeded from 'Okát might be a ceremony of national unanimity and peace. (MS. of the Brit. Museum, 7353.) The words احكم من قس seem to refer to arbitration; for en-Nowaïrí informs us that he used to say, the prosecutor من ادّعي is to bring evidence, and the defendant, if he denies the charge, is to swear. Hence it would appear that he acted as arbitrator. Perhaps I ought to have translated the above words, "a better arbitrator than Koss."

and the earth calls us to contemplation: the seas raise waves, and the stars set: the roof (of the heavens) is raised, and the ground (of the earth) is firmly placed*.' Koss swore by God: 'There is a faith which is more acceptable to the Lord than your religion. What may be the reason that men pass away, and do not return? Do they like to be there? or have they ended, and do they sleep? They all go the same way, although their actions are different.' He said (continued the Prophet) some verses, which I have forgotten."

Abú Bekr es-Sadík rose, and said, "I recollect those verses, O Prophet of God;" and he recited them thus:—

"We have an example in the famous men who passed before us, since I observe they went towards death without resistance. I observed the same in my contemporaries: they fade, great and little.

* من عاش مات و من مات فات وكلما هو آت آت اما
بعد فان فى سماء لخبرا وان في الارض لعبرا بحور تمور
ونجوم تغور وسقف مرفوع ومهاد موضوع. En-Nowaïrí (p. 137 MS. of Leyden, N. 273) quotes these words of Koss, adding, وتجارة لن تبور ليل داج وسماء ذات ابراج.

The solemn protestation which follows begins in en-Nowaïrí, "If there was pleasure on earth, we should have to expect sorrow after this life. There is a faith, &c." These words explain the meaning of the sentences which follow.

He who is gone will never return; and those who are still alive will not remain behind. I am sure no exception will be made where they all go to*."

The Prophet said, "God may be merciful to Koss, and I hope he will honour him with his bounty."

El-Mas'údí says, Koss made himself known by many poems, sentences of wisdom, and distinguished actions, for an account of which we refer our readers to our book, the Akhbár ez-zemán and Kitáb el-ausat, where we have also spoken of his researches in medicine and soothsaying from birds and other omens, and his knowledge in other branches of natural philosophy.

Another famous man of the Fatrah was Zeïd Ben 'Amr Ben Nofaïl زيد بن عمرو بن نفيل. Abú Za'íd, the son of Zeïd ابو سعيد بن زيد, was one of the Ten† (whom Mohammed had promised that they would enter the Paradise), and the nephew of 'Omar Ben el-Khattáb. Being against idolatry, he expressed freely his opinion. El-Khattáb informed the ignorant of Mekka about it, and gave him into

* Death is the phenomenon which calls man to reflexion, although he may still live in that happy social state in which his vital spirits are healthy enough to enjoy the present, regardless of the past and future: hence elegies of this character are frequent amongst the Bedouins, and their tunes are melancholy. A beautiful specimen is in the Hamása, p. 44.

† He must mean Sa'd. See Reiske's note to Abulfeda, Annales Muslemici, vol. i. to p. 245.

their power. They persecuted him, and he took up his abode in a cavern, in Herá حراء*. He came secretly to Mekka, whence he took flight to Syria; and there he continued his speculations on religion, till he was poisoned by the Christians. He died in Syria. There passed several things between him, the king, and the interpreter, and between him and some Ghasánite king, at Damascus, which we have related in our former works.

Omaïyah Ben Abí-s-Salt eth-Thakefí امية بن ابي الصلت الثقفي† is also a man who made himself known in the Fatrah: he was a poet, and a very sound man. Being in commercial connexions with Syria, he met there with the believers in revelation, both Jews and Christians: he read himself their (sacred) books, and knew that a prophet would rise amongst the Arabs. In several poems he treats on the ideas of the followers of religion, describing the heavens and earth, sun and moon, angels and prophets. He celebrates also the prophetic mission, the resurrection of the dead, the Paradise, and hell. He sang hymns to God, acknowledging his unity, as in the words:

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* This is a mount three miles from Mekka, which was a favourite summer residence of Mohammed.

† امية is the diminutive form of امة (a female slave), and الصلت is the man famous in single combat. (Hamása, p. 776; compare p. 354.)

"Praise be to God. None is like him; and who does not profess this truth is unjust against himself."

The following terms express his idea of the Paradise:

"There is no idle talk, no sinful action, nor do they contend for fame. This is their eternal home."

When he had heard of the mission of the Prophet he was full of anger and indignation, he came however to Medina, in order to become a Moslem, but envy made him alter his resolution and he returned to et-Táyif. One day when he was with a girl at a drinking party, a raven came, uttered three sounds, and flew away again. Omaïyah asked, "Do you know what the raven said?" they replied, "No." He announced that Omaïyah would not drink a third cup before he would die. The party expressed that it was not true, but he continued, "Take your cups;" and when the third cup came to Omaïyah he fainted away, and gave a long time no signs of life. Then he said, "I am at your service! at your service!—You call me to you. I am of those who have experienced grace and not returned the praise of thanksgiving. If thou pardonest, O God, thou wilt forgive all; for where hast thou a servant who has not done wrong?" Then he said the following verses:—

"The day of judgment is a serious day; and to think on this day must make the young grey.

"Would to heaven I had been a shepherd of wild goats, on the summits of mountains, before it comes to me.

"Every life is short, even should it last an age before it ends."

After he had said these verses he sighed, and in this sigh departed his soul.

El-Mas'údí says, antiquarians well versed in the battle days of the Arabs, and in the history of past times, like Ben Dáb ذأب ابن (ابو داب), al-Haïthem Ben 'Adí, Abú Mikhnaf Lut Ben Yahya and Mohammed Ben es-Sáyib el-Kelbí محمد بن السايب الكلبي, state that the following story was the origin of the habit of the Koraïshites to put "In thy name, O my God," on the head of their writings. Omaïyah Ben Abí-s-Salt, the Thakefite, went with a number of persons of his tribe and others to Syria. On the return of the caravan they halted in some station, and as they were assembled at their supper, a little serpent made its appearance and approached to them. One amongst them threw sand on its face, and the serpent went back again. They made themselves ready for the journey, packed the camels, and set out from the station. A short distance from it an old woman came from a sand-hill leaning on a stick, and said, "Why have you not been kind enough to feed an orphan girl who came to you at supper?" They asked her, "Who

art thou?" She answered, "I am the mother of the creeper. You shall either perish in some years, or by the Lord, you shall err, dispersed through the country." Then she struck with her stick on the ground and said, stirring up the sand, "Long be to their homes the way, and their animals shall run away!" The camels became shy as if every one of them had a Satan on its back; nothing could keep them and they dispersed in the wadi. We were occupied in gathering them from the end of the day to the next morning, and we hardly succeeded in bringing them together. When we made them kneel down to receive their burthens to continue our journey, the woman made again her appearance, did with her stick as on the first time, repeating the same words; the camels became shy, and we were by no means able to keep them. The next day we attempted again to collect them and to pack them, but the woman came once more, and having done as on the first and second times, the camels ran again away. The next night at moonlight, we were in despair for our animals of burthen الظهر, and we said to Omaïyah Ben Abí-s-Salt, "What hast thou to say on our situation?" He went up the sand hill from which the woman came, and having gone down on the other side of the hill he climbed up another, and after he had descended from that hill, he saw a Christian chapel in which candles were burning, and a man with white hair and beard was laying on his

side across the entrance. "When I stood before him," continues Omaïyah in his tale, "he raised his head, saying, 'Hast thou a follower?' I answered, 'Yes.' He asked further, 'From whence does thy companion speak to thee?' I replied, 'From my left ear.' He enquired about the colour of his dress, and I answered, 'He is in black.' 'This is the habit of the Genii, thou dost better not do so. In this affair one speaks to the right ear and the most desirable dress is white. But what do you want?' I told him the story of the old woman, and he said in answer, 'Thou speakest truth. But she is not true. She is a Jewish woman, whose husband perished many years ago, she will go on playing the same trick to you, and she will destroy you if she can.' Omaïyah said, 'How can we get out of it?' He answered, 'Assemble your camels, and if she comes and does what she has done, say seven times in a high voice, and seven times in a low voice, "In thy name, O God!" and she will not be able to do you any harm.'"

Omaïyah returned to the caravan, and related there what he had heard. The old woman came and did as she had done on former occasions, and he pronounced seven times in a high voice, and seven times in a low voice, "In thy name, O God." After that the camels did not move. The woman said, "I know your man, he is white at the top and

black at the bottom." They continued their journey; and the next morning they saw that Omaïyah was attacked with leprosy on his face, neck, and chest, whilst the lower part of his body was black. When they came to Mekka they related this event, and the inhabitants of that city began to put at the head of their writings, "In thy name, our God باسمك اللهم" This formula was in use till the Islám was introduced; then it was replaced by the formula, "In the name of the merciful, clement God!"

Omaïyah had several adventures besides this, which we have related in our Akhbár ez-zemán and other works.

Warakah (Warikah) Ben Naufel Ben Asad Ben Abdul-'Ozzá Ben Kosaïy ورقة بن نوفل بن اسد بن عبد العزي بن قصي, the uncle of Khadíjah, the daughter of Khowaïlid, the wife of the Prophet, lived also in the Fatrah. The perusal of the Scriptures led him to enter into discussions, for he was anxious to pick up knowledge, and to shake off idolatry. He informed Khadíjah that Mohammed would be the Prophet of the Arabic nation, but that he would be ill-treated and disclaimed as a story-teller. He met the Prophet, and said to him, "O my cousin (dear friend), be firm in thy career, and by him, in whose hand is the soul of Warakah, thou art the Prophet of this nation. Thou wilt be ill-treated, and called a liar. They will drive thee

out from thy house, and fight against thee. My only wish is to be still alive then, that I could lend my aid to the cause of God."

It is controverted whether he died as a Christian or as a Moslim; for some authors say that he was no more alive when Mohammed entered his prophetic office, whilst others bring forward the following words, which he said in praise of Mohammed:

"He is mild, forgiving, and never revengeful, refraining anger and bitter feelings when he receives injury."

Another man who lived in the Fatrah was 'Odásah, a freed slave of 'Otbah Ben Rabí'ah عداسة مولي عتبة بن ربيعة *, who was a native of Ninive; and he met the Prophet at et-Táyif, when he was come there to preach the Islám to that town. He had, on this occasion, long discussions with the inhabitants, in the palm-grove. Although he had acknowledged the Prophet, he fell as a Christian in the battle of Bedr.

Abú Kaïs Sarmah Ben Abí Anas ابو قيس صَرمة بن ابي انس † was one of the Ansár belonging to

* 'Otbah was the father of Hind, Mo'awiyah's mother.

† The author of the Kámús (p. 1650) seems not to be very sure about this name; he says, صِرمة بن قيس او ابن انس او ابن ابي انس او ابو صَرمة. Hence I preferred the pronunciation marked in the copy of Leyden.

the Benú en-Nejjár النجار. He devoted himself to an abstemious life, dressed in rough clothes, and disapproved of idolatry, consecrating the house in which he lived to a chapel, from which menstruating women and polluted persons were excluded; and he professed to worship the God of Ibrahím. When the Prophet came to Medínah, he embraced the Islám, and proved a good Moslim. For him the verse of the Korán* was revealed which is called ايۃ السحور (the verse of the day-break), which runs, "Eat and drink, until you can plainly distinguish a white thread from a black thread by the day-break." The following words on Mohammed have been said by him: "There lives a number of ten persons amongst the Koraïshites who are visiting Mekka, to see whether they find a man who loves truth."

Abú 'Amír el-Ausí, whose name was 'Abd 'Amr Ben Saïfí Ben en-No'mán, of the Benú 'Amr Ben 'Auf, who belong to the el-Aus tribe ابو عامر الاوسي واسمه عبد عمرو بن صيفي بن النعمان من بني عمرو بن عوف من الاوس who is the same person as Abú Hantalah, and has the surname Ghasíl el-Maláyikah غسيل الملايكۃ, was a chief, and had lived abstemious, in rough clothes, at the time of igno-

* In the second Surah.

rance. When the Prophet came to Medina, he had a long conversation with him: subsequently he left that city, with fifty slave boys, and died in Syria, as a Christian.

Another man of the Fatrah is 'Abdullah Ben Jahsh el-Asadí عبد الله بن جحش الاسدي: he was of the tribe of Asad Ben Khozaïmah خزيمة, and the husband of Omm Habíbah, who was the daughter of Abí Sofyan Ben Harb, before she was married to the Prophet. He had read the Scriptures, and inclined to Christianity. When Mohammed had entered his prophetic office, he emigrated, with other Moslims, to Abyssinia, and with him his wife, Omm Habíbah. There he apostatized from the Islám, and died as a Christian.

He used to say انا فتحنا وصاصأتم that is to say, "We see, and you attempt to open your eyes." The expressions of this saying are taken from young dogs; for it is said of a dog, when he opens the eyes after birth, قد فتّح (he opens his eyes); but if he attempts to open his eyes, and is unable to do it, it is said صاصأ. After his death, the Nijáshi (the king of Abyssinia) married Omm Habíbah, the daughter of Abí Sofyan to the Prophet, and gave her a dowry of four hundred dinars.

Bohaïrá بحيرا the monk, lived also in the Fatrah; he was a believer on Christ, and his name in

Christian books is Serjis (Sergius) سرجس. Bohaïrá was of the Abdulkaïs tribe. When Mohammed went to Syria with Abú Táleb, Abú Bekr, and Belál, at an age of thirteen years, on mercantile business, they passed by Bohaïrá, who was sitting in his cell, and he recognized the Prophet, comparing his appearance and the signs which he bore on him with what he had found in his books, and observing the cloud which shaded him whenever he sat down. Bohaïrá received them as guests, paid them great respects, and gave them refreshments. He went forth from his cell to see the seal of the prophetship, between the shoulders of the Prophet, he placed his hand upon it and believed on him. Bohaïrá informed Abú Bekr and Belál of his destination, and he asked him to come back with him the same way. He guarded them to be watchful for him against the believers on the Scriptures. His uncle, Abú Táleb, having received this information, returned with him. When he was come back from his journey to Mekka, he began his acquaintance with Khadíjah, and the signs were wrought which, together with the account which she received of his journey, made her believe that he was a prophet.

El-Mas'údí says, This is a review of the history from the Creation as far as we have followed it up. We attended only to those facts which are stated in the revelation and related in the books (Scriptures,

particularly the Korán,) and which have been explained by the prophets. Now we shall trace the beginning of the kingdoms of the Hindus and review briefly their religious speculations, then we will follow up the history of other empires, having given an account of the history of the Kings of the Israelites, as we have found it in the sacred books.

SEVENTH CHAPTER.

An abridged account of the Hindus, their religious opinions, and the origin of their kingdoms.

EL-MAS'ÚDÍ says, all historians who unite maturity of reflexion with depth of research, and who have a clear insight into the history of mankind and its origin, are unanimous in their opinion, that the Hindus have been in the most ancient times that portion of the human race which enjoyed the benefits of peace and wisdom. When men formed themselves into bodies, and assembled into communities, the Hindus exerted themselves to join them with their empire, and to subject their countries, to the end that they might be the rulers. The great men amongst them said, "We are the beginning and end; we are possessed of perfection, pre-eminence, and completion. All that is valuable and important in the life of this world owes its origin to us. Let us not permit that anybody shall resist or oppose us; let us attack any one who dares to draw his sword against us, and his fate will be flight or subjection."

They were prevailed upon by these consider-

ations to elect a king. He was the highest Barahman, the greatest king, and the foremost Imám. In his days flourished philosophy, and the wise men stood at the head of the nation. They extracted iron from the mines, and forged swords, daggers, and several sorts of warlike instruments: they raised temples, adorned them with precious stones of the finest lustre, represented in these temples the spheres of the heavens, the twelve zodiacal signs, and the stars. They gave by representation an idea of the system of the worlds, and went even so far as to show by these means the influence of the stars on this world, and the way in which they produce the different animals, both rational and irrational. There was the position of the greatest ruler to be seen, that is to say, the SUN.

The Barahman wrote a book, which contained the proofs of all these subjects, and conveyed a clear idea of them to the minds of the Exoteric العوام, whilst he implanted into the minds of the Esoteric الخواص the knowledge of what is above all that, pointing to him who is the first cause, and called all beings to existence, embracing them with his bounty. The Hindus obeyed this king. Their country was well cultivated, and he made them enjoy the utmost of worldly prosperity.

He assembled the wise men, and they composed

وجمع الحكماء فاحدثوا في ايامه كتاب السند هند و تفسيره

during his reign the book es-Sind-hind, which means "The last end of the ends*." Upon this

دهر الدهور ومنه فرعت الكتب ككتاب الارجبهر والمجسطي

* M. Colebooke (Dissertation on the Algebra of the Hindus,) identifies the Sind-hind with the Siddhánta of Brahmegupta, who lived about twelve hundred years ago. The meaning of Sind-hind, as explained by our author, confirms the identity of the two words, for Siddhánta means the perfect end. But the Sind-hind in question must be another astronomical work of the name of Siddhánta, than that of Brahmegupta; for the Arkand and Arjabhar are more ancient than Brahmegupta, whereas they are here stated to be derived from the Sind-hind; besides, it seems that the theories here alluded to by el-Mas'údí are of an earlier date than those of Brahmegupta. This is of importance for the history of astronomy, and particularly for the history of the discovery of the precession of the equinox, and the connexion of this theory with some ancient chronologies; for it would appear that the Arabs had no original translation of the Siddhánta; but that only the system had been known to them; and if later authors allude to the Sind-hind, the *system* of the Siddhánta, as laid down in the work el-Khowárezmí, which bears the title es-Sind-hind, is meant.

This is clearly stated by the author of the Fihrist, who must be considered as the highest authority in these points, on account of his exactness in bibliography and proximity in time, having written 377 A.H.: وكان الناس قبل الرصد وبعده يعولون علي زيجه الاول والثاني ويعرفان بالسند هند "The astronomers trusted before and after the observation on *his* two tables, which together were known under the name of *Sind-hind*." He means the tables of Mohammed Ben Músa el-Khowárezmí, who was one of the astronomers of el-Mámún. Would they not have taken the Siddhánta itself as a standard work, if they had had another translation than a paraphrase of a Persian work on this system. Compare chapter 126 *infra*, note.

book other works are founded, as the Arjab-

The statement of the Fihrist is further explained and confirmed by el-Keftí (Bibl. Philosoph. MS. of Leyden, No. 159), who states, that el-Khowárezmí was a follower of the Sind-hind, which was one of the three Hindu *systems* of astronomy. I insert his own words, without correcting the faults, and without translation; for I have at this moment no means of verifying the proper names which occur in the passage :—

ومن مذاهب الهند في علوم النجوم المذاهب الثلثة المشهورة عنهم وهي مذهب السندهند ومذهب الارجبهر ومذهب الاركند ولم يقبل الينا الا مذهب السندهند وهو مذهب الذي تقلده جماعة من حكماء الاسلام والفوا فيه الزيجة كمحمد بن ابرهيم الفزاري و حبش بن عبد الله البغداذي و محمد بن موسي الخوارزمي والحسين بن محمد بن حميد المعروف بابن الارمي و غيرهم و تفسير السند هند الدهر الداهر كذى حكي الحسين بن الادقي (الادمي) في زيجه.

But if the Arabs have not been in possession of a translation of the Siddhánta, how could they be acquainted with the system? Various reasons make us believe that they received it from the Persians, whose literary connexion with the Hindus is historically proved. First, the theory, as it is exhibited here, seems to be a combination of that of Persia and India, as further notes tend to show. Second, almost all Arabic astrology comes from the Persians, and their astronomy was derived from the same source previous to the translation of the μεγιστη συνταξις. For this reason most terms are borrowed from the Persians, although some of them may ultimately be Sanscrit; and the most early Arabic astronomers were natives of such parts of Persia, which had ever been famous schools of science, as Balkh, &c., or of Harrán. Third, Hamzah, of Isfahán, a contemporary of el-Mas'údí, (*apud* Anquetil Du Perron, tom. ii., p. 352,) refers to a book based upon

bar* and the Almagest: from the Arjabhar the Ark-

the Avesta of Zoroaster, which contains a similar theory. "Le dieu suprême a fixé à 12,000 ans la vie (la durée) du monde, du commencement à la fin. Le monde resta sans mal pendant 3000 ans, dans sa partie supérieure," &c.

Es-Sind-hind was, therefore, as the above passages unequivocally prove, at the same time the name of the Siddhánta system of astronomy, the only astronomical system of the Hindus known to the Arabs; and of an original Arabic work on this system. Admitting that it was considered in the first sense as a Sanscrit word, meaning the perfect end, I should suppose, in order to account for the seemingly arbitrary alteration of the sound, that it is in the second sense an imitation of the Sanscrit term in two Arabic words, (as the Arabs are very fond of plays on words,) and that one ought to read سند الهند.—السند means that a tradition is *mosnad*, or that one can point out the persons through whom it has been handed down, up to Mohammed. But the word is also used in a similar meaning in other instances, and not only in speaking of traditions as, واما العقليات فلا اثر ولا عين وما ذلك الا لانقطاع سند التعليم فيها بتناقص العمران. "There is not a trace to be found of the philosophical sciences (in the Maghrib,) and still less a system, because the *continuance* of instruction has been interrupted by the destruction of civilization." سند الهند might therefore mean continuance of (the system) of the Hindus or introduction of the Hindu system amongst the Mohammedans.

Ya'kúb Ben Tárik يعقوب بن طارق wrote a work, in two books, the first of which contains the science of the spheres of the heaven; and the second shows how they exercised their influence upon the fate of dynasties. He professed to follow the doctrine of the Siddhánta, and calls his work Zíj es-Sind-hind. Of a more scientific character seems to be the Zíj es-Sind-hind of Ibn Amáhúr اماحور, whose full name is Abúl-Kasim 'Abdullah Ben Amáhúr. These two authors lived both before the middle of the fourth century.

* This is the name for áryabhatta. The Sanscrit *t*, it is to be

and* derives its origin, and from the Almagest the book of Ptolemy†, and subsequently the Astronomical Tables‡ have been based upon them.

They invented the nine figures which form the

وفرع من الارجبهر الاركند و من المجسطي كتاب بطلميوس ثم
عمل منها (منهما) بعد ذلک الزيجات و احدثوا السبعة read)
التسعة) الاحرف المحيطة بالحساب الهندي و كان اول من

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remembered, is the character of a peculiar sound often mistaken for *r*, and which the Arabs were likely so to write, rather than with a *te* or a *tau*. The Hindí *t* is generally written by the English in India with an *r*; example, *Ber* (*vatá*,) the Indian fig, vulg. Banian tree (Colebrooke *ibidem*).

* *Arkand* is a corruption of *Arca*, which is still prevalent in the vulgar Hindí (*Idem*, *ibidem*).

† The words, "The Book of Ptolemy," are probably an apposition to Almagest instead, "which is a book of Ptolemy." In this case, the names of the numerous works which owe their origin to the Almagest, are left out by the copyist. Not only all MSS. of el-Mas'údí, but also the transcript of this passage in en-Nowaïrí (MS. of Leyden, N. 273, p. 956) has this mistake. If the words, "The books of Ptolemy," are not an apposition, el-Mas'údí must mean the *liber quadripartitus* of Ptolemy; for he knew perfectly well that the Almagest is the work of Ptolemy, and calls him occasionally "the author of the Almagest."

‡ الزيجات, sing. الزيج. This word is derived from the Persian زه (a corde), and means the Astronomical Tables upon which the Astronomical Kalendar التقويم اعني حساب الكواكب لسنة سنة is made. From this word الزايجة is to be distinguished, which is derived from the Persian زاش (birth), and

numeric system of the Hindus*. Barahman was the first who explained the apogæon of the sun; and stated that the apogæon† is three thousand years‡ in every sign of the Zodiac: at present,

تكلم في اوج الشمس وذكر انها تقيم في كل برج ثلاثة الاف

means the square or circle drawn round the stars in a certain region of the heavens by astrologers in casting nativity. (MS. of Leyden, N. 514.)

* The Zero, which is expressed by a dot by the Arabs, is not considered as a figure.

† Auj, *apogeum*, is a term borrowed from the Persian, in this language it is written, اوج or اوگ *úg*. فلک الاوج the orbit of the apogeum is the name for the ecliptic, which is also called the excentric orbit الفلک الخارج المرکز, because its centre does not coincide with the centre of the earth. The period of a revolution of this orbit is called *yuga* of the solstice in Sanscrit, hence it is very likely that the Persian word *úg*, is derived from *yuga*. These two words have a great affinity with the Greek αιων, which is to be written with a *digamma*. It seems that this term migrated and changed its meaning with the idea.

‡ Súrya Siddhánta, and the herd of Hindu astronomers, reckon the motion of trepidation to a degree and a-half in a century; whereas here one degree is reckoned. It is therefore very likely that the researches of these astronomers had not been known to el-Mas'údí, else he would have taken them up the readier as el-Battání had come nearly to the same result about thirty years before the Meadows of Gold was written; computing the motion of the stars at a degree in sixty-six years. The period of three thousand years is mentioned in the Zend-Avesta, (Boun-Dehesch, Paris 1771, tom. ii., pp. 345 and 347). The circumstance that el-Mas'údí takes no notice of the corrections of the trepidation which had been discovered, is a corroboration of what is said in the note, p. 154, *supra*.

that is to say, in 332 A.H., it is in the Gemini, according to his opinion. When it comes into the signs of the southern hemisphere, the face of the earth will be changed, and what is now inhabitable will turn uninhabitable, and vice-versâ; for the south will be north, and the north south*. He deposited the dates of the formation (of the planetary system) in a golden house: they form the most ancient (astronomical) chronology, and the

سنة (و يقطع الفلك في ستة و ثلاثين الف سنه †) والاوج علي راي البر هُمن (البر هميين) في وقتنا هذا وهو سنة اثنتين و ثلاثين و ثلاثماية فى برج التوأم (الثور) وانه اذا انتقل الي البروج الجنوبية انتقلت العمارة فصار العامر غامرا والغامر عامرا والشمال جنوبا والجنوب شمالا ورتب في بيت الذهب حساب البدء الاول ‡فى التاريخ الاقدم الذي عليه

* The Arabs believed the south-pole to be the extreme of heat, as the north-pole is the extreme of cold, and they thought that it is for this reason that the southern hemisphere is uninhabitable; and that this would be changed when the apogæon of the sun would be in the southern, and the perigæon in the northern hemisphere. Compare the next chapter.

† These words are only in the copy of Cambridge, and in the extract which en-Nowaïrí gives of this passage.

‡ One copy bears و *and*, instead of في *on*, which alters somewhat the meaning. Other variants of some importance are inserted in the text between crotchets.

basis upon which the Hindus make the kalendars (of the changes) of the moon, and calculate the rising of the full moon for India; but not for other countries. They comment much on the moon; but we cannot insert what they say on it in this book, it being a work on history, and not on philosophical inquiries and speculations; besides, we have given a summary of these subjects in our Kitáb el-ausat.

Some Hindus believe that the world is regenerated every thousand Házarwán*, and that as often as

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عملت الهند في تواريخ البردة (البدر read) و ظهورها في ارض الهند دون ساير الممالک و لهم في البردة (read البدر) خطب طويل اعرضنا عن ذکر ذلک اذ کان کتابنا هذا کتاب خبر لا کتاب بحث و نظر وقد اتينا علي جمل من ذلک في الکتاب الاوسط ۞

و من الهند من يذکر ان ابتداء العالم فيکل الف هازروان

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† The MS. of Cambridge and two other copies bear "every seventy thousand years of the Házarwán." As copies do not agree, the following correction may be admissible, considering the the word *thousand* put in by the way of exaggeration: "every seventy-two Házarwán." A Házarwán would mean in this case a mahá yuga; and the period in question would be a Menu yuga, which consists of seventy-two mahá yugas, or three hundred and eleven million, forty thousand years. (Aryabhatta, *apud* Colebrooke.)

this period expires, existence is renewed*, the propagative power returns, quadrupeds again pasture,

(هازوروان) (في كل سبعين الف سنة هازروان) وان العالم اذا قطع هذه المدة عاد الكون فظهر (وظهر) النسل و سرحت

By reading ستة *six*, instead of سنة *year*, before Házarwán as سنة can have no meaning, and is left out in some copies; the number of years would agree with the time generally assigned to the four yugas together, viz., seven millions, six hundred thousand years, save the number of zeros.

* This theory was not only familiar to the Hindus and Persians, but the ages of the world of Greek and Latin poets owe to it their origin. According to Plato, in his Timæus, the Greeks had received from the Egyptians the doctrine of the earth's undergoing certain dissolutions, effected by the alternate violence of water and fire, which were succeeded by regenerations, and followed one another periodically. They were called apocatastasis, and J. Firmicus computes that there is a period of three hundred thousand years, from one mundane apocatastasis to another. In an Egyptian narration relative to Osiris and Typhos, preserved by Synesius, we find also an allusion to the greater mundane apocatastasis. And it is curious that this doctrine was not yet lost in Egypt after the conquest of the Arabs. The reader will find some extracts from el-Makrízí in the notes to the thirty-first chapter, where they are mentioned in the most fabulous shape; but such confirmations teach us to appreciate and explain fables, if sacred by antiquity, and the belief of a whole nation.

It would appear from a tradition of Wahb Ben Monabbih, that the ancient Arabs had equally some notions of a periodical destruction of the earth, which was effected by water, according to their opinions. They supposed, namely, that the fish and the bull, who support our planet (see p. 44, *supra*), swallow up the

the waters flow, animals creep, herbage grows, and breezes breathe through the air. Most of the Hindus are of opinion that certain cycles return periodically, beginning through powers* whose cor-

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البهايم و تغلغل الماء ودب الحيوان واكتهل (read انتبت)
العشب وخرق النسيم الهوا فاما اكثر الهند فانهم قالوا بكرور
منصوبة علي دوابر تبتدي بالقوا متلاشية الشخص

---

water till they are full, and then a universal flood would take place.

Respecting similar doctrines with the Chinese, the reader may consult Bailly, Hist. de l'Astronomie.

* These powers are the IDEAS of Plato. Our author adheres closely tothe spirit of the Hindus; for the Arabs, who followed the dialetic philosophy, as it is more congenial with the Arabian nation and religion, considered the principle of life in matter as a mere form of its existence, and used therefore the word صورة *form*, in the above meaning. In this sense, says Ibn Khaldún, والسبب الطبيعي الاول فى ذلك علي جملة ان الدولة والملك للعمران بمثل الصورة للمادة وهو الشكل الحافظ بنوعه لوجودها "the natural, first and sole reason is, that the dynasty and royalty is for civilized society what the *form* is for matter: it is the shape which preserves its existence through its own peculiarity."

As it appears to be of some importance to have a clear notion of the signification of the word قوي, it may not be amiss to add examples where it has very nearly the same meaning as in the text. قد ذكرنا فى الكتاب (read الكتابة) ان النفس الناطقة للانسان انما توجد فيه بالقوة وان خروجها من القوة الي الفعل انما هو بتجدد العلوم (Ibn Khaldún's Proleg. in the last chapter of the fifth book).

poreal existence sleeps in latent life; but their nature is mighty, and their essence is immutable. They define the limits, and fix the time required for the process (of the re-incarnation of these powers), which forms the great cycle and developement. They place it into the abyss of ages, and calculate the time from its beginning to the end to thirty-six thousand years, repeated in twelve thousand years (periods)*. This forms with them the Házerwán,

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موجودة القوة منتصبة الذات و حدوا لذلک اجلا ضربوه
ووقتا نصبوه جعلوا الدايرة العظمي و الحادثة الكبري ورسموا
ذلک بعمق (بحر) العالم وجعلوا المسافة بين البداء والانتها
مدة ستة و ثلاثين الف سنة مكررة في (مضروبة في)

"We have already stated with respect to penmanship, that it exists in the rational soul of man as *faculty* (power), which will not be developed from *possibility* (power) to reality except by the introduction of sciences."

The same author uses this word exactly in the same meaning in several other instances as, اخراج الصور من القوة الي الفعل علي وجه الاحكام محتاج الي معرفة التناسب فى المقادير. "One must know the relation of these quantities in order to be able to bring plans into execution, (literally to draw plans out from *power* to reality,) according to certain rules."

* This gives four hundred and thirty-two millions of years If we take two zeros away, we have the number of years assigned by Aryabhatta to the mahá yuga, and if we add one, we have that of the calpa of Brahmegupta. But all MSS. agree, and the expression is such, that each of these changes would be arbitrary. The one factor, thirty-six thousand, is the anciently supposed time

which developes and influences the powers. The (lesser) cycles render everything that exists in them longer or shorter (according to the age of the world). The life of things is longest at the beginning of the renovation (or great cycle); for as it is just opened, the powers are more free in their action; whereas the lives are shortest at the end of the renovation, for the cycle is more narrow; they are confined: and the frequent repetitions (of the

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اثني عشر الف عام وهذا عندهم هو الهازروان الضابط
لقوا (بقوي هذه) الاشياء والمدبر لها وان الدوابر تقبض
و تبسط جميع المعاني التي تستودعها وان الاعمار تطول في
اول الكر لانفتاح الدايرة (لانفساخ الدوابر) و تمكن القوا
من الجمال (الاعمار) و تقصر الاعمار في اخر الكر لضيق

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of one revolution of the equinox through the zodiac, and the other factor, twelve thousand, expresses the number of an age of the Gods according to Menu (Institutes, i. 71), and corresponds with the great cycle of the Persians, after which Ormuzd would be victorious over Ahriman: perhaps, every one of these years has been considered by the Persians, at a later period, as a revolution of the equinox or thirty-six thousand years; in order to make agree the chronology of their sacred books with that of Hindu astronomers, just as our geologists make the seven days of the creation longer periods of time. This explains the somewhat singular expression of the original "*repeated* in twelve thousand years;" for only one copy bears the more natural expression, "multiplied."

There is, therefore, not one date in this theory which is not found in the Persian cosmogony, as well as in that of the Hindus.

incarnation or becoming life of the powers) are injurious to the lives; because the powers of the bodies and the purity of matter are predominant at the beginning of the cycle, and free in their manifestation; for purity is anterior to impurity, and limpidity is above the dregs, and the length of life is in proportion with the purity of the *crasis*; and the powers which animate the elements (or matter), extend the influence of their perfection to the mixtures (bodies) which, as they form the wordly existence, are the source of deterioration, alteration, and decay. But at the latter part of the great cycle, and the end of the great developement, the appearance of things will be deformed, the souls weak, and the *crasis* impure; the powers are impaired, what is perishable goes to decay, and everything goes in inverted narrow cycles; wherefore the

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الدايرة و كثرة ما يعرض فيها من الاكرار البايرة للاعمار وذلک ان قوي الاجسام و ضعوفها (صغوها read) (وذلک ان اقوي الاعمار جسام و صقوها) في اول الكر (الكرة) تظهر و تسرح لان الصفو يسابق الكدر و الصافي يبادر النقل و الاعمار تطول بحسب صفا المزاج وتكامل القوي المودية الي العناصر الاخلاط (عامر الاخلاق) الكاينات الفاسدات المستحيلات البايدات وان اخر الكر الاعظم وغاية البدا الاكبر يظهر الصور متشوهة والنفوس ضعيفة والامزجة مختلطة و تتناقص القوي وتبد يدالفواسد (المواسل) و ترد

space of life is no longer computed by a period of ages (but only by years).

The Hindus assign the reasons upon which the theories which we have just given are based. They allege proofs on the first origin (of all things), and on the distinctions of the cycles of the Házarwáns, as we have explained them; and they teach various mysteries and subtilties respecting the soul; its connexion with supernatural things, and its origin which proceeds in the direction from above downwards; and other doctrines which have been laid down by el-Barahman in the beginning of the time.

El-Barahman reigned until he died, three hundred and sixty-six years. His descendants have the name Brahmins البراهمة up to our time. They are in high respect with the Hindus, and form their highest caste and their nobility. They abstain from all animal food, and men and women wear a yellow thread on their necks, which is put on like the belt

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الموارد (المواد) في الدوابر منعكسة مزدحمة فلا تحصى دور الاعصار لتمام الاعمار (فلا يخفى ذوي الاعصار تمام الاعمار) وللهند فيما ذكرناه علل وبراهين في مبادي الاول و فيما بسطناه من تفريقهم في الدوابر الهازروانات وزمور واسرار في النفوس و اتصالها بما علا من العوالم وكيفية بديها من علو الي سفل و غير ذلك مما رتب لهم البرهن في بدء الزمان.

of a sword, as a mark of distinction between them and other castes of their nation.

In ancient time and during the reign of el-Barahman, there assembled seven sages (Rishis?) of the Hindus, to whom the nation looked up, in the golden house; and they said to one another, "Let us unite our speculations to decypher what is the state and mystery of this world; where we come from, and where we are going to; and whether we are created from nothing to proceed to the essence of wisdom or the reverse? and whether the Creator who is the cause of our existence and who gives growth to our bodies, derives any benefit from having made us? or whether he averts any disadvantage from himself in making us fade from this world? Whether he is susceptible of want and diminution as we are, or whether nothing influences him? but if so, why does he destroy and annihilate us, after he has called us to existence, and after we have enjoyed ourselves?"

The first of the sages, to whom all others looked up, said, "Do you find one man who has a correct notion of things, present or distant, and who is certain and positive (in his knowledge)."

The second wise man said, "If the wisdom of the Almighty had come into any one's mind, it would be a diminution of his wisdom. The object is incomprehensible, and human reason is too short to understand matters."

The third sage said, "We must begin our study

with the knowledge of ourselves, for this is the thing nearest to us, before we enter into investigations of what is distant from ourselves*."

The fourth sage said, "The experience of every man, whatever field he may have chosen, proves that he requires in it self-knowledge."

The fifth sage said, "Hence it is required to be in connexion with wise men, in order to be assisted by their wisdom."

The sixth wise man said, "It is necessary for any man who loves his own happiness, not to neglect it, particularly since the stay in this world is limited, and since it is certain that we must leave it."

The seventh sage said, "I do not understand what you say, but I know that I came into this world without my will; that I lived in it astounded with what I see; and that I am sorry to leave it."

The Hindus agreed at all times respecting the opinions of these seven sages. Everybody followed

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* This sentence is not to be understood in the moral meaning, that one ought to know one's own frailties, but that man is the microcosmos, which, if well understood, leads to the knowledge of everything else, or rather, that the human mind is the mirror of the universe.

——————Quid mirum noscere mundum
Si possent homines, quibus est et mundus in ipsis;
Exemplumque Dei quisquis est in imagine parva?
(Manilius.)

F. Hegel believes that the γνωθι σεαυτον of Solon, is to be taken nearly in the same meaning.

(originally) their doctrines and professed their system; but in subsequent times, they no longer agreed respecting their systems and doctrines, and they split into seventy distinct sects.

El-Mas'údí says, in the book of Abúl-Kásim el-Balkhi, called "The Fountains of questions and answers," عيون المسايل والجوابات and in the work of el-Hasan Ben Músa en-Núbakhti* الحسن بن موسي, which has the title, "On the philosophical and religious doctrines and the sects of the Hindus; their opinions, the causes which gave rise to them, and the reasons why they burn themselves and inflict various torments upon themselves;" كتاب الاراء والديانات مذاهب الهند واراهم والعلة التي لها و من اجلها احرقوا انفسهم بالنيران وقطعوا اجسامهم انواع العذاب not a word is said of all we have just explained, nor do they allude to the subject on which we have spoken.

Authors do not agree concerning the Barahman: some believe him to be Adam and a prophet for the Hindus; others think that he was a king, as we have stated; and this is the opinion most universally received.

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* This patronymic is variously spelt, النوبختى (MS. of Cambridge,) النوبجنى (MS. of Leyden;) القوتحتى (Fihrist el-Kotob, p. 120,) التوتحتى (et-Tanbíh, fol. 221, verso). Compare Chapter 126, *infrà*.

The Hindus lamented in the deepest mourning, the death of the Barahman. They made his eldest son king, who had been designed by his father to be his successor, and to whom he had given his instructions. His name was el-Báhbúd الباهبود (الناهود). He followed the example of his father in his government; he had the best views, built new temples, invested the wise men with power, increased their dignity, encouraged them to teach wisdom, and sent them out to acquire it (by travelling). He reigned till he died one hundred years. In his reign the game of tables or backgammon* النرد was invented. This game shows how one obtains gain, for it is neither the result of sagacity and contrivance, nor is subsistence earned by cleverness in this world. Some say Azdeshír† Ben Bábek invented the game of the tables and played it first. He expressed in this game the activity of the world and its inhabitants, and the difference of their conditions. The twelve points of the tables answer to the twelve months of the year, and the thirty tablemen كلاب are expressive of the thirty days of the month. The dice are meant as symbols

* T. Hyde wrote a prodigiously learned *Historia Nerdiludii*, which forms the second book of his *Historia Shahiludii*.

† ازدشير. The MS. of Leyden which is very correct, writes this name constantly with ز instead of ر. Compare the observation of Fleischer on this subject, (Abulfeda, p. 206.)

of fate and the way in which it deals with mankind; for the player who is favoured by luck, will attain in this game what he wishes, whilst the clever and provident is less lucky than another, if the other is favoured by fortune; for gain and good fortune are a mere chance in this world.

After el-Báhbúd reigned Rámáh رماه (رامان or زامان), about one hundred and fifty years. There are different histories and accounts extant of this king. He had several wars with the kings of Persia and China, the leading points of which are related in our former works.

After him came Fúr فور (Porus) to the throne. Alexander gave him a battle, and killed him in a single combat, after a reign of one hundred and forty years. Then succeeded Daïsalem ديسلم (يسام وسلم,) who is the author of Kalílah wa Dimnah, which has been translated by Ibn el-Mokaffa'. Sehl Ben Hárún composed a book for el-Mámún, entitled "The fox and the boar" كتاب ثعلبة و عغرة, in which he imitates the Kalílah wa Dimnah, writing on the same heads, and narrating the same parables; but his book is superior in beauty of style. He reigned one hundred and twenty years. Some give a different number of years.

Then succeeded Balhít بلهيت (بلهيث). In his reign the game of chess شطرنج was invented, and he recommended the play in preference to back-

gammon, pointing out that the clever is the winner, and not the idiot. He studied the numbers (of the product of the squares) of this game, and wrote a work * on the subject for the Hindus, which is known under the title *Torok Hanká taïdá* طرق حنكا تيدا (طرق جنكا تيدا and ظرو حكا تيدا). By these means chess became their favourite game, and he used to play it with the wise men (of his court), and gave to the pieces the figure of men and animals, distinguishing them by certain degrees and ranks, as the king الشاه, the administrator المدبر (the queen), the officer الريس (the bishop); similar offices are represented in other pieces.

He laid also an allegory of the higher bodies in the chess, that is to say, of the stars of the heavens, observing the number seven and twelve. Every piece was consecrated to a star. This game served also to preserve the empire; for whenever they had to do with an enemy and the stratagems of war, they represented on the chess-board the movements of the troops, both light and heavy عاجل وآجل.

The Hindus have a method in the multiplica-

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* A similar work has been written by the Arabic mathematician, Abú Yúsof el-Missísí المصيصي, whose full name was Ya'kúb Ben Mohammed, under the title تضاعيف بيوت الشطرنج.

tion of the squares of the chess-board, which they keep secret. The result of this multiplication is a number which exceeds the astronomical dates, and those of the first cause, amounting to 18,446,744,073,709,551,615. The series of the thousands is this: the first number is to be pronounced with six times thousand*, then comes thousand five times, then four times, then three times, then twice, then thousand is to be pronounced once.

The Hindus attribute to it† a meaning by which one may explain what is to happen in future ages and centuries, and the influence which the heavenly bodies have on this world; and by it may be predicted how long the human soul is to dwell in this world.

The Greeks, Romans, and other nations, connect equally various theories with chess‡. It is

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* The Arabs, like the Teutonic languages, have no words which comprises a higher number than a thousand. They express therefore a million by thousand times thousand, and so on with any higher number. In order to avoid mistakes, they add at the end how often thousand is to be taken or multiplied with itself, as is here the case.

† The author leaves it uncertain whether he means the game of chess, or the above number.

‡ It seems, indeed, that the game of chess attracted even in Europe, a much greater attention in the middle ages than at present; as may be exemplified by the existence of some

played in different ways, as is explained in the books written by the Shatrenjees* on this subject, by early writers, as well as by es-Súlí and el-'Adelí الصولي والعدلي, who are the best players in our days. Belhíth بلهيث reigned till he died, eighty years, or, according to other copies (of the work from which we derive our account), one hundred and thirty years.

German manuscript, which contains a poem on this subject, in the Library of the Arsenal at Paris, (MS. Allem. No. 6). It is a thick quarto written in the year 1418, but the author, whose name is MICHAEL SCHERER of Strasburg, says himself, that he composed it in 1337, after a Latin work on the same subject. The allegorical meaning of the pieces, moral precepts, and even theological disquisitions, form the greater portion of its contents, but there are also some curious historical facts related in it.

The Dutch are in possession of a similar poem of ancient date.

* As the luxurious Mámún happened to be fond of the chess-board, a number of men studied the game and wrote on the subject, collecting and inventing traditions to prove that this game was permitted, enquiring into the history and fixing the rules to be observed in playing. These men were called الشطرنجيون. An Arabic work of this nature, by el-Hasan el-Basrí, is in Mr. Rich's collection in the British Museum in London, (No. 7515,) but it contains no historical facts not found in Hyde's *Historia Shahiludii* and Sir W. Jones' works, (vol. i. p. 521.) More curious are the details which en-Nowaïrí furnishes on this subject, in his Encyclopædia. On the literary history previous to el-Mas'údí, concerning this subject, as well as any other of which our author speaks, the reader may consult the additional notes.

He was succeeded by Kúrúsh*, who introduced new religious ideas amongst the Hindus, as he thought them suited to the spirit of the time; and adapted to the tendency of his contemporaries, relinquishing former systems.

In his reign lived es-Sondbád سندباد, who is the author of the book *The seven Vezirs, the teacher and boy, and the wife of the king* كتاب الوزرا السبعة والمعلم والغلام وامراة الملك. This is the book which bears the name *Kitáb es-Sondbád* كتاب السندباد. In the library of this king the large work "On pathology and therapeutics" فى معرفة العلل و الادواء والعلاجات was compiled عمل, with drawings and pictures of the plants.

This king reigned till he died, one hundred and twenty years. After his death the Hindus disagreed in point of religion: they divided themselves into parties, and formed distinct states; and every chief made himself independent in his district. Es-Sind was ruled by its own king; another king reigned in el-Kinnauj; another over Kashmír ارض قشمير; and another resided in the city of el-Mánkír (Monghir?) المانكير, which is the great metropolis. He was the first who had the name

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* كوروش This is the way in which Abulfaragius (Hist. dynast. p. 82.) writes the name of *Cyrus*. En-Nowaïrí writes the name of this Hindu king كوش *Kúsh*.

el-Ballahrá البَلْهرى (البلهرا), which became subsequently the title of every sovereign of that great capital, down to our time, which is the year 332 A.H.

India* is a vast country, having many seas and

* ارض الهند Literally, the *country of the Hindus*, which, it must be remembered, comprizes only the south and east of the peninsula: whereas the north-eastern part is called by the Arabs, the country of the Sind nation.

As in the translation the name of the country in most cases is substituted for expressions like bilád es-Sin, (the dominions of the Chinese,) ardh er-Rúm, (the country of the Byzantines,) memlekat el-Jelálikah, (the kingdom of the Galicians,) &c.: it is well to notice the peculiarity of the Arabs in this respect, which is characteristic, and which may also be observed in Genesis.

As we adapt our notions of others to our own ideas as produced by circumstances and education, just as the hump-backed will paint every body with a hunch;—the wandering Arabs who have no country, being solely connected by the feelings and pride of their tribes العصبية, cannot conceive how any nation can be so degraded as to be dependent upon a country or any other possession: they estimate the honesty and value of a man after what he *is*, and not (as it is the case in modern legislation,) after what he *possesses*. Hence they consider the name of every country as that of a tribe, and are most anxious to find out or to invent the genealogy of the patriarch (father) of such a tribe, as they know the ancestors of their own tribes; so, for instance, they received from the Persians the name of Chín چين, which means China (the country), but the Arabs consider it as the name of the father of the nation (tribe), and consequently of the

mountains, and borders on the empire of ez-Zánij, which is the kingdom of the Maharáj المهراج, the king of the islands, whose dominions form the frontier between India and China, and are considered as part of India.

The Hindu nation extends from the mountains of Khorasán and of es-Sind as far as et-Tubbet. But there prevails a great difference of feelings,

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nation itself; and they called the country the territory of the Fín or Sín (Chinese).

In subsequent times, however, when the victorious Arabs had settled in cities, the tribe feeling gave way to the habits of settled life, and the names of countries are in later authors again considered as such.

This will explain the form of the word الجلالقة (Galicia,) and some other proper names which else must appear arbitrary; it is the plural of الجلق or Gallic (*Gallicus*), just as القامصة is the plural of القص or *comes*, (count).

In the history of Europe, we find that proper names have changed in the same way their meaning by the change of facts, as with the Arabs by the change of notions; so were the Parisii, Lugduni, &c., originally tribes, and now they are cities.

Here an addition to the note, p. 19 *supra*, may find place. It is stated there that the military cantonments were called *Misrs*, which means *Egypts*. The Western Arabs being in constant contact with the Egyptians, became necessarily aware of their *settled* condition; and Misr means, therefore, the *country* of Egypt (and not the nation,) at all periods of the Arabic language. It was therefore very natural that they should say, we *Egyptianize* تمصر, when they *settled* in those cantonments. Hence المصر means with Ibn Khaldún constantly—a country where the inhabitants are settled and civilized.

language, and religion, in these empires; and they are frequently at war with each other. The most of them believe on the metempsychosis, or the transmigration of the soul. The Hindus are distinct from other black nations, as the Zanj الزنج, ed-Demádem الدمادم (الرمادم), and others, in point of intellect, government, philosophy, colour, appearance, good constitution, talent, and intelligence. Galen says that the Negroes have ten qualities which are peculiar to them, and not found in any other nation: crisp hair, scanty eye-brows, expanded nostrils, thick lips, sharp teeth, stinking skin, black complexion, fissures in the skin of their hands and feet, *longam mentulam*, and great levity. The same author states further, their levity is owing to the bad quality (organisation) of their brains; for this renders their intellectual faculties weak. What other authors say on the levity of the Negroes, and their gay temper, and on the still higher degree of levity, which is peculiar to the Zanj, and which distinguishes them from other Negroes, is to be found in our former works.

Ya'kúb Ben Ishak el-Kindí يعقوب بن اسحق الكندى asserts, in a memoir on the influence of the higher individuals (*i.e.* stars) and heavenly bodies upon this world رسالة فى افعال الاشخاص العلوية والاجسام السماوية فى هذه العالم, that God has arranged it so that everything that he has created acts at

the same time as cause upon others, and the cause produces an effect in the object upon which it acts, which corresponds with the cause; but the object, which is passive, does not create any impression upon the cause, which is active. Spirit is the cause of heaven الفلك*, and not its effect: hence it does

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* Arabian astronomers express thus their notions of the *heaven* or *sphere*. الفلك جسم بسيط كري متحرك علي الوسط مشتمل عليه ليس خفيف ولا ثقيل ولاحار ولا بارد ولا رطب ولا يابس ولا تابل للخرق والالتيام.

"The heaven is a simple body (not compounded,) which has the shape of a ball (ii. 4), and turns round its own centre, which it fully surrounds (i. 2). It has neither levity nor gravity (i. 3), and it possesses not heat, cold, moisture, nor dryness, nor is it susceptible of separation or coalition."

With this may be compared the words in the Ayeen Akberi, (vol. iii. 2,) where it is said that this is the opinion of the Persians, Egyptians, and Greeks, and that the heaven is eternal, and endowed with reason.

The references which I added in the translation, refer to Aristotle's book *de Cœlo*, where the same ideas are expressed. Here another passage of Aristotle, relative to the same subject, may be quoted, which sets the belief, that the heaven exercises an influence upon the earth and its inhabitants, in its proper light, and connects the notions of the Hindus, Persians, and Greeks, on this subject.

Οὐρανοῦ δὲ καὶ ἄστρων οὐσίαν μὲν αἰθέρα καλοῦμεν, ουχ ὥς τινες, διὰ τὸ πυρός δη οὖσαν, αἴθεσθαι, πλημμελοῦντες περὶ την πλεῖστον πυρὸς ἀπηλλαγμένην δύναμιν· ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ ἀεὶθεῖν κυκλοφορουμένην στοιχεῖον οὖσαν ἕτερον των τεσσάρων, ἀκήρατόν τε καὶ θεῖον. Arist. de Mundo, cap. 2, vol. i. p. 465.

"We call the matter, of which the heaven and the stars con-

not receive impressions from it. It is, however, a

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sist, ETHER; not because it is a fire as some believed, who had exceedingly wrong notions respecting that power (matter), which is very far from being a fire; but because it is an ELEMENT which observes the circular form in its motion, and it is different from the four other elements, being everlasting and divine."

It is strange that this fifth element of Aristotle has never been noticed, although the *four* elements have found advocates in the German Metaphysico-physiologists, (see Carus, *Lehrbuch der Physiologie*, vol. i.,) in whose system it would suit admirably well.

But the doctrine of a fifth element is much more ancient than Aristotle, even amongst the Greeks. Ocellus, (translation of Taylor, p. 10,) who lived about five centuries before Christ, at the time of Pythagoras, seems to have had the same notions of it as Aristotle. "But the Fates themselves distinguish and separate the impassive part of the world from that which is perpetually moved (mutable). For the course of the moon is the isthmus of immortality and generation. The region indeed above the moon, and also that which the moon occupies, contain the genus of the gods; but the place beneath the moon, is the place of strife and nature."

The idea of *five* elements is general amongst the Hindus. They call the ether, Akas; and, although its natural place is, as with the Greeks, above the other elements, it pervades everything and is the vehicle of sound. Amongst the ancient Persians it seems to have been considered even as the principle of vegetative life, hence the Zend-Avesta calls it "un feu qui ne brule pas et qui anime tous les êtres." It was probably after the Persian idea that some Greek philosophers believed the ether was a fire. The Arabs have probably found this theory of the heaven in the schools of Persia, before they have been acquainted with the writings of the Greeks, after which they have put it in a scientific shape.

law in nature that the spirit* follows the organisation of the body, if there is nothing in the way. So it is with the Zanjí. His country being very hot, the heavenly bodies exercise their influence upon it, and predispose in the humours a tendency to go to the upper parts of the body: hence their eyes are large, the lips thick, the nose flat and big, and the head high. The crasis of the brain is, therefore, out of proportion, and the mind cannot perfectly manifest its action; the nicety of distinctions and the action of the understanding are confused. Ancient and modern authors have

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The heavens, or spheres, which preside, according to the astrologers, over the destiny of this world are, therefore, not different from the ether of the philosophers, which is the divine element of life; nor from the Zeus of the Greeks, and the Hawa الهوي (air), which was worshipped by the Arabs, before the Islám, as we learn from the Korán, where it is said, افرايت من اتخذ الهه هواه, and from a tradition of Ibn 'Abbás. See also Maimonides, p. 157 of the Engl. Transl.

* In the Cambridge copy the quotation from el-Kindí is left out altogether. From an allusion of Ibn Khaldún to this passage of our author, on the Negroes, it would appear that he did not find it in his copy again.

The MS. of Leyden bears البدن instead of النفس, which is only found in the (for the rest very incorrect,) copy of the Asiatic Society of Paris. However, if this reading was not confirmed by the context, it might safely be adopted on the authority of Aristotle, from whom the whole of el-Kindí's reasoning is borrowed. Αἱ διάνοιαι ἕπονται τοις σώμασι, Physiogn. cap. 1.

spoken on the causes under the influence of which the Negroes are placed; and they entered upon their position relative to heaven, the seven planets, and particularly the five planets, which preside over their developement, and have alone influence upon the formation of their bodies. But this book is not solely devoted to this subject. We state here only the facts as they have been advanced by various authors, referring for further details and the exposition of their arguments in proof of those facts, to our book the Akhbar ez-zemán. We have also explained in that book the theory of those astrologers and astronomers who ascribe the character of the Negroes to Saturn, as this is expressed in the verses of some modern Mohammedan writer:

"One of them (the planets) is Saturn, who is an old man and powerful king. His complexion is black*, and this is the colour of his dress, and of his sulky mind. He exercises his influence upon the Zanj and the slaves, and to him lead† and iron are sacred."

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* This description of Saturn answers exactly the picture which el-Kazwíní gives of this planet, which is to be found beautifully illuminated, in a MS. of the East India House, No. 1377, and in its outlines in the *Fundgruben des Orients*, vol. i., but there it looks the contrary way by a mistake of the artist.

† A slight alteration would change the sense into "and he is the enemy of iron." This is more probable because iron was sacred to Mars, and has still the name of this planet in medicine;

Táwus el-Yemáni, the companion of 'Abdullah Ben el-'Abbás طاوس اليماني صاحب عبد الله ابن العباس would not eat any meat slain (or sacrificed) by a Zanjí. He used to say, a Zanjí was a hideous slave. We have heard that Abúl-'Abbás er-Ráddhí Ben el-Moktader would never take anything from the hand of a black man, saying he was a hideous slave. I do not know whether he has initiated Táwus in his system, or in a sort of philosophical and religious sect.

'Amr Ben Bahr el-Jáhit عمرو بن بحر الجاحظ wrote a book "On the national pride of the Negroes, and their disputes with the white men." كتاب في فخر السودان و مناظراتهم مع البيضان.

No king can succeed to the throne, according to Hindu laws, before he is forty years of age, nor

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for physicians acknowledge that their art originated from astrology to this day, in this as well as in some other names, as *lunar* caustic (Nitrate of *silver*), Mercury, crystals of *Venus* (neutral sulphate of *copper*), &c. Not only metals, but everything on earth had a patron in one of the planets with the astrologers, and almost everybody was as far an astrologer as his scientific education went. And it appears that in the dark ages a medicine was considered as the mediator between its respective star and the patient; and hence it had frequently no efficacy if not prepared under a certain constellation. These follies seem to have originated in the ancient religion of the Sawád of the Tigris and Euphrates. Compare Maimonides, English Translation of Dr. Townley, p. 158; and Zend-Avesta, i. 2, p. 28.

appears their sovereign ever before the public, except at certain times, which are fixed at long intervals, and then it is only for the inspection of state affairs; for, in their opinion, the kings lose their respect and give away their privileges if the public gazes at them*. The measures of government must be carried by mildness in India, and by degradation from a higher rank.

El-Mas'údí says, I have seen in the country of Serendíb (Ceylon), which is an island of the sea, that when a king dies, he is laid upon a car, with small wheels, and made for the purpose. His hair touches the ground, and a woman with a broom in her hand sweeps dust on his head, crying out, "O people, this was yesterday your king, and you were bound to listen to his orders. See what now has become of him! He has left this world, and the King of the kings has taken his soul (life)†. He alone is living, and dies not. Do not be given to life after this example." These words have the tendency to exhort to a pious and abstemious life in this world. After a procession with the body

* Institutes of Menu, vii. 6, "Nor can any human creature on earth gaze on him (the king)."

† "The king of death has taken his soul into eternal قديم life. Thus bears the copy of Cambridge, but قديم has not the signification which the context would give to the word, if the passage was correct.

through the streets of the town, they divide it into four parts, and burn it with sandal-wood, camphor, and other perfumes which they have prepared: the ashes are thrown to the winds. This is the funeral ceremony for kings and their courtiers of the most nations of India*. They state the reason for so doing, and the object which they have in view.

The royalty is limited upon the descendants of one family, and never goes to another†. The same is the case with the families of the vizier, kadhi, and other high officers. They are all (hereditary and) never changed nor altered‡.

The Hindus abstain from (spirituous) liquors الشراب§, not in obedience to some religious precept, but because they do not choose to take a thing which overwhelms their reason, and makes cease the dominion which this faculty is to exercise over men. If it can be proved of one of their kings, that he has drunk (wine), he forfeits the crown; for he is (not considered to be) able to rule and govern (the empire) if he is given to such habits‖.

They hear frequently songs and musical performances السماع واللاعي, and they have various sorts

* Compare ancient accounts of India and China, p. 31.

† *Ibidem*, p. 32.

‡ The king must appoint seven or eight ministers whose lineage is noble. Menu, vii. 84.

§ Ancient accounts of India and China, p. 33.

‖ Compare Institutes of Menu, vii. 47, 50.

of musical instruments which produce on man all shades of impressions between laughing and crying. Sometimes they make girls drink (wine), to excite them to show their mirth in their presence, and in order to be inspired with gaiety by their merriment.

The Hindus have various interesting institutions, and are rich in curious facts. We have given many sketches from their history and biography (manners) in our book, the Kitáb Akhbár ez-zemán, and Kitáb el-ausat. A specimen, however, shall be inserted here.

One of the most curious stories of the kings of the Hindus, and a strange (yet characteristic) example of the line of conduct of the most ancient Hindu kings, and their institutions, is (exhibited in the following narration) of a king of el-Komár* القمار (Comorin). From this kingdom and tract of India the *Komárí aloes* عود القمارى has its name. This country is not an island of the sea, but it belongs to the continent, and is very mountainous. Few parts of India are more populous than this, and the inhabitants distinguish themselves before the other Hindus by their agreeable breath, which they acquire by rubbing their teeth with aloes-wood, as it is the habit amongst the Mohammedans. They consider, like the Mohammedans, fornication

* Compare ancient accounts of India and China, p. 65, et seqq.

to be unlawful, and they avoid (like them) uncleanliness, and the use of wine. In this practice the Hindus of the higher ranks are like those of the lower classes.

They (the inhabitants of el-Komár) are for the most part infantry, on account of the mountainous character of the country, which is broken by rivers, and has few plains, or high table-lands انجاد. The country of el-Komár is the point of communication with the dominions of the Maharáj المهراج, the king of the islands, as the Isle of ez-Zánij, Kolah كلة, Serendíb سرنديب (Ceylon), and other islands.

It is related that an inconsiderate man ruled in ancient times over el-Komár. One day he sat on the royal throne in his palace, which stood on a large river of sweet water, like the Tigris or Euphrates, and was one day's journey from the sea. The vizier was with the king, who said to him, "The splendour and high civilization of the empire and islands of the Maharáj are celebrated. This excites a desire in my mind which I wish to realize." The vizier, a prudent man, who knew the levity of his master, asked him "What is thy desire, O king?" "I wish," replied the king, "to see the head of the Maharáj, the king of ez-Zánij, laying (in a dish) at my feet." The vizier saw that envy had inspired him with these thoughts,

and he said, after some consideration, "I do not think the king will permit this idea to rest in his mind, as there has never existed any difference between us and that nation, neither of yore, nor of late; nor have they ever done us any harm. Besides they are far from us, in islands, and by no means neighbours; nor have they any design against our possessions. The distance between the dominions of the Maharáj and those of el-Komár, is from ten to twenty days across the sea. It is therefore better, O king," continued the vizier, "not to persist in this scheme." The king made no reply, he was enraged with anger, and shut his ear to advice. He acquainted his officers and the chiefs of his men, who were present, with his project; and so it was divulged, and went from tongue to tongue till it reached the Maharáj, who was a prince of great prudence, and a middle-aged man.

The Maharáj called his vizier, related to him the account which he had received, and said, "Considering the project of this madman, which has come to publicity, and the intentions which he has formed, with his inexperienced and overbearing spirit, and after his words have become generally known, we can no longer preserve peace with him, he has forfeited the crown, and deserves to be deposed." The king ordered his vizier to observe secrecy of what had passed between them, and to

prepare a thousand of the best ships الف مركب من اوسط المراكب, with full equipment, to provide them with the arms necessary, and to man them with a sufficient number of the best soldiers. He pretended that these preparations were meant for an excursion into his islands, and he wrote to the kings (governors) of these islands, who were under his sway, and his subjects, that he had the intention to pay them a visit, and to make an excursion to their islands. This rumour spread, and the king of every island made all possible preparation for the reception of the Maharáj. When everything was ready and in order, he went on board and sailed with the army to the kingdom of el-Komár. The king of el-Komár was not aware of the expedition before he came up the wadi (river,) which washes the walls of the royal palace. The Maharáj ordered his men to make an assault upon (the palace,) and they surrounded it unaware, and took possession of it. The inhabitants appeared before the Maharáj, he ordered to proclaim "quarter," and sat on the throne on which the king of el-Komár used to sit, who was now a prisoner, and commanded to bring the king and his vizier in his presence, and said, "What gave rise to those intentions which are beyond thy power? And if thou hadst attained thy object thou wouldst not have been the happier." The facility of the execution of the project did not afford any excuse (to the captive king), and so he remained

silent. "If thy desires," continued the Maharáj, "to see my head before thee in a dish had been joined with the intention to make thyself master of my dominions, and the throne, and to spread destruction in any part of the country, I should do the same thing to thee. But thou hast distinctly expressed thy object, and I will now visit it on thee; and I will return to my country without touching anything in thy empire either small or great. Thou shalt be an example for posterity, that none may dare to transgress the portion which Providence has given to him*."

After these words he beheaded him; and turning to the vizier, "Thou hast tried all," said he, "that a good vizier can do: I know thou gavest good advice to thy master, which he ought to have accepted: consult who may be most fit to succeed this madman, and put him on the throne." The Maharáj returned immediately to his country, and neither he nor anybody of his army touched anything in the kingdom of el-Komár.

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* اما انک لو تمنیت مع ما تمنیته من النظر الي راسي في طست بین یدیک اباحة ارضي وملکها والفساد فی شي منها لاستعجلت ذلک کله فیک لکنک تمنیت شیا بعینه فانا فاعله وارجع الي بلادي الخ. M. Renaudot had evidently the same words which are transcribed here; but he differs from the above translation.

When the Maharáj was come back into his dominions, he sat on his throne, from whence he enjoyed the view over a bay which was called the Bay of the Ingot of Gold لبن الذهب* غدير; and before him was placed the dish with the head of the king of el-Komár. He assembled the great men of his kingdom, narrated to them his exploits, and exposed the reason which had brought him under the necessity of undertaking them. He was received with the marks of admiration, and prayers for his welfare. Then he gave orders to wash the head of the king of el-Komár, to embalm it, and to send it in a vase to the king who had succeeded him in el-Komár; and he wrote to him: "Our motive in acting as we have done with thy predecessor having been his hostile intentions towards us and to offer an example to his equals, it appears to us well to send back his head to thee, since we have obtained our object, as there is no use in keeping it, for this trophy would not add to the glory of our victory." The news of this action reached the ears of the kings of India and China, and the Maharáj rose greatly in their estimation; and since this time, the kings of el-Komár turn their faces every morning towards ez-Zánij, and prostrate themselves to express their veneration for the Maharáj.

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* لبن Seems to be the technical term for *ingot*, in Arabic coinage; at least it is used as such by en-Nowaïrí.

El-Mas'údí says, the meaning of the words غدير لبن الذ هب (the bay of the ingot of gold) is this, the palace of the Maharáj stands on a little bay غدير, which is in connexion with the greatest strait of ez-Zanij. At high tide this strait is filled with sea water, and at low tide sweet water flows in it. The treasurer قهرمان of the king goes every morning into this bay, carrying an ingot of gold with him of several pounds امنا, but we do not know its exact weight. He throws it before the king into the bay. When the tide comes in, the water covers this and other ingots which may be there; and when the water retires, it appears again, and it shines in the sun. The king sits in the room of reception from which he delights to see it .The habit of throwing every day a golden ingot into this bay, is continued during the whole reign of the same king, and they are never touched. When the king dies, his successor has them all taken out, and none of them are put into the bay again; but they are counted, melted, and distributed among the royal household; amongst the men, women, children, leaders, and servants; to every one according to his station, and the class to which he belongs; and what remains is given to the poor and indigent. The number of golden ingots and their weight is registered, and it is said such and such a king reigned so many years, and left such and such

a number of ingots, of such a weight in the royal bay, for distribution after his death. Kings who had a long reign, set their glory on leaving many ingots.

The greatest king of India in our times is the Ballahrá, the lord of El-Mánkír. The most kings of India turn, in their prayers, their face towards him; and they pray (adore?) his messengers واكثر ملوك الهند تتوجه في صلا تها نحوه و تصلي (تعلي) لرسله, when they receive them. The dominions of the Ballahrá border on many other kingdoms of India. Some kings have their territory in the mountains, and are not in possession of a sea, as the er-Ráy الراى (Raja), who is the king of el-Kashmír القشمير (القسمين), and the king of et-Táfí الطافي (الطاقن or الكافن), and other Hindu sovereigns. Others are in possession of land and sea. The country of the king el-Ballahrá is eighty Sindí farsangs فرسخ سندية, from the sea; every such farsang has eight miles. His troops and elephants are innumerable, and his army consists mostly of infantry, for his dominions are mountainous. At some distance from him is the territory of Barúdah بروذة (بذورة or بوزوة or نوورة), who is one of those kings of India who have no sea, and resides in the town of el-Kinnauj*. This is the name for every sove-

* In other passages of this work the title of this king is

reign who rules over this country. He has large armies garrisoned in the north and south, and in the east and west; for he is surrounded by warlike neighbours. We shall insert a general account of the kings of es-Sind and India, and of other places of the world, farther on in this book, where we speak of the seas, their wonders, and of the nations, kings, &c., in them, and round them. We have treated on these subjects in our former works. There is no strength nor power except in God.

clearly written Búdah بودة. The name or title of the king of el-Kinnauj, at the time of the conquest of Mahmúd of Ghizna, was Rájbál راجبال.

EIGHTH CHAPTER.

On the globe, the seas, the beginning of rivers, the mountains, the seven climates, the stars which preside over them, the order of the spheres, and other subjects.

El-mas'údí says, the mathematicians have divided the earth into four quarters, the east, west, north, and south. Another division is into the inhabited and uninhabited, cultivated and uncultivated world. They say the earth is round, its centre falls in the midst of the heaven, and the air surrounds it from all sides. It is the dot (centre) in reference to the zodiac.

The cultivated land is considered to begin from the Eternal Islands (Fortunate Islands) الجزاير الخالدات, in the Western Ocean, which is a group of six flourishing islands, and to extend as far as the extremity of China الصين. They found that this is a space of twelve hours (of the daily revolution of the sun); for they know that when the sun sets in the extremity of China, it rises again in the cultivated islands of the Western Ocean; and when it sets in these islands, it rises in the extremity of China. This is half the circumference of the earth,

and the length of the cultivated parts of the globe, which, if reduced into miles, amounts to thirteen thousand five hundred geographical miles *.

The researches into the breadth of the cultivated land have shown that it extends from the equator as far north as the isle of Thule ثولي, which belongs to Britannia برطانية, and where the longest day has twenty hours.

They state that there is a point of the equator of the earth between east and west, which falls in an island between India and Habesh (Abyssinia), somewhat south of these two countries; and as it is in the middle, between north and south, so it is in the middle between the Fortunate Islands and the utmost cultivated districts of China; and this is known by the name of the *Dome of the earth* قبة الارض, and defined by the description which we have just given †.

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* Literally "of those miles which are in use in measuring the circumference of the earth."

† Messrs. Reinaud and Baron Slane, (Aboulfeda, p. 376,) collected the most important passages from Arabic authors, bearing on this dome of the earth, and traced the origin of the idea to India. But it appears it also existed amongst the ancient Greeks.

——ὃς (Ὀδυσεὺς) δὴ δηθά φίλων ἄπο πήματα πάχει,
Νήσος ἐν ἀμφιρύτῃ, ὅθι τ' ΟΜΦΑΛΟΣ ἐστι θαλάσσης.

Homer, Odyss. i. 51.

The navel of the earth is also mentioned in the Scriptures; but as the Greeks have neglected this idea in subsequent time, it

The breadth from the Isle of Thule to the equator makes nearly sixty degrees: this is one-sixth of the circumference of the earth. This sixth, which represents the breadth of the cultivated parts of the earth, multiplied with one-half, which expresses the length, gives as product the extent of the cultivated world العمران of the northern hemisphere. This product is half one-sixth (or one-twelfth) of the surface of the globe.

THE SEVEN CLIMATES*. The first climate is the

seems that it had arisen from considering the earth as a round plain, convex in the centre, which is this dome. It belongs therefore to the doctrine of the Jummoodeep of the Hindus, about which, the reader may compare Ayeen Akberi, vol. iii., p. 25.

Bázih بازه is a town near the dome of the earth, on the same meridian as Khojandah, in Transoxania; and this meridian was considered as the absolute division between east and west (Metátih el-'olúm).

* The basis of all researches in ancient history must unquestionably be to trace when and where ideas have risen? how they have been propagated? what changes they underwent? and what was their influence upon the life, freedom, and happiness of man in their different phases. It is in this point of view that this notice of our author on the seven climates is important, for it shows us that it is neither an invention of the Greeks, as Pliny observes (lib. vii., cap. 59), nor originally founded upon the observations of the gnomon having reference to the northern latitude, as the same author, and everybody else after him, believed.

The seven climates, as we see here, are independent of the latitude of places; and owe their origin to the circumstance that,

country of Bábil, which includes Khorásán, Fáris,

in the star worship, every part of the earth was sacred to one of the seven planets.

This was not only the habit amongst the Persians, but we find that they have been imitated by Ptolemy, who assigns equally to every country a planet as a patron, in his Tetrabiblos. I have no means of referring to this book at present, and do not remember whether he makes the same divisions, but nothing is more natural than that the city of Baal or Babylon, [for even Arabic writers (et-Tanbíh, fol. 25. *verso*,) confess, that the Persians and Nabathæans derive Babel from Bíl بيل, which means the planet Jupiter المشتري] should be sacred to Jupiter; and the countries of the black nations to the dark and gloomy Saturn; whilst the lively Arabs worshipped particularly the bright star of Venus in San'á; Thaut was the god of the grave Egyptians, and it is very likely that the Sabeans of Harrán, worshipped the moon in preference to other planets; the warlike Turks, or Tartars, found in Mars their patron; whilst the most eastern country, the Shavé of the Zend books, was naturally sacred to the sun.

As we conclude that a map in which the first meridian goes through Greenwich, has been made in England, so we can have no doubt that a division of the globe, in which Babel stands on the head, has been made in Babylonia; for the rest we have a direct proof in the Tenbíh, where the author says distinctly that the *Persians* divide the earth into seven climates, consecrating them to the seven planets. Maimonides, Nev., p. iii., cap. 27, assigns the division of the earth after the seven planets to the Sabeans (Chaldeans).

The Zendavesta mentions these seven climates in several places, but the fire worshippers leave out the planets who presided over them. The Zend word for climate is *Keshvar*.

It is very curious that Pliny includes all the countries in the first climate, which we find in el-Mas'údí as being subordinate to

el-Ahwâs, el-Mausil, and the Jebâl*. The Aries and Sagittarius are the zodiacal signs of this climate, and Jupiter is its planet.

The second climate includes es-Sind, India, and es-Súdán (Nigritia): their sign is Capricorn, and their planet Saturn.

The third climate is Mekka, Medina, Yemen, et-Táyif, the Hejáz, and the intermediate countries: their sign is Scorpio, and their star is Venus.

The fourth climate is Egypt†, Afríkíyah (*Africa*

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it. He names (lib. vi. cap. 39,) Parthyene (Khorásán); Persæ (Fáris); Susiane (el-Ahwáz); and Mesopotamia (el-Mausil): although these countries belong, according to Pliny's principle of division, to the third climate. Nobody will therefore say the division of the earth into seven climates was a Greek invention, or was originally made according to the latitude of the places, although the honour of having reduced it to this more scientific principle is owing to the Greeks.

* These countries formed the Irán or holy land of the Persians, which is called KHOUNNERETS in the Zend books. This name would be an additional proof to confirm what has been stated in the preceding note, if such was required. The Keschvar or climate of Khounnerets, means the climate of Babel, (exactly the same as our author calls it), for el-Mas'údí informs us in the Tanbíh (MS. 337, de St. Germain, Royal Library of Paris, fol. 25, *recto*), that Khaïnereth حسرث is the Assyrian or Chaldean name of Babylon. This throws a great deal of light on the Zendavesta; for Khounnerets is mentioned as the most sacred place. It may lead to important conjectures, why this climate has its name from Babel and not the pure Persian name Irán.

† This climate has the name of Arzé in the Zend books, and

provincia), el-Berber, Spain, and the interjacent countries: their sign is the Gemini, and their planet is Mercury.

The fifth climate is Syria and el-Jezírah (Mesopotamia)*: their sign is the Aquarius, and their planet the Moon.

The sixth climate is et-Turk (Turkestan), el-Khazar الخزر, ed-Daïlom الديلم, and es-Sakálibah الصقالبة (Slavonians)†: their sign is the Cancer, and their star is Mars.

The seventh climate is ed-Dabil‡ الدبيل (الذيل or الديل), and China: their zodiacal sign is the Libra, and their planet the Sun.

Hosaïn the astronomer, who is the author of the Astronomical Tables كتاب الزيج في النجوم, relates from Khâled Ben 'Abdul-Melik el-Marwazí المروزى (المروزودى), and the others who have observed the sun in the plains of Sinjár سنجار, in Diyár Rabí'ah§, by order of el-Mámún, that the length of one degree

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the chief of this climate is there (Boun-Dehesch, cap. xxx, p. 408), said to be Schaschega, which is clearly the name of the Sesak of the Scriptures. It would not be difficult to find out the names of the chiefs of the other climates, if it was worth while.

* One copy adds "and er-Rúm," the Byzantine empire.

† These nations and countries were all on the coasts of the Caspian.

‡ Perhaps Daïbol, which is the last seaport in es-Sind, is to be read.

§ The Rabí'ah tribe held the South of Mesopotamia.

of the earth is equal to fifty-six miles: they multiplied this number with three hundred and sixty, and found the circumference of the globe, which is covered with land and seas, to be twenty thousand one hundred and sixty miles. The circumference of the earth, multiplied with seven, gives as product one hundred and forty-one thousand one hundred and twenty; and this, divided with twenty-two, gives the length of the diameter قطر of the earth as the result, viz., six thousand four hundred and fourteen miles, and nearly half a tenth of a mile. The length of the radius of the earth is three thousand two hundred and seven miles, sixteen minutes, and two-thirds of a second, which is equal to one-fourth and the fourth part of one-tenth of a mile (eleven-fortieths). A mile has four thousand black cubits: these are the cubits which have been introduced by the Khalif el-Mámún for measuring cloths, buildings, and grounds: one cubit has twenty-four inches اصبع.

The philosopher الفيلسوف (Ptolemy) gives an account in his book entitled "Gighráfiá" جغرافيا (γεωγραφία) of the world, its towns, mountains, seas, islands, rivers, and wells. He describes the inhabited towns and cultivated tracts. There were, according to him, four thousand five hundred and thirty towns in his time. He names these towns, adding to every one of them in what climate it is situated. He says in his book what colour the

mountains of the world have, red, yellow, green, or any other colour. There are about two hundred mountains (named by Ptolemy). He gives their dimensions, mentions the mines which are in them, and the mass of which they consist (or the gems found in them). The philosopher says that the seas which surround the globe are five seas. He names the islands which are in them, stating whether they are cultivated or not; but only the more celebrated islands are mentioned, and not those which are less known. So, for instance*, there is an Archipelago in the Abyssinian Sea, consisting of nearly one thousand islands, called ed-Dínját الذينجات (الدبيجات), all of which are cultivated. The distance from one island to another is two or three miles, more or less.

He states in his geography that the sea of the Byzantine empire and of Egypt (the Mediterranean) begins from the sea of the idols of copper (*Columnæ Herculis*); that the number of all the great springs on earth is two hundred and thirty, not counting the lesser ones; that there are two hundred and ninety great and perennial rivers; and that the extent of every one of the seven climates, which we have just mentioned, is nine hundred farsangs

* وذلك ان في البحر الحبشى جزاير. The Cambridge copy bears وذكر ان الخ; *and he mentions that there is an Archipelago.*

square. Some seas have cultivation (in islands); others have none. Into the number of the latter enters the ocean, or the sea, which surrounds the world بحر المحيط. The reader will find in the following pages a description of the division of the seas. They are all represented in the geography (of Ptolemy) in drawings of different colours, dimensions, and forms. Some have the form of a cloak طيلسان, some of an armour, and others of intestines*, and are round, or triangular; but the names in that book are in Greek: hence they are unintelligible.

The diameter of the earth is two thousand one hundred farsangs [but the correct number is one thousand six hundred farsangs†]: a farsang is equal to one thousand six hundred cubits.

The orbit of the lowest star is the sphere (or heaven) of the moon, and has one hundred and twenty-five thousand six hundred and sixty farsangs in circumference. The diameter of the heaven, from the limit of the head of the Aries to the limit of the head of the Libra, measures forty thousand farsangs.

* This word مصران, *intestine*, is, I believe, not found in any dictionary. It is, however, used in vulgar Arabic, and frequently found in books.

† This correction is only in one copy.

There are nine spheres (or heavens) افلاک. The first, which is the smallest, and nearest to the earth, is the sphere of the Moon القمر*; the second is the sphere of Mercury العطارد; the third, of Venus الزهرة; the fourth, of the Sun الشمس; the fifth, of Mars المريخ; the sixth of Jupiter المشتري; the seventh, of Saturn الزحل; the eighth, of the fixed stars; the ninth, of the Zodiac البروج. The form of these spheres is like one ball in another. The sphere of the Zodiac is called the universal sphere فلک الکلي. The revolution of this sphere is the cause of day and night; for it carries the sun,

* The word Kamar (moon), says en-Nowaïri, means white; Zohrah (Venus) resplendent, Zohal (Saturn) is explained as meaning ill-natured and wandering; Mirrikh (Mars), say some authors, means originally an arrow without feathers, and this name was applied to Mars on account of its irregular course; others seek for a more natural meaning of this word, and derive it from the name of a tree called markh مرخ, the branches of which are rubbed against each other and produce fire; 'Utárid (Mercury), says the same author, means a penman: and, indeed, this planet is represented as such; but whether this word is ever used for penman in Arabic is more than doubtful. Ibn Baïtar mentions a plant which is called Sonbal er-Rúmi by the Arabs, and 'Utárid by the Nabatheans. This might lead to the opinion that this strange-sounding word derives its origin in its astronomical meaning, as well from that language, to which several other terms and notions of Arabic astronomy seem to owe their origin.

moon, and all the stars, once in a day and night, with itself, in the direction from east to west, round the two poles, which are fixed the one in the north, and this is the pole of the Bear; and the other in the south, which is the pole of Canopus. The signs of the zodiac have no other sphere than this; for they are certain places in heaven which have received this name*, in order to fix after them the position of the stars, in reference to the universal sphere. The sphere of the zodiac must therefore be narrow towards the two poles, and become wide in the middle.

The line which cuts the sphere in two halves running from the east to the west is called the equinoctial line دايرة معدل النهار. Both poles are at the same distance from this line. It has the name equinoctial line, because when the sun is upon it, day and night are equal in all countries of the world. The direction from north to south in the sphere is called *latitude* عرض, and the direction from east to west *longitude* طول. The spheres are round; they include the world (earth), and turn round the centre of the earth, which stands like the centre of a circle in the middle of them. The

* This explains why the Signs of the Zodiac were called borúj, sing. borj, which means stronghold, or fortress, and answers to the Persian word Alborj, and the German Burg, Berg.

spheres of the heaven are nine; the nearest is the sphere of the moon, above it is the sphere of Mercury, then that of Venus, then the sphere of the sun, which is in the middle between the seven spheres (of the planets); above the sphere of the sun is that of Mars, then the sphere of Jupiter, then the sphere of Saturn. In every one of these seven spheres there is only one star. Above Saturn is the eighth sphere, in which are the signs of the zodiac, and all other stars. The ninth sphere is the largest and widest, it is called the greatest sphere, and includes all others which we have just enumerated, with the four temperaments and all qualities*. There is no star in it. It turns from east to west, making one complete revolution every day. And in its revolution it carries with itself all the spheres which are below (within) it. But the seven spheres (of the planets) turn from west to east†. The ancients prove what

* الطبايع الاربعة وجميع الخليقة, literally "the four natures, and every quality." The four natures imply warmth and cold, dryness and wet. Two of these qualities were considered as necessary for the existence of a body as the three geometrical dimensions. Arabic pharmacologists begin, therefore, the description of drugs by stating which two of these qualities, or temperaments, they possess.

Quality الخليقة is the characteristic property which distinguishes one individual from another. (Bahr el-Jewáhir.)

† This astronomical theory is copied from Ptolemy, and is of

we have said with many arguments, but it would be too long to repeat them here.

The stars visible to the eye and all others are in the eighth sphere, which does not make its revolutions round the pole of the general sphere (being excentric). They bring as proof for the difference of the motion of the sphere of the zodiac from that of the other spheres, that the twelve zodiacal signs follow each other in their course, without change in their relative position and alteration in their motion in rising and setting. Every one of the planets has a different motion, for there is a discrepancy in their course; sometimes the motion is quicker, sometimes

little interest. I give the explanation of the idea of the seven spheres in the precise words of La Place (Exposition du Système du Monde, Paris, 1808, p. 343): "Ptolémée l'adopta (the theory of the circular and uniform motion), et plaçant la terre au centre des mouvements célestes, il essaya de représenter leur inégalité dans cette hypothèse. Que l'on imagine un mouvement sur une première circonférence, dont la terre occupe le centre, celui d'une seconde circonférence sur laquelle se meut le centre d'une troisième circonférence, et ainsi de suite jusqu'à la dernière, que l'astre décrit uniformément. Si le rayon d'une de ces circonférences surpasse la somme des autres rayons, le mouvement apparent de l'astre autour de la terre sera composé d'un moyen mouvement uniforme, et de plusieurs inégalités dépendantes des rapports qu'ont entre eux les rayons des diverses circonférences et le mouvement de leur centre et de l'astre; on peut donc, en multipliant, et en déterminant convenablement ces quantités, représenter toutes les inégalités de ce mouvement apparent."

it goes towards the south, other times to the north.

They (the astronomers), define the SPHERE الفلك as the end النهاية (universe), for it embraces the higher and lower nature*. The definition in reference to its natural quality is, that it is a round form, and the largest (concrete) form which includes all others†.

The rapidity of the motion of these stars is different, so the moon stays in every sign (of the zodiac) two days and half a day, and she goes through all the heaven in one month; the sun stays in every sign one month; Mercury stays fifteen days; Venus twenty-five days; Mars stays in every sign of the zodiac forty-five days; Jupiter stays in every sign of the zodiac one year, and Saturn remains thirty months in every sign of the zodiac.

Ptolemy, the author of the Almagest المجسطي,

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* The ether and the four elements of the earthly bodies: the former has its natural place above the lunar region, and is the essence of life; whilst the latter form the dead mass of bodies. Compare the note to p. 179, *suprà*.

† El-Khalíl, the great grammarian, defines the word better: الفلك هو دوران السماء, "*felek* (sphere) is the round of the heaven:" the word has, therefore, originally only reference to the form, and not to the matter; and this is borne out by the original signification of the word, for it means anything round: hence it would appear that all these ideas have not been in the nation, but have been imported, for else they would have a word.

states, the circumference of the earth, with all its mountains and seas, is twenty-four thousand miles; and its diameter, that is to say, its width and depth, seven thousand six hundred and thirty-six miles. These data were found by taking the northern altitude in two towns which are under the same meridian, namely, at Tadmor, which is in the desert between Syria and el-'Irák, and at er-Rakkah. They found the town of er-Rakkah to be under the thirty-fifth and one-third degree of northern altitude, whilst the elevation of the north pole in Tadmor is thirty-four degrees. The difference between both is one and one-third degree. Then they measured the distance between Tadmor and er-Rakkah; and they found it to be sixty-seven miles. Sixty-seven miles of the earth is therefore the known quantity الظاهر of the circle الفلك. They divided the whole circle into three hundred and sixty degrees, for a reason which they state; but it would be against our object to demonstrate it here. This division is correct in their opinion; for they found that the heaven is divided into twelve parts by the zodiacal signs, and the sun, remaining in every sign one month, goes through the whole heaven in three hundred and sixty-five days.

The sphere which makes the daily revolution turns round an axle and two poles, just like the wheel of the carpenter or turner, who makes balls, boxes, and other articles of wood. Those who live

in the middle of the earth, that is to say, on the equator, have all the year round day and night of equal length; and they see both poles, the north and south poles; whilst those who inhabit the northern hemisphere, see only the north pole and the Bear, but not the south pole, nor the stars near it. For this reason they never see the Canopus in Khorásán, whilst it may be observed in el-'Irák some days in the year. If a camel looks at this star it will die, according to the common belief which we have related, together with the reason which is assigned that it should be fatal only to this species of quadrupeds. In the northern countries they never see the Canopus all the year round. The different schools of the sciences of the spheres and stars do not agree about the axles upon which the heaven rests, whether they are immoveable, or whether they have a rotatory motion. Most of them are, however, of opinion that they do not move. The reader may find a further developement of the opinions, whether these axles are immoveable, or whether they form part of the sphere (and turn)*, in our former works.

* There seems, notwithstanding the gross notions alluded to in this passage, to have prevailed a dark idea of the mutual attraction of the heavenly bodies, amongst the Arabs, at least el-Makrízí informs us that some astronomers suppose that the earth is attracted from all sides by the heaven, as by a magnet.

The philosophers are at variance about the form of the seas. Most of the ancients, such as the mathematicians of the Hindus and Greeks, believe that they are convex مستدير (round). This hypothesis, however, is rejected by those who follow strictly the revelation *. The former bring forward many arguments in proof of their statement. If you sail on the sea, land and mountains disappear gradually, until you lose even the sight of highest summits of the mountains, and, on the contrary, if you approach the coast, you gradually perceive, first, the mountains, and, when you come nearer, you see the trees and plains.

This is the case with the mountain of Domáwand دماوند between er-Raï and Taberistán. It is to be seen at a distance of one hundred farsangs, on account of its height: from the summit rises a smoke; and it is covered with eternal snow, owing to its elevation. From the foot of the mountain gushes forth a copious river, the water of which is impregnated with sulphur, and of a yellow hue like the colour of gold. The mountain is so high

* They probably oppose passages of the Korán, like these, الذي جعل لكم or نجعل الارض مهادا والجبال اوتادا
الارض فراشا والسما بنا or و الله جعل لكم الارض بساطا
لتسلكوا منها سبلا

that about three days and nights are required to ascend it. When on the top, a platform is discovered, of about a thousand cubits square; but as seen from below, it appears as if terminating in a cone. This platform is covered with red sand (scoriæ?), into which the feet sink. No animal can reach the summit, not even a bird, on account of the height, the wind, and the cold. On the top are about thirty holes, from whence issues clouds of sulphurous smoke, which is seen from the sea. From the same wind-holes مخاريق proceeds, sometimes, a noise to be compared with the loudest thunder, which is accompanied with flames. It frequently happens that a man who exposes himself to danger, by climbing up to the highest mouths of these holes, brings a yellow sulphur back like gold, which is used in different arts, in alchemy, and for other purposes*. From

* 'Alí Ben Zoraïrah علي بن زريرة, a man well versed in natural philosophy, who made himself known through many works, says, that he has ascended this mountain, with several persons of Khorásán, and gives almost literally the same description as el-Mas'údí; so that it is probable our author has derived his account from him—if he is earlier.

El-Kazwiní, in whose 'Ajáib el-Makhlúkát the above author is quoted, gives, under the head jebál en-nár (volcanoes), the following account:—

"Volcanoes are numerous. There is one in Turkestan with

the top the mountains all around appear like hillocks, however high they may be. This mountain is about twenty farsangs from the Caspian. If ships sail in this sea, and are very distant, they will not see it; but when they go towards the mountains of Taberistán, and are within a distance of one hundred farsangs, they perceive the north side of this mountain of Domáwand; and the nearer they come to the shore the more is seen of it. This is an evident proof of the spherical form of the water of the sea, which has the shape of a segment of a ball.

In the same way if a man sails on the sea of er-Rúm, which is the same as that of Egypt and of Syria, he loses sight of the mount el-Akra' الاقرع, which has a height beyond measure, and is near Antákiyah (Antioch) انطاكية, and of the mountains of el-Ládikíyah اللاذقية (Laodicea), Atrábolos اطرابلس (Tripolis), and those of the Isle of Kobros قبرس (Cyprus), and other places in the Byzantine empire;

a grotto, which may be compared to a large house; and every animal that goes into it dies instantly: another is in Kolistán (?) كلستان.

There is a place in this mountain which causes instant death to every bird that approaches it: it is therefore surrounded with dead animals. In the neighbourhood of Domawand is another mountain, like the mountain of Domáwand: at night fire is seen burning on the summit, and smoke issues during the day.

and he does not see these places although nothing is between him and them. We shall give a more complete account of the mountain of Domáwand in this book, relating what the Persians say of it. Edh-Dhahhák, with many mouths*, is bound with iron on the summit of this mountain. The holes on its top are some of the great chimnies (craters)† of the earth.

There are many disputes respecting the size of the globe. Most mathematicians believe that the distance from the centre of the earth to the limit of air and fire (atmosphere) amounts to one hundred and sixty-eight thousand miles. The earth is somewhat more than thirty-seven times greater than the moon, thirty-two thousand times greater than Mercury, and twenty-four thousand times greater than Venus; but the sun is one hundred and sixty times and one-fourth and one-eighth times greater than the earth, and two thousand six hundred and forty times larger than the moon; so that the whole earth is equal only to half a tenth (one-twentieth) of one degree of the sun. The

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* الضحاك ذو الافواه "the Laugher," is one of the Arabic names for Zohak, the Semitic invader, in the Persian empire. Some identify him with Nimrod. The popular tradition, that he is tied on mount Domáwand, is confirmed by Ferdúsí and the Zend books.

† اطام sing. اطمة.

diameter of the sun is forty-two thousand miles. Mars is sixty-three times larger than the earth; its diameter is eight thousand seven hundred miles. Jupiter is eighty-two times and one-half and one-fourth (three-quarters) larger than the earth; its diameter is thirty-three thousand two hundred and sixteen miles. Saturn is ninety-nine and a half times as large as the earth; its diameter being thirty-two thousand seven hundred and eighty-six miles. The bodies of the fixed stars of the first magnitude, of which there are fifteen, are every one of them ninety-four and a half times greater than the earth.

Distances of the Stars from the Earth. When the moon is nearest to the earth the distance is one hundred and twenty-eight thousand miles, and when it is remotest from our globe, it amounts to four million one hundred and nineteen thousand six hundred miles. The greatest distance of the sun from the earth is four million eight hundred and twenty thousand miles and a half: the greatest distance of Mars is somewhat more than three hundred and thirty million six thousand miles. The greatest distance of Jupiter from the earth is somewhat more than fifty-four million one hundred and sixty thousand miles: the greatest distance of Saturn is more than seventy-seven million miles. The greatest distances of the fixed stars are in the same proportions. Upon the divisions, degrees,

and distances, which we have mentioned, the calculations of time and eclipses are founded. The principal instruments for astronomical observation are the astrolabes الاسطرلابات (armillary spheres). Books have been written entirely on this subject. We have devoted this chapter to the explanation of some of those matters which are the subject of so many discussions. Our observations may serve as a guide to enter deeper into this subject, on which we have treated more fully in our former writings.

Those inhabitants of Harrán* who profess the

* Abulfaragius states, that Harrán was built by Kainan, and so called after his son. This town is mentioned in Genesis, and by several Latin and Greek authors. The passages of the classics respecting Harrán, have been collected by Vadianus.

It is probably owing to its advantageous situation, that Merwán the last Omaïyide Khalif in the East, chose it as his residence, and built there a palace at the expense of several millions of Dirhems. The Abbásides may have felt repugnance to take their residence in this town, in which Ibrahím the predecessor of es-Seffáh the founder of their dynasty, suffered death after long imprisonment. But under the Seljúks, Atábeks, and as late as the crusades, Harrán was a place of importance and frequently the site of one of the feudal sovereigns; it flourished particularly under the Beni Hamdán, who ruled over Mesopotamia, at the beginning of the fourth century of the Hijrah.

It seems that Harrán has always been one of the principal sites of learning. Near this town was a sacred place of the Sabeans, and the Harránians continued faithful to their religion, which was that of the ancient Chaldeans, after the rise of the Abasside dynasty, although the population round them had twice

religion of the Sabeans*; and who aspire by trum-

changed their faith: first they embraced Christianity, and then they professed the tenets of Mohammed.

Their yearly pilgrimage to the pyramids in Egypt, brought them into contact with the Alexandrians; this led to an exchange of ideas which is very perceptible in the writings of the latter, and which encouraged the literary activity amongst the Sabeans of Harrán, so much, that the greatest share in the regeneration of the philosophical sciences amongst the Arabs is owing to them. All armillary spheres and other astronomical instruments were originally made by them; and a number of Harránians distinguished themselves as translators or original authors, at the earliest period of Arabic literature, as Thàbet Ben Korráh, his master in astronomy Ben Kamitá قميطا, el-Battání البتاني, Ibn er-Rúh الروح, the Sabean, and many others, which will be mentioned in another place of this book.

* Hottinger devotes the eighth chapter of the first book of his *Historia Orientalis* to the exposition of the Sabean religion. He follows up his subject with much learning, and had a most excellent guide, having made use of the Fihirst of Mohammed Ben Ishak en-Nadím, (not el-Kadim or *priscus* as he writes,) known under the name of Abúl-Faraj Ben Abí Ya'kúb, who wrote in 377, A.H., and died in 385.

Hottinger knew neither the title of the book nor the age when the author lived. Both are of importance, for the date shows that he was contemporary with men who professed this religion; and to be the author of the Fihirst gives him the character of an exceedingly learned and exact writer.

He lived most likely in Babylonia, and was thus in constant contact with Sabeans. We may therefore perfectly rely on what he says. His treatise on Sabeanism and other religions, forms the last chapter of the Fihrist; this is the third of the last volume, of which there is an ancient and perfectly correct MS. at Leyden.

pery pretensions*, to the knowledge of ancient philosophy, although they are uninstructed in the

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With more caution the extracts which Hottinger gives from Maimonides must be used.

It has been advanced by Spencer (De Leg. Hebr.) that the Sabeans are very modern and not more ancient than Mohammed, for they are the first time mentioned in the Korán. Now Sábí is an Arabic word, applied to almost all Gentiles; therefore, no wonder if the word is found only in the writings of Arabic or Rabbinical authors, and the Korán is the most ancient book in Arabic literature, excepting some poems collected afterwards. Hamzah, of Ispahán, (MS. of Leyden,) informs us that the name of Sabeans meant originally a sect of Christians, and has not been applied to the Harranians before the time of el-Mámún, when they adopted this name in order to escape a prosecution. Still more preposterous is the opinion expressed in Calmet's Fragments, DCXIII., where Sabeism is derived from St. John the Baptist.

Arabic authors who have lived with the Sabeans, state unanimously that they worshipped principally the seven planets. Supposing this worship had been recently introduced in Harrán, it was certainly ancient amongst their brethren the Canaanites, (both the Harranians and Canaanites spoke the Aramean language); for Manassah received from them the same religion (2 Kings, xxxiii.), we may therefore safely suppose that the Sabeans were not materially different from the Chaldeans, who are called astrologers on account of their star worship. Perhaps the Sabeans of Harrán are the Orcheni of Strabo (Lib. xvi., p. 701), who were a sect of Chaldeans in Mesopotamia.

Strabo and other Greek authors agree with the Arabs in making the Chaldeans astrologers and star worshippers; but we have to account for the allusions made to them in the Scriptures, from which it might appear that they worshipped almost merely

* Literally, "And are the rabble of ancient philosophers."

wisdom of the Grecks (Chaldeans?), have

idols. On examining the names of those idols, we find that they are the Semitic names of the planets. Aserah אשירה or Astarte, is az-Zohrah الزهرة the Arabic name for the planet Venus; which was also called Balthí البلتي (Beltis in Greek authors). Thamus may be taken for shomús الشموس, plural of shams, *the sun*, for Adonis, with whom this deity is identified by Jerom, is the sun as well; Merodach is Merríkh, the name of the planet Mars in Arabic, the word is derived from *marad* مرد, which means to be rebellious both in Arabic and Hebrew; and as the original meaning of marad is the same as that of maras مرس and marakh مرخ, it seems that only mar is the primitive syllable, it is therefore not surprising to find the name of this planet written Merodach, Merrikh, and Mars. Nebo means a prophet, which is the name of Mercury or 'Utárid amongst the Sabeans; for this planet is the patron of the priestclass; as it has already been noticed by Norberg, who establishes the fact by the testimony of the Syro-Chaldeans.

Baal means lord, and is the name for Jupiter, but frequently applied to the sun; perhaps some of the sects of Chaldeans considered the sun as lord, and called it consequently Baal: the identity of Baal with Jupiter is confirmed by the testimony of Herodotus, which is worth more than that of all later authors, who transcribed one another as far as it suited their purpose, and referred in their learned ignorance to books and never to what they could have witnessed themselves. See also p. 199 supra note.

More examples could be added and errors of mythologists corrected, but these will do for our purpose. The representations of the stars as idols, seem therefore to have been intended for the exoteric; for we must distinguish here more than with any other nation between the notions of the exoteric and those of the uninitiated. The reader will find a developement of the former in the additional notes to this chapter.

adopted a gradation of the priests in their temples, which is an imitation of the system of the nine spheres*. The highest priest is called *rás*

وقد رتبت الصابية من الحرانيين وهم عوام اليونانيين وحشوة الفلاسفة المتقدمين الكهنة† فى هياكلها مراتب

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* El-Makrizí (MS. of the Earl of Munster, vol. iii., Korrah 40) says nearly the same thing of the priests of ancient Egypt; "A priest who has served the seven planets seven years, has the title Báhir باهر, and a priest who has served them forty-nine years, seven years each, has the title Kátir قاطر; he enjoys such high honours that the king rises before him, allows him to sit down on his side, and consults him in every action which he does. Then the other priests come in, and with them the artisans, and stand opposite the Kátir. Every one of their priests is exclusively destined for the service of one planet, and he must not pass to another. He is called a servant of such a planet, so one says the servant of the moon, the servant of Mercury, the servant of Venus, the servant of the sun, the servant of Mars, the servant of Jupiter, and the servant of Saturn. When they are all marshalled, the Kátir says to one of them, Where is thy Lord to day? and he answers, in such a sign of the zodiac, and in such a degree and minute. Then he asks the next, and so he goes through all of them; and when he knows their position in reference to the sphere of the zodiac, he says to the king, you ought to do such and such a thing to-day: he tells him what he is to eat, when he may go into his harem, when he is to go on horseback, and so on, to the most minute thing. A secretary writes down every word that he says. Then the Kátir turns to the artisans, and orders them what they are to do," &c.

† The word كهنة is not in the copy of Cambridge. The variants between crotchets are all from the Cambridge copy.

*Komorr**. The Christians, who came after them, arranged the orders of priests in their hierarchy after the system which had been laid down by the Sabeans. The Christians call this gradation *ordina-*

(مراتبا) على ترتيب هذه الافلاك السبعة (التسعة read)
فاعلى كهنتهم (كهانهم) سمي راس كمر وردن بعد هم
النصاري مرتبة الكهنة في كهانتها علي ما تقدمتفيه الصابة

* This word is met with in the Scriptures (2 Kings, xxiii. 5, &c.), where it is exactly spelt as here כמר. The Hebrew language does not afford an explanation of its meaning; for those which have been advanced, as that it means black, or priest of the moon قمر (ق and not with a ك), are not founded. In Arabic it means *penis*, or *longum penem habens vir*, and it is exceedingly likely that this word was taken in this meaning, for the office of the Komorr answered to that of Batrick, which represents, as we may observe, something higher than the ninth sphere. Arabic astrology, which is the daughter of the Pagan religions of Asia, places there the *procreative power*, which the Arabs sometimes call God, and sometimes the throne of God; for an incorporeal being is not so well adapted to the system. In the first meaning, says our author, page 46, *supra*, "God commands, and there flows what he likes from heaven to heaven (or sphere to sphere)," &c. And in the second meaning, we read, in el-Kazwíní, "Some Moslims make agree the revelation of God and the opinion of the philosophers, and think that this sphere is the stool, and the tenth sphere, which is the greatest of all, is the throne of God."

tion (el-'Atáb). The first (lowest) order is es-Salt *,

في مذهبها قسمت النصاري هذه المراتب العطاب فاولها

* The Salt answers to the *Ostiarius* in the Roman degrees of ordination, and to the sphere of the moon, in ancient astrology. As it may lead to interesting comparisons between the exoteric notions and the various forms under which they were made available to the uninitiated, the characteristics of the seven spheres and planets are detailed in this and the following notes after Abú Ma'sher, Balinos, and el-Kazwíní, and occasionally their views have been compared with those of the Greeks, and of the Zend-Avesta, to show the identity of ancient religions, philosophy, and astrology.

The moon is a female planet (Zendavesta, vol. ii., 382; Arist. Hist. Anim., vii., 2; Pliny, lib. ii., 104), and has an affinity with the female element the water which she attracts; and hence she causes the tide (Zendav., tome ii., 370, 385; Pliny, *ibidem*). She is the concentration of light, and was, before the introduction of Greek astronomy amongst the Arabs, believed to shine with her own light (Zendavesta, vol. ii., 18, and p. 80, *supra*). She is the planet which gives fertility, increases the seed, animal warmth, and affection (Zendavesta, i. 26, p. 426; Aristotle, de Generat. Animalium, ii. 4). To the moon silver is sacred amongst the metals, and white amongst the seven colours, every one of which, it seems, was considered to be fixed in a metal, and sacred, together with the respective metal, to one of the seven planets. All white or grey animals, of a meek temper, are equally consecrated to her, particularly such birds, also mules, fruit-trees, &c. The sphere of the moon is the isthmus of immortality; under it is the fire and air (atmosphere) of the earth, which is mutable; but above the moon everything is pure and divine (supra lunam pura omnia ac diuturnæ lucis plena: Pliny, lib. ii., cap. 7): hence she is called the gate of the heaven, and

the second Aghsat *, the third Núdákir †, the

الصلط (السلط) والثانى اغسط (اعسط) والثالث نوداقر

the order of priests sacred to her sphere must naturally be the *Ostiarius*, or Porter.

The moon, considered as a goddess, is frequently not distinguished from Venus.

* To this order answers the atmosphere, or sphere of Mercury, which is three hundred and eighty-eight thousand four hundred and eighty-miles thick. The planet itself is described as *radians* by Pliny (ii., 29), an epithet which is equally given to the sun by the same author. It is probably this quality of diffusing its rays which has also been noticed by astrologers, that this planet is considered to diffuse the light of wisdom and knowledge. He is the god of penmanship الكتابة, and a child born under the influence of this planet will be meek and clever. It was, at all events, a correct notion, that the next step after the gate of the heaven should be the *pons asinorum*, and that wisdom should be the first degree in heaven, and in the hierarchy within the gate: hence this order in the Catholic Church is called Lectorship, and the Lector receives a book at the Ordination. The astrologers are probably equally right in calling the patron of the Savans and priests المنافق (the unprincipled, or hypocrite). They say that he adds energy both to lucky and unlucky constellations, as he happens to meet them.

† This order answers to the sphere of Venus, which is three million seven hundred and ninety-five thousand and ninety-two miles thick. The lovely star which animates this sphere, and keeps always near the sun like a lover, and approaches to him, or recedes for a short time like a coquette, was represented as the

fourth Shemásheryám *, the fifth Kissís †, the sixth

(نودنا) والرابع شماشريام (شماسامنا) والخامس قس (قسيس)

beauty of the heavens at all times and by all nations. Arabic astrologers call her the lesser luck السعد الاصغر, and ascribe to her influence mirth and love. Pliny and the Zend-books agree with them in assigning to her the procreative (not generative) power. To this star brass was sacred, and the green colour (verdigris); also fish, serpents, bees, grapes, sparrows. The ancient Christian Church seems to have found no higher ideas respecting the lucky influence of this star amongst the Sabeans, than that it averts evil; hence this order has the power of destroying the bad effects of evil spirits, and the priests of this order are called Exorcistes in Greek and Latin. If there was no other evidence of the mixed nature of the Ritual of the Romish Church, the gross superstition of having an order of exorcists would be proof enough.

* The Greek name of the order is Acoluthos (follower): he has the same office as the clerk in the Anglican Church. The order answers to the sphere of the sun, which is ten million one hundred and seventy-six thousand nine hundred and ninety-eight miles thick, and was considered as the mediator, as will be shown in the additional notes. The Acoluthos is the highest of the four minor orders, and is also the mediator between the people and higher orders, as the sun between the lower and higher planets.

† The sphere which corresponds with this order is that of Mars, which is ten million one hundred and seventy-six thousand nine hundred and ninety-eight miles thick. The blood-red colour of this planet has brought it into discredit with astrologers, who call it the lesser misfortune النحس الاصغر, besides its course appeared to the ancients (Pliny, ii., cap. 15) so irregular, that

Bardúth *, the seventh Húzábiskatos †: he is after

والسادس بردوط والسابع حوزابسقطس (حورالغيبنطس)و هو
الذى يخلف الاسقف والثامن اسقف والتاسع مطران وتفسير

they are justified in calling him the Marîkh, rebellious. He is the god of iron, and the red colour (peroxyde of iron), of war, lions, tigers, hyænas, of the Turks, and everything terrible. Under his protection are birds of a red colour, and the lapwing الهدهد, which is one of the best known ill omens in Oriental superstition.

* This order was the representation of the sphere of Jupiter, and is called Diaconate in Greek and Latin. I am not sufficiently acquainted with its office and ceremonies to know its relation to this sphere. Jupiter is the greatest of all the planets, and if the ether was the essence of the heavens, and the stars like the souls of the ether, this star had a natural claim to be the lord of all other planets. The astrologers call him the great luck السعد الاكبر, and ascribe to him all the good. To Jupiter, blue (the colour of the sky), and copper (vitriol, or sulphate of copper), is sacred; also emerald, onyx, jasper, ruby, and all sorts of precious stones; farther musk, wheat, and every thing that is esteemed.

† This order represents the highest of all the planetary spheres; that of Saturn, which is twenty-one million six hundred and six miles thick. Saturn is represented as an old man, and this is the name of this order in the ancient Christian Church; for Presbyter has the same signification. Arabic astrologers call Saturn the great misfortune النحس الاكبر, and Pliny seems to think that this planet must be cold and dreary, on account of its great distance from the sun.

To Saturn the heavy and ignoble metal lead, and black is sacred, and all unclean animals, as pigs, dogs, &c.

[The Reader

the Bishop. The eighth is the Akkaf*; the ninth is the Mitrán (Metropolitan), which means the head of the town. And above all these ranks is the Batric (Patriarch), which means father of the fathers, or of the mentioned orders, and the laymen.

مطران ريئس المدينة والذى فوق هولاء كلهم فى المرتبة (المدينة) البطرك †تفسيره اب الابا ممن تقدم ذكرهم من

The reader will find in the additional notes to this chapter at the end of this volume, more philosophically accounted for, the qualities attributed to the spheres of the heaven and the planets.

* This is a corruption of *ἐπίσκοπος*, Bishop, or literally who inspects from above. This appellation is very well chosen; for the order represents the signs of the zodiac which do look down from above on the planets.

† I transcribed the copy of Mr. Gayangos, with all its faults in order to give to the reader the variants which it presents in the names of the orders:

وقد وتبت الصابية من الحرامين وهو عوام اليونانيين وحشوية الفلاسفة المتقدمين فى هياكلها مراتبا علي ترتيب هذه الافلاك السبعة فاعلا كهانهم سمي راس كمر وردن بعدهم النصاري ترتيبة الكهنة فى كهانتها علي ما تقدمت فيه الصابه في مدهبها قسمت النصاري هذا المراتب العطاب فاولها السلط والثاني اعسط والثالث بعدنا والرابع سماسانا ولخامس نسسا والسادس بودوط والسابع حورا لغنبطس

This is the opinion of the Esoteric Christians respecting these orders; but the Exoteric give other reasons, alleging that a king had introduced them and other things which it would be useless to relate. These are the orders of the Melikites (Orthodox), who form the main body, and are the original Christians; for the Eastern Christians, or 'Ibád*, who are called Nestorians and Jacobites, are branches of them, and their imitators. The Christians took, as we have said, the whole of the insti-

وهوالذي يخلف الاستف والثامن اسقفا والتاسع مطرانا وتفسير
مطرانا وبيس المدينة والذى فوق هولا كلهم فى المرتبة البطرك
اصحاب مراتب وغيرهم من الاداني وعوامهم هذا عند خواص
النصاري فاما العوام منهم فيذكرون فى هذه المراتب غير
ما ذكرنا وهو ان ملكا ظهر لهم واموراً تذكرونها لا حاجة
بنا الي وصفها وهذا ترتيب الملكية وهم عمد النصارى وقطبها
لان المشارقة وهم العباد الملقبون بالنسطورية واليعاقبة
عن هولا تفرعوا و منهم شذوا وانما اخذت الناصاري جملاً
من هذه المراتب على ما ذكرنا من الصابية والقسيسين
والشماس وغير ذلك ۞

* Other Arabic authors take the name 'Ibadites in a more limited sense, applying only to the Christians of el-Hírah.

tution of their orders from the Sabeans: Kissís, Shemás, and other ranks.

Manes rose as Heresiarch after the Messiah, and Ibn ed-Daïsán and Marcion followed his example. From Manes the Manicheans have their name; from Marcion the Marcionites; and from Ibn ed-Daïsán the Daïsanites. In subsequent times rose from them the Mozdakians, and other sects, who follow the Dualistic doctrine.

The reader will find in our books, the Akhbár ez-zemán, and the Kitáb el-ausat, a number of anecdotes respecting these sects, and an account of the fabulous stories which they tell, and of their laws which they assign to God, although they are made by man. We have also treated on these sects in our book "On the various opinions on the principles of religion" كتاب فى المقالات في اصول الديانات. We have spoken of the books of these religious opinions, and the destruction of these sects, in our work entitled the "Explanation of

كان ماني حدث بعد مضي المسيح وكذلك ابن ديصان ومرقيون والى مانى اضيفت المنانية والى مرقيون اضيفت المرقيونية والي ابن الديصان اضيفت الديصانية ثم تفرعت بعد ذلك المزدقية (المصدقية) وغيرها ممن سلك طريقة اصحاب الاثنين (read الثنوية) ٭

the principles of religion" الابانة في اصول الديانة. In these chapters we enter on the points on which scholastic theology dwells, and which are the principle objects to be described. We allude only to striking facts, by way of narrative, and with the view to give an insight into the history of the sects, lest this book should be found defective in such information respecting them, as a well-informed man ought to know; but we do not mean to enter into any polemic discussions.

NINTH CHAPTER.

A concise account of seas that have changed their places, and of great rivers.

THE author of the Logic المنطق (Aristotle) says, that the seas change their places in the lapse of centuries and the length of ages. And indeed all seas are in a constant motion; but if this motion is compared with the volume of water, the extent of their level, and the depth of their abysses, it is as if they were quiet. There is, however, no place on earth that is ever covered with water nor one that is ever land, but a constant revolution takes place effected by the rivers which may run in one place or discontinue their course, for this reason the places of sea and land change, and there is no place on earth always land nor always sea. At periods there will be land where there once has been sea; and the sea will occupy what one time has been land. These revolutions are caused by the course and origin of the rivers, for places watered by rivers have a period of youth and decrepitude, of growth and of life and death, like animals and plants, with the difference that growth and decay in plants

and animals do not manifest themselves now in one part and then in another, but all parts grow together, so they wither and die at the same time. But the earth grows and declines part by part. This is also connected with the revolutions of the sun.

The learned are at variance about the rivers and springs, and their origin. Some are of opinion that all have the same ultimate source, namely, the greatest sea. This is the sea 'adab بحر عذ ب, and not the Okianos (the Atlantic). Others suppose that the water is in the earth in the same way as the veins in the body. Some reason thus: It is a law of nature that the surface of the water be level, but as the earth is in some places high and in others deep, the water goes to the deepest part, and when it is enclosed in caverns it has a tendency to form steam, which produces a pressure on the earth from beneath; it gushes forth and gives origin to springs and rivers. Frequently water is the product of the air which is in the bowels of the earth, for water is no element (اسطقس στοιχεῖον), but it is the product of the rottenness* and the exhalations of the earth. We forbear mentioning here the various controversies which are extant on this head for fear of tres-

* عفونة This is a medical term which means gangrene, and implies the last stage of inflammation which precedes it.

passing our limits, for we mean to abridge what we have said in other works in detail.

Much has been said on the beginning, course, length, and end of large rivers; like the Nile, the Euphrates, the Tigris, the river of Balkh or Jaïhún, the river Mihrán مهران in es-Sind السند مهران في, the Ganges جنجس which is a large river in India, and the Atanábus اطنابس (Danube), which falls into the sea Nitus (Black Sea), and other large rivers. I saw in the geography (of Ptolemy), a drawing of the Nile as it comes forth from the mountain el-Komr القمر جبل, rising from twelve sources; then the water falls into two lakes which are like the marshes (of Babylonia between Wásit and el-Basrah); further on the water is collected in its course into one stream which passes sandy districts, and (on the foot of) mountains. It proceeds, flowing through that part of the country of the Súdán (Negroes), which borders on the country of the Zanj, and a branch خليج goes off from it into the sea of the Zanj بحر الزنج. This is the sea of the island Kanbalú* which is well cultivated, and the inhabitants are Moslims but they speak the Zanjee language. The Mahomedans have conquered this island and made the inhabitants prisoners, just as they have taken the isle of Crete اقريطش in the

* The MS. bears قينلوا and سيلوا.

Mediterranean. This happened at the beginning of the 'Abbáside and end of the Omaïyide dynasties. From this island to 'Omán, the distance is, according to the account of the sailors, about five hundred farsangs by sea. This however is a mere conjecture, and not geometrically measured. Many of the sailors of Síráf and 'Oman who visit this sea, say, that they found in it, at or before the time when the Nile increases in Egypt, different colours within the small space in which the river continues its course in the sea, for it forces its way to some distance on account of its rapidity. The river comes from the mountains of the Zanj and is above a mile wide. The water is sweet and becomes muddy at the time of the increase. There live in it *súsmár* (alligators) السوسمار which means crocodiles like those in the Nile of Egypt, they are also called Warl الورل.

El-Jáhit supposes that the river Mihrán in es-Sind is the Nile, alleging as a proof that crocodiles live in it. I cannot understand how this proof can be conclusive. This he states in his book "on the leading cities and the wonders of the countries" كتاب الامصار وعجايب البلدان. It is an excellent work, but as he has never made a voyage and few journies and travels through kingdoms and cities, he did not know that the Mihrán of es-Sind comes from the well-known sources of the highland of es-Sind, from the country belonging to Kinnauj قنوج

in the kingdom of Búdah بُودة, and of Kashmír قشمير, el-Kandahár القندهار, and et-Takín الطاقين (الطافر), the tributaries which rise in these countries run to el-Múltán and from thence the united river receives the name Mihrán. El-Múltán المولطان means meadows of gold. The King of el-Múltán is a Koraïshite, and of the children of Osámah Ben Lawí Ben Ghalib اسامة بن لوى بن غالب. His dominion extends as far as the frontier of Khorasán. The lord of the kingdom of el-Mansúrah المنصورة is a Koraïshite, who is descended from Habbár Ben el-Aswad* هبار بن الاسود, who has been one of their† kings. The crown of el-Múltán has been hereditary, in the family which rules at present, since ancient times, and nearly from the beginning of the Islám.

From el-Múltán the river Mihrán takes its course to the country of el-Mansúrah, and falls about ed-Daïbol into the Indian ocean. In this sea are many crocodiles, for it has several estuaries and gulfs as the estuary of Sindabúr صندبور (ميدايون) in the kingdom of Bághar باغر (ياعز) in India;

* The reader finds a notice of this family in Reiske's notes to Abulpeda's *Historia Islamitica*. Vol. I.

† El-Mansúrah is taken as the name of the inhabitants, and for this reason the plural is used here. Compare the note to p. 176, *supra*.

the estuary of ez-Zanj in the dominions of the Maharáj and the gulfs of el-A'náb الاعناب (grapes), which extend towards the island Serendíb (Ceylon). The crocodiles live particularly in sweet water, and, as we said, in the estuaries of India the water of which is for the most part sweet, on account of the streams which arise from rain and fall in them.

Now we return to the description of the Nile of Egypt. The philosophers say, that its course on the face of the earth, through cultivated and waste countries, is nine hundred or one thousand farsangs before it comes to Oswán in Upper Egypt. The boats from el-Fostát go as far up the river as Oswán; but some miles from Oswán are mountains and rocks, and as the Nile takes its course through the midst of them, the navigation is rendered impracticable. These rocks form the line of separation between the Nile navigation of the Abyssinians and Moslims. This part of the Nile has the name of huge stones and rocks الجنادل و الصخور (cataracts). Having passed through Upper Egypt the Nile comes to el-Fostat. It passes the mount et-Tílemún الطيلمون, and the dam of el-Láhún اللاهون at el-Fayyúm. In this place is the island which Joseph had chosen for himself and which was granted to him يقطع. The history of Egypt, of the landed property there, and the buildings raised by Joseph, will be related in the thirty-first chapter. As the

Nile continues its course it is divided into many branches which go to Tinnís, Dimyát, Rashíd, and el-Iskandaríyah (Alexandria), but the canal which goes to Alexandria had no water previous to the inundation of this year 332. I have heard [I am in Antakiyah (Antioch) and the Syrian frontiers], that the Nile rose to eighteen cubits, but I do not know whether the water runs through the canal of Alexandria or not.

Alexander, the son of Philip of Macedonia, has built Alexandria on this branch of the Nile. The most part of the water of this river had then its course to it, and irrigated the country round Alexandria and Maryút مريوط, so that it was in the most flourishing state of cultivation, and an uninterrupted line of gardens extended from Maryút to Barkah برقة in the Maghrib. Vessels went up the Nile, and came down as far as the markets of Alexandria. The bed of the Nile in the town was paved with stones and granite. In subsequent times the water deposited so much mud that the canal was filled, and the passage of the water obstructed. Others assign a different cause, which rendered it impossible to keep the bed of the canal clear. We cannot enter on their opinions; for the plan of our book excludes such details. The Alexandrians began to drink the water of wells; for the Nile runs about one day's journey from Alexandria. We shall give a full historical account

of this town in the chapter devoted to the description of Alexandria.

The water which, as we stated, falls into the sea of the Zanj, forms an estuary, which comes to the upper part of the course of this river through the country of the Zanj, and separates this country from the remotest provinces of Abyssinia. If it was not for this gulf, interjacent deserts, and marshes, the Abyssinians could not defend their country against the Zanj; for they are superior in numbers and bravery.

The river of Balkh, which has the name Jaïhún (Oxus), rises from several sources, and, having passed et-Tirmid الترمذ, Asfaráyin اسغرايين, and other places of Khorásán, it takes its course through Khowárezm: there in several places it branches off: the rest falls into a lake, on which the town of el-Jorjániyah الجرجانية is situated in the lowest part of Khowárezm. This is the greatest lake there, and many believe that it is the greatest lake in the cultivated world; for it is about one month's journey long and wide. There is some navigation carried on in this lake: it also receives the river* of Ferghánah and esh-Shásh, which runs through the country of el-'Adát العادلت and the

* The Sirr Súyí سرصويي of the Tatars, and Saïhún سيحون of the Arabs.

town of Haïs حيس, on which boats go down into the lake. On this river the Turkish city named Newtown مدينة الجديد (Yanghí Kant) is situated, amongst the population of which are some Moslims; but the majority are Turks. The population of this place consists of Ghizians*, who are

* One copy bears العزنية, and another البرية. Isstachri places there the الغربه: this seems to be more correct, and is confirmed by the author of the Oriental Geography, who writes غز. They are, therefore, the nations whose name is spelt Ghozz in the Kámús, and Ghiz in the Jagataï dictionary printed at Calcutta, and who are better known in Western Asia under the name of Seljúks, as the founders of several dynasties, and, in their original site, under the name Kírghiz, as nomades. Kír قير means a plain, and Kírghiz قيرغز a Ghiz of the desert, or a nomade. They took this name probably in contradistinction of their brothers, who were at Bagdad domineering slaves; and at a subsequent period servile masters over almost all the Mohammedan dominions. For this reason the addition Kír to the name of the Ghiz seems to be comparatively modern, although Abúlgháziy connects them with Oghúz-Khán. This seems to be confirmed by the Chinese writers, who call them Ha-Kya-szu (pronounced Hakas) in ancient times, and Ki-li-ki-szu, which is pronounced Kilgis since the thirteenth century. As the names Kírghis and Seljúks came into use, the name Ghiz Oghúz or Hakas disappeared.

Before we go further in the history of the name Ghiz, it is necessary to make a few remarks on its sound and the way in which this sound is expressed by different writers and in the various compounds in which we meet it. The first letter is *g*. This

mostly nomades; but some are settled. They are Turks by origin, and divided in three hordes اصناف, the higher, middling, and lower horde. These are

letter is not in the Arabic alphabet, hence Abúlgháziy (p. 26 of the Tatar text.) writes the name Kirghiz in three different ways; كركز *Kirkiz*, قيرغز *Ckirghiz*, and قرقيز *Ckirckiz*. The same author informs us further that *g* is pronounced by some Tatar tribes like *j*, and that they spell Kipják (or Kapjak) قبچاق, and Jipják جبچاق. The second letter has the same sound as the *u* in French and the *v* in Greek, and which, in Greek as well as in Tatar words, is sometimes expressed by a Kasrah or *i* in Arabic, sometimes by a Dhammah or *o*, and sometimes by a و or *ú*. The third letter seems to be a *z*, but it would appear that some Tatar hordes pronounce it like *th* or *t*. The name of the Circassians (Jerkez), for instance, seems to have been pronounced Cercetæ at the time of Pliny (vi., 5.)

The Archbishop Siestrencewicz de Bohusz proves in his work, *Sur l'Origine des Sarmates*, Petersbourg, 1812, vol. iv., p. 637, with a host of testimonies from ancient authors, that the Scythians called themselves Goths, or Gots: this is, therefore, clearly the same name as Ghiz. The Archbishop derives from Goth the word Scyth, saying the *S* may have been added by the Greeks. He could have confirmed this conjecture by the example of some other name of the same nation, to which an *S* is prefixed, although the name of the man, from which it is derived, does not begin with an *S*. Herodotus (iv., cap. 6) derives namely the *S*colotes from Col (Colaxain).

Eichwald (Alte Geogrophie des Kaspichen Meeres) identifies the Scythians with the Judes, and there can be no doubt that both names are only different pronunciations of the name Ghiz. We find the name Ghiz farther in the Getes, Tyragetes (or Getes

the bravest of all Turks, and have the smallest eyes, and most diminutive stature. The author of the logic (Aristotle) observes, however, in the four-

who lived on the Tyras), and Massagetes of the ancients, and in the Túnghiz, Targhiz, Taghizghiz, &c., of Oriental authors. It seems that the word Ghiz is pronounced like Gete in Tatary, and not a Greek corruption: hence we read Geté in the history of Timour (Transl. by Petis de la Crois, vol. i., p. 26), which is written جتّة *Jitta* in the Persian original (MS. of the Earl of Munster). The identity of the Kírghiz with the Massagetes of Herodotus is shown by their geographical position, and confirmed by Chinese authors, who give the same account of them as Herodotus.

Although the Massagetes of Herodotus and other classics, and the Ghozz, Kírghiz, &c., of Oriental authors, are undoubtedly of Tatar origin, it has been proved by Eichwald, that the Getes and Tyragetes of the classics were Slavonians. It seems, therefore, that the name Ghiz or Gete, which is so widely spread in Central Asia, and which has been so sacredly preserved since the most ancient times, applied originally rather to a religion than to a nation, to which the Budini (Buddhists?) seem to have been opposed. In this case the name of the Goths may not be different from that of Ghiz. We find that Arabic authors use the name Ghozz and Turk indiscriminately: as Turk is undoubtedly the name of the Tatar race, the other must have originally meant their religion, the founder of which was most likely Oghúz Khán اوغوزخان. As this note is already too long, we reserve it for the additional notes to say something more on this man and religion. The division of the Ghiz into three hordes, of which our author speaks, is still existing, notwithstanding their numerous emigrations; and it seems to have existed as early as the time

teenth and eighteenth books of his work on the animals في الحيوان, where he speaks of the bird called el-Gheráník الغرانيق (*γέρανος* the crane), that there are some Turks who are of a still smaller size*. The reader will find an account of all the Turkish hordes in occasionally interspersed notices, and under a peculiar head further on in this work.

The town of Balkh has a Ribát†, named el-Ahashbán الاحشبان (الاحسان), about twenty days'

when they made the inroad into Persia, recorded by Herodotus; for his Massagetes are undoubtedly the Getes, or Ghiz, of the *great* horde; masa means great in Pehlewi; and we cannot doubt that Herodotus derives his knowledge of the fact from the Persians.

* Aristotle, *Historia Animalium*, viii. cap. 12. says, the cranes go from the Scythian steppes to the marshes above Egypt, from which the Nile comes, and fight with the Pigmies. The Arabic translator seems to have correctly rendered the word Scythians by Turks; but he has misunderstood the passage in placing the Pigmies in Scythia, and making them Turks.

† Ribát رباط is a frontier place, exposed to the invasions of those who have not embraced the Islám. In order to form in such places an armed population, for the defence of the Moslim territory, some worldly advantages, all possible privileges in heaven, and the title مرابط were attached to a residence in them. Most divines declare a place where the unbelievers have once made an invasion, as a Ribát for two years; after the second inroad, for forty years; and after a third invasion, for ever (Hidayah, and its commentary the Kefayah).

journey from the city, in the most distant of its dependencies. Beyond this Ribát live various unbelieving nations, as the Turks, called Ukhán* اوخان (اوخار); and Tubbet تبت south of these Turks are others, named Inghán انغان (Talighán?†). In their country rises a great river, which bears the name River of Inghan‡ نهر انغان (انقار). Some persons, who are acquainted with those localities, believe that it is the beginning of the river of Balkh, or the Jaïhún. The length of its course is about one hundred and fifty farsangs: some make it four hundred farsangs, from the beginning of the river of the Turks, that is to say, the Inghán. Geographers who think that the Jaïhun falls into the Mihrán (Indus) of es-Sind, are wrong§. We

* Perhaps they are the Ouhoun of Deguignes, Histoire de Huns, vol. ii. pp. 24 and 50, or the Auchatæ of Herodotus, iv. 6.

† Burnes' Travels to Bokhara, vol. ii. p. 202.

‡ Isstachri, p. 114, gives to the main stream of the rivulets, which form the Jaïhún, the name of حرياب, and to the country whence it comes from, that of وجان Wajan, on the frontier of Badakhshán. This is probably a more correct reading than *Inghán*.

§ This is the opinion of the Zend-Avesta (p. 392), and it came probably from the Guebers to the Mohammedans: "Le Véh roud passe dans le Khorassan, parait dans la terre de Sind, et coule dans le Zaré de l'Hindoustan; là on l'appelle le Mehrâ roud." And p. 393, "Le Véh roud est encore appellé Kâsé;' car dans le Smd on l'appelle Kâsé." And again, "Le Kâsé va

will not speak here of the Black and White

dans la ville de Tous; là on l'appelle le Casp roud." We have here three rivers, which form a semicircle, and separate Iran from three Keshvars, or climates: India, Tibet and China, (Frededafshé and Vídedafshé), and from Tatary (Vorojeresté?). The name for the whole line of water is Véh roud. Kasé seems to be at the same time the Oxus (Jaïhún), and the river of the Penjâb, which rises near the sources of the Oxus. It is very likely that the name *Oxus* is formed from Kase by prefixing the Greek article *ó*, and subjoining the termination *os*. The Casp roud is the Ochus of the ancients. The opinion that the Oxus once fell into the Caspian, seems to owe its origin to the circumstance that the Guebers did not sufficiently distinguish the Oxus and Ochus. Mehrâ, or Mihrán is still now the name of the lower course of the Indus. These three rivers had all the same importance for the Persians, as frontier, as well as in a commercial and agricultural point of view; hence they said, for the sake of system, that the whole line of water falls into the Gulf of 'Omán, since the principal river has there its mouths. It appears, namely, that they had the idea that their sacred land was on all sides surrounded by rivers, and that the Véh roud, or south and eastern semicircle, corresponds with a north and western semicircle, called Arg roud, formed by the same sea and the Tigris with which they may have connected the Araxes. This will explain what is said in the Zend-Avesta, ii., p. 390: "Les deux rouds (the Arg roud, and Veh roud), de deux extrémités, font la tour de toute la terre (of Irán), vont (passent) dans le Zaré, et mangent tous les Keschwar. Ensuite tous les deux se jettent dans le Zaṛé Ferakh Kand (the Sea of 'Omán, and Persian Gulf)."

As the frontier of Irân [or rather the Khounnerets, *i.e.*, Babylon (see p. 199, *supra*); for this idea being so wrong respecting eastern rivers, must have had its origin in the west] was extended, the Ochus was neglected in the north-east, and the

Arisht* ارشت الاسود و ارشت الابيض, on which the kingdom of Kaïmák† Baighúr‡ كيماك بيغور (كيمان) is situated, who are also Turks, beyond the river Jaïhún. On these two rivers live the Ghaznians (Ghiz?) الغزنية (العربية), who are equally Turks.

Euphrates, and even the Nile, with the Mediterranean, were taken into account in the west. The Tigris (Arg roud) continued, nevertheless, to be the sacred river, as it is in the Zend-Avesta; and even under the Khalifs, there was no Mohammedan festival celebrated with so much pomp as that on the Tigris, at the time of the summer solstice. The Tigris separated the sacred land from the three other Keshvars or climates; Arabia (Shavé), the West and Egypt (Arzé), Mesopotamia and Asia Minor (Voroberesté?); so that it is literally true that these two lines of rivers water (*mangent*) all seven climates, or Keshvars. The division into these seven climates (which el-Mas'údí has described p. 199, *supra*) is, therefore, originally relative to the place where the division was made.

As the Arg and Véh roud consist ultimately of four rivers, as many flow in the paradise of Moses.

* If the nations on this river are the Uigúrs, this name should be written Irtish, else it may be the Sirr (the Saihún of Arabic geographers, and the Jaraxes of Strabo), which is also called Ariss, or Arsh.

† Perhaps it is the same name as the Kaïmár كيمار mentioned by Abulghazi (Edit. Tatarica, Kasan, 1825) in the genealogy of the Turks as one of the fathers, which always means a tribe or nation. There is for the rest a Turkish horde of the name of Kaïmák, mentioned in the Jihánnumá *apud* J. v., Hammer, Hist. de l'empire Ottoman.

‡ Probably بيغور instead of ايغور Ighúr, or Uighúr.

Many tales are related about those two rivers. We do not know the length of their course.

Various accounts are current respecting the Ganges جنجس, which is the river of India: it rises in the mountains of the most remote parts of India, towards China, not far from the Turkish frontier, and falls, after a course of four hundred farsangs, into the Abyssinian Sea بحر الحبشى, on the coast of India.

The Euphrates الفرات has its sources in the country of Kálíkalá قاليقلا (Arzen-er-Rúm, *vulgo* Erzerum), on the Armenian frontier, from the mountains called Afradohos† افردحس (ادودخس), about one day's journey from Kálí-kalá قالي قلا. The course of the Euphrates goes through the Byzantine territory, till it enters (into the Moslim territory) at Malatíyah ملطية. A Moslim, who has been a prisoner of war in the Christian countries, tells me that the Euphrates receives in its course through the Byzantine territory many tributaries. One of them comes from the lake of el-Mázerbún المازربون (المادروون), which is the largest lake in the

* The Mohammedans had lost sight of the Ganges when Mahmúd of Ghiznah conquered India; and they called it then كنك, after the Persian way of spelling.

† Compare St. Martin, Mém. sur l'Arménie, vol. i., p. 45.

Byzantine empire; for it is one month long and wide, or more. They ply boats on it.

The Euphrates comes to Jasr Manbij جسر منبج, after it has passed the castle of Somaïsát سميساط, which is built of clay: then it comes to Bálos بالس, and passes Siffín صفين, the field of the battle between the Moslims of el-'Irák and Syria (under 'Alí): farther on it passes er-Rakkah, er-Rahabah الرحبة, Hít هيت, and el-Anbár الانبار. In these places several canals are derived from it, like the 'Isa canal, which passes Bagdad, and joins the Tigris. The Euphrates continues its course to Súr صور (سوار), Kasr Ibn Hobaïrah قصر ابن هبيرة, el-Kúfah, el-Jámi'ín الجامعين, Ahmedábád(?) احمداباد (احمراماد), el-Yerman اليرمن (الفرس), and et-Tafúf الطفوف; then it runs into the marshes between el-Basrah and el-Wásit. The whole course of the Euphrates is five hundred farsangs or more. The greatest part of the water of the Euphrates had once its course through el-Hírah: the bed may still be traced, and it has the name of 'Atík (ancient). On it was fought the battle between the Moslims and Rostam (at the time of 'Omar), called the battle of el-Kádesíyah. The Euphrates fell at that time into the Abyssinian sea, at a place which is now called en-Najaf النجف; for the sea came up to this place, and thither resorted the ships of China and India, destined for the kings of el-Hírah. Many

ancient historians, who are well acquainted with the battle days of the Arabs, as Heshám Ben Mohammed el-Kelbí الكلبى, Abú Mokhnif Lút Ben Yahya, and esh-Sharkí Ben el-Katámí الشرقى بن القطامي, relate that the inhabitants of el-Hirah fortified themselves in the white tower of el-Kádesiyah, and in that of the Benú Bokailah (or Bakílah) بنى بقيلة, when Kháled el-Mekhzúmi المخزومي marched against them, in the reign of Abú Bekr, from el-Yemámah, with the victorious army which had slain the false prophet of the Beni Hanífah بنى حنيفة. These were the towers of el-Hírah, which lay now [in 332 A.H.] in ruins, and nobody lives there. The site of the town is three miles from el-Kúfah. When Khaled saw that the Hírians were fortifying themselves against him, he encamped his army not far from en-Najaf: he himself rode with Dhirár Ibn el-Azúr el-Asadí ضرار ابن الازور الاسدى, who was one of the Bedouin horsemen, to the city; and they came to the tower of the Taghlebites قصر بنى تغلبة. The Christians عباديون threw pots خزف on them, which made his horse shy. Dhirár said, "May God make thee quiet, for this is the greatest stratagem which they are prepared to make." Kháled returned to his camp, and sent to them that they should depute an intelligent aged man to him, that he could ask him about their affairs. They sent 'Abd el-Mesíh Ben 'Amr

Ben Kaïs Ben Hayyán Ben Bokaïlah el-Ghassání to him, who had built the white citadel. Bokaïlah had this name because he went out one day in a *green* silk dress; and the people said, who is this bokaïlah? (herb بقيلة). This is the same 'Abdul-Mesíh who went to Satíh سطيح el-Ghassání the soothsayer, to ask him about a dream of the Múbeds الموبذان, and the earthquake which the palace of the Persian kings at Ctesiphon had sustained, and other things which had reference to the Sásánian kings.

'Abd el-Mesíh was then three hundred and fifty years of age when he came to Kháled. He was walking: Kháled looked at him when he drew near, and said,

"Whence dost thou descend, O Sheikh?"

He answered, "From the kidnies of my father."

"Where dost thou come from?"

"From the womb of my mother."

"Where art thou?"

"On the ground."

"In what (place) art thou?"

"In my clothes."

"Art thou by reason or insane?"

"Why, by God, I am a leader, (and therefore certainly an intelligent man)."

"The son of how many art thou*?"

* This is an Arabic idiom, meaning "of what age are you?"

"The son of one man."

"By God, I requested them to send a man of their city to me," said Khâled, "and they depute an idiot, who, if I ask one thing, answers another." "By God," replied the man of el-Hírah, "I answer precisely to thy questions, ask further."

"Are you Arabs or Nabatheans?"

"We are Nabathized Arabs, and Arabized Nabatheans*."

"Do you wish for war or peace?"

"For peace."

"And what is the meaning of these fortifications?"

"They are built for mad people who are shut up in them till they come to their senses."

"How many (years) are come over thee?"

"Three hundred and fifty."

"And what hast thou seen?"

"I have seen the ships of the sea coming up to us in this deep country (النجف) with the goods of es-Sind and India: the ground which is now under thy feet was covered with the waves of the sea.

* That is to say, we are agriculturists, retaining some Bedouin habits, for Arab عرب means only a Bedouin; (See E. Lane's Modern Egyptians), and Nabathean نبط means as it will be shown in a note to the twentieth chapter, the agriculturists on the skirt of the desert, of Bedouin origin.

Look how far we are at present from the shore. I remember that a woman might set out with her basket on her head, and would find the whole country in so flourishing a state, covered with villages, plantations, trees, and cultivation, intersected with canals and ponds full of water, as far as Syria, that she would not require more than one cake for her provision*; What is it now? It is destroyed and desert. So God visits his servants and country."

Kháled, and all who were present, were astonished at what they had heard. They recollected the name of 'Abdel-Mesíh, for he was famous amongst the Arabs for his great age and sound reason.

They say he had a poison with him, the effects of which were instantaneous.

Kháled asked him, "What hast thou here?"

"Virulent poison," was his answer.

"What wilt thou do with it?"

* The reader must bear in mind that it is a duty in the east commanded by feelings and sacred by habit, religion, and honour, to be hospitable to strangers. Hence it is only in deserts that they carry their provisions with them.

Other authors describe in similar terms the flourishing state in which the Ahkáf has once been, saying, that the palm-trees were so fertile and abundant, that if a woman went out of doors with a basket and put it down, she would find it after a while full of dates, wherever it may have stood, and without any exertion on her part. Perhaps the words of our author had originally the same meaning.

He answered, " I took it with me with the intention that if I should receive such proposals from thee as may be agreeable to me and favourable for my countrymen, I would accept them and praise God for them, (and not take the poison). But in the contrary case, that I might not be the first who returned home laden with disgrace and sorrow, I intended to devour this poison and to quit this world, for only a short time more is allotted to me."

" Give it to me," ordered Kháled, and took it in the palm of his hand, saying, " In the name of God, and by God, in the name of the Lord of heaven and earth, in the name of the Almighty, in whose name nothing on earth goes wrong." After he had pronounced these words he devoured it; he immediately fainted away, and his chin sank on his chest.

They opened his clothes; he recovered and was full of vigour.

The 'Ibádite returned to his people. He was an 'Ibádite عبادی by religion, which means a Nestorian Christian. When he came into the town he said, " O people, I come from the Satan; he has devoured poison of which the effects are instantaneous, and it has not done him the least harm; do what you can to have him far from your town."

"They are a people full of ardour, and their cause is rising, whilst that of the Sásánians is sinking. This religion will have a success which will extend

over all the earth, but corruptions will creep into it." They made peace with Kháled under the condition that they should pay one hundred thousand dirhems, and wear a black sash ساج وهو الطيلسان (rolled round their heads, and hanging down behind as a humiliating mark of distinction from the Moslims.) Kháled broke off from es-Kírah, and said the following verses on the subject.

"How is it possible that after the Mondirs a price should be laid on (the two splendid palaces of the kings of el-Hírah) el-Khawarnak الخورنق and es-Sodaïr السدير, although they are protected by the horsemen of every tribe, against the roaring lion. And how comes it that I should pasture in the gardens between (the canals of) Marrah مرة and el-Jofaïr الجفير. We were become (united) like the flock on a rainy day, after the (tribe) Abu-Kaïs have perished. We have slain the Ma'add tribes in open combat like camels destined to be sacrificed. We raise tribute like the Kings of Persia, and it is paid to us by the (Jewish tribes of Khaïbar), the Beni Koraïtah القريظة, and en-Nadhír النضير. So the chances which lay in the bosom of time are uncertain, to-morrow may bring joy or sorrow."

We have inserted this story here in confirmation of our statement, respecting the changing places of the seas and the shifting of the waters and rivers in

the course of time, and during the lapse of ages. When the waters did not run any longer to this place the sea became land, and at present there is a distance of several days between el-Hírah and the sea. Whoever has seen the Najaf will fully enter into our views.

In the same way the Tigris has changed its course; there is a great distance between the present course of the river and the dry bed which is stopped by the sand, and called Batn el-fauhi بطن الجوي; it runs close on the town of Bádos بادس, in the district of Wásit of el-'Irák to Dafírí دفيري, turning towards Sús سوس in Khúzistán خوزستان; whilst the new bed passes east of Baghdád, at a place called Rakkah esh-Shemásíyah رقة الشماسية; and an inundation has brought the river to the west where it runs at present between Kotrobbol قطربل and the Town of peace (Bagdád), so that it passes the villages called el-Kobb الغب, esh-Sharkí الشرقي, and other estates, which belong to Kotrobbol. The inhabitants of these places have had a law-suit, with those of the eastern side, who are in possession of Rakkahesh-Shemásíyah, in the reign of el-Moktader, in the presence of his Vizier, Abul-Hasan 'Alí Ben 'Isá. What well-informed men have deposed at this occasion, and what we have stated are facts which are well known at Bagdad. If the water changes its course in about thirty years the seventh

part of a mile it will make nearly one mile in two hundred years; and if the water of a river retires four hundred cubits from its original place, this place will be waste. Through these causes places are rendered uncultivated, and if the water finds a declivity or a descent it widens by its course and rapidity the bed as it carries the ground away to an immense distance, and wherever it finds a wide and low place it fills it and forms lakes, marshes, and lagunas. By these means places which have been cultivated become deserts, and those which were without cultivation become cultivated. Everybody of common sense will understand and appreciate what we have said.

El-Mas'údí says, all historians who possess just ideas respecting the history of the world and its kings, know, that in the year in which the Prophet of God sent messengers to the Kisrá كسري*, and this was the seventh year after his flight from Mekka to Medinah, the Euphrates and Tigris were so much swelled that they never had been so before; the water made immense breaches and holes which were greater than the canals, and as the canals could not hold the water the dams and mounds gave way, and the water filled the lower country.

The Persian King, Abrawaïz ابرويز (Perwiz),

* This is the Arabic pronunciation of the Persian title Khosraw خسرو, which means possessed of an extensive kingdom.

endeavoured to confine the water again, to repair the dams, and to open the trenches شاذروانات; but he was unable to control the river, it took its course towards the place where, in our time, are the marshes. The cultivation and fields were submerged, and whole districts were changed into the marshes which are there at present, his exertions to stop it being inefficient. The Persians were soon after occupied with the Arabic wars; the water broke through its limits, and nobody could turn his mind to the reparation of the dams, so the marshes became wider and more extensive.

When Mo'awíyah had come to the Khalifat he appointed his adoptive 'Abdullah Ben Derráj عبد الله بن دراج over the tribute of el-'Irák, and he raised from the lands on the marshes fifteen million (of Dirhems*) worth by cutting the reeds grown in these marshes, and taking the whole as property of the state. In subsequent times the water made more breaches through the dams and mounds, and when Hassán en-Nabtí, the adoptive of the Beni Dhobbah, was revenue cellector under the Khalífat

* Arabic authors frequently mention the sums without stating what sort of money is meant. In these cases it is a general rule that Dinars are understood if they speak of those countries which had been under the sway of the Byzantine empire; and Dirhems, if the provinces in question had formed part of the Persian monarchy.

of el-Walíd for Hejjáj Ben Júsof, he gained some lands from the marshes.

The whole extent of the marshes which the water occupies at present, is about fifty farsangs long and as many broad. In the centre is a round place in which the ground rises; this is a city covered with water, and if the water is clear one may see at the bottom the ruins of buildings; some stones are still standing in their place whilst others have fallen down. One may still trace the plan of the buildings. The same is the case with the lake of Tinnís and Dimyát (Damietta), in which may be seen the farms and towns as we have related in another place in this book, and in other works. Now we will resume our subject and describe the Tigris, its sources, course, and mouths. It comes from the country of Amid امد, which belongs to Diár Bekr, but the sources are in the country of Khelát خلاط, which forms part of Armenia. It receives various tributaries as Sarít سريط (سويط) and Sátíd ساتيد, which come from the country of Arzan, and Mayyáfárikín ميافارقين; and other rivers, as the river Dúshá دوشا, el-Khábúr, which comes from Armíniah, and falls between the country of Másúrá* and Faïz-Sábúr†, in the countries of

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* ماسورا or سورا or سابور

† فيرسابورا or قبرسابورا or سلون

Kerdá and Bázendá*, into the Tigris, and the A'warí اعوري (ناهدا), which comes from el-Mausil and its dependencies, the country of the Beni Hamdán. The poets say of these rivers, "On the Kardá and Bázendá it is delightful to spend the summer and spring; for their water is as cool as the Salsabíl (a spring in Paradise), whilst the ground of Bagdad is as hot as live coals, and the heat is oppressive." The river el-Khábúr is not the same which has its sources at the town of Rás el-'aïn, and falls below the city of Karkísiá قرقيسيا into the Euphrates. The Tigris passes in its course the towns of Balad بلد and el-Mausil: it receives below el-Mausil and above the Hodaïbiyah (the rough country) of el-Mausil حديبية الموصل, the river ez-Záb الزاب, from Arminiyah; this is the greater Záb, farther on the other Záb, which comes equally from Arminiyah and Aderbaïján, pours its waters into it. The Tigris proceeds to Tikrít, Sámarrá سامرا, and Bagdád, receiving the Khandak الخندق, es-Soráh الصراه (الكراه), and nahr-'Isa نهر عيسي: these are the canals which we have said run from the Euphrates into the Tigris. When the Tigris has

* بلاد قردي وبازندي or بلاد قزوين وبارندي. The copy of Leyden bears بلاد قرندا وزاهدرا من بلاد الموصل from the country of Karendá, and the (river) Zahadrá comes from el-Mausil.

quitted Bagdád, it receives a great many rivers (canals), like the Badnál بدنال (برنال or بداک), and Nahras نهرس (Nahr-Nar, or Nahr-Shír?), the Nahr-Wán, not far from Jarjaráyá جرجرایا, es-Síb السیب, and No'mániyah النعمانیة. Having passed the town of Wásit, the Tigris is divided into several branches; some of which run into the marshes of el-Basrah, as the river called Baradúd بردود, or the el-Yahúdí river, and the Shamí (or Samarrí) branch. On the stream which goes to el-'Akar العقر (القطر), the greatest part of the navigation from Bagdád and Wásit to el-Basrah, is carried on. The whole course of the Tigris is about three or four hundred farsangs.

We have omitted many rivers, describing only the larger ones, which are better known; for we entered into details in our works, the Akhbár ez-zemán and the Kitáb el-ausat. We shall give further notices in this book of rivers which have been named, and of such as we have omitted to mention.

El-Basrah has several great rivers, like the Nahr-Shírín شیرین, Nahr-ed-Daïr الدیر, and the Nahr-Ibn-'Amr. There are also some considerable rivers in the province of el-Ahwáz and the country between this province and el-Basrah. We forbear entering upon them here, having given accounts of them, and of the shores of the Persian Gulf at el-

Basrah and el-Obollah, and of the place known under the name of Hezárah الحزارة (or el-Herárah), which is a strip of land projecting into the sea*, close to el-Obollah, and which is the cause that the sailors go into the harbour of el-Basrah. There are marks of wood erected for the sailors in the sea, at Hezárah, on the side of el-Obollah and 'Abbádan, which look like three seats in the middle of the water, and upon which fires are burnt by night, to caution the vessels which come from 'Omán, Síráf, and other ports, least they run against the Hezárah; for if they run there, they are wrecked and lost.

* The MS. of Leyden differs from the other two copies, and bears on the contrary, there is a bay دخلة من البحر فى البر in which the vessels lay.

TENTH CHAPTER.

Account of the Abyssinian sea, its extent, gulfs, and straits.

ESTIMATES have been made respecting the extent of the Indian sea, which is identical with the Abyssinian sea: its length from the most western part of Abyssinia as far as China in the east, is eight thousand miles, and its breadth is in one place two thousand seven hundred, and in another one thousand nine hundred miles, for it varies in different places. These dimensions have been disputed, but we will not enter into the different statements, because there are no proofs upon which they rest. This is the greatest sea of the habitable world. It has a gulf extending from Abyssinia as far as Berberá, a country situated between the territory of the Zanj and the Abyssinians. This gulf is called the Berberian gulf الخليج البربري, it is five hundred miles long, and at the beginning and end one hundred miles wide. These are not the Berbers برابرة who live west of Afrikiyah (Africa provincia), for that is a different country although it has the same name. The sailors of 'Omán go on this sea as far as the island of Kanbalú قنبلو, in the sea of the

Zanj. This island is inhabited by Moslims, and by Zanj who have not embraced th Islám. The sailors of 'Omán to whom we have just alluded, believe that this gulf, which is called the Berberian gulf, and with them the *sea* of the Berbers and of the country of Jofúní بلاد جغونى, is much greater than we have said. The waves of this sea are huge like high mountains.

These are blind waves موجاعمى; this (marine) term means waves which rise as high as mountains, and between which abysses open like the deepest valleys but they do not break; hence no foam is created like that produced by the collision of the waves, in other seas. They believe that these waves are enchanted. The sailors of 'Oman who sail on this sea are Arabs, of the tribe of el-Azd الازد, and when they are on board a ship, sometimes lifted up by these waves, and then again sinking between them; —they say verses whilst they are at work, as, "O Berberá and Jofúní and thy enchanted waves. Jofúní, and Barberá, and their waves, as thou seest them."

These sailors go on the sea ez-Zánj as far as the island of Kanbalú قنبلوا and the Sofálah (low country), of the Demdemah*, which is on the extremity

* One copy bears بلاد سغالة و الواودان and another MS. سغالة الواقواق. It does not require any explanation why these two readings have been changed in the translation.

of the country of the Zanj and the low countries اسافل thereabout. The merchants of Síráf السير افيون are also in the habit of sailing on this sea. I have made a voyage on it from Sohár*, which is the capital of 'Omán, with a crew of Sírafians; they are the owners of the vessels like Mohammed Ben Zindibúd and Jauher Ben Ahmad, known under the name of Ibn Shírah محمد بن زندبود† وجوهر بن احمد المعروف بابن شيرة (نسود), who perished in this sea with his whole crew.

And, in 304 A.H., I made a voyage from the island of Kanbalú to 'Omán, in a vessel of Ahmad and 'Abd es-Samad عبد الصمد, brothers of 'Abd er-Rahím Ben Ja'fer of Síráf. I passed then the spot where, subsequently, the vessel of Ahmad and 'Abd es-Samad was wrecked, and where these two men perished with their whole crew. When I made my first voyage on this sea, Ahmad Ben Helál Ben Okht el-Kattál احمد بن هلال بن اخت القتال

* Both copies bear Sinjar سنجار, and M. Quatremère followed this reading in the extract which he gives of this passage in the Mémoires sur l'Egypte, vol. ii., page 182, the true reading seems to be صحار.

† The MS. of Cambridge gives him the name محمد بن ريدوم السيرا فى Mohammed Ben Zeidum (?) of Síráf. It is probably the same person as Abu Zeid of Siraf, in Reinaudot, (p. 39).

was Emír of 'Omán. I have frequently been at sea; as in the Chinese sea بحر الصين, in the sea of er-Rum, in that of the Khazar الخزر (the Caspian), of el-Kolzom القلزم (the Red Sea), and in the sea of el-Yemen: I have encountered many perils, but I found the sea of the Zanj which we have just described the most dangerous of all.

There is a fish in this sea called el-Owál الأوال (whale), which is from four to five hundred 'Omarí cubits الذراع العمرى long; these are the cubits in use in this sea. The usual length of this fish is one hundred perches باع. Frequently when it swims through the sea only the extremities of the two fins are to be seen, and it looks like the sail of a ship قلع وهو الشراع. Generally the head of the whale is out of water; and when it powerfully ejects water, it gushes into the air more than one bowshot high. The vessels are afraid of it by day and night, and they beat drums دبادب and wooden poles to drive it away. This fish drives with its tail and fins other fish into its open mouth, and they pass down its throat with the stream of water. When the whale sins God sends a fish about one cubit long called esh-Shak الشك*, it adheres to the root of its tail

* Quatremère translates this passage in his Mémoires sur l'Egypte, vol. ii., p. 491, and found this word written *sal;* one of my copies bears الشك.

and the whale has no means to make itself free from it. It goes therefore to the bottom of the sea and beats itself to death; its dead body floats on the water and looks like a great mountain. The fish called esh-Shak, adheres frequently to the whale. The whales, notwithstanding their size, do not approach vessels; and they take flight when they see this little fish, for it is their destruction*.

In the same way a little animal which lives on the banks and islands of the Nile, is the destruction of the crocodile. The crocodile has no natural passage through its body; and whatever it eats is turned into worms in its belly: when it feels any inconvenience it goes out on the land and lays on its back, opens its mouth, and there come the water-birds like the Taïtawï† الطيطوي, the Hasáni الحصاني (الحصاني), the Shámirek الشامرك, and other sorts of birds, to eat the large worms which may be

* The translation of M. Quatremère of this sentence runs, "L'okal qui ose attaquer un vaisseau, quoique grand qu'il soit, prend la fuite dès qu'il apperçoit ce petit poisson qui est son plus terrible ennemi." This sounds much better than the translation which I give. Since probability and the authority of this distinguished orientalist is against me, I transcribe the original after three copies, فلا تدنوا الاوال مع عظمها من المراكب و تهرب اذا رات هذه السمكة الصغيرة اذا كانت افة عليها و قاتلة لها it would certainly be more natural if the words did run فلا تدنوا المراكب من الاوال لعظمها

† See Calilah et Dimnah, p. 124.

in the belly of the crocodile. This little animal watching in the sand, seizes this opportunity to jump on its scales, and goes down its throat. The crocodile throws itself violently on the ground, and goes to the bottom of the Nile. The little animal devours its intestines and gnaws its way out. This little animal is generally about one cubit long, resembles a weasel, and has legs and claws.

In the sea of the Zanj are many and variously shaped species of fish, if people do not tell stories to cover their ignorance. But as it is not our object to relate the wonders of the sea, nor to describe the aquatic animals, serpents, and other strange creatures, which live in it, we will now return to the description of its various divisions, gulfs, inlets, and tongues of land. Another gulf of the Abyssinian sea is that which comes up to the town of el-Kolzom القلزم, which belongs to Egypt, and is three days from Fostát. On this gulf is the city of Aïlah, the Hejáz*, Joddah جدة, and Yemen. It is one thousand four hundred miles long, and where it is widest two hundred miles broad. Opposite the mentioned places as Aïlah and the Hejáz, on the western coast of this gulf is el-'Allákí, el-'Aïdáb العيذاب, which belongs to Upper Egypt, the country of el-Bojah ارض البجة; then Abyssinia and Nigritia

* The MSS. bear الحان and الحاد.

بلاد السودان, which form the coast of the Red Sea, as far as the frontiers of the Sofálahs, (low district,) اسافيلـ of the Zanj. At the Sofálah of the country of the Zanj another gulf branches off, and this is the Persian sea which comes up to el-Obollah, to the Khashabát, الخشبات, (the wooden sea-marks), and to 'Abbádán عبادان, which belongs to el-Basrah. The length of this gulf is one thousand four hundred miles, and the breadth at the entrance five hundred miles, but in some places it is not above one hundred and fifty miles wide. This gulf has a triangular shape, at one angle el-Obollah is situated, thence the gulf extends towards the east along Fáris. Of the places situated on this coast, we name Persian Daurak دورق الفرس, Máherbán ماهربان (Mahrúbán), and Shíníz; from this town the embroidered Shínízee cloth has its name; for this and other sorts of clothes are manufactured there: farther the town of Jannábah, whence the Jannabee cloth الثياب الجنابية has its name*; the town of Najíram نجيرم, belonging to Síráf سيراف, then the countries of Ibn† 'Imárah عمارة (ابن), the coast of Kermán and the coast

* These manufacturing and other towns were destroyed at the time of Abúl-Fedá owing to the rule of the Turkish soldiers, whom the 'Abbásides had called in to keep up the course of absolutism against their own nation.

† Some copies leave out the word Ibn.

of Mokrán مكران, which is the country of the Khawárij, who are Heretics الشراة وهم الخوارج. The whole of this coast is a palm country: then comes the coast of es-Sind there are the mouths of the river Mihrán مهران, which is the river of es-Sind (Indus), and has been described. In the es-Sind is the town of ed-Daïbol. Then comes the coast of India, the country of Borúdh بروض, whence the Borúdhí cinnabar has its name. Thence extends one interrupted coast as far as China, partly cultivated, partly waste.

On the coast opposite the mentioned countries as Kermán and es-Sind is el-Bahraïn, the islands of Kotr قطر, the Shatt of the Benî Jadîmah شط بني جذيمة, (who belong to the 'Abdel-Kais tribe), Omán, the country of el-Mahrah المهرة, as far as the promontory of el-Jomjomah راس الجمجمة, in the country of esh-Shihr الشحر; on this coast is also el-Ahkáf, and near the coast many islands are situated, like the island of Khárak خارك, which belongs to the country of Jannábah, and has its surname after it: between this island and the continent is a strait of a few miles, in which the pearls called Khárají pearls are found. Another island is called the isle of Awál جزيرة اوال; there live the Benî Ma'n بنو معن, the Benî Mismár مسمار, and a great number of other Arabs. It is about one day or less from the towns of the coast of

Merán, which belongs to el-Bahraïn. On this coast which is called the coast of Hajar هجر, are the towns ez-Zárah الزارة and el-Katíf. القطيف.

After the isle of Awál are many other islands as the isle Láfit لافت, which is also called the island of the Benî Káwán بنى كاوان. It has been conquered by 'Amr Ben el-'Así, and there is his mosque standing to this day. This island is very populous well cultivated, and has several villages. At a short distance from it is the island of Haïjám هيجام. There the sailors take in water. Then the mountains known under the name of Kosaïr, Owaïr, كسير و عوير, and a third one the name of which is not known. Then ed-Dordúr, which is called the terrible Dordúr دردور مسدم, and by the sailors the father of hell; ابو جهنم (ابو حشم) at these parts of the sea rise enormous black rocks high overhanging the water, neither plants nor animals can live on them, and under them the sea is very deep and stormy, hence everybody who sails there is filled with fear; they are between 'Omán and Síráf, and vessels cannot help sailing through the midst of them. There is a constant current of the water which makes it foam. This sea, I mean the Persian gulf, which is also called the Persian sea, is skirted by the countries and towns which we have enumerated, as el-Bahreïn, Fáris, el-Basrah, and Omán, and extends as far as the promontory of el-Jomjomah. Between the Persian

gulf and the gulf of el-Kolzom and Aïlah (the Red Sea,) is the Hejáz and el-Yemen; this land extends fifteen hundred miles between the two gulfs, forming a peninsula which is surrounded for the most part by the sea before described.

On this sea extending from China along India, Fáris, 'Omán, el-Basrah, el-Bahraïn, Yemen, Abyssinia, the Hejáz, el-Kolzom, ez-Zànj, es-Sind, and in the islands which it surrounds, are so many and various nations, that their description and number is known only to the Almighty who has created them, and every section of them has a name by which it is distinguished from the rest. The water forms one uninterrupted sea. There are many places in this sea where they dive for pearls الدر و اللولؤ. On these coasts, cornelians, Mádinj المادينج which is a sort of coral, and different sorts of rubies, sapphires, diamonds, and turquois are found. There are mines of gold and silver in the country of Kolah كلة and Serírah سريرة and on the coast of this sea are mines of iron, in the countries about Kermán. 'Omán produces copper. From the countries which form the coast of this sea, come different sorts of perfumes, scents, ambergis, various drugs used in medicine, plantane, cinamon, cinnabar, and ruscus الخيزران. We shall hereafter specify the places where all those precious stones, perfumes, and plants are found.

This sea which we have described, bears the general name of the Abyssinian Sea بحر الحبشى. The winds of the different parts of this sea which we have described, and every one of which has a distinct name, as the Persian gulf, the sea of Yemen, the sea of el-Kolzom, the sea of Abyssinia, and the sea of ez-Zanj, are different. In some seas the wind comes from the bottom of the sea, stirring up the water; waves rise therefrom as in a boiling kettle, where the particles مواد of the heat of the fire come from underneath. In others winds and storms come partly from the bottom of the sea, partly from the air, and in some seas the wind arises wholly from an agitation of the air without any wind coming from the bottom of the sea. Those winds which, as we have stated, come from the bottom of the sea, arise from the winds which blow from the land and penetrate into the sea, from whence they rise to the surface of the water. God knows best how this comes.

There are several winds in those seas which are known to the sailors to blow in particular directions at certain times. This peculiar knowledge is acquired by theory, practice, and long experience. They also have a knowledge of certain signs and indications by which they can tell whether the wind will be high or not, and when a storm may be expected. What we have said here of the Abyssinian Sea, may be applied in some measure to the Mediterranean,

where the Byzantines and Moslims have certain signs by which they can tell if the wind will change. The same is the case with the sailors of the sea of the Khazar, (the Caspian) who go to Jorján, Taberistán, and ed-Daïlem. We shall give in the following pages, a view and some details of the description and history of those seas, and their wonders, if it is the will of God, for there is no strength but in God.

ELEVENTH CHAPTER.

The different opinions on ebb and flow, and all that has been said on this subject.

Flow المد means the coming in of the water according to its nature and the laws of its motion. The ebb الجزر is the going out of the water, and rests on laws which are the reverse of those of the flow. This may be observed in the Abyssinian sea, which comprehends the seas of China, India, and the gulfs of el-Berberá and Fáris, as we have said in the preceding chapter. With respect to the ebb and flow, the seas may be divided into three classes, the first of which comprehends those seas in which ebb and flow take place, and are apparent and evident; the other in which ebb and flow take place, but are not perceptible; and finally, there are seas in which there is no ebb and flow at all. In those seas which have no ebb and flow, the cause of their absence may be threefold. The first cause is this: if the water remains some time quiet it becomes salt, heavier, and denser: it happens frequently that the water goes into certain places for one cause or another, and forms a sort of lake, diminishing in

summer, and increasing in winter, and one may observe that it is increased by the accession of rivers and springs. To the second class belong those seas which are far from land and extensive, a circumstance which renders it impossible to observe the ebb and flow. The third class comprehends such seas as are on volcanic ground, for if the ground is in volcanic action the water is in a constant current to another sea, being increased in volume and swelled by the air which is originally in the earth, and thence communicated to the water. This is particularly frequent with seas that have an extensive line of coast and many islands*.

A variety of opinions have been started respecting the causes of the ebb and flow. Some ascribe them to the influence of the moon, for she being congenial

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* والصنف الثالث البحار التي يكون الغالب علي ارضها التخلخل لان اذا كانت ارضها متخلخلة نفذ الماء منها الي غيرها من البحار و "تخلخل وانتشّت بالرياح الكاينة في ارضها اولا وغلبت الرياح عليها واكثر مايكون هذا في ارجا البحار والجزاير

تخلخل Means an increase in volume without an (apparent) addition of matter. If this increase be effected by heat it is التخلخل الحقيقي, and if by the absorption of another stuff as air and humidity, it is called التخلخل المجازي. The secondary meaning, which alone is found in Dictionaries is to boil.

with water makes it warm and expands it. They compare her influence with that of fire: if water is exposed to the influence of heat in a kettle, although only one-half or two-thirds of the kettle be full, it will rise when it boils, until it runs over, for its volume becomes apparently double whilst its weight is diminished, it being a law of heat to expand bodies, and a law of cold to contract them. The bottom of the sea becomes warm, and by these means sweet water is produced in the earth, which is changed (into salt water) and becomes warm, as it happens in cisterns and wells. When the water is warm it expands, and when it is expanded, it is increased in volume; and when its volume is great, every particle pushes the particle next to itself, and so it raises the level as it rises from the bottom, for it requires more space. The full moon communicates a great deal of heat to the atmosphere, hence the water increases in volume. This is called the monthly tide (spring tide).

The Abyssinian sea runs from east to west along the equator; after this line the moveable heavenly bodies and those fixed stars which stand vertically over it make their daily revolutions. When the moveable bodies are at a sufficient distance from the equator their action upon the sea is suspended, but when they are near the line they exercise their influence upon the sea from one end to the other every day and night; with all that, the

place exposed to their influence shows but little increase; it is therefore particularly in rivers and other channels through which the water flows into the sea, that the flow is distinctly seen.

Others say, if the ebb and flow is the same phenomenon as the expansion of water in a kettle under the influence of fire, which makes the water rise, the sea will, after it has been removed from the bottom of its basin, go according to its nature (gravity), to the deepest places of the earth, and so it will return into its former place, just as the water which boils in a cauldron goes as fast back to the bottom of the vessel as it is displaced by the particles of the fire (heat). Now the sun is the warmest body; and if the sun was the cause of ebb and flow, the latter would begin with the rising of this luminary, and the former with its setting. They believe therefore that ebb and flow is caused by vapours, which are produced in the bowels of the earth and continue to be generated, until they are discharged. This discharge pushes the water of the sea, and it remains in this state until the pressure from underneath it is diminished; then the sea returns to the depths of its bed and the ebb succeeds. Hence ebb and flow take place indiscriminately during day and night, summer and winter, independent of the rising and setting of the sun and moon. They say further the fact is evident, for as soon as the ebb is over the tide comes in, and the end of the

flow is immediately succeeded by the ebb, for the production of these vapours is constant; when they are discharged they are replaced by others. Whenever the water of the sea runs back into its basin vapours are generated by the contact of the water and earth. When the sea returns vapours are produced, and when it rises they are discharged.

The strictly orthodox say, everything, the course and reason, of which cannot be discovered in nature must be ascribed to the (immediate) action of God, and is an additional proof of his unity and wisdom. For ebb and flow no natural cause can be assigned.

Others say the motion of the waters of the sea is not different from the vicissitudes of the temperaments طبايع in men. You may observe in choleric, sanguine, and other persons, that their temperament is roused for a time then it is quiet again. In the same way the sea rises by degrees, and when it has come to the greatest intenseness, it sinks by degrees.

Another hypothesis has been advanced, opposed to those already mentioned. It is assumed that the air which is in contact with the water of the sea, produces a constant decomposition of it: the consequence of which is that the waters of the sea are expanded and rise, and this is the flow; but in the mean time, the water spreads and produces a decomposition of the air which makes the water return into its former place, and this is the ebb. These actions

are constant, and follow each other without interruption, for the water decomposes the air, and the air decomposes the water. It may be greater when the moon is full, for the activity of this (chemical) change is increased. The moon is therefore the reason of a more copious flow, but not of the flow altogether, for the flow takes place although the moon be in the last quarter. And the tide in the Persian gulf is sometimes greatest at the rising of the first quarter.

Many of the Nawájidah نواجدة [this is the name for the sailors of Siráf and 'Oman, who are constantly on this sea, and visit various nations in the islands and on the coast,] say that the ebb and flow takes place only twice a year in the greatest part of this sea, once in the summer months, then the ebb is six months north-east, during which the sea of China and of other countries of that quarter of the globe is high, for the water flows then from the west; and once in the winter months, then the ebb is six months south-west, for in winter the sea is fuller in the west, whilst the sea of China ebbs. The motions of the sea cohere with the course of the winds, for when the sun is in the northern hemisphere, the air moves to the south, hence the sea is during summer higher in the south, for the northern winds are high and force the water there. In the same way when the sun is in the southern hemisphere; the course of the air, and with it the

current of the water, is from south to north, and hence there is less water in the south. The shifting of the water in these two directions, from south to north and from north to south is called the hyemal ebb and flow; the ebb of the north is flow, in the south *vice versa*, and if the moon* happens to meet with another planet in one of these two directions, the warmth is increased by their joined action, and hence the current of the air is stronger towards the hemisphere which is opposite to that where the sun is.

El-Mas'údí says, this is the hypothesis of el-Kindi and Ahmad Ben et-Taïb es-Sarakhsi, and what we have said is borrowed from them; namely, that the motion of the sea coincides with the course of the winds. I saw a curious phenomenon in the country of Kanbáyat in India, from which the laced Kanbayan shoes النعال الكنبايتية have their name, for they are made in this and the neighbouring towns like Sindán† and Súbárah سوبارة (Súfárah). I visited this place in 303, A.H., during the government of Bábiná بابنا

* The text is probably corrupted and should run, and if the sun happens to meet with the moon or another planet, &c.

† Some MSS. bear سندارة, and others شهران; supposing the first part of the word being correctly spelt in the first reading, and the finale ان in the second, we have the name which Abúl-fedá gives to a town on the coast of India, viz., سندان.

(ياتيا), who was appointed there as Brahman برهمني by the Ballahrá* البلهري, the sovereign of el-Mânkír المانكير. This Bábiná liked to enter into disputations with Moslims or persons of any other religion, who visited his province. The above-mentioned town is situated on an estuary which is as wide as the Nile, or like the Tigris and Euphrates. On the banks of the estuary one sees towns, villas, cultivation, gardens, palms, cocoanut-trees, guinea-fowls, parrots, and other Indian birds. The city of Kambayah is two days or less distant from the mouth of this estuary. The ebb is so marked in this estuary that the sand lays quite bare, and only in the middle of the bed remains a little water. I saw a dog on this sand, which was left dry by the water like the sand of a desert; the tide coming in from the sea like a mountain caught him although he ran as fast as he could to the land to escape, and the poor animal was drowned notwithstanding his swiftness. Between el-Basrah and el-Ahwaz in the places called el-Básiyán البا سيان and el-Kaïdem القيدم, the tide comes in with equal violence and is called there the crime (Boare†), full of noise, ebuli-

* The original title of this prince is according to the Mefátih el-'olúm, بهلو اي Behlwày or بلو هر Balúhar.

† See Major Rennel's Memoirs on the map of Hindoostan, p. 353, who describes the passage of the Boare up the Hoogly.

tion, and danger: the sailors are afraid of it, and the place is well known to everybody who has passed it on his way to Daurak دورق and Fáris.

TWELFTH CHAPTER.

The sea of er-Rúm (the Mediterranean), its length and breadth, beginning and end.

THE sea of er-Rúm الروم, of Tarsus طرسوس, Adanah ادناة, el-Missísah المصيصة, Antákiyah (Antioch), el-Ládikíyah اللا دقية (Laodocia), Atrábolos اطرابلس (Tripolis), Súr صور, and of other places on the coast of Syria and Egypt, as of Alexandria and on the coast of the Maghrib, is five thousand miles long; the breadth varies being in some places eight hundred miles, in others seven hundred, six hundred and less; so it is stated in the astronomical works of many authors of astronomical tables, as Mohammed Ben Jâber el-Battání محمد بن جابر البتاني. This sea begins from the strait which connects it with the sea Okianos (the Atlantic), and which is narrowest between the coast of Tanjah طنجة (Tangiers) and Sabtah سبتة (Ceuta), in the Maghrib, and between the coast of el-Andalos (Spain); this narrow passage has the name of Saïtá سبطا (Ceuta), the distance between the two coasts is not more than ten miles;

hence it is the route to cross over from the Maghrib to el-Andalos, and from el-Andalos into the Maghrib. It is generally called the Zokák الزقاق (lane). We shall speak in our account of Egypt of the bridge, which joined the two coasts, and of the navigation on this sea; also that the island of Kobros قبرس (Cyprus) and el-'Arísh العريش were once connected by land, so that caravans passed from one place to another.

On the limits where these two seas, the Mediterranean and the Ocean join, pillars of copper and stone, have been erected by King Hirakl the giant*. Upon these pillars are inscriptions and figures, which show with their hands that one cannot go further, and that it is impracticable to navigate beyond the Mediterranean into that sea (the ocean), for no vessel sails on it: there is no cultivation nor a human being, and the sea has no limits neither in its depths nor extent, for its end is unknown. This is the sea of darkness, also called the green sea or the surrounding sea بحر الظلمات و الاخضر و المحيط Some say that these pillars are not on this strait, but in some islands of the ocean and their coast.

Some people consider this sea as the origin of all

* Hirakl هرقل is generally the Arabic name for Heraclius but here, as the reader perceives, the pillars in question are the *columnæ Herculis*.

others. There are some wonderful stories related respecting it, for which we refer the reader to our book the Akhbár ez-zemán; there he will find an account of those crews who have risked their lives in navigating this sea, and who of them have escaped, and who have been shipwrecked, also what they have encountered and seen. Such an adventurer was a Moor of Spain, of the name of Khoshkhash خشخش He was a young man of Cordoba: having assembled some young men they went on board a vessel which they had ready on the ocean, and nobody knew for a long time what had become of them. At length they came back loaded with rich booty. Their history is well known among the people of el-Andalos (the Moors in Spain).

The length of this strait which forms a current from the ocean into the Mediterranean is considerable, extending from the mentioned pillars as far as el-Ahjár. The current from the ocean is so great that it is perceptible. From the sea of er-Rúm, of Syria and Egypt, a gulf branches off which is five hundred miles long, and passes the city of Rome مدينة رومية. This gulf is called the Adriatic ادرس in the language of Rome. West of this strait* (or

* One copy leaves out this sentence altogether, and the other gives it incomplete; for it seems that the author continued his account of the Adriatic naming some towns of Italy situated on it before he comes again to speak of the strait of Gibraltar. This description of the Adriatic however is left out in all MS.

gulf) a town is situated, named Sabtah (Ceuta), it lays on the same side as Tanjah, opposite the cities on the coast of Spain, and the Jebel Tárik جبل طارق (Gibraltar), so named after the freed-slave of Músá Ben Nosaïr. The time for crossing from Sabtah to Spain is from morning to noon. This strait is very boisterous, and there is sometimes a great swell although there is no wind, for the water runs through it into the Mediterranean. The Moors in Spain and in the Maghrib call this strait *Lane* الزقاق, for it has this shape.

There are various islands in the Mediterranean, as the isle of Cyprus قبرس, between the coast of Syria and er-Rúm, Rhodes رودس, opposite Alexandria, Crete اقريطش, and Sicily صقلية. We shall speak of Sicily when we treat of the mount Borkán برکان (Ætna), which throws out fire variously shaped, representing sometimes enormous carcases. Ya'kúb Ben Ishak el-Kindí and Ahmad Ben et-Taïb es-Sarakhsi يعقوب بن اسحق الكندي واحمد بن الطيب السرخسي, differ respecting the length and breadth of this sea from the account which we have given, as we shall have an opportunity to observe further in this book where we describe these seas according to the plan of the work.

THIRTEENTH CHAPTER.

On the sea of Nitus (Pontus), and Máyotis (Mæotis), and the strait of Constantinople.*

THE Pontus extends from the country of Ládikah لاذقة to Constantinople, and has a length of one thousand one hundred miles. Its breadth at the beginning is three hundred miles. The great river, named Tanábus طنابس (Danube), which we have

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* The name of this sea being variously spelt in different copies, the spelling of Abulfeda has been followed in page 30, *supra*; for although this author may be incorrect in some cases, he is more correct than any other Oriental geographer, particularly in the orthography of proper names, and his geography has lately been published by M. Reinaud and Baron Slane, with such exactness, that it must be considered as the standard work and canon in writing geographical names. Most copists write مابطس, and this seems to be the correct way of spelling it; for if we add the vowels مايُطِس we have as nearly the Greek word Μαιωτις, as it can be expressed in Arabic. It appears for the rest from this chapter that the Arabs had exceedingly wrong notions respecting the Pontus, as well as the Palus Mæotis; for although they had in the earliest time pushed their conquests as far as the coasts of the Black Sea, and although they carried on some trade on it, they referred in geography, as well as in other branches of human knowledge, seldom to experience, being led entirely by the authority of more ancient information, which was frequently misunderstood.

already mentioned falls into this sea. It comes from the north, and runs through the country of many Japhetite nations. It rises from a large lake in the north, which receives its water from springs and mountains. The course of this river is about three hundred farsangs long. Its banks are all along cultivated by the children of Yáfeth Ben Núh. It flows through the sea of Máyotis into the Pontus, according to the opinion of many well-informed men. This is a large river in which there are various stones, plants, and medical substances, and hence notice has been taken of it by many ancient philosophers.

Some people consider the sea of Máyotis as a lake, to which they give a length of three hundred miles, and a width of one hundred miles. From this sea the strait of Constantinople branches off, which connects it with the Mediterranean; the length of this strait is three hundred miles, and its breadth on an average fifty miles. On its western bank Constantinople is situated, and there runs an uninterrupted line of cultivation from the beginning of this strait to the end, and as far as Rome and Spain. The opinions of those astronomers must therefore be true, who maintain that the sea of the Targhiz الترغز*, Russians الروس, and

* This name is mostly spelt البرغز or not dotted at all. I suppose it is the same nation as the Tyragetes of Herodotus.

Nagaïz*, who are three nations of Turkish origin, is the same as the Pontus. We shall speak of these nations in the progress of our work if it is the will of God the Almighty, distinguishing those who sail on this sea from those who do not navigate it.

* Amongst the various readings بحر (نجيز) seems to be the most correct. The Nagaïz live north-east of the Black Sea towards Stavropol.

FOURTEENTH CHAPTER.

The sea of Báb el-Abwáb, of the Khazar and of Jorján (the Caspian), and the relation in which the seas stand to each other.

THE sea of the Barbarians* بحر الاعاجم which is so called because their abodes are on its coast, is surrounded from all sides with cultivation; it is generally known under the name of the sea of Báb el-Abwáb† بحر باب والابواب, the sea of the Khazar, of el-Jíl (Ghilán), of ed-Daïlem, of Jorján, and of Taberistan. On this sea live various nations of Turkish origin. It extends along Khowárezm which forms a province of Khorásán, and is eight hundred miles long, its breadth is six hundred

* العجم means any person who is not Arab, but particularly the Persians. In this passage it must be taken in the more extensive meaning, in which it answers exactly to the Latin *barbarus*. Ibn Khaldún uses in this sense the expression الحيوان العجم "a wild animal."

† Our author writes this name in all instances Báb wal-Abwáb, *i.e.*, the gate and the gates, instead of Báb el-Abwáb, *i.e.*, the gate of the gates, and comes therefore nearer to the ancient name *Portæ Caucasiæ*.

miles, and it has nearly a round shape. In the progress of our work we will describe all the nations who live on this sea, which has the name of the sea of the Barbarians.

In this sea are many Tenánín*, which is the plural of Tinnín. They are equally frequent in the Mediterranean, particularly about Tripolis, Laodicea, and Jebel el-Akra', in the district of Antioch, for under this mountain the sea is deep and boisterous; hence this place is called the Knot of the Sea عجرة البحر. On the coast of this sea are situated Antioch, Rashíd, Sakandarúnah† (Alexandria Ciliciæ), Hisn el-Markab‡, on the mountain el-Lokkám, Missisah, where the river Jaïhán falls into the sea, Adanah اذنة with the mouth of the Saïhan, Tarsus with the river el-Berdán البردان, which is the river of Tarsus; further on is waste land, which forms the frontier between the Moslim and the Byzantine

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* It appears from what follows, that tinnín (in Hebrew, tannin), which is the usual word for dragon, means originally water-spout, and that the signification dragon owes its origin to the popular belief, that the water-spout is a sea-monster, which, according to el-Kazwíní, has sometimes a length of two farsangs. Some further details, respecting the fables to which this phenomenon has given rise, as those of the Gorgons, of Perseus and Andromeda, of St. George, &c., will be given in the additional notes.

† The MSS. bear Alexandria, although it comes later.

‡ The MSS. bear المنقب and المنصب.

territory: then we come to the towns of Kalamiah قلمية, Yúnos يونس, and Kerásiá قراسيا; then to Solúkiah سلوقية, which has a large river that falls into the Mediterranean; from thence the sea is skirted with a line of fortresses, which extends as far as Constantinople. We have omitted many rivers of the Byzantine dominions which fall into this sea, as the Cold River النهر البارد, the Honey River نهر العسل, and many others. The coast of the Maghrib, beginning from the strait on which Tangiers is situated, is equally in a flourishing state of cultivation all along the coast of Afríkiya, Súsah, Tripolis, the Maghrib, (in its narrower sense), Alexandria, Rashíd, and Dimyát, up to the Byzantine frontier, which joins the coast formed by the Byzantine dominions: further on is the coast of Rome, and beyond it the coast of Spain as far as the coast opposite Tangiers, on the strait from which we began our description. The whole coast just described presents an uninterrupted line of well-cultivated countries, belonging partly to the Moslims, partly to the Roman dominions, and intersected by several rivers which fall into the sea and the strait of Constantinople, which is only one mile wide. This sea has several gulfs and estuaries, but they are merely inlets, and do not communicate with any other sea.

The shape of this sea has been compared to a

cabbage الكرنب, of which the strait of Gibraltar forms the stalk; but it will appear, by comparing the length and breadth which we have given, that it is not round.

The Tinníns (dragons) are quite unknown in the Abyssinian sea and in its numerous estuaries and bays. They are most frequent near the Atlantic اقيانش. Different opinions have been advanced as to what the dragon is: some believe that it is a black wind in the bottom of the sea, which rises into the air, that is to say, the atmosphere الجو, as high as the clouds, like a hurricane whirling dust aloft as it rises from the ground, and destroying vegetation. The shape of the dragon becomes longer the higher it ascends in the air.

Some people believe that the dragon is a black serpent which rises into the air, the clouds are at the same time black, all is dark, and this is succeeded by a terrible wind.

Some are of opinion that it is an animal which lives in the bottom of the sea, and that, when it is haughty and overbearing, God sends an angel in a cloud, who draws it out. It has the shape of a black shining serpent. When it is carried through the air it goes so high that it does not touch any thing with its tail, excepting, perhaps, very high buildings or trees; but it frequently damages many trees. It is carried in the clouds to Yájúj and Májúj (Gog and Magog). The clouds

kill the dragon through cold and rain, and give it to Gog and Magog to devour. This is the opinion of Ibn 'Abbás. There are various other popular traditions respecting the dragon, which are recorded by biographers of Mohammed and other prophets, but we cannot insert them all here. They say, for instance, that the dragons are black serpents which live in the desert, whence they pass, by rivers swelled by rains, into the sea. They feed there on sea animals, grow to an immense size, and live a long time; but when one of them has reached an age of five hundred years, it becomes so oppressive to sea animals, that there happens something like what we have related, as being the account of Ibn 'Abbás. Some, they state, are white, and others black like serpents.

The Persians do not deny the existence of dragons. They believe that they have seven heads*, they call them الاحدعان†, and allude frequently

* The representation of the constellation called Dragon in el-Kazwíní (MS. of the East India House, No. 1377,) has equally seven heads.

* By the change of د into ر we may pronounce this word el-Agorghán الاجرغان, which would leave no doubt of the identity with the Greek name *Gorgons*. In this case the name of Perseus could be derived from the Persian word Perí پری which means an angel. Several pages being wanting in the MS. of Leyden, I have this passage, unfortunately, only in one MS., else the comparison with other copies would show how far this

to them in their tales. God knows best what the dragons really are.

Many persons believe the stories connected with this subject, whilst they are rejected by many sound men. We will not repeat tales like that of 'Imrán Ben Jábir, who is said to have reached the sources of the Nile, and to have crossed the sea on the back of an animal, laying hold of its hair This, they say, was a marine animal, of such celerity that it accompanied the sun in its course. By seizing its hair 'Imrán crossed the sea, seeking the bed of the sun, at once he saw the Nile as it comes forth from golden palaces; they say also that the angel who guards the sources of the Nile gave him a bunch of grapes, and that he returned to the man who had seen him when he set out, to describe to him how he had managed to reach the Nile,

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conjecture is correct, and whether the Greeks have borrowed the fable of the Gorgons, and of Perseus and Andromeda from the Persians, or whether they owe it to the Syrians and Phœnicians. For the rest it is very likely that الاحدعان is to be read as two words: in this case the translation would run, "And they give to them a name which sounds *'án* (or rather ghán; for the Persians have not the sound of the ع) in the singular."

The Kámús, p. 1728, informs us that the Persian name for the *constellation* called Dragon (التنين) is (هفترنگ). This word (Haftorang) occurs repeatedly in the Zend-Avesta, and has been mistaken by Anquetil Duperron for the Great Bear.

but he found him dead. They relate further some adventures which he had with the devil, several tales respecting the bunch of grapes, and other stories.

It is asserted on the authority of a tradition (of the Prophet), that in the middle of the green sea, (ocean) are all sorts of curious stones and gold, on four pillars of ruby, sapphire, emerald, and chrysolith, from every pillar comes forth a river, and these four rivers go from the ocean into the four quarters of the globe without mixing with the sea water. The first of these four rivers is the Nile, the second is the Jaïhán (in Syria) جيحان, the third, the Saïhán سيحان, and the fourth is the Euphrates*.

Another story of this sort is, that the angel to

* In Boun-Dehesh it is said that all the rivers fall into the Ferakh-kand, and come from thence; meaning, no doubt, by the evaporation of the water, which falls down as rain, and forms the rivers. The vulgar version of this theory, which is related here, afforded an opportunity to connect a fiction with the sacred rivers, of which there are everywhere four in Eastern tradition, although they do not agree as to their identity. Compare the note to page 243, *supra*.

This idea had been known to the Greeks, and defended by some of their philosophers in its grossest version. "Some think," says Aristotle, *Meteor.* ii., 2, "that the rivers *flow* (ῥεῖν) from the sea, and again into the sea: they become sweet by being filtered in their passage through the earth, and loose by this means their saltness."

whose care the seas are confided immerges the heel of his foot into the sea at the extremity of China, and, as the sea is swelled, the flow takes place. Then he raises his foot from the sea, and the water returns into its former place, and this is the ebb. They demonstrate this by an example: If a vessel is only half full of water, and you put your hand or foot into it, the water will fill the whole vessel, and, when you take out the hand, the water will be as before. Some think that the angel puts only the great toe of his right foot into the water, and that this is the cause of the tide.

The theories* just alluded to are neither proved

* و ما ذكرناه فغير ممتنع كونه ولا واجب و هو داخل في خبر الجايز و الممكن لان طريقها فى النقل طريق الافراد والاحاد ولم يرد من مجي التواتر والاستفاضة من الاخبار الموجوبة للعلم (read للحكم) والعلل القاطعة للغدر فى نقل فان قارنها دلايل يوجب صحتها وجب التسليم لها والانقياد الي ما اوجب الله علينا من الاخبار الشرعية والعمل بها لقوله تعالي وما اتاكم الرسول فخذوه وما نهاكم عنه فانتهوا وان لم يصح ما ذكرنا فقد وصفنا الغاظ ما قاله الناس في ذلك وانما ذكرنا ذلك ليعلم من قرا هذا الكتاب انا قد اجتهدنا فيما اوردناه فى هذه الكتاب وغيره من كتبنا ولم يعزب عنا فهم ما قاله الناس في ساير ما ذكرنا ۞

As the

as facts, nor are they articles of faith (although they are put into the mouth of Mohammed): they belong to that class of traditions which may be believed or rejected, for they rest ultimately on the authority of only one (of the companions of the Prophet), and but few have handed them down: they cannot be traced to many (of the companions), nor have they ever been generally acknowledged. And this is required to give to traditions authority, removing all possibility of interpolation. Only, if a tradition is founded on such (historical) evidence, which leaves no doubt respecting its authority, one must subject (one's reason) to it, and be guided by it; for God has commanded that sacred traditions should be considered as positive laws, in the words "Receive what the Prophet has given (permitted) to you, and forbear from what he forbids you:" but the above traditions have not the character of authenticity. We have explained the different opinions on this subject. We have thought it necessary to enter into these details, in order to convince the reader that we are competent to judge on the questions which have

As the word اجتهدنا, which has been taken in the translation as a technical term, and applying only to the knowledge of law, might be translated, "And we have made ourselves master of the subjects on which we speak in this book," the original text has been added.

reference to revelation, alluded to in this or in any other of our works, and that he may not be misled by the misconstruction of critics of some other subjects on which we have treated.

Some people count four seas in the cultivated world, others five, others six, and some bring them to seven; all of which are connected and uninterrupted. The first is the Abyssinian sea بحر الحبشي, then the Mediterranean الرومي, the Pontus بنطس, the Máyotis مايطس, the Khazarian sea الخزري, and the Ocean اقيانس, which is also called the Green Sea, the Surrounding Sea, and the Dark Sea. The sea Máyotis is connected with the Pontus, which communicates with the Mediterranean through the strait of Constantinople; and the Mediterranean stands again in connexion with the Ocean or the Green Sea; they form therefore only one sea, as the waters are not separated. But they are in no connexion whatever with the sea of the Khazar (the Caspian). The Máyotis and Pontus should also be considered as one sea, and although these two seas, the greater of which is called the Pontus بنطس, and the smaller and narrower Máyotis* مايطس, are only connected by a strait; one ought to give to both together only one name, calling them

* Both copies bear, the smaller sea is called Pontus, and the larger Máyotis. This must be a fault of the copyists.

either Pontus or Máyotis. If we use hereafter the name Pontus or Máyotis, be it understood that the terms are to be taken in this meaning, (each of these two names) implying the smaller and the greater sea.

El-Mas'údí says, many people have the wrong opinion that the sea of the Khazar stands in connexion with the Máyotis, but I have not seen one merchant who goes into the country of the Khazar, nor anybody else who sails on the sea of Máyotis and Pontus, to the Byzantine dominions or to the Targhiz, who agreed with the opinion that the sea of the Khazar is connected with any other sea either by a canal or by a strait, or in any other way excepting through the river of the Khazar. We will speak of the kingdom of the Khazar, and how the Russians brought their vessels into this (the Caspian) sea, (from the Black Sea), which happened after the year three hundred (of the Hijrah), in the chapter on the Caucasus and the town of Báb-el-Abwáb.

I have referred to many ancient and modern authors who have a great knowledge of the sea, and found that they state in their works that the strait of Constantinople begins from the sea of Máyotis, and proceeds to the sea of the Khazar, connecting them. I cannot comprehend how they come to this idea; whether they know it from experience, or whether they deduce it from premises and conclusions, or perhaps they are under wrong impressions,

and believe that the Russians who sail on this sea (the Black Sea) are the Khazar. I sailed from Aboskún ابسكون, which is a seaport on the coast of Jorján, to Taberistan, and other countries, and asked every merchant and sailor possessed of any knowledge, whom I met, respecting this point, and every one of them informed me that one could not come by water into the Black Sea, except by the way which had been taken by the Russians. The inhabitants of er-Rúm, Aderbaïján, el-Baïlkán, [in the country near Berda'ah and other provinces,] of ed-Daïlem, el-Jíl, Jorján, and Taberistan, were alarmed and made a general rise against them, for they had never before seen an enemy coming against them from those quarters, nor was such an invasion recorded since the most remote time. The fact to which we have just alluded is well known in the above-mentioned cities, nations, and countries, and they cannot deny it on account of its publicity. It happened in the reign of Ibn Abí-s-Sáj.

I read in a book, which bears the name of el-Kindí, and his disciple, es-Sarakhsí, who lived with the Khalíf el-Mo'tadhed, that there is a great lake in the north, at the extremity of the habitable world, extending as far as the north pole, and that there is a town near this lake of the name of Tuliah تولية, on the limits of the habitable world. This lake is also mentioned in the Memoirs of the Beni el-Monajjim. Ahmad Ben et-Taïb es-Sarakhsí

states, in his Memoir on the seas, waters, and mountains رسالة فى البحار و المياه والجبال, on the authority of el-Kindi, that the Mediterranean is six thousand miles long in its extent from Súr, Atrábolos (Tripolis), Antioch, el-Markab* المرقب, the coast of el-Missísah, Tarsus, and Kalamiah قلمية (قلمة), to the pillars of Hercules, and that it is four hundred miles wide where it is broadest.

This is what el-Kindí and Ibn et-Taïb say. We have now stated what both parties say on this subject, and how far they differ from the astronomers, as we have found in their works, or heard from their followers. We cannot add the proofs with which they strengthen their statements; for we have made it a rule for ourselves to be concise and short in this book.

The various opinions of the Greeks and of other ancient philosophers, on the origin and cause of the seas, have been given in full detail in the second book فن of our Akhbár ez-zemán, which consists of thirty books: there all the theories respecting this subject are specified, under the names of their authors: the present work, however, shall nevertheless contain a summary view of the various theories on this head.

Some are of opinion that the sea is a remnant

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* The MSS. bear المنقب el-Mankib.

of the primitive humidity, the greater portion of which has been dried up by fire, and that portion which remained has undergone a change through the process of burning, and has become salt. Some maintain that, when the whole of the primitive humidity underwent the process of burning under the revolutions of the sun, the pure part was separated, and the rest became salt and bitter*. Some consider the sea as the sweat of the earth†, which is caused by the constant revolutions of the sun round our planet. Some believe that the sea is the rest of the secondary humidity, which was left after the earth had extracted the purer part of it for the production of solid bodies: the same thing happens with sweet water; if you pass it through sand, it will be found salt. Some are of opinion

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* "Some say, the region nearest to the solid mass of the globe was originally occupied by water round the whole earth; but subsequently it was evaporated, and dried up by the heat of the sun; wind, and the revolutions of sun and moon, converted the water which was left into sea (*i.e.*, salt-water)." Aristotle, Meterol. ii., cap 1.

This idea is universal, and is met with as early as Genesis. El-Kazwíní seems to think that the greater part of the water which once surrounded our globe is now concentrated in the southern hemisphere, being attracted by the heat of the sun, which is greatest in the south pole, according to the ideas of the Arabs.

† This opinion was defended by Empedocles. Pliny, lib. ii., Aristotle, Meteorol. ii., 1.

that the sweet and salt waters were originally mixed: the sun attracted the lighter (*i.e.*, sweet water), and raised (evaporated) it. Some think the sun evaporates (the sweet water which is raised from the sea water) and feeds upon it*. Others object that the vapour becomes again water after it has been purified; for, as the vapour rises to the higher and colder regions, it is condensed by the cold. Some persons argue that that portion of elementary water which has existed as vapour in the air, and has been condensed by the cold to which it was exposed there, is sweet; whilst that portion of elementary water which has been exposed to the influence of burning is salt.

Some reason thus: the water which flows into the sea from the high and low grounds of the earth absorbs, according to its nature, the salt which the earth throws out into its basin; the particles of fire which are naturally in water, together with the particles of heat which emanate from the sun and moon, and cause the water, being mixed with it, to come forth from the earth, raise and evaporate the water by their raising (expansive) power, the finer particles of water, when it is above, are turned into rain. This process is constantly repeated, because this water becomes again salt;

* Aristotle, Meteorol. ii., 2.

for the earth embues it again with saline particles, and the sun and moon deprive (the sea) again of the finer and sweet portions of the water (by evaporation). It is for this reason that the sea remains unchanged both in quantity and (specific) weight (salt dissolved in it); for the heat raises the finer portion of the sea water, and changes it into atmospheric humidity, in the same proportion as the same water flows again into the sea, in the form of streams, after it has become terrestrial humidity الانديه*; for, being in the form of streams, it has a tendency to stagnate, and to form marshes flowing to the deepest places of the earth, and so it comes into the bed of the sea. The quantity of water remains, therefore, constant, and is neither

* The Arabs have quite distinct names for different sorts of waters, as if they had considered them as different substances. This passage and what follows leads to the same idea; and, indeed, what can be more different in its reference to man than sea-water and spring-water? We read, therefore, in the Zend-Avesta (vol. ii., p. 394, Boun-dehesch), "Il est parlé dans la loi de sept espèces d'eaux: sçavoir, la première eau est celle qui est sur les arbres; la seconde, celle qui, coulant des montagnes, forme les rouds; la troisième, l'eau de pluie; la quatrième, celle qui est appellée Armiste (creusée); la cinquième, la semence des animaux, et celle des hommes; la septième, la sueur des animaux, et celle des hommes."

After these seven humours follow seven others in the Zend-Avesta, which are produced by them.

increased nor diminished. The springs are the hidden veins of the earth, pouring into the brooks, which fall into the rivers. This has been compared with the construction of animals. When an animal takes food, the limpid part of it is distributed through the body by the influence of warmth, and is destined for nutrition; but the salt and bitter parts remain behind to be secreted as excrements, being not possessed of limpidity عذب, and this is the stuff of which urine and sweat consist. And as the nutritive humours are changed under the influence of warmth, into bitterness (bile) and saltness, one will find that bitter (bilious) excrements, besides the urine and sweat, are secreted from the body, if the warmth is increased beyond its regular standard; for all water that has been burnt is bitter. This is the theory of all ancients*.

This can be demonstrated by an experiment. If you heat any liquor which contains a nutritive substance, like wine, vinegar, rose, saffron, or gilly-flower water, the spirituous particles fly away with the vapour which rises from it; but if you heat salt water the case is different: the absorbed spirituous (salt) particles remain behind, particularly if the process of heating is repeated. The author of the Logic† (Aristotle) has many discussions on

* Compare Aristotle, Meteorologica, ii., 2 and 3.

† *Locis laudatis.*

this subject; so he says that the sea-water is denser and more turbid than sweet water, which is limpid and clear; and that if we give to a piece of wax the shape of a vessel well shut, and lay it into salt water, we shall find that the water which penetrated into the vessel is sweet to the taste, and specifically lighter than sea-water; whereas, the water round the vessel is more salt, and specifically heavier.

Flowing water is called river نهر; water coming forth from the earth is called spring عين; and water collected in a great mass is called sea بحر*.

El-Mas'údí says there are many treatises extant on the water and its causes. In the second book of our work Akhbár ez-zemán, which comprises thirty books, we have exposed the proofs which have been brought forward in confirmation of the theories respecting the extent of the sea, its dimensions, the use of its saltness, its connections and divisions, its being neither liable to increase nor decrease, and respecting the reasons that the ebb and flow is greater in the Abyssinian sea than anywhere else.

I have had many conversations with merchants of 'Omán and of Síráf, who are in the habit of navigating the seas of China, India, es-Sind, ez-

* This includes lakes; for بحيرة, the Arabic word for lake, is the diminutive of بحر sea.

Zanj, Yemen, el-Kolzom, and of Abyssinia, and received information which differed from the account given by philosophers and other men of learning, upon whose authority the dimensions and extent of the seas is usually stated. The sailors say that this sea, in certain directions, has no end. I made, also, the acquaintance of the sailors on the Mediterranean, both those on board of ships of war and of traders: they are the Nautæ النواتية, the officers of the men*, and the captains الروسا, and others who are intrusted with the management of vessels of war, as Láwí لاوي (لاري), who has the surname Abúl-Harb, and is a slave of Zorákah زراقة, the governor of Tripolis, in Syria, on the coast of Damascus. They are well acquainted with the length and breadth of the Mediterranean, with its gulfs and straits. I found such information in 'Abdúllah Ben Wazír, the governor of the town of Jobaïlah †, on the coast of Hims, in Syria; and at present, that is to say, in 332 A.H., there is no man who knows the Mediterranean better than he. All vessels, the ships of war as well as traders, follow his advice, and trust in his knowledge and science, on account of his long experience. We

* It is very likely that the original reading was ارحن ἄρχων, and not ارجل.

† MSS. bear ملسمة, حله and جيله.

have related the wonders of this sea, and the information which we have gathered respecting it, in the preceding pages, and we shall insert in our progress some further notices respecting it.

Various signs have been stated which are said to indicate that water is to be found in the earth on digging. Some say experience has shown that in places where reeds, aquatic plants, grass, and other herbage grows, water will be found on digging; but the absence of such plants shows that water is distant.

I have found the following rule in the works on agriculture: If you wish to know whether the water is near or far, dig three or four cubits into the ground, then take a kettle of brass, or an earthenware jar, with a wide mouth; besmear the inside of it equally with grease: take clean white wool and a stone of the size of an egg, which you enclose in the wool, making a ball of it; then besmear the side of this ball with melted wax, patch it into the jar which has been anointed with oil or grease, and let it down into the bottom of the pit. The wool will be attached to the bottom of the jar through the wax, and it will be glued on the stone. Throw earth upon the vessel, one, two, or more cubits deep. All this is to be done after sunset. Having left it in this state during the night, you remove the earth the next morning before the rising of the sun; and if you find many drops of water adhering to the

inside of the vessel, one near the other, and if the wool be wet, you may be sure that you will soon find water in that place; but if the drops be distant from each other, and if the wool be but little wet, you must dig to a great depth before you arrive at water; and if you see no drops, or only very few, either in the vessel or on the wool, you will find no water in this place, not even on digging deep.

I found, in another copy of the works on agriculture, other rules concerning the same subject. If you wish to know whether you will soon come to water on digging, you have only to examine the back of the ants of that place: if they be thick, black, and heavy in their carriage, you will find the distance of the water in proportion to their carriage. But if they be light, and run so fast that you can hardly catch them, the water is at a distance of forty cubits. And the first water will be good and sweet, but the second will be heavy and salt. These are the signs for a man who means to dig for water: we have given a full account of this subject in our Akhbár ez-zemán. In this book we give merely general notices of subjects which are necessary to be known, without entering into details and illustrations, referring to the Akhbár ez-zemán, where we enter at greater length on these subjects. Let us now speak of the kings of the Chinese, and what belongs besides under this head.

FIFTEENTH CHAPTER.

The Chinese Empire: its kings: their lives and government.

THE historians do not agree respecting the Chinese and their origin. Many of them say that the children of 'Abúr Ben Batwil Ben Yáfeth Ben Núh عابور (عامور) بن بتويل (منويل) بن يافث بن نوح went north-east, when Fálegh Ben 'Aber Ben Arfakhshad divided the earth amongst the sons of Núh. A portion of them, descended from Ar'au ارعو, took their way towards the north, dispersed there over the country, and formed a number of nations and kingdoms, as ed-Daïlem الديلم, el-Jíl الجيل (الختل), et-Taïlisán الطيلسان (الطملسان) et-Tatar* التتر (المير), and el-Múkán الموكان† (الموغان)

* This nation must live west of the Caspian; I doubt, therefore, whether Tatar is a correct reading. A MS., 7496, in the British Museum, which contains an ancient geographical work, mentions frequently this name; spelling it البير el-Babr, and in one instance el-Baïr.

† This name is written el-Múfán in the MS. which appears to be nearest to the true reading of the name. The beginning of this chapter has been compared with an extract in en-Nowaïri. The proper names have been transcribed in Arabic characters, as they are in the MSS., with all their faults; but, where it was safe, they have been corrected in the English transcript.

or الغرعان). Further are the inhabitants of the Caucasus, who consist of various races of el-Lakz اللكز (الكز or اللكن), the Alans اللان (الملتان), the Khazar الخزر, the Abkház الاحار (الاظار or الاكار), the Serír السرير, the Cossaks كشك, and other nations descended from them. They are spread over those tracts and over the country along the Black Sea and the Máyotis, as far as Terábizond (Trebizond). They inhabit, also, the coast of the sea of the Khazar, of the Targhiz (Bulghar), and other neighbouring nations.

The children of Abúr set over the river of Balkh (Oxus): the most of them proceeded to China صين, spread over the country, and formed empires, as the Khottal الختل (الجيل), who are the inhabitants of Khottalán ختلان (جيلان), the Dúshán (?) دوشان (روشان or ورشان), the Oshrúsanah الاشروسية, the inhabitants of the Soghd الصغد who live between Bokhárá and Samarkand, the Ferghánians* الغراغنة, and the inhabitants of esh-Shásh الشاش, of Isbíjáb (Isfíjáb) اسبيجان (اسحان or اسحار), and of the country belonging to Táráb الغارات

* The Ferghanians formed one of the best corps of Turkish troops in the service of the 'Abbásides, and are frequently mentioned by historians; but as the dot upon the غ is sometimes omitted in MSS., Reiske and other authors have been led astray, and, considering the word to be derived from Fir'aun, they believed them to be Egyptians.

(الغارت or الغارن or العيرات). Some of these nations built cities and villages, whilst others live in steppes. Of the same origin are other nations, as the Turks الترك, the Kharlajians* الخزلج (الخونج), and the Taghizghiz† الطغرغر who inhabit the town of Kúsán كوسان (كرسان), forming an empire between Khorásán and China; and they are at present [in 332, A.H.] the bravest of all Turkish hordes. Their king has the title Irkhán‡ ارخان (الخان or ايجان or ايرمان), and professes the doctrine of the Manicheans, which no other Turkish horde acknowledges. Farther are descended from 'Abur the Kaïmakians الكيماكية (الكيمانية), the Marghinánians (?) البرغانية (البرجحانية or الدحسه or الرحخانية), the Baunah البونه (اليديه), and the Jaghrians (?) الجغرية (الجعريه or

* The Tatar name of this horde is Kál-áj قالاج: they claim to be descended from Oghúz Khán. Deguignes, Hist. des Huns, Vol. ii., p. 9, and Abúlgházi Bahádúr Khán, edit. Tatar, p. 14.

† On the various ways in which the name of this horde is spelt, from which the Tulunides were descended, the reader may consult Roorda's *Abul Abbasi Ahmedis Vita*, Leyden, 1825, p. 50.

‡ Irkhán ايرخان means the khán of men. The reading of one copy is Ilkhán *i.e.*, the khán of the nation; the latter is a title frequently met with in Tatar history, and this reading should have deserved the preference, if this title were not in all other passages of el-Mas'údí, where this prince is mentioned, distinctly written Irkhán.

الجغرية or الجقوبيه). The bravest of them are the Ghizians الغزية, and the best formed and handsomest are the Kharlajians الخرلجية (الحرلخيه or الحركية or الحولجية) who inhabit Ferghánah فرغانة, esh-Shásh الشاش, and the adjacent country. They have the sway over the Turks, and the Khákán of the Khákáns الخواقين خاقان is of their horde: all the Turkish nations obey him, and all other Turkish kings are his vassals. One of these Khákáns was Ferásiáb the Turk, who conquered Persia: another of them was Sánah سانة. The Khákán of the Turks extends his sway at present over all Turkish kings, since the town in the steppes of Samarkand, which had the name 'Amát عمات (عمات), was destroyed. We have related under what circumstances the government was removed from this city, in our book called Kitáb el-ausat.

One part of the children of 'Abúr came as far as the frontiers of India. The climate of the country impressed its character upon them; and they are in their complexion like the Hindus, and not like other Turks. Some of them are settled, whilst others are wandering. Another portion of them is settled in et-Tubbet التبت. They placed their government to the hands of a king, who was subject to the khákán; but, when the power of the khákán had ceased, the Tubbetians gave to their king the title khákán, imitating the former Turkish kings.

The majority of the children of 'Abúr followed the course of the river to the extremity of China. There they spread over the country, fixed their abode, and cultivated the land; they formed communities, established capitals, and built towns. They founded a large city for the residence of their king, which they called Ankú* انقو (انغو or انموا); this city is three months' journey from the Abyssinian sea; the whole interjacent country is covered with towns and well-cultivated. Their first king in this new settlement was Lotsátis Ben Ná'úr Ben Yarej Ben 'Abúr Ben Yáfeth Ben Núh لطسا طس (نشطير طاس اسطر ماس) بن ناعور (ناعور) بن يرج بن عابور بن يافث بن نوح. When he was on the throne he spread his subjects over the country, dug canals, planted trees, taught the use of the fruits as food, and killed the lions (wild beasts). He reigned about three hundred years; then he died, and was succeeded by his son 'Arún Ben Lotsátis عرون. He put the corpse of his father in a golden statue التمثال, as an expression of his veneration and regret†. The statue was put on a golden throne,

* Abúlfeda writes Yanjú ينجو; the ج *j* and ق *k* in these two ways of spelling seem both to be meant to express the sound of *g*. This town is supposed to be Nanking, which is called Kiang-Ming by the Chinese.

† It is well known that this practice prevails among the

studded with precious stones. He himself took his seat under this throne, worshipping the dead, and so did all the inhabitants of the kingdom every morning and evening. He reigned about two hundred and fifty years. After him, his son 'Abírún Ben 'Arún عبيرون بن عرون (عبرور) came to the throne. He also put the body of his father into a golden statue, which he placed one step lower than that of his grandfather. He first addressed his prayers to his grandfather, and then to his father. His government was very good, and he never did anything without asking his subjects for their opinion. Equity was everywhere exercised, the population increased*, and the soil was cultivated during his reign, which lasted two hundred years. His son 'Athínán Ben 'Abírún عثينان بن عبيرون (عيتان) succeeded him. He observed the same usage, of putting the body of his father in a golden statue and worshipping it. His was a long reign, and his territory extended to the country of the Turks, the descendants of his uncle. In his days, arts to promote the comforts of

Chinese. Abúlghází ascribes the same usage to the ancient Tatars; and he agrees in this point, as in many others, with Herodotus, lib. iv.

* It deserves to be noticed that the increase of mankind is considered in the east as the object of human society and the criterion of a good government, just as we consider the greatest happiness to the greatest number as such.

life, and other trades, became frequent. He lived four hundred years, and had Jarábán his son جرابان بن عثيفان as successor. He ordered, first, ships to be built, manned them, loaded them with the produce of China, and sent them to India, es-Sind, Babylonia, and other kingdoms near and far. He made to the kings the most rare presents, and sent them costly gifts; and he gave orders to his sailors to bring him from every country what is beautiful and exquisite for the table, or for dress and furniture, not found in his own kingdom. He ordered them to make themselves acquainted with the forms of government of every empire, and with the religious tenets, laws, and moral state of every nation; and that they should ask the people for precious stones, perfumes, and instruments. The vessels went out, and separated to visit various countries, following the orders of their king. Wherever they landed the inhabitants were surprised at them, and admired what they brought. Kings, whose dominions were on the sea coast, built vessels, and ordered them to sail to China, in order to import into China such products as were wanting there. They wrote to the king, acknowledging the presents of his country and sending others in return. So China advanced in her civilization and prosperity. The king died after a reign of about two hundred years, to the greatest affliction of his subjects. The public mourning lasted one month. Tútál Ben Járábán (ترتال)

توتال بن جرابان was his son and successor. He put the corpse of his father into an image of gold, and observed the usages of former kings. He brought his affairs into order and made some praiseworthy new institutions: the like none of his predecessors had made. He said to his countrymen, an empire cannot exist without justice, for justice is the balance of God, and it is productive of an increase of prosperity and of good actions. He created courtiers and nobles, and gave crowns as marks of distinction. He formed ranks among the people according to their pursuits. He went out to seek a place for a temple, and he found a spot with luxuriant herbage, covered with flowers and well watered. There he marked out the foundation of a temple. Stones of various colours and descriptions were brought to the spot, and the construction went on. A cupola was raised on the top with air-holes, and the whole fabric was in perfect symmetry. In the temple were cells for persons who wished to shut themselves up for the service of God. When the whole edifice was completed, he put in its uppermost part the statues which contained the bodies of his fathers, giving orders to worship them.

He assembled the great men of his empire, and acquainted them of his intentions to unite all his subjects into one religion, to which they could always appeal. Religion should be the tie of union

and order; for he observed that, if a government has lost sight of religion, it is exposed to dissolution, corruption, and vice. He founded the government, therefore, on sacred laws and positive regulations dictated by reason, which should form the basis: he made a penal code: he fixed the conditions under which matrimony should be legitimate, to induce women to become mothers, and to render the ties between father and child firm; and he made a distinction between the laws; enforcing some as positive and obligatory commands, which are violated by neglecting the observance of their tenor; whilst he left others open to the will of the individual نوافل; for they should only serve as guides. He prescribed to his subjects certain prayers, and regulated the divine service. There is, however, no inclination nor prostration observed in their prayers, which are performed at fixed times of day or night; but, in the prayers which are to be said at certain times in the year and months, prostrations and inclinations are to be made. He instituted feasts. Fornication is under certain restrictions belonging to the criminal laws. If a woman means to prostitute herself, she has to pay a certain tax; but if she refuses the embraces of men for some time, or if she gives up the practice altogether, she has no longer to pay the tax. The sons of such women are enlisted in the (standing) army of the king; but the girls are left to the

mothers, and are generally initiated in their trade. He prescribed sacrifices and incense which were to be offered in the temples. To the stars incense was offered; and for every star a certain time was fixed on which its favour was particularly solicited, by burning incense, perfumes, and certain drugs. He defined everything which his subjects had to do.

He enjoyed a long life, had a numerous posterity, and died after a reign of about one hundred and fifty years. This king was much lamented. They put his body into a coffin of gold ornamented with precious stones, and built him a grand mausoleum, on the top of which they placed seven gems of different colours, answering to the seven planets, that is to say, to the sun and moon (النيران), and the five stars, in shape and colour. The day of his death was celebrated as a holy day, in which they assembled at his mausoleum and said many prayers. His portrait and an account of his life were engraved on a plate of gold, and deposited on the top of the mausoleum, where everybody could see them, that they should serve as an example, and as an exhortation to follow his good government. The history of his life and his portrait are also represented on the gates of the town, on coins of gold and copper فلوس and on dresses*.

* Ibn Khaldún observes that the Persian kings had dresses the woof of which was gold, and represented various figures, particu-

Their money consists, for the most part, of copper and brass coins. This city became the residence of the kings of China. The name of it is Ankú انقوا (انموا), and it is three months' journey distant from the Abyssinian sea. They have another large town called Madú مدو (امد Amid), in the north-west of their empire, towards et-Tubbet التبت. Madú and et-Tubbet keep up a constant warfare, without either party being conquerors or conquered.

Order in the affairs of the empire, good government, and prosperity continued under the successors of this king: justice was everywhere exercised, and injustice was banished from their country. They followed the regulations made by the former kings, whom we have mentioned; and they kept up the wars with their enemies. Their frontiers were well guarded by soldiers, the armies received their pay regularly, and merchants flocked there, by land and sea, from all parts of the world. They were of the ancient faith, the Samanean religion* ملة السمنية, which is about the same as the

larly the portraits of the kings: they were manufactured in their own palaces, and given as presents to men of distinction. This costume went over to the Arabs.

* The Mefátih el-'olúm (MS. of Leyden, No. 314) contains the following important passage respecting the Samaneans:—

السمنية هم اعراب اصحاب سمن وهم عبدة اوثان يقولون

belief of the Koraïshites before Mohammed. They worshipped symbols, towards which they turned their faces in praying. Persons of intellect addressed their prayers to the Almighty, and they considered the images of idols and other symbols

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بقدم الدهر و تناسخ الارواح وان الارض تهوي سفلا ابدا
وكان الناس علي وجه الدهر سمنيين وكلدانيين فالسمنيون
هم عبدة الاوثان والكلدانيون هم الذين يسمون
الصابيين والحرنانيين وبقاياهم بحران والعراق ويزعمون
ان نبيهم بوذاسف الخارج فى بلاد الهند ناما بوذاسف فقد
كان في ايام طهمورث الملك واتي بالكتابة الفارسية وسمي
هاولاء صابيون في ايام المامون ناما الصابيون علي حقيقة فرقة
من النصاري والبقايا السمنية علي حقيقة بالهند والصين ۞

"The Samaneans are the Arabs who follow the doctrine of Saman. They are idolators, who maintain that the world had no beginning: they believe in the metempsychosis, and that the earth is constantly declining.

"In the most ancient times all the nations were either Samaneans or Chaldeans. The Samaneans are idolaters. The Chaldeans are also called Sabeans and Harránians; for the remnants of them live in Harrán and el-'Irák. They believe that Yúdásif (Yudasp), the rebel of India, was their prophet. This Búdásif (Budasp: this seems to be more correct than Yúdásif) was contemporaneous with the king Tahmúrth, and the Persian writing comes from him. The name of Sabeans was applied to them at the time of el-Mámún, and meant originally a Christian sect. In India and China are the remnants of the Samaneans."

Hamzah of Ispahan (MS. of Leyden) confirms literally the words of the Mefatih el-'olúm.

merely as objects to fix their eyes upon قبلة; whilst the uneducated and ignorant confounded these symbols with the Almighty, and worshipped them both (God and the symbols) together. The adoration of the idols brought them nearer to God, although the notions expressed in their religious service were too concrete to be adequate to the sublimity, greatness, and majesty of the divinity. The service which they performed to these idols was nevertheless an expression of obedience to God, and it brought them nearer to him.

This continued until speculations and sectarianism grew up in China: then rose the Dualists, and those who believe on a time without limits اهل الدهر. Previous to these innovations, they had worshipped images, like the higher and lower classes in India. These religious quarrels caused a complete revolution: they had not been without speculation, but they had referred in all questions to the ancient sacred laws.

The Chinese empire borders on the kingdom of the Taghizghiz الطغزغز, and it was from them that they received the doctrine of Manes ماني, of a god of light and darkness. Previously they had been in ignorance, and had the same system of worship as the various Turkish hordes, until a satan of a Manichean came to them, and preached to them in flowery phrases of the discord which prevails in this

world; the opposition of life and death, health and illness, rich and poor, light and dark, separation and union, continuity and division, rising and setting, existence and non-existence, night and day, and other things which are opposite to each other. He named to them the different pains and frailties to which all animals are subject, both those endowed with speech and those deprived of this faculty; and by which even children, and persons not possessed of their mental faculties, are tortured; adding that, as God the Almighty did not stand in need of their sufferings, they must be ascribed to a powerful opposite principle, which was active in contaminating what is good and moral; and that this was in God. Far be from God what he professed! for he is the Exalted, the Great. Manes mislead by this and similar theories their reason, and they believed them. When the King of China was a Shamanean شمني he sacrificed animals, and was constantly at war with Irkhán ايرخان the king of the Turks; but, when he had turned Manichean, they became on terms of friendship.

The kings (and governors) of China follow different sects and religions, and they are at variance in their faith. But they are not biassed so as to abandon the laws commanded by reason, and sacred by usage, in making regulations and passing sentences. The laws of reason are acknowledged by all sects.

The Chinese are divided into tribes and branches, like the tribes and families of the Arabs. They bestow great care upon the preservation of their genealogies; and some persons can name fifty ancestors: many know them as far back as 'Abúr. Persons of the same family do not intermarry; so, for instance (referring for an example to Arabia), a man of the Modhar tribe would marry a woman of the Rabí'ah tribe, and a man of the Rabí'ah would marry into the Modhar tribe; or a Kahlán man would marry a Himyarite woman, and a Himyarite a woman of the Kahlán tribe. They are of opinion that the children of such a match will be of a good constitution; and, indeed, this law contributes to public health and longevity.

China* continued to be in a flourishing condition, as it had been under the ancient kings, up to the year 264 of the Hijrah, when some event happened which destroyed order, paralysed the laws, and prevented the nation from opposing their enemies, up to our time [332 A.H.]. These disorders were caused by a rebel, who, although he was not of royal blood, rose in some town of China. His name was Baïshú Shirrír بايشو شرير (شرير بابشر). He began with liberality, by which he

* Compare Ancient Account of India and China, from page 40 to page 44.

atracted the worst and lowest classes. The king and the lords of the council were not watchful enough, on account of his obscurity; for he was a man of no importance. His cause became strong, his name famous, and his numbers and power increased; for the bad came to join him from far and near.

When his army was numerous enough, he quitted the place where he had begun the rebellion. He sent corps out to make predatory incursions into the well-cultivated parts of the country; and finally he besieged the city of Khánikú خانقوا (Canton). This is a very large town, situated on a river greater than the Tigris, or about the same: it falls into the sea of China, six or seven days' from the said city. Through this river the ships go up which come from el-Basrah البصرة, Síráf سيراف, 'Omán عمان, the various towns of India and es-Sind, the islands of ez-Zánij, from es-Sinf, and other countries, with their cargoes and goods. This town is inhabited by Moslims, Christians, Jews, and Magians, besides the Chinese. The said rebel marched towards this city, besieged it, and put the army of the king, which was come to relieve it, to flight. He violated what is sacred; and, having increased his army, he took Khánikú by storm.

When he was master of the city, the victims who fell under the sword of the rebels were innumerable; and the number of Moslims, Christians,

and Jews alone, exclusive of the Chinese population, who were killed or drowned for fear of the sword, amounted to two hundred thousand. These were counted; for the kings are in the habit of keeping a census of the population of their dominions, both of their subjects and of foreigners who are resident there. There are special officers and men for the census ﻉﺎﺒ. This gives them a view of the state of the population of their empire. The assailants cut down the mulberry plantations round the town, which were of importance, their leaves being the food of the silkworm, which yields the silk. This destruction of the trees was the cause why silk has failed, and that the exportation of this article into the Moslim countries is stagnated. Baïshú overran with his army one place after another; and having increased his troops with people of bad character, whose only object was plunder, he marched towards Ankú, which is the residence of the king. He had an army of three hundred thousand men, cavalry and infantry. The king and his court met him with about one hundred thousand men. About one month of constant fight both parties stood their ground, but after this period the king was defeated and put to flight: the rebel pursued him a long way. The king took refuge in a town in the extremity of China. The rebel took possession of the metropolis and the royal palace, and appropriated to himself the treasures of the former kings, and those which they

had given to their higher officers. He overran the rest of the country, and conquered other towns; but he saw that he could not keep the throne, not being of royal blood. He spread destruction over all the country, confiscated property, and shed blood. The town in which the king had taken refuge was Madú, of which we have already spoken as being on the frontier of et-Tubbet.

The king of China wrote to Irkhán, the king of the Turks, to implore his assistance: informing him how he was situated, and explaining to him what was the duty of kings, if asked for aid by their brother kings, and that it was a law of royalty and a duty to assist each other. The Turkish monarch sent his son in aid, with four hundred thousand men, cavalry and infantry. The two parties met, and the war was undecided between them for about a year: the numbers of men killed on both sides was enormous. Then the rebel disappeared, or, as some say, he was killed or burnt. His children and court were made prisoners, and the king of China returned to his residence.

The common people give to the king the title Baghbúr (or Faghfúr*), which means the son of

* بغبور or فغفور. In the Kámús the first syllable is marked with a dammah; but this seems to be wrong. Bagh means, according to el-Asma'í, god or idol: hence Bagdád means the gift of God, and Bagistan a temple (Bagoda?), in the Sind

heaven ابن السماء; but the title by which he is addressed is Ti'emhián طغبغبان, (Tien-hia,) and not Baghfúr.

The governor of every district made himself independent in his province, in the same manner as the kings of the satrapies ملوک الطوایف, after Alexander, the son of Philip, the Macedonian, had killed Dárá Ben Dárá, king of Persia, and almost in the same way as it is with us at present, in 332 A.H. The king of China being satisfied with their nominal submission, and that they laid the affairs of the empire before him, did not chose to send armed force into every one of his provinces, to fight those who had made themselves masters of them. As the king's power was so limited, those independent governors of the provinces withheld the revenue, and he was glad enough to be in peace with them. Every one of these petty kings invaded the country of his neighbours as much as his power

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and Persian languages, particularly in Pehlewi. Búr means son. In the East the ether or heaven has been considered as God; and hence the word Bagh seems to imply both meanings. Bagfúr is, therefore, a literal translation of Tien-tce. "Pour mieux faire comprendre de quel ciel ils veulent parler," says Visdelou, "ils poussent la généalogie plus loin. Ils lui (to the emperor) donnent le ciel pour père, la terre pour mère, le soleil pour frère aîné, et la lune pour sœur aînée."

allowed. By these means the public order and welfare were destroyed which had existed under the former kings, under whom the government and administration were good, and justice was administered according to the law of reason (for they had no *revealed* code like the Koran).

It is related* that a merchant of the town of Samarkand, in Khorásán, went from his home, with a good stock of wares, to el-'Irák, where he bought many goods of this country, and proceeded to el-Basrah. He went by sea to 'Omán, whence he directed his voyage to Kolah كله, which is half way to China, or about that. It is at present the commercial mart of the Moslim vessels of Síráf and 'Omán, where they meet with the merchants of China, who come to this island in their own vessels. In most ancient times it was different; for the Chinese vessels used to come to 'Omán, Síráf, to the coasts of Fáris, and el-Bahreïn, to el-Obollah, and el-Basrah (which had then the name of Farj el-Hind); and in the same way the vessels went from the ports mentioned as far as China. But since justice was no longer practised, and under the depraved state of government which we have described, both parties meet half way.

The said merchant went at Kolah on board a

* Compare Ancient Account of India and China, translated by Renaudot, London, 1733, from page 69 to page 73.

Chinese vessel, which brought him into the sea-port of Khánikú. The king sent a eunuch from his court, on whom he had particular confidence (to purchase wares). In China eunuchs are appointed in the revenue department and other offices: some parents, therefore, castrate their children, in order that they may rise to power. This officer (the eunuch) came to Khánikú; there he sent for the merchants, among whom was the Khorásánian. They showed him the wares which he required, and he chose what he thought might meet the king's wishes. The Khorásánian asked a higher price for his wares than he felt inclined to pay: after a dispute, it came so far, that the officer gave orders to imprison him, and to force him (to yield). The merchant had confidence in the justice of the king, and went directly to Ankú, the residence of the king, and presented himself in the place of the oppressed (court of appeal). It is the usage of the country, that the plaintiff, whether he come from a remote place, or is a resident of the capital, puts on a peculiar dress of red silk, which is like a shirt, and presents himself in a place designed for appeals against oppression. Some of the provincial kings have to receive there the plaintiffs who may present themselves. They come, therefore, before this court, from the distance of one month by post. This was the case with the said merchant, and he stood before the officer of this department. He

came to him and said, "Thou undertakest an important matter, and exposest thyself to great danger; consider well whether thou art sure of the truth of thy statement: if not, I will send thee back to the place from whence thou camest." These words are addressed to every one who comes to demand redress; and if the party shrinks, and vaccillates in the accusation, he is sent home, after a bastinado of one hundred strokes; but, if he insists on his statement, he is brought before the king to trial. When the merchant continued in his prosecution, and when they saw that he insisted on the truth of his assertion without fear or hesitation, he had an audience of the king. He stood before him and related his case. When the interpreter had explained his complaint to the king, he allotted him a habitation, and loaded him with kindness.

He sent for the vizier, and for the leaders of the centre and of the right and left wings. These are officers who are appointed to these commands in time of peace, that, in case a war should break out, every one may know his place and duties. The king ordered every one of them to write to their respective officers in Khánikú, [for every one has a lieutenant in every province of the kingdom, with whom he is in correspondence,] and to request them to send in a statement of the particulars of the case of the merchant and the eunuch. The king wrote equally to his lieutenant in that province.

The case had become known there, and the letters which came back by post confirmed the truth of the merchant. The king of China has, on the roads of all his provinces, mules with docked tails*, for the post, and for the transport of parcels الخرايط.

Then the king sent for the eunuch, he deprived him of his favour, and he said, "Thou hast ill-treated a merchant, who has come from a distant country. He has made a long journey by land and

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* البريد, *post*, is derived from the Persian word burídah بريدة, which means dock-tailed: for the mules used for this purpose had their tails docked. Berid means the post mule, the messenger who rides it, and the distance from one station سكة to another, where the mules were changed, which was about two farsangs: some authors say four; and from Ibn Khordádbeh it appears to have been six miles. The letter-carrier is called الفرانق in Arabic: this word is a corruption of the Persian word برونة, a servant. In the post-office ديوان البريد every letter or parcel put to post, or come by post, was entered يوقع in a list المدرج, which was called الاسكدار in Arabic, that is to say, از كه داري. In this list the number of letters and parcels was named, and the address of every one of them specified.

The Bodleian library of Oxford is in possession of a very ancient MS. of Ibn Khordádbeh's Geography. The author was post-master-general somewhere in Khorásán, towards the end of the third century, and his book is nothing more than a road-book, naming all the post stations, and the distances from one place to another. From this book the distances of places in all other Arabic geographers are copied, but not always very correctly.

sea, and has passed many kingdoms without any adversity. He made up his mind to come to my empire, in confidence on my justice, and thou hast treated him thus! If he had returned from my states thus ill-treated, he would have spread unfavourable reports in other kingdoms, and my name and government would have been branded with ignominy. If it were not in consideration of thy former services, I should put thee to death; but now I will inflict a punishment upon thee which is harder than death. I appoint thee (to guard) the tombs of the kings. Thou shalt be with the dead, since thou hast acquitted thyself so ill of thy duties and my orders among the living."

The king heaped great favours on the merchant, and sent him to Khánikú (Canton), saying, "If thou meanest to sell to us such wares as we may choose, thou shalt have a good price for them; but if thou dost not feel inclined to sell, thou art the master over thy property. Stay if thou likest, sell what thou pleasest, and go wheresoever thou choosest." The eunuch was sent to the tombs of the kings.

There is a curious story related of the king of China*. A man of Koraïshite origin, of the family

* Compare Ancient Account of India and China, by two Mohammedan travellers, translated by Renaudot, London, 1733, from page 51 to page 59.

of Habbár Ben el-Aswad,* هبار بن الاسود, came, during the well-known invasion of the leader of the Zanj, from el-Basrah to Síráf. He had been a great man at el-Basrah, and had a good fortune. From Síráf he made a voyage to India: there he went from one vessel into another, landing in various places of India, until he came to China. When he had come to Khánikú, he had a fancy to visit the royal residence, which was then in the town of Hamdán (Cumdan) جمدان: this is one of the largest and most important cities of the empire. He remained a long while in the royal palace, and sent a memorial to the king, in which he stated that he was of the family of the Arabic prophet. The king provided him with lodgings, and ordered whatever he might require to be given him, and every comfort procured for him. In the mean time he wrote to the king (governor) at Khánikú, and gave him orders to inquire of the merchants respecting the man who claimed to be a relation of the prophet of the Arabs. The answer of the governor of Khánikú confirmed the truth of what he had said. The king gave him access to the court, and made him rich presents, with which he subsequently returned to el-Irák.

He was an intelligent man, and related that,

* See, for a notice of this family, Reiske's notes to *Abulfeda, Annal. Moslem.* vol. i.

when he was presented before the king, he asked him respecting the Arabs, and how they made an end to the Persian empire. "We were assisted by God," answered the Arab, "because they worshipped the fire, sun, and moon, instead of the Almighty God. The Arabs have conquered the most celebrated, populous, and richest countries, which have the greatest deltas (which are the sources of fertility): they have subjected nations of the greatest intellect and fame." He asked him further what was the gradation in dignity of the kings of the earth. "I do not know," replied the Arab. The king ordered the interpreter to explain to him: "We count five great kings: the most powerful of them is he who is in possession of el-'Irák; for this country is in the middle of the world, and is surrounded by all other kingdoms. We give him, since ancient times, the title of king of kings. After him ranks this our king, to whom we give the title of king of men (mankind الناس). No government is better than ours, no monarch more absolute and firm in his power than our king, nor do the subjects of any other monarch yield such strict obedience as we to our king. We are the kings of men. After ourselves follows the king of the lions ملك السباع; this is the king of the Turks, our neighbour. They are men-lions. Next to them ranks the king of the elephants; that is to say, the king of India, which has with us the name of the kingdom of

wisdom; for the Hindus have invented philosophy. Then follows the Byzantine king, whom we call the king of men (الرجال); for no men on earth have better constitutions or finer countenances than the Byzantines. These five stand at the head of kings: all others are beneath them."

He asked him through his interpreter whether he could recognize his Lord, that is to say, the Prophet, if he should see him. "How can I see him?" said the Arab; "he is with God." "I do not mean it literally," said the king, "but in a representation." He answered in the affirmative. The king ordered a box to be brought; and, when it was before him, he took a casket out from it, and said to the interpreter, show him his Lord; "and I saw (relates the Arab), in the casket, the images of the prophets. My lips muttered benedictions upon them. The king did not know that I knew them; hence, he said to the interpreter, 'Ask him why he moves his lips.' He interrogated me, and I answered him that I was pronouncing benedictions upon the prophets. He asked me further how I recognized them, and I told him that I knew them by the attributes with which they were represented. 'This,' I exclaimed, 'is Núh in the ark; he has been saved with those who were with him whilst God submerged the whole earth, and all that was on it.' He smiled, and said, 'It is Núh, as thou sayest; but it is not true that the whole earth was inundated. The flood

occupied only a part of the globe, and did not reach our country. Your traditions are correct, as far as that part of the earth is concerned which you inhabit; but we, the inhabitants of China, of India, of es-Sind, and other nations, do not agree with your account; nor have our forefathers left us a tradition agreeing with yours on this head. As to thy belief that the whole earth was covered with water, I must remark that this would be so remarkable an event that the terror would keep up its recollection, and all the nations would have handed it down to their posterity.' I endeavoured to answer him, and to bring forth arguments against his assertion in defence of my statement. Then I continued, 'This is Músá with his rod, and the Israelites.' 'Yes,' observed the monarch, 'it is he with his energy قلة البله against the corruption of his nation.' 'There is Christ,' exclaimed the Arab, 'riding on an ass, and with him the apostles.' The king made the observation that his career was but short, having hardly lasted longer than thirty months." A great number of other prophets were shown, and comments made on their history. So much we have selected as a specimen (of the account of this Koraïshite).

This Koraïshite, who was known under the name of Ibn Habbár ابن هبار, recollected to have seen long inscriptions over every figure, containing, as he believed, the name, the country, the length of

the life, the reason of the prophetic mission, and the biography of every prophet.

"Then," proceeds this man in his narrative, "I saw the image of the prophet Mohammed sitting on a camel, and surrounded by his companions, who wore Arabic shoes of camels' leather on their feet. They had girdles tied round their waists, on which their dentifrice was suspended. I could not help shedding tears at this sight, and he made the interpreter ask me for the reason of my emotion. 'This,' I answered, 'is our prophet, our lord and my nephew (relation); may God bless him!' 'What thou sayest is true,' replied the king; 'He and his nation came to the possession of the finest territories, he himself, however, had them not under his power, but his successors.' I saw the images of many prophets: one of them joined his fore-finger and thumb into a ring, as if he meant to indicate that the creation of God forms a ring; another had his fore-finger and thumb pointed to the heavens, expressing that he resigns all the goods of this world for what is above.

"The king asked me respecting the *khalifs*, their dress, and many questions concerning the divine laws, and I answered him to the best of my knowledge. He asked me also what we believe to be the age of the world. I said, 'The Moslims do not agree in this point; some state it to be six thousand years, and some give a higher, and others

a lesser number.' He asked me whether this had been taught by our prophet. I answered, 'Yes.' He and his vizier laughed, and he expressed by a sign that he did not approve of my answer. 'I do not think,' said he, 'your prophet can have said this: thou must be wrong.' I made a mistake, and answered, 'Yes, he said so.' When I made this reply, I saw by his brow that he disapproved of it. Then he ordered his interpreter to tell me that I should weigh my words, observing that kings wish to have a positive and true answer. 'Thou allowest that you do not agree on this head, and yet thou sayest that you have a tradition of the Prophet on it. What prophets say excludes controversy, and it must be received with faith. Take care, therefore, not to say such contradictions.' He made many other observations, which I cannot remember, on account of the length of time. Finally, he said, 'Do not separate thyself from thine own king; for he is nearer to thee than I, both with respect to home and consanguinity.' I related to him the circumstances which brought me from el-Basrah to Síráf; 'Then,' I continued, 'I had a great desire to see thee, O king! having heard so much of the stability of thy empire, of the perfection of thy institutions and justice, and of thy excellent government, which extends its beneficial influence over all thy subjects. I was longing to see thy kingdom, and to witness its prosperity;

and now, having seen it, I shall return to my native soil, and into the dominions of my nephew (relation), to relate how perfect and glorious I found this kingdom, how extensive this country, how universal the practice of justice, which emanates from thy wise institutions. Every word shall express my admiration and thy praise, O, most glorious monarch!' He was delighted with my words, awarded precious gifts to me, and sent me by post to Khánikú. The governor of the last-mentioned city received orders to treat me respectfully, to present me to all distinguished persons there, and to lodge me till I could set out on my voyage. I lived there most splendidly until I left China."

El-Mas'údí says, Abú Zaïd el-Hasan (Mohammed) Ben Yezíd, of Síráf, gave me an account of Ibn Habbár at el-Basrah, where he was settled after he had left Síráf. This was in 303 A.H. Abú Zaïd el-Hasan was the nephew of Abú Yezíd (Zaïd), Mohammed Ben Mozdín مزدين (المولد), Ben Sásiát سا سيات (بسسا ساد), the governor of Síráf; he was a man of much information and intelligence, and he told me that he had asked this Koraïshite, Ibn Habbár, respecting the town of Hamdán حمدان; its description, extent, &c.; and he told me how large it was, the number of inhabitants, and that it was divided into two parts, which

were separated by a long, wide, and straight road. The king, his vizier, the kádhí of the kádhís, the garrison, the eunuchs of the king, and all his household, reside on the right side, which is towards the east: from this part of the town the lower class and markets are excluded. Through the streets run canals, and they are shaded by trees, which are symmetrically planted, and the houses are spacious and magnificent. On the left side, which is towards the west, are the tradespeople, the stores for provisions, and the markets. In the morning I saw the stewards of the king, his household, the slave boys of his leaders and their guardians, going on foot and horseback to the quarter of the town where the markets and tradespeople are; they provided themselves there with necessaries, and returned. None went again at any other time to that quarter before the next morning, for in their own quarter there is every pleasure, beautiful lakes and canals, but no palms; for palms do not grow in China.

The Chinese are the most clever people on earth: they have extraordinary skill in plastic and other arts, so that no other nation can be compared with them in any kind of workmanship. The court awards prizes for well made works, in order to promote them; and the king orders them to be shown in a public exhibition in his palace for one whole year (before the prize is given); and if nobody can discover a fault during this time, in a piece of art

exhibited there, the prize is awarded, and it is put into the collection of arts; but, if there be found any imperfection, it is turned out, and no reward is given. A man had made an ear of corn on which a sparrow was sitting, and this was considered for some time as a prize piece: a humpbacked man saw it, and noticed that there was a fault in it. "Where?" he was asked. "Everybody knows," replied the humpbacked, "that if a sparrow sits on an ear it bends; the artist, however, has made it upright, although the sparrow sits on it: this is a fault." The judgment of the humpbacked man was found correct, and the artist was not rewarded. The object in acting thus is to stimulate artists to exert themselves, and to be more careful and considerate in what they do.

China is rich in remarkable objects, and there are many interesting accounts of the inhabitants, of which we will give an abstract in the progress of this work. We have related them all in our books, the Akhbár-ez-zemán and the Kitáb el-ausat; in the latter we give such accounts as are omitted in the Akhbár-ez-zemán; and in this book we relate some facts which are wanting in both those works.

SIXTEENTH CHAPTER.

A comprehensive view of the accounts of the seas, of their wonders, and of the nations who live in islands, or on the coast. The relative position and dignity of various kings. The history of Spain and other countries. The places and substances which yield perfumes. The various kinds of perfumes.

In the preceding pages of this work we have given a general account of the seas, both those which are in communication with each other, and those which are separated. Here we will recapitulate all the accounts which we possess, connected with the Abyssinian sea, speaking, at the same time, of the kings and kingdoms situated on this sea; also of their respective position, and other matters of interest.

We repeat that the seas of China, India, Fáris, and Yemen, are connected, and form only one mass of water. The difference of the currents and height of the water is to be attributed to the direction of the winds, the season when they rise, and other causes. The Persian sea is most stormy, and most dangerous for navigation, at

the time when the Indian sea is quiet; and, again, the Persian sea is quiet when the sea of India is boisterous, stormy, dark, and rough. The sea of Fáris begins to be stormy when the sun enters into the sign Virgo, about the time of the autumnal equinox; it continues so, and storms increase every day, until the sun comes into the sign Pisces: it is roughest at the end of autumn, when the sun is in the sign Sagittarius: then it becomes more quiet until the sun enters again into Virgo, and it is most quiet at the end of spring, when the sun is in Gemini. The Indian Sea is stormy till the sun enters into the sign Virgo: then begins the navigation on it; for it is easiest when the sun is in Sagittarius. They sail all the year round on the Persian Sea, from 'Omán to Síráf, which is a distance of one hundred and sixty farsangs, and from Síráf to el-Basrah, which is a voyage of one hundred and forty farsangs. But at this time it is not navigable, excepting in the two mentioned routes, or to neighbouring harbours.

Abú Má'sher ابو معشر, the astrologer, confirms, in his "Great Introduction to Astronomy" المدخل الكبير الي علم النجوم, what we have said, that the stormy and quiet seasons on these seas begin when the sun is in the above-mentioned signs of the zodiac; and he relates further, that it is impossible to sail from 'Omán on the sea of India in the Tírmáh (June),

except with first-rate* vessels and light cargoes. These vessels are called et-Tírmáhians التيرماهية. In India is at that time winter بسارة وهي الشتاء, and the rainy season; for (the two Syriac months called) Kánún and the month Shobát, (December, January, and February,) are their summer months: our winter being their summer, whilst the month Tamús (July) and Ab (August), which are summer months with us, are their winter. This change of seasons is the case in all the towns of India, es-Sind, and the neighbouring countries, through the whole extent of this sea. From this circumstance, that their winter is in our summer, the saying has its origin فلان بسّر بارض الهند; that is to say, "he wintered in India." This is owing to the difference of the distance from the sun.

Pearl fishing, in the sea of Fáris, is carried on from the beginning of Nísán (April) to the end of Aïlúl (October); but there is no pearl fishing from Aïlúl to Nísán. The places where pearls are found in this sea have been named in the preceding pages of this book. There do not exist pearls in any other but the Abyssinian sea, near the coast of the countries of Khárak خارك, Kotr قطر, 'Omán عمان, Serendìb سرنديب, and other places. In our former

* The word which I render *first-rate* vessels is doubtful in all MSS. مر كب المصور or مركب المعدر or مركب المغرر.

works we have mentioned how the pearls grow, and the various opinions on this subject; for some believe that they are produced by rain, whilst others maintain that their formation is independent of rain; we have described the pearls, both the old (fine) and the new ones, which are called المحار, but generally known under the name of البلبل. The flesh and grease which are in mother of pearl are of an animal which has the anxiety of a mother for the pearls that are in it, at the approaching of the divers*. We have given a description of pearl fishing. The divers must not eat any other food but fish, dates, or what is prepared of grain اقوات: their ears are split, to give a passage to the breath (through the Eustachian tube), instead of breathing through the nostrils; for they put a little ball of tortoise-shell into the nostrils: [the tortoise السلحفاة is a kind of marine animal, and of its shells combs and other instruments are made, instead of using wood:] and they put cotton with a little oil into their ears; and, when they walk at the bottom

* حيوان يغزع علي ما قيه من اللولو والدر من الغاصة كخوف المراة علي ولدها. This is the reading of all the MSS., and still I cannot help thinking that it is a corruption instead of حيوان يحتوى علي ما فيه من اللولو والدر كجوف المراة على ولدها, "in which the pearls rest like the fœtus in the womb of the mother."

of the sea, they let the oil ascend, to receive by this means a glimpse of light. Their feet and legs are blackened with soot; for the marine animals of which divers are afraid are shy of soot. Their voice (from the bottom of the sea) sounds like the barking of dogs. The sound passes through the water till it reaches the ears. In our former works we have given a full account of many curious matters connected with divers, pearl-fishing, the pearls, and the animals that produce them; also of the descriptions, marks, prices, size, and weight of pearls.

This sea begins from el-Basrah and el-Obollah, and extends along el-Bahraïn from the sea-marks of el-Basrah. Then comes the sea of Ladiwa (of the Lacadives) بحر لادوي (بحر لاروي): on this sea Safúrá صفورا, Súbárah سوبارة, Tánah تانة, Sindábúr سندابور, Kanbáyat كنبايَة, and other places of India and es-Sind, are situated. Then comes the sea of Horkand بحر هركند; then the sea of Kiláh بحر كلاه, which is also spelt Kolah كلة, and of the islands; then the sea of Kardebinj بحر كردبنج (بحر الكوربج); then the sea of es-Sinf الصنف, from which the Sinfí aloes has its name; for it comes from thence; then the sea of China, which is the sea of Saïhú صيحو (صنجر or صحى); and there is no sea beyond it.

We have said that the Persian Gulf begins from the sea-marks of el-Basrah, and a place called el-Kankelá الكنكلا (الكيكلي or الكنكى). There are

marks of wood erected in the sea, to insure the navigation to 'Omán, which is a distance of three hundred farsangs. On the coast of this sea are Fáris and el-Bahraïn. From 'Omán, the capital of which is Sohár*, which the Persians call Mazún مزون (مروں), to el-Maskat المسقط, which is a village where the sailors take in water from the fresh-water wells which are there, are fifty farsangs. From Maskat to the promontory of el-Jomjomah are also fifty farsangs. This is the limit of the sea of Fáris, the whole length of which is four hundred farsangs. This is the division recognized by sailors.

The promontory of el-Jomjomah راس الجمجمة is a mountain, which stands in connection with (the deserts of) esh-Shihr الشحر and el-Ahkáf, in Yemen. No one knows to what distance the sand extends under the water: but it is most copious under the promontory of el-Jomjomah. There are, as we have said, mountains in the sea, under water, like those on the land; and they are called in the Mediterranean sofálah السفالة. Such a sofálah is in a place which is known by the name of coast of Salúkiyat سلوقيا, in the Byzantine empire: it extends under water nearly as far as the Isle of Cyprus, and the greater part of the shipwrecks in the

* The MS. bears here سنجار, as in page 262, *supra*.

Mediterranean happen there. The sailors have, in every sea, peculiar expressions by which they understand each other.

From the promontory of el-Jomjomah, the vessels enter, from the sea of Fáris, into the second sea, which has the name Ladiwá لادوي. Its depth is unfathomable, its extent cannot be measured, and the mass of water is beyond calculation. Many sailors believe that no description can comprehend all its parts, it being of an almost endless extent, as we have already stated. The vessels cross it in two or three months, or in one month, as they have the wind. On the side of this sea extend the sea and country of the Zanj.

This sea has not much ambergris; for it is mostly thrown on to the coast of the Zanj, and of esh-Shihr, in Arabia.

The inhabitants of esh-Shihr are of the tribe of Kodhá'ah Ben Málik Ben Himyar قضاعة بن مالك بن حمير, and of other Arabic tribes. The inhabitants of Arabic origin in this country, which is also known under the name of el-Mahrah المهرة are called the *people of hair and body* اصحاب الشعور والجسم. Their language differs from pure Arabic: the difference consists in using shín instead of Káf الكاف; for instance, هل لش فيما قلت لي وقلتلش ان تجعل الذي معي في اللذي معش which is the same as هل لك فيما قلت لي وقلت لك ان تجعل الذي معي

*الذي معك في. The same is the case in other phrases. They are a poor and needy people: they have a sort of camel called Mahrí camel نجب المهرية: it goes as fast as the Bejáwí camel النجب البجاوية, or even faster, as some think. On these they ride along their coast; and when the camel comes to ambergris, which has been thrown out by the sea, it kneels down; for it is trained and taught to do so: thus the rider can pick it up. The ambergris, which is found on this coast, and on the islands and coast of ez-Zanj, is the best: it is round, of a blue colour, and is of the size of an ostrich's egg, or smaller. There is a sort of ambergris which is brought on shore by a fish, called whale الاوال, of which we have spoken. When the sea is stormy, pieces of ambergris are thrown up from the bottom of the sea, as big as mountains, or smaller, as we have described. This fish devours the ambergris, which causes its death; and it floats on the surface of the water. When people of ez-Zanj, or others, observe the whale, they throw hooks and ropes on it from their boats, open its belly, and take the ambergris. The ambergris found in the belly of the fish has a fœtid smell, and is known to the perfumers of el-'Irák and Fáris

* "How dost thou mean what thou hast said to me? I have told thee to put what I have with me to what thou hast with thee."

under the name of el-mand المند; but that which is found in the back of the fish is delicious and exquisite. Its quality depends on the length of the time which it has been in the entrails of the fish.

Between the third sea, which is the sea of Horkand*, and the second, which is the sea Ládiwá, are many islands; and they form the division between these two seas. Some say there are about two thousand, but, in fact, there are no more than one thousand and nine hundred, every of one which is cultivated. All these islands are ruled by a woman, for it is an ancient habit with them not to have a man as sovereign.

These islands yield much ambergris, which is thrown on shore by the sea. It is sometimes the size of the largest rocks. I have learned from several sailors of Síráf and 'Omán, when I visited those two towns, and from others who used to sail to these islands, that the ambergris grows in the bottom of the sea, and is of various kinds, as there are various sorts of Agalloche قطر: it is white, black, spongy, and the like, and, when the sea is strong, it throws up rocks and stones, and with them ambergris.

The inhabitants of these islands are united

* Compare Renaudot's Ancient Accounts of China, from page 1 to page 8.

under one government; they are very numerous, and have immense armies. The distance from one island to another is one mile, or one, two, or three farsangs. Their palm tree is the cocoa-nut palm نخل النارجيل, but they have no date palms. Persons who understand the generation (physiology) of animals, and the vegetation of plants, believe that the cocoa-nut tree is originally the same as the wild palm tree, which yields the fruit called mokl نخل المقل, but that the soil of India impressed its own character on it, when it was transplanted, and that it changed it into the cocoa-nut palm. We entered in our work called قضايات التجارب "axioms of experience," upon the influence which the climate and air of every part of the globe exercise on the nature of men and animals, and vegetation. Thus, it is to be ascribed to the influence of the climate that the Turks have peculiar features, and small eyes; and even their camels bear the stamp of the climate: their legs are short, their neck thick, and their hair white. The country of Yájúj and Májúj (Gog and Magog) partakes of the same character. There could be brought forward many other examples, which have been pointed out by persons who possess a knowledge of the races that inhabit the east and west, as we have described.

No other island of the sea can boast of such skilful artisans as the inhabitants of this group,

in all arts and trades, as in making cloth, instruments, and so forth.

The treasures of this country consist of shells, (concha veneris) ودع. These shells form the habitation of certain animals; and, when there is no money in the public treasury, the inhabitants receive orders to cut branches of the cocoa-nut tree, and to throw them on the water, with the leaves. These animals fasten on the branches, and are thus gathered; then they are spread upon the sand on the beach, and, as the animal perishes in the sun, the shell remains empty. So they fill the public treasury. These islands have, together, the name of ez-Zanját الزنجات*, and they export the greatest quantity of cocoa-nuts الرانج وهو النارجيل. The most important of these islands is Serendib سرنديب (Ceylon). At a distance of about a thousand farsangs from Serendib is another archipelago, called er-Ramin الرامين: these islands are cultivated, have many gold mines, and are governed by kings. In the same sea is Fansúr فنصور, whence the Fansúri camphor has its name. In years in which hurricanes, storms, inundations, and earthquakes are frequent, camphor is most abundant, and when these calamities are of less frequency, camphor is scarce.

En-Nowaïri (MS. of Leyden, p. 26,) writes, after Ben el-Jahit, الريحات er-Ríthhát.

In almost all the islands which we have named they eat cocoa-nuts: from these islands, bokkam (a dye similar to our Brazil wood) البقم and ruscus* الحيزران are exported; they have also gold and elephants. Some of the inhabitants are cannibals. This archipelago stands in connection with the islands of el-Jebálús الجبالوس†, which have a population of a very singular appearance. They bring in boats ambergris, betel, and other articles, to the vessels which pass them, to exchange these articles for iron and some clothes. They do not employ money. Next to them are islands called Andámán انداماان (انداماان), which are inhabited by Negroes of strange appearance and look. Their hair is woolly, and each of their feet is larger than

* The Haïsrán is identified with the لس‌برى in the MS. 1075, *anc. fonds* of the Royal Library at Paris, and Laguna informs us, in his excellent notes to his Spanish Translation of Dioscorides (Valencia, 1695, p. 100), that it is the ruscus; but he, as well as Banqueri (*Libro de Agricultura*), leave it uncertain what species of ruscus. In the said MS. of Paris, the Haïsrán is thus described: "It is imported to us from China; it has the form of ropes a finger thick, which are used for various domestic purposes. They are particularly useful for hanging cloth on them, for they do not make marks. Some say they are the branches of some shrub; others believe that they are roots." En-Nowaïrí informs us, that the sceptre of the khalif was of this wood.

† En-Nowaïrí writes, لنجالوس and انكالوس Langálús; and in the MS. of the British Museum No. 7496, their name is written اتكالوس.

one cubit. They have no vessels, and, if a ship-wrecked sailor is thrown on their shore, they devour him. They do the same with the crew of vessels if they land there.

I have been told by many sailors, that they have sometimes seen a small strip of white cloud over this sea, from which a long white tongue comes forth stretching down to the sea; and, when it reaches the water, the sea rises towards it in a terrible hurricane, which destroys everything that may come within its reach, and it is followed by a heavy shower.

The fourth sea is that of Kiláh Bár كلاه بار as we have said. It has also the name of the Sea of Kolah بحر كلة (كيلة). The water in this sea is shallow; the shallower a sea is, the more frequent are accidents, and the greater is the danger. In this sea are many islands and sedádi صدادي (صراري sing. صري). This word is a plural of sadí صدي; so the sailors call a land between two straits, if they have to pass it. Several islands and mountains of this sea are worth notice; but our object is to give general ideas, and not to enter into details.

The fifth sea, which is known under the name of Kerda'* كردع, is equally shallow, and full of mountains and islands, from which the camphor and the essential oil of camphor ماء الكفور are procured. Camphor has little essential oil, but much vehicle, from which it can hardly be extracted.

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* Page 346 *supra*, this sea has the name of Kardebinj.

These islands are inhabited by various nations. One race is called el-Maht المحت (المحب); they have crisp hair and strange features. They come in boats to the vessels which pass by, and throw a sort of poisoned arrow. Beyond these people, and between the country of Kolah, are mines of white lead (tin), and mountains rich in silver, which contain also gold and lead; but it cannot be separated.

Next follows the sea of es-Sinf بحر الصنف, according to the division which we have just made. In this sea are the dominions of the Maharáj, the king of the islands. The population and number of the troops of his kingdom cannot be counted; and the islands under his sceptre are so numerous, that the most fast sailing vessel is not able to go round them in two years. This king is in possession of several kinds of spices اقاويه and perfumes; and no kingdom has more natural resources, nor more articles for exportation, than this. Among these are camphor, aloes, gillyflowers, sandal-wood, betel-nuts, mace, cardamoms, cubebs, and the like. The limits of this sea, which extends from these islands towards the sea of China, are not known, and its extent is unexplored.

In some parts of this island are high mountains, with a dense population, who have slit ears, and a white complexion. Their faces look like a piece of a hammered shield; they wear their hair long, as we (the Mohammedans) wear our beards. From these mountains issues fire, by day and night. By

day it has a dark appearance, and at night it shines red. It rises to such a height, that it reaches the regions of the heaven (*i.e.* it ascends above the atmosphere). The explosion is accompanied with a noise like the loudest thunder. Sometimes a strange sound proceeds from these volcanos, which is indicative that their king will die; and, if the sound is lower, it foretells the death of one of their chiefs. They know the meaning of these sounds, by long habit and experience. This is one of the great chimneys (craters) of the earth. At no great distance is another island, from which, constantly, the sound of drums, lutes, fifes, and other musical instruments, and the noise of dancing, and various amusements, are heard. Sailors, who have passed this place, believe that the Dajjál (Antichrist) occupies this island.

To the dominions of the Maharáj belongs Sarírah سريرة, the extent of which is estimated at four hundred farsangs. The whole island is well cultivated. He is also in possession of the island of ez-Zánij, er-Rámní الرامني, and many other islands which are not known to us. The Maharáj is the lord of the sixth sea, which is the sea of es-Sinf بحر الصنف.

The seventh sea is the sea of China بحر الصين, which is also called the sea of Saïhú* بحر سحو;

* One MS. reads رستجر and another شنجو.

this is a stormy and dangerous sea, and there is a great deal of الخبّ; this word means a great raging on the sea وتفسير الخبّ الشدة العظيمة فى البحر, and is one of the maritime terms which are common among the sailors of every sea. In this sea are many mountains, between which the vessels must pass.

When a great storm comes on, black figures rise from the water, about four or five spans long, and they look like little Abyssinians. They mount on the vessels; but, however numerous they may be, they do no harm. When sailors observe them, they are sure that a storm is near; for their appearance is a certain sign of a gale. They prepare themselves for the storm, which will either be their ruin, or they will be saved from it. Those who are to be saved frequently observe something like a luminous bird at the top of the mast الدقل. The sailors of the sea of China, and of the whole Abyssinian sea, call the mast الدقل (الدولي); and the sailors of the Mediterranean call it الصاري. This appearance on the top of the mast is of such brightness that the eye cannot behold it, nor can they make out what it is. The moment it appears the sea becomes quiet, the gale lulls, and the waves subside. Then this brightness vanishes, and no one can perceive how it comes, or how it disappears. It is the sign of safety, and the assurance that they have escaped. What we have

related is confirmed by the sailors and merchants of el-Basrah, 'Omán, Síráf, and others, who have navigated this sea; and, however marvellous it sounds, it may be true that God sends such a sign; for his servants are saved, through his power, from the dangers of the sea, and guided in their voyage.

In this sea is a sort of crab, of the length of one cubit, or a span, more or less: if it comes forth from the sea in rapid motion, and goes on shore, it loses the qualities of an animal, and is petrified. This stone forms an ingredient in the collyria, and, generally, in medicines for the eye. It is, therefore, well known. There are wonderful accounts reported respecting the sea of China, and those which are in connection with it. We refer the reader to our books on these subjects, which we have frequently had occasion to bring under his notice.

Beyond the coast of China is no other kingdom known or described, excepting the country of es-Sabal السبل (es-Sílá?), and the islands which belong to it. No one from el-'Irák, or any other place of the West, frequents this country. The air of this country is wholesome, the water good, the soil fertile, and the precious stones are brilliant and genuine: hence, the country is rich; and it seldom happens that any of the inhabitants leave their native soil. They are allies of the Chinese, and the kings of both countries constantly exchange presents.

Some say they are descendants of 'Abúr, who settled there in the same way as the Chinese took possession of their country.

In China are many rivers, which may be compared with the Tigris and Euphrates. They come from the country of the Turks, et-Tubbet, and of the Soghd الصغد. The Soghd live between Bokhárá and Samarkand. In their country is the mountain en-Núshádir* النوشادر (the mountain of sal-ammoniac), from which fire rises in summer at night, which may be seen at a distance of nearly one hundred farsangs; and by day smoke issues, which is so dense that the rays of the sun cannot penetrate through it. This mountain yields sal-ammoniac نوشادر. Travellers in summer take their road from Khorásan to China by this mountain; for there is a valley through it, which is forty or fifty miles long. At the entrance of the valley wait some men who offer themselves to carry the baggage, if they are well paid. They use sticks to drive the passengers on their journey; for any stoppage or rest would be fatal to the traveller, in consequence of the irritation which the ammoniacal vapours of this valley produce on the brain, and on account of the heat. The way becomes more and more narrow till the travellers

* This volcano has been introduced to the notice of Europe by Klaproth, Abel Remusat, and Humboldt.

come to the end of their perilous passage. Here are pits with water, in which they throw themselves, to obtain relief from the depressing influence of the vapours of sal-ammoniac, and of the heat of the air. No animal passes through the valley in summer, nor anybody who is excited by fanaticism*. The sal ammoniac throws out flames in summer. In winter much snow and rain fall, which extinguish the heat and flames: at that time men and animals can pass it without inconvenience. When travellers arrive in the Chinese territories, they are beaten as in passing (to counteract the congestion of blood in the brain). The distance from Khorásán to China, through the pass just mentioned, is about forty days' journey; partly through steppes, solitudes, and deserts. The other road, which is used for animals, is about four months' journey; but on that the traveller enjoys the protection of several Turkish tribes.

I have seen a very intelligent and agreeable man

* ولا يسلك ذلك الوادي داع ولا مجيب: literally, "No caller (or one who makes proselytes,) nor one who answers, (or a proselyte,) passes this valley." I doubt whether the meaning which I have given to this passage in the text is correct; but I do not know the true sense. Perhaps the author means to say one must not speak; but why should he use such an artificial expression? Moreover, if he meant to circumscribe the word speak, by saying the traveller must neither ask nor answer, he would have used سايل, and not داع.

at Balkh, who had made the journey to China, several times; but he had never been at sea. I have seen many other persons who went from the country of the Soghd, through the mountains of en-Núshádir, to et-Tubbet and China. Khorásán is contiguous to India, and es-Sind, in the direction of el-Mansúrah and el-Múltán. The same caravan goes from es-Sind to Khorásán, and the caravans of India go in the same manner into this country, as far as Zábolistán زابلستان, which has the name of Faïrúz Ibn Kaïk فيروز ابن كيك. This is an extensive country: it has many astonishingly strong castles, and is densely inhabited by nations of different tongues. Historians do not agree respecting their origin. Some trace their descent from Yáfeth Ben Núh, and others connect them with the first Persians, giving a long genealogy.

The country of et-Tubbet (Tibet) is separated and distinct from China. The rulers of et-Tubbet are the Himyarites, who were led there by one of the Tobba's, as we shall relate in the history of Yemen, to which we shall devote some of the following pages of this book; and it is to be found in our Akhbár ez-zemán. The population of et-Tubbet consists partly of nomades, and partly of settled inhabitants. The wandering Tibetans are of Turkish origin, and so numerous that they cannot be counted. They yield to no nomadic nation of the Turks, and are respected by other Turkish

hordes; for in ancient times the king (khákán) was of their horde; and it is generally believed, among all Turks, that they will again obtain the royal power.

The country of et-Tubbet has some peculiarities in its air, water, soil, plains, and mountains, which deserve notice. There, man lives gay and full of cheerfulness, which is neither interrupted by sorrows, nor cares, nor by reflection. The varieties of fruits, flowers, meadows, and rivers, of this country, are innumerable. The nature of this country predisposes men and animals to be light-hearted and cheerful; you will not even see old men or old women dull; but old and young are equally gay. This cheerfulness, joviality, and gaiety, lead them to indulge in music and dancing; and it goes so far, that the relations of persons who die do not feel such deep sorrow as other people feel at the loss of a beloved individual, or in the absence of one to whom they are attached; but, notwithstanding this levity, they are affectionate to each other.

This country has the name of Thobbet after those Himyarites who had settled ثبت (thobbit) there. This is expressed in the poem of Di 'bil Ben 'Alí el-Khozá'í دعبل بن علي الخزاعي, in which he lowers the Komaït الكميت, boasting of the superiority of the Kahtan tribes above the Nizár نزار tribes.

"They have put an inscription on the gate of Merw and on the gate of China. Both these are our inscriptions. They have named Samarkand after (their king) Shamir, and they have colonized et-Tubbet."

We shall relate, in the chapter on the history of the kings of Yemen, the principal events in the history of the kings of et-Tubbet, and of those who made (military) excursions. Et-Tubbet borders on one side on China, and on the other side on India, Khorásán, and the Turkish steppes. It comprises extensive cultivated lands and many towns, some of which are fortified. In ancient times, they gave to their kings the title Tobba', in imitation of the title of the king of Yemen. But, as time changes every thing, the Himyaritic language was lost amongst them, and exchanged for a language which is similar to those of the neighbouring countries and nations; and they called their king Khákán خاقان.

The Tubbetan and Chinese musk comes from contiguous countries, in which the musk deer ظبا المسک lives; and the superiority of the Tubbetan musk over the Chinese musk depends on two causes: the musk deer of et-Tubbet lives upon spikenard and all sorts of aromatic herbs, whilst the Chinese musk deer has none of those odoriferous plants; further, the Tubbetans leave the musk in the bladder, as it is in its natural state, and the Chinese take it

out from the bladder, and adulterate it with blood and other sophistications. Besides, the Chinese musk is imported to us by sea, and is thus exposed to moisture and different air. When the Chinese have spoiled their musk by adulteration, they put it into pots and bottles, which they carefully close, and, in this state, it is imported into the Moslim territory by the seaports of 'Omán, Fáris, el-Irák, and other large towns*.

The musk which the zebi† yields, immediately after it has come to maturity, is the best and most exquisite, such as the musk of et-Tubbet is. There is no difference between the musk gazelles غزلان المسك and the common gazelles غزلان, as to form, appearance, colour, or horns; the sole difference that exists is, that they have canine teeth, resembling the projecting teeth of the elephant. The musk deer has two such teeth projecting from the jaw, which are very strong, white, and straight, and about

* En-Nowaïrí gives some precious details respecting the trade of perfumes, which was the most considerable branch of foreign commerce under the Abbásides. He confirms the statement of our author, saying that the musk of et-Tubbet and of China are originally of the same quality; but that the Tubbetan musk is imported *by land* على الظهر through Khorásán, and preserves its fragrancy; whilst the Chinese musk, although it comes originally from Tubbet, is brought from Canton (Khánikù) by sea, and loses its strength.

† Compare Ancient Accounts of India and China, p. 71.

one span long, more or less. The Chinese and Tubbetans set nooses, nets, and traps, to catch the musk deer; sometimes they shoot them with arrows. They pull them down and cut out the musk bladder. The blood in the navel has a fœtid smell, and, as long as it is fresh, it has not only no fragrance, but it is very offensive. After it has been kept for some time, it loses that offensive smell, and it becomes, under the influence of air, musk. It undergoes exactly the same process as fruits, if they have been taken from the tree before they have their flavour. The best musk is that which is found in the navel of the animal, and matured in the bladder till it has its fragrancy. The blood is accumulated in the navel of the animal, and, when its particles have undergone a change there, it receives an agreeable smell. The animal, feeling some inconvenience, rubs its navel on rocks and stones which are warmed by the sun, for this excites a pleasing sensation. By this means (this changed blood) is discharged, and adheres to the stones. The sensation may be compared to the relief felt if a tumour or boil, in which much matter has been collected, is discharged. When the musk bladder [الناڤجة which is the Persian word for navel]* is

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* ناڤجة و تفسير ذلك السرة وهذا اسم فارسي. The word is written نافه in Persian, and does not mean "navel," generally, but, as in Arabic, especially, "the navel bag of a musk goat."

emptied of its contents, it cicatrizes, and the blood accumulates there a second time, as in the first instance. The Tubbetans go out to the rocks and mountains, and there they find the blood congealed on the stones, which has been matured by nature in the animal, and dried by the sun, after it has been exposed to its influence. This is the most exquisite musk, and is, in gathering, put into the musk bladders which have been taken from hunted deer, and brought for the purpose to the spot where the musk is gathered. This is the musk used by the Tubbetan princes, and which they send as presents to each other; but it is seldom exported from their country. There are many towns in et-Tubbet, and the musk is called after the town or district from whence it comes.

The kings of China, of the Turks, of India, of the Zanj, and all other kings of the earth, looked up to the king of the climate (kishwar) of Bábel with great respect; for he is the first king on earth, and occupies the same position with respect to others as the moon* with respect to the stars. For his country is the noblest and most populous: he is the richest of all sovereigns; he is most favoured by nature; and he has a powerful and firm government. This was the case in ancient times; but now, [in

One copy reads, in the margin, as a correction, "the sun."

332 A.H.,] this description does not at all agree with the sovereign of this country. The ancient kings of Bábel had the title of Sháhán Sháh شاهان شاه, which means the King of Kings. He has the same position with regard to the rest of the world as the heart in the body, and the buckle in a necklace. Next ranks the king of India, who is the king of wisdom and of elephants; for it was acknowledged amongst the Khosraws that wisdom comes from India. After the king of India ranks the king of China, who is the king of wise government, good institutions, and perfection in arts. No king on earth pays more attention to internal government than the king of China, nor keeps any other the citizens, soldiers, and persons in office, better under control. His people are brave, strong, and powerful. He is able to defend his country with well equipped armies. His troops receive pay, as it was the case under the kings of Bábel. The first rank after the king of China is claimed by the king of the Turks; who resides in the city of Kofristán* كفرستان, and rules over the Turkish nation called Taghizghiz. He is called the king of lions (tigers) and of horses; for there is no nation on earth braver, nor more lion (tiger)-like in shedding blood, than his subjects; nor has any country greater abundance of horses than this. His

* One copy reads Kúshán كوشان.

country is between China and the steppes of Khorásán. The title of this monarch is Irkhán ايرخان, (the Khán of Men). The Turks have several kings, who rule over different hordes, and are not under submission to the irkhán; but there is no other Turkish king who excels him. The Byzantine king, who follows next, is named the King of Men; for there are no men on earth better formed than his subjects. This gradation was recognized in ancient times; but subsequently the kings of the earth have become more equal in their positions. A man who takes a very correct view of the history of the world, describes thus, in some poem, the kings of the world :—

" There are two famous palaces on earth, the Iwán (of the Khosraws, at Ctesiphon), and the Ghomdán (of the kings of Yemen, at San'á); and there are only two great royal families, the Sásánians and Kahtánites. Fáris is, in preference, called the earth, and Bábil the climate (or Kishwar). The site of the Islam is Mekka, and Khorásán is the world. The two royal cities, Bokhárá and Balkh, form the two corners (of Khorásán), and render it formidable. El-Baïlakán البيلقان and Taberistán are its frontiers; er-Raï is its Sharwán (fortified frontier pass). In society some men are distinguished by higher rank, as the Marzobán (in the Persian empire), the Batrick (or Patrician,

amongst the Romans), and the Tarkhán*. The title of the Persian king is Kisra; the Romans call their monarch Cæsar; the Abyssinians Nejáshi; and the Turks Khákán†."

The king of Sicily صقلية and Afríkiyah, in the Maghrib, had, before the Islám, the title Jirjís جرجيس (George); and the king of Spain had the name Lodrík لذريق (Roderic), which was common to all the kings of Spain. The inhabitants of this country are said to belong to the nation of el-Ishbán

* Tarkhán is the title of the Tatar Magnates. A Tarkán had the right to go to court whenever he pleased, and to commit nine crimes without being subject to the laws. These privileges were inherited through nine generations. The Hungarians, who are Tatars, have preserved and extended these humane institutions. A Hungarian Magnate may commit as many crimes as he chooses; he is never checked by the court of Vienna, except if he should dare to wish to better the condition of his country; and his privileges are inherited by his whole posterity without end.

† الـدار داران ايوان وغمدان * والملك مُلكان ساسان وقحطان
والارض فـارس والاقليم بـابل * والاسلام مكّة والدنيا خـراسان
الجانبان العلندان اللذا خشنا * منها بخـاري فبلخ الشاه داران
والبيلقان وطبرستان فارزهـا * والـري شروانـهـا والجيل جيلان
قد رتب الناس جما فى مراتبهم * فمرزبـان و بـطـريق وطرخـان
فالفرس كسري وفي الروم القياصر * والحبش النجاشي والاتراك خاقان

الاشبان (Hispani), who are descendents of Yáfeth Ben Núh, and are spread over this country. But the more generally received opinion amongst the Moslims in Spain is, that Lodrík (Roderic) was of the Galician nation, who are a French race. He was the last sovereign; and was killed by Tárik طارق, the freed slave of Músa Ben Nosaïr, when he conquered Spain and entered Tolaïtilah طليطلة (Toledo), which was the metropolis and the residence of the king. Through this city runs a large river, which has the name Tájah* تاجه (Tagus). It comes from the country of the Galicians† الجلالقة, and the Basques‡. They are a great nation, ruled by a king who goes as frequently to war with the Moslims in Spain, as the Galicians and the French الافرنجة. This river, (the Tagus,) falls into the Atlantic Ocean. It is one of the most celebrated rivers in the world: in the middle of its course it passes the town of Toledo. Over the Tagus goes the arched bridge es-Saïf قنطرة السيف, which was constructed by ancient kings; it is one of the

* Almost all MSS. read the name of this river Abírah ابيرة, and it is evident from what follows, that our author did not sufficiently distinguish between the Tagus and the Ebro.

† This is the plural of جلق, as it has been said in the note to page 177 *supra*. The Arabic name of the country is Jillíkiyah

‡ All MSS. read الوشكند instead الوشكس or المشكنس.

most remarkable buildings on earth, and much more surprising than the bridge Sajineh* سجينة, on the frontier between Mesopotamia and the Byzantine empire, not far from Somaïsát سميساط, in the country of Sarújah † سروجة. This, and the city of Toledo, are fortified, and have strong walls.

The (Mohammedan) inhabitants of this city rebelled against the Omaïyides after the conquest, and defended themselves two years with success against them; but, in 315, the town was taken by 'Abder-Rahmán Ben Mohammed Ben 'Abdullah Ben Mohammed Ben 'Abder-Rahmán Ben el-Hakam Ben Hishám Ben 'Abder-Rahmán Ben Mo'awiyah Ben Hishám Ben 'Abdel-Melik Ben Merwán Ben el-Hakam, and he is at present [332 A.H.,] king of Spain. Many buildings of this city were destroyed when it was taken. Kortobah قرطبة was made the metropolis of Spain, and continues to be so to this day. It is seven days' journey from Toledo, and about three days from the sea: one day's journey from the sea is the town Ishbíliyah اشبيلية (Seville). The cultivation and towns of Spain extend about two months' journey,

* This seems to be a corruption of the Greek word *ζευγμα*, or of the Arabic name Jasr Manbij, and to mean one or the other of these two bridges over the Euphrates.

† Abúlfeda writes Sarúj. But en-Nowaïri in an autographic copy of one of the volumes of his history (MS. of Leyden), spells the name like our author.

and amongst them there are nearly forty renowned cities.

The Omaïyades in Spain, are called the sons of the khalifs بنى الخلايف, but they do not give them the title khalífah (successor of the prophet), for no prince has a claim to this title, in their opinion, who is not master of the two holy cities (which formed the dominions of the Prophet).

'Abd er-Rahmán Ben Mo'awiyah Ben Hishám Ben 'Abd el-Melik Ben Merwán went to Spain in in the Rebí' of 137* A.H. (and died in 171). He was succeeded by his son Hishám Ben 'Abd er-Rahmán, who reigned nine years (180). Then reigned his son, el-Hakam Ben Hishám, nearly twenty years (206)†. At present reigns 'Abd er-Rahmán Ben Mohammed (350) in Spain as we have said. He has a very good government.

He made in 327 A.H., an expedition against the Christians, with more than one hundred thousand men, and encamped before the capital of the king-

* One copy reads the year 137, and another 139; the real date is the tenth of Rebí'I., 138.

† Here the names of 'Abd er-Rahmán Ben el-Hakam [238]; Mohammed Ben 'Abd er-Rahmán [273]; el-Mondir Ben Mohammed [275]; and Abdullah [300]; are left out in all copies by a mistake of the transcribers. The dates between crotchets are the years of the death of the kings, and have been borrowed from Conde's *Historia de la Dominacion de los Arabes en España*, Madrid, 1820.

dom of the Galicians, which is called Samúrah سمورة (Zamora), and surrounded with seven walls, which form one of the most wonderful buildings raised by ancient kings. From one wall to another is a considerable distance, in which run ditches filled with water. He conquered two walls, and then the besieged made a sally upon the assailants, and killed as many as they could reach; the number of those who fell under the sword, or were drowned, amounted to forty thousand men. This gave to the Galicians and Basques the superiority over the Moslims, and they took the towns and frontiers towards France from them. On this frontier is the city of Orbúnah اربونة, which the Moslims lost in 300 A.H., with other towns and fortresses, but the town is still existing after the conquest, to this day 332 A.H.

In the eastern part of Spain, on the Mediterranean, is the city of Tortúshah طرطوشة; and a little farther north, is Farághah فراغة on a large river, then Láridah لاردة, and still further north lies بلعى; the last mentioned town is on the French frontiers. This is the most narrow pass of the Pyrenees.

A short time previous to the beginning of the fourth century of the Hijrah, ships landed in Spain which had thousands of men on board, who made incursions on the coast. The Moslims of Spain

believed that they were a Magian nation امة من المجوس (fire worshippers) who were in the habit of visiting this country every two centuries. They came from a gulf of the Ocean, and not from the strait on which the pillars of copper (*columnæ Herculis*) stand. I suppose this gulf is connected with the sea of Máyotis and the Pontus, (through a northern passage,) and that the invading nation were the Russians * الروس, of whom we have spoken; for no other nation sails in the seas which stand in connexion with the Ocean. In the Mediterranean †, not far from Crete, planks of vessels of Indian plantain wood have been found, which were well cut and joined with fibres of the cocoa nut tree. It was evident that they were of wrecked vessels, and had been a long time in water; vessels of this description are only found in the Abyssinian sea, for the vessels of the Mediterranean and of the West are all joined with nails. In the Abyssinian sea, iron nails would not be applicable for ship building, for the water of that sea corrodes the iron, and the nails become thinner and weaker in the water; hence the planks are joined with fibres and besmeared with grease and quicklime. This is a proof that the seas have a communication. The

* They were the Normans. This suggestion, although it is not correct, does honour to the sagacity of our author.

† Compare Ancient Accounts of India and China, translated by Renaudot, page 59.

sea towards China and the country of es-Sílá السيلي (السبل), goes all round the country of the Turks, and has a communication with the sea of the West بحرالمغرب (the Atlantic), through some straits of the great ocean اقيانس المحيط.

On the coast of Syria, ambergris has been found thrown on shore, although it has never been a production of the Mediterranean since ancient times, and it is possible that it came there through the same way by which we suppose that the planks of the vessels came there from the sea of China. God knows best. The sea of Spain * abounds in ambergris, and it is exported from Spain to Egypt and other countries, from the coasts of this sea called Shantirín شنترين (Santarem), and Shodaunah شدونة (Sidonia). The ounce, in Bagdad weight, is paid with three mithkals of gold in Spain, and in Egypt with ten dinárs, although it is of an inferior quality.

It is probable that the pieces of ambergris found on the Byzantine (Syrian) coasts have been propelled there by the waves, for the sea of Spain is in communication with the sea that washes these coasts.

In Spain are considerable mines of silver and quicksilver, and since this is the best quicksilver that exists, it is exported into all Moslim, and not Moslim, countries. Other articles of exportation

* Compare Al-Makarri, History of the Mohammedan dynasties in Spain, translated by M. Gayangos, vol. I. p. 89.

from Spain are saffron and ginger roots عروق الزنجبيل. The principal ingredients of perfumes are five: musk, camphor, aloes, ambergris, and saffron; they all come from India, except saffron and ambergris, which are found in the country of the Zanj, in esh-Shihr, الشحر, and Spain.

The kinds of spices اناويه are twenty-five, viz., the hyacinth (spikenard) السنبل, gilly-flower القرنفل, sandal-wood الصندل, betel-nut (nutmeg) الجوز بوا, the rose الورد, cassia السليخة, the bark of pomegranate الزرنب, the finer species of cinnamon القرفة, cardamoms القاقلة, cubebé الكبابة, a species of cinnamon* الهالبوا, the berries of Cæsalpinia Sappa حب البقم, the roots of the Nymphea الغاغرة, a species of grain resembling cherry-stones (growing in Aderbaïján) المحلب, saffron of Yemen الورس, costus-root القسط, clove الاظفار, the gum of the lada اللادن, styrax المبعة, the seed of satonicum القنبيل, calamus aromaticus قصب الدريدة, orobanche الزبابة†. We have described the mines of silver, gold, quicksilver, and the places where all sorts of perfumes are found, in our work, the Akhbár ez-zemán: we

* The Arabs distinguished particularly two species of cinnamon which are both mentioned here: one of them is most likely the cinnamon of Ceylon (*laurus cinnamonum*), and the other the cinnamon of China (*laurus cassia?*) or perhaps the Malabrathrum.

† The names of three drugs are left uncertain in the MSS.

may, therefore, dispense with entering further on this subject in this book.

The accounts which are reported respecting the sea of the west, are marvellous, particularly those which regard the sea that washes the cultivated districts of the Súdán (Negroes), and the extreme west. Men who are possessed of an extensive knowledge of our globe, say, that the Abyssinians and Súdán (Negroes) occupy a country of seven years' journey; that Egypt forms the sixtieth part of the country of the Súdán; and that the country of the Súdán forms only a small portion of the surface of the earth, the dimension of which is five hundred years' journey. One third of it is inhabited, one-third is desert, and one-third is covered with seas. The country of the Súdán borders on the most distant plains of the dominions of Idris Ben Idris Ben 'Abdullah Ben el-Hasan Ben el-Hosaïn Ben 'Alí Ben Abí Táleb, in the Magrib, which is the country of Tilimsán تلمسان, Táhart تاهرت, and Fás فاس (Fezz): then comes Sus el-adná سوس الادني, which is about two thousand three hundred miles from el-Kaïrwán, and twenty days' from Sús el-aksá. The cultivation extends, without interruption, as far as the Wádí-r-raml (valley of sand) and Kasr el-aswad (the black palace). Farther on come deserts of sand, in which one finds a town, of the name of Medínat en-Nohás wa

Kibáb er-Rasás (the town of copper, and the cupolas of lead).

Músá Ben Nosaïr has penetrated as far as Medínat en-Nohás, under the reign of 'Abd el-Melik Ben Merwán. The wonderful things which he has seen, are related in several books which are known to every one. Some are of opinion that the town which has been stormed by Músá, is in the plains of the Ardh el-Kebírah ارض الكبيرة (the main land), which extends (north of the Peninsula) of Spain. Maïmún Ben 'Abd el-Wehháb Ben 'Abd er-Rahmán Ben Rostam el-Fárisí, who was of the Ibádhian sect ميمون بن عبد الوهاب بن عبد الرحمن بن رستم الفارسي و هواباضي has spread there the tenets of the Khawárij. Some historians believe that the inhabitants are remnants of the Ishbán, who have cultivated those countries. Maïmún had several wars with the Tálebites. We shall speak on the different opinions respecting the Ishbán اشبان in another chapter of this book. Some connect them with the Persians, deriving the name from Isbahán اصبهان.

In these places of the Maghrib are found some of the sect of the Khawárij, called the Harúrians*

* One copy reads "Sofrians (الصفرية)." They are a fraction of the Harúrians, so called from Saffár, the founder of the sect.

الحرورية. They possess several cities, like the town of Dar'ah* درعة, which has large silver mines: this town lies towards el-Jásr† الجسر, and is contiguous with the country of the Abyssinians, with whom the inhabitants are at constant war. In our book called the Akhbár ez-zemán, we have related the wars of the Maghrib; and we have described the towns of that country; we have named the sects of the Khawárij, as the Ibádhians, Sofrians, and the Mo'tazilite sects, who live there; and we have related the wars which arose between the followers of those two religious opinions. We have also acquainted the reader with the history of el-Aghlab et-Temímí الاغلب التميمي, who was appointed by el-Mansúr over the Maghrib‡, of his residence in Afríkíyah, of the state of his affairs, during the reign of er-Rashíd, and the succession of his son, as an independant prince, over Afríkíyah, and other provinces of the Maghrib, till Abú Nasr Ziádatullah Ben 'Abdullah Ben Ibrahím Ben Ahmed (Ben el-Aghlab Ben Ibrahím Ben Mohammed§) Ben

* The MSS. read بدعة and لرعية.

† One copy reads "towards the South."

‡ Abúlfeda and Rasmussen (Annales Moslim.) say, that Ibrahím Ben el-Aghlab is the founder of the dynasty, and that he has been appointed by er-Rashíd.

§ It should run Ben Mohammed Ben Ibrahim, leaving out Ben Aghlab. Compare Abulfeda ad annum 296.

el-Aghlab, one of his successors, was expelled by Abú 'Abdullah, the Mohtesib, who was a Súfí, and an emissary of the governor of el-Mahdíyah. He drove him out, with the assistance of the Ketámah كتامة, and other tribes of the Berbers, in 297, A.H., during the Khalifat of el-Moktader. All this is related in the Akhbár ez-zemán, where we also describe his march to er-Rakkah. This man had originally been Mohtesib (officer of police) at Rámhormúz, in the Ahwáz.

We now resume our subject, and continue to name the kings, postponing the description of the kingdoms situated on the Abyssinian sea, which we intend hereafter to introduce to the notice of the reader.

The king of the Zanj is Wafliman وفلمن (وفلمي); the king of el-Lán is Kerkendáj كركنداج (كرلبداخ); the kings of el-Hírah were the No'mans النعمانية and the Mondirs المناذرة; the king of the mountainous country of Tabaristán was Fárán فاران (فارق or عارن), and el-Jebel is named after him and his sons to this day. The king of India is the Ballahrá البلهري; the king of Kinnauj, who is one of the kings of es-Sind is Búdah بودة (بَرُوزَة or نوورة); this is a title general to all kings of el-Kinnauj*: at present this

* En-Nowaïrí states, that the title of the king of Kinnauj is

city is under the sceptre of the Islám, for it forms a province of el-Multán. Through this town passes one of the (five) rivers, which form together the river Mihrán in es-Sind, which is considered by el-Jáhit الجاحظ as the Nile, and by others as the Jaïhún of Khorásán*. This Búdah, who is the king of el-Kinnauj, is an enemy of the Ballahrá the king of India. The king of el-Kandahár القندهار, who is one of the kings of es-Sind ruling over this country, is called Jahaj جهج (جهجى); this name is common to all sovereigns of that country. From his dominions comes the river Rayíd رايد, one of the five rivers which form the Mihrán of es-Sind. Kandahár is called the country of the Rahbút (Rajbut) الرهبوط (الرهَيبوط); another river of the Panjab is called Hátil هاطل; it comes also from the mountains of es-Sind, and runs through the country of er-Rahbút, which is the country of el-Kandahár: the fourth river of the Panjab comes from the country of Kábul and its mountains, which forms the frontier of es-Sind towards Bost بسط, Ghaznah†

Ráy راي. Perhaps the difference of the times when el-Mas'údí and en-Nowaïri wrote, may account for the difference of their statements.

* The first of these two errors came from the Greeks to the Arabs, and the others from the Persians.

† MSS. read عربين and عرس.

Nafsh (?) نفش (بعتبروا), er-Rokhkhaj الرخج, and the country of er-Ráwan* راون, which is the frontier of Sijistán. One of the five rivers comes from the country of Kashmír قشمير. The king of Kashmír has the name er-Ráma الرامي (الري), which is a general title for all kings.

Kashmír is situated in the mountains of es-Sind, and forms a powerful kingdom, which comprizes from sixty to seventy thousand towns and villages; and his territory is unapproachable excepting from one side, so that he can shut up the whole of his dominions with one gate; for it is surrounded by mountains of such height that neither men nor wild animals can climb over them, and they are only accessible to birds. Where there are no mountains, there are inaccessible valleys, trees, jungles, and rivers which defend the place by their rapidity. The natural fortifications of this country is well known in Khorásán and other provinces, and it is one of the most wonderful things in the world.

The dominions of Búdah the king of Kinnauj, extend about one hundred and twenty Sindian farsangs in length and breadth; one of their farsangs is eight of our miles. The above-mentioned king has four armies, corresponding with the four

* MSS. read here and in other passages داون.

cardinal winds. Each of these four armies consists of seven hundred thousand men. The army of the north has to oppose the king of el-Múltán and his allies. The army of the south has to defend the the country against the Ballahrá, the king of el-Mánkir; and in the same manner are the other armies engaged against the other neighbouring powers. It is said that the towns, villages, and estates in his dominions, the extent of which we have stated, amount, as far as can be counted, to one million and eight hundred thousand villages, surrounded by trees, rivers, mountains, and meadows.

Although he possesses few elephants in comparison with other kings, he maintains near a thousand war elephants. If an elephant is spirited, pugnacious, and brave, a rider sits on his back, and he has a Fautal فوطل (قرطل) which is a kind of sword, in his trunk. The trunk is covered with mail and iron, and the rest of his body is protected by an armour of iron and leather; such an elephant is surrounded by five hundred men, who protect him from behind. An elephant thus equipped, keeps his ground against six thousand horsemen. He advances, retires, goes round (and makes the military evolutions), like a horse with a rider on his back. These are the manœuvres of the elephants of the Hindus in all their wars.

We have already stated that the sovereign power

over el-Múltán rests in the family of Sámah* Ben Lawi Ben Ghálib سامة بن لوي بن غالب They have considerable forces. Their territory is one of the greatest of those Moslim countries, which form a frontier against unbelieving nations. There are on the frontiers of el-Múltán about one hundred thousand villages and estates, as far as they can be counted. There is the celebrated idol of el-Múltán, to which the inhabitants of es-Sind and India perform pilgrimages by thousands, from the most distant places; they carry money, precious stones, aloes, and other sorts of perfumes, there to fulfil their vows. The greatest part of the revenue of the king of el-Múltán, comes from the rich presents of genuine komárí aloes; one mann of which is worth two hundred dinars; for it is so genuine, that it receives the impression of a seal like wax; and from other objects of value, which are brought there as offerings. When the unbelievers march against el-Múltán, and the Moslims do not feel themselves strong enough to oppose them, they threaten to break their idol, and their enemies immediately withdraw their armies.

I visited el-Múltán after 300 A. H., when Abú

* Page 234, *supra*, this name is spelt Osámah اسامة in all copies, whilst they read in this passage Samah, and lower down they write the family name of this dynasty, es-Sámí.

-d-Dilhát el-Monbad (el-Monabbih) Ben Asad el-Karshi es-Sámí ابو الدلهات المنبد (المنبه) بن اسد القرشي السامي was king there. At the same time, I visited el-Mansúrah; the king of that country was then Abúl-Mondir Omar Ben 'Abdullah ابو المنذر عمر بن عبد الله. I was acquainted with his vizier Riáh رياح, with his sons Mohammed and 'Ali, and with an Arab of the name of Hamzah, who was one of the lords and kings of the Bedouins. There were also many descendants of 'Alí Ben Abí Táleb, of 'Omar Ben 'Alí, and of Mohammed Ben 'Alí, at el-Mansúrah. There is some relationship between the royal family of el-Mansúrah and the family of esh-Shawárib the Kadi الشوارب القاضي, for the kings of el-Mansúrah are of the family of Habbár Ben el-Aswad, and have the name of Beni 'Amr Ben 'Abd el-Azíz el-Karshí, who is to be distinguished from 'Amr Ben 'Abd el-Aziz Ben Merwán, the Omaïyide (khalif).

When all the rivers which we have enumerated have passed the Golden house (or temple) * بيت الذهب, which is the meaning of the name of el-Múltán, they unite at about three days' journey below this city and above el-Mansúrah, at a place

* It is probably a fault of the copyists that we read in a preceding passage, that the name of el-Multán means "meadow of gold."

called Dúsháb دوشاب, into one stream which proceeds to the town of er-Rúd الرود (الدرور), which lies on its western bank and belongs to el-Mansúrah, where it receives the name Mihrán مهران. There it is divided into two branches, both of which fall at the town of Shákirah شاكرة, which belongs also to one of the districts of el-Mansúrah, into the Indian sea, under the name of Mihrán of es-Sind مهران السند, about two days' journey from the town of ed-Daïbol.

El-Múltán is seventy-five Sindian fursangs from el-Mansúrah. Each farsang has eight miles, as stated above. All the estates and villages under the dependency of el-Mansúrah amount to three hundred thousand. The whole country is well cultivated, and covered with trees and fields. They are at constant war with a nation called the Mind المند, who are a race of the Sind, and with other nations on the frontiers of es-Sind. El-Múltán is equally on the frontier of es-Sind, and so are the towns and villages belonging to it. El-Mansúrah has its name from Mansúr Ben Jamhúr, governor of the Omaïyides. The king of el-Mansúrah has eighty war elephants, every one of which is supported by five hundred infantry in battle, as we have already remarked; and these elephants can oppose thousands of horse.

I have seen two elephants of this king, which had become famous at the courts of India and es-

Sind for their courage and success in wars. One had the name Monkirkals منقرقلس (مرقلش), and the other Haïdarah حيدرة. Many curious stories are related respecting Monkirkals, throughout all India. On the death of one of his leaders, he did not eat nor drink for several days, and he cried and sighed like a human being who is mourning. Tears fell from his eyes, and thus he continued for a considerable time. Another story is, that he went out one day from his háyir حاير, which means the stable of elephants; Haïdarah was behind him, and they were followed by eighty other elephants. When they came to a narrow street in el-Mansúrah a woman came unawares on the elephant, and was so frightened that she fell on her back, and she was uncovered in the middle of the road. Monkirkals, observing this, posted himself across the road, turning his right side in opposition to the elephants coming behind him, to prevent them from injuring the woman, and he gave her a sign with his trunk to rise from the ground, having first placed her dress in order and covered her. When she was in safety with her husband, the elephant changed his position and continued his way, followed by the others.

The natural history of the elephant is full of interesting stories of this kind; and they are not only used for war, but for many other purposes, as for carrying burdens, drawing carriages, threshing

rice, and other sorts of grain اقوات, as oxen tread out corn on a floor. We shall speak on the elephants in the chapter on the Zanj: for nowhere else are they so numerous as in their country, where they live in a wild state.

Let us now resume our short account of the kings of es-Sind and India. The language of es-Sind is different from that of India. Es-Sind is the country which is nearer the dominions of the Moslims, and India that which is farther from them. The inhabitants of el-Mánkír, which is the residence of the Ballahrá, speak the Kíriyah language كيرية (كمرية), which has this name from the places where it is spoken. On the coast, as in Saïmúr (?) سيمور, Súbárah, Tánah, and other towns on the coast of the Ládiwa sea, a language is spoken which has its name from the sea which washes these countries; and this is the Ládiwá sea, which has been described above. On this coast are many rivers, which run from the south, whilst all other rivers of the world flow from north to south, excepting the Nile, of Egypt, and the Mihrán, of es-Sind. We have given an explanation why this is the case, and we have stated what the learned say on the subject, in our Akhbár ez-zemán. In the same work we have named the places which have a great elevation (above the level of the sea), and those which are less elevated.

Neither in India, nor in es-Sind, is there a sove-

reign who disturbs the peace of the Moslims in their own country*. The Islám is, therefore, flourishing there. The mosques and jámi's for Moslim worship are large and splendid, their kings are long-lived, and reign forty, fifty, and more years, and the (Moslim) subjects believe, that the length of the life of a sovereign depends upon his justice and the respect paid to the Moslims. He (the Ballahrá) pays his army from the public treasury, as the Moslims do. In his empire Talatawian طلطوية (Tátarian طاطرية) dirhams are in circulation, one of which weighs a drachm and a half. The coins are impressed with the date when their king succeeded to the throne. His war elephants are beyond number. This country is also called the country of el-Kiminker الكمنكر (الكمكم). On one side it is exposed to the inroads of the king of the Khazar الخزر, who possesses a great number of horses, camels, and troops, and they believe that there is no king on earth more glorious than he, excepting the king of the climate of Bábel, which is the fourth climate; for this king surpasses in magnificence and valour all other kings of the world. The Ballahrá has a great animosity against

* One copy reads "who persecutes the Moslims in his country; so, for instance, the Ballahrá;" and all that follows respecting the longevity of the kings, is said there in reference to the Ballahrá.

the Moslims. He has a number of elephants: his dominions occupy a tongue of land, and are so rich in mines of gold and silver, that gold and silver is the medium of their commerce.

Next to this country is the kingdom of et-Tákín الطاقين. The king is on friendly terms with the neighbouring sovereigns and with the Moslims; his military forces are less considerable than those of the kings whom we have named. In this kingdom are the prettiest women of all India. They are praised for their beauty in books, *De Coitu* كتب* الباه, and sailors are excedingly anxious to buy them. They are known under the name of Tákínians. Beyond this kingdom is that of Rahmá رهمي, which is the title for their kings, and generally at the same time their name. His dominions border on those of the king of the Khazars; and, on one side, on those of el-Ballahrá, with whom he is frequently at war. Rahmá has more troops, elephants, and horses, than the Ballahrá, the king of el-Khazar and of et-Tákin. When he takes the field, he has no less than five thousand elephants. He never goes

* A work of this title, by the celebrated Rhazes, is in the library of Leyden. The number of curious observations, the correct and practical ideas, and the novelty of the notions of eastern nations on these subjects, which are contained in this book, render it one of the most important productions of the medical literature of the Arabs.

to war but in winter, because the elephants cannot bear thirst. His forces are generally exaggerated; some believe that the number of fullers and washers in his camp, is from ten to fifteen thousand. The above-mentioned kings fight in squares, every one amounting to twenty thousand men; so that every one of the four sides of the square has five thousand men.

In the kingdom of Rahmá cowries are used as the medium of exchange in commerce. His country abounds in silver, gold, and aloes, and there the finest cloths known are manufactured. From this country a sort of hair, called الصيمن saïman, is exported, which is fastened on ivory and silver, and used as fly-flaps. Servants, with such instruments in their hands, stand at the head of the kings when they hold court.

In his country is an animal of the name of المعلم (السنان) النشان, which common people call the *unicorn* الكركدن. It has in its forehead one horn and is not as great as the elephant, but much higher than the buffalo. This animal bellows like a bull. Elephants take flight from it, because, God knows, there is no animal stronger than this. Its bones are not divided into limbs, but the legs are without articulation; hence, it cannot bend its limbs. It lives in forests and woods, and when it sleeps it leans on a tree. The Hindus and the Moslims in India eat the flesh of this animal, for it enters into

the class of bulls and buffaloes. Most Hindus are unacquainted with this animal; but in the kingdom of Rahmá it is more frequent, and its horn is there purer and finer. The horns are white, with a black figure in the middle, on a white ground; representing the outlines and shades of the figures of men, guinea-fowls, fish, and of the unicorn itself, or of some other animal found in those countries. This horn is wrought, and they make girdles and ribbons of it, just as such ornaments are made of gold and silver. These articles form part of the dress of the kings and nobles of China; and they are so much valued, that such a girdle costs from two to four thousand dinars. From these girdles ornaments of gold are suspended, and they look exceedingly well: sometimes they are inlaid with precious stones and gold. The figures, in the horn of the unicorn, are black, on a white ground; sometimes, however, they are white on a black ground. El-Jáhit believes, that the unicorn is a seven months' camel, which stretches its head out from the womb of the mother to graze, and then it draws it in again. He relates this extraordinary fact in his book "On Animals" كتاب الحيوان. This story led me to inquire of the merchants of Síráf and 'Omán, who visit those places, and whom I saw in India: everybody was surprised at my question, and assured me, that the pregnancy and delivery of the unicorn are not different from that of the buffalo. I do not

know how el-Jáhit learnt this story; whether he found it in some book, or whether it had been related to him.

The king Rahmá has maritime and inland provinces. On his empire borders a kingdom, which has no sea: the name of the king is el-Kás الكاس (الكناس). The inhabitants are white; they have their ears slit; and the men and women are very handsome. They have elephants, camels, and horses.

The neighbour of this king is the king of el-Farbikh الفربخ (الفرنج or القنوج) (Kámirús?); who possesses maritime provinces and inland provinces, his dominions being situated on a peninsula. The sea throws ambergris on shore, and the country is productive of pepper and elephants. He is brave and proud. But he is less powerful than proud, and less brave than overbearing.

The inhabitants of the country of el-Maujah الموجه which comes next, are of a white complexion and handsome; they do not slit their ears. They have horses and the necessary warlike equipment for defence. Their country is rich in musk. We have described the musk-deer in the preceding pages. The inhabitants dress like the Chinese. Their country is defensible against invasion by its mountains, the summits of which are white; and there are no higher mountains, either in India or in es-Sind, than these. The musk of their country is

celebrated and is named after it, for sailors and merchants, who export this article and carry on commerce with it, call it Maujahian musk المسك الموجهي (الموجي).

Beyond el-Maujah is the kingdom of el-Máyid المايد (المابد or الماند), which has a number of towns, extensive cultivated districts, and numerous armies. Their kings employ eunuchs in their service, and for the administration of their provinces, which yield very many natural products*, for levying the revenues, and as governors; as it is the habit with the kings of the Chinese, which we have described in their history. El-Máyid borders on China, and there pass constantly ambassadors from one country to the other with presents, which are exchanged between the two courts. But these two kingdoms are separated by great mountains, which are very difficult of access. The Máyid are very brave and strong. The messengers of the king of the Máyid, which are sent to China, are watched lest they should spy out the country, and take advantage of the weak points; and lest they should know the roads of the extinsive dominions of the Chinese.

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* انهم معادن Literally, "they are mines." The word mine is used in Arabic, as well for places which yield perfumes and spices, as for such as yield metals. Another copy has الماون instead of المعادن, and gives to the sentence the meaning, "as, for instance, the province of el-Máwan."

The Hindu and Chinese nations, which we have mentioned, have their own manners and usages in eating, drinking, husbandry, dressing, and in the art of healing. They use actual cautery الكي بالنار, &c. An example of their manners is, that their kings do not think it prudent to prevent the free passage of wind, "for," they say, "it is a noxious matter," and they do not think it at all improper to let it freely escape under any circumstance. Their sages had the same opinion and practice. They thought, that restraint in this matter was unwholesome and productive of illness; whilst they considered it as a cure, to give free psssage to the wind. This they considered as the greatest remedy as a preservative against cholic and constipation, and as a relief for complaints of the spleen. Hence they pass wind both gently and aloud, without any restraint; nor do they consider it to be against good breeding. The ancient Hindus were well skilled in medicine, and curious anecdotes are related of them, which are connected with this subject. An historian says of the Hindus, that they consider it less genteel to cough, than to break wind aloud. An eructation is considered as the same thing, as smothered effects of flatulency, for the noise in breaking wind loudly deprives it of the offensive smell. The historian shows that what he says respecting the Hindus is generally known, and has been acknowledged in biographical, histo-

rical, miscellaneous, and poetical works, as in the poem which has the title ذات الحلل, which he quotes.

"The wise and eloquent Hindu pronounces an opinion which I am embellishing with the charms of poetry. Do not restrain loud wind whenever you may feel it, but break it and open the doors to it, for restraint in this matter is unwholesome; but, to give to wind free passage, brings you rest and health. Coughing and blowing the nose is indecent and ill-bread; but not breaking wind aloud. Eructations and genteel winds are the same thing, with the only difference, that a genteel wind has a more offensive smell."

The wind in the bowels is, indeed, in both cases the same, and only different with reference to the way by which it is expelled; that which comes up is called eructation, and that which goes down is called flatulency: it is the same as the distinction between slapping (the face), and a thump (on the back of the head) (اللطمة و الصفعة), the one is on the face, the other on the occiput, but in reality they are the same thing; it is only a distinction of the region of the body.

Man is subject to many affections, constant accidents, and long diseases, as cholic, pains in the stomach, and other accidents, which arise from an accumulation of impurities in the *primæ viæ*, which are not discharged when they are mobile, and when nature makes its regular efforts to discharge them.

Other animals are free from these evils; for matters which create disorders in the bowels are with them immediately discharged, since they oppose no constraint. Ancient philosophers and the sages of the Greeks, like Democritus دمقراطيس, Pythagoras ذيثا غورش, Socrates سقراط, Diogenes ذوجانس, and other sages of all nations rejected every restraint in these things, because they knew what harm arises from it; and everybody who has the talent of observation will have noticed in himself, that they were right in their opinion; for it is a rule, established by experience, and confirmed by reasoning. But moralists find fault with it, for different reasons, although it has nothing to do with them.

El-Mas'údí says, we have related the history of the kings of India, their usages, interesting anecdotes, showing their manners سير, and their social habits, in our Akhbár ez-zemán, and in the Kitáb el-ausat, where we have entered into details respecting the Maharáj, who is the king of the islands from which drugs and spices are exported, as well as on other kings of India, as the king of el-Komár, and other sovereigns of the mountainous districts, which are opposite these islands, as ez-Zánij, and others; and the history of the kings of China, of the king of Serendíb, and of the country of Mandúra مندوري (منصور بن نتي), which is opposite to the island Serendíb, as Komár is opposite the islands of the Maharáj, to which ez-Zánij belongs.

Every king of the country of Mandúrá has the title el-Káyidí القايدي.

We shall give notices of the kings of the east and west, south (اليمن) and north, in this book, speaking of the kings of Yemen, and of the Persians, Romans, Greeks, the Maghrib and the different Abyssinian and Negro nations, and of some nations who have descended from Yáfeth.

SEVENTEENTH CHAPTER.

*On the Caucasus; account of the Alans, Khazar; of the different races of Turks, and the Bulgarians; also a notice of Báb el-Abwáb (Derbend), and the neighbouring nations.**

THE mountain of el-Kaïkh† القبخ (Caucasus) is a large mountain, and is of such extent that it com-

* This chapter of our author, for the most part, is translated into French in Klaproth's *Magazin Asiatique*, Paris, 1835. I made this translation without being aware that there already existed one; but, subsequently, when I had seen the French version, I compared mine with it, and, in several instances where I differ from it, put the Arabic text, to justify myself.

† Caucasus means the *bull mountain*, from the Persian words گاو کوه *gâw Koh*. It is therefore not to be considered as a mistake, if Herodotus gives to the Caucasus the name *Taurus*, but as a translation of the Persian name. The Boun-Dehesh offers a sufficient explanation, why so many mountains were called Taurus or Bull mountains. The Persians took the same view of the mountains as of the rivers, which has been shown p. 243, *supra*, attaching religious ideas to these natural fortresses, with which Providence had protected their country on some parts. As long as the empire had narrow limits, the Taurus was the end of

prizes a number of kingdoms and nations. In this

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their world; when it extended further to the north, it was the Caucasus, and the Imaus in the south, both of which received therefore the sacred name of Bull mountain, which was connected with star worship, for the *Bull* mountain was evidently sacred to el-Borj البرج. The first meaning of this word is stronghold; and it has been applied to the signs of the zodiac, for a reason which has been stated in page 205, *supra*, note.

These natural fortresses or strongholds of Irán were naturally compared with the strongholds of heaven, and hence they are simply called Alborj in the Zend-Avesta, whilst other writers call them simply the Bulls (el-Káf, *i,e.*, Gáw).

Providence considered the welfare of Irán or Khunnerets, at the moment of the creation, protecting this sacred country by rivers and mountains; hence we find, even in Mohammedan cosmogony, that their world (the Khunnerets) is based upon a fish, (*i.e.*, the four rivers, see p. 243, *supra*) which rests upon a bull, on whose back stand the mountains, (see the third note to p. 44, *supra*).

The name of the Caucasus القبح in Mas'údí is so variously punctuated, that we can little rely on the correctness of the reading of it by later authors. They make generally القتح of it, because this word has a meaning in Arabic. I read it القبخ el-Kaikh, considering the word as a contraction of Gáw-Koh. This suggestion is founded upon the authority of several Arabic authors, (MS. of the Royal Library at Paris, No. 847, *anc. fonds*, fol. 22, *recto;* en-Nowaïrí; Kámús, p. 1330; Isstachri, *tabula* xv., and el-Kazwíní ajaïb el-Makhlúkat, where by a mistake القبق is written), who derive their knowledge of the Caucasus from a different source than el-Mas'údí, and write القبق el-Kaïk, which is only a different mode for expressing the same sound.

The passage to which I am alluding of the MS. 874, *anc.*

mountain live seventy-two nations*, and every nation has its own king and language which differs from the others. This mountain has several passes and valleys; in one of them, Kisrá Anúshirwán has built the town of Báb el-Abwáb. He constructed also a wall between this town and the sea of the Khazar (the Caspian sea) which runs even one mile into the sea. This wall, which extends to the summit of the mountain of el-Kaïkh, is about forty farsangs long, and crosses mountains and valleys. At the other end stands the fortress of Taberistán† طبرستان. Anúshirwán made at every three miles, more or less, according to the importance of the way which leads to it, a gate of iron; and he settled

fonds, is curious: "A man (whose name is not clear in the MS.) related to me, that he had been sent by some king of the Caucasus جبل القبق to the king of the Russians, for he believed that they had an inscription, engraved on wood. (When I came there) they showed me some white pieces of wood, with drawing نقوش on them. I do not know whether they were the signs for whole words or separate letters. They looked like this"—here follows a drawing.

* Timosthenes finds in Diuscurias, the capital of the Colchians, three hundred different nations and tongues.—*Pliny* vii., 5.

† Taberistán is a wrong reading met with in other authors as well as in el-Mas'údí, instead of طبسران Tabasseran, which is the name of an ancient fortress, and of a province of Daghestán. It has with the Persians, also, the name طبرسران Taberserán (Klaproth).

at every gate, within the wall, people who were to guard the gate and the wall near it, to check the incursions of the nations who live on these mountains: as the Khazar, el-Lán, the different Turkish hordes, the Serír, Targhiz*, and other unbelieving nations. The jebel el-Kaïkh extends in length and breadth about two months' journey; and the people who live upon and about it can only be counted by Him who created them.

One pass of this mountain احد شعابه leads towards the sea of the Khazar (Caspian), and is not far from Báb el-Abwáb as we have mentioned. Another runs towards the sea Máyotis, with which the strait of Constantinople communicates as we have before said. On this sea is the town of Trebizond طرابزندة. There is a fair once a year, at which merchants assemble from all nations—Moslims, Byzantines, Armenians, and others from the country of Kashak† كشك.

* All copies read البرعر. Klaproth reads البلغر *Bulgarians*; and this seems to be correct, for there are some passages further on in this chapter where our author speaks of the wars of this nation against the Byzantines. And the comparison of his account with Greek authors shows, that he means the Bulgarians. In the copy of Cambridge, بلغر is written in some instances as a correction on the margin. I thought it better not to change this error, for, in some instances, it may be that our author means not the Bulgarians, but a different nation.

† One copy reads "Alans."

When Anúshirwán had built this city, which bears the name of Báb el-Abwáb, and the wall which runs over land, water, and mountains, and when he had settled people there, (a military colony,) and kings, he assigned to them (the kings) their ranks مراتب and districts, and marked the boundary, as Ardeshir Ben Bábek had done when he assigned to the kings of Khorásán their ranks. One of the kings in those districts which border on the country of the Moslims, near the province of Barda'ah برذعة, to whom Anúshirwán assigned his rank, was a king of the name of Sharwán شروان, and from him his dominions have this name *. His title was Sharwán Sháh شاه شروان, and every king who is in possession of those districts has the name Sharwán, (which sounds Sharwán-Shah with the title). His kingdom has at present [332 A.H.] about one month's journey in circumference, for he has conquered several provinces which had not been assigned to him by Anúshirwán ; and these new accessions are now considered as part of his dominions. The present king [we have just mentioned the date in which we write] is a Moslim of the name of Mohammed Ben Yezíd. He is a descendant of Behrám Gúr بهرام جور. The ruler of Khorásán† at present

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* وملكته مضافة الي اسمه

† This is probably an error instead of Khosru Shah (Abúlfedá, page 387).

[we have just mentioned the date] is one of the descendants of Isma'íl Ben Ahmed; and Isma'íl derived his origin also from Behrám Gúr. Nobody who knows genealogy will contradict it.

The king of the Serír, Mohammed Ben Yezíd, equally a descendent of Behrám Gúr who is the Sharwán, is in possession of the city of Báb el-Abwáb, since the death of a near relation of his, of the name of 'Abdul-Melik Ben Heshám عبد الملك بن هشام, who was a man of the Ansár. He and his forefathers, had been the governors of Báb el-Abwáb, and had been settled there since the time when Moslemah Ben 'Abdul-Melik مسلمة بن عبد الملك and other Moslim leaders, conquered that country in the beginning of the Islám.

On the kingdom of Sharwán borders another kingdom of the mountains of el-Kaïkh, which has the name Layidán* لايدان (الايران). The king is called Láyidán-sháh لايدان شاه (لايران شاه). It has recently been conquered by Sharwán Mohammed Ben Yezid. He has also subjugated the kingdom of the Múkánians الموقانية. The king of el-Kiz† الكز

* Klaproth found this name spelt ابران Abrán.

† El-Kiz seems to be a wrong reading, instead of اللكز el-Lakz. This seems to be the Arabic name for the Lesghiz, which has some resemblance to the Georgian name of the same nation, Lek'hethi: and the Lekos, mentioned in Vakhthang (*apud* St. Martin, vol. ii., page 182) as one of the fathers of the Caucasian nations, is in all likelihood the father of the same nation.

(الكر) is equally a vassal of Sharwán. The population of this kingdom, which is situated on the mountains, is innumerable. Some of them are unbelievers, and do not acknowledge the Sharwán as their master: they are the Dúdánians الدودانية (اللودانية or الروانية), who are pagans, and have no king. The usages which they are said to have in their marriages and traffic, are very singular.

There are passes and valleys in this mountain which are inhabited by nations who are unacquainted with each other, on account of the difficulty of communication, which is impeded by the height and roughness of the mountains, by marshes and forests, by the waters which flow down from the summits, and by the immense rocks and stones.

This man, named Sharwán, has subjected many kingdoms in these mountains which had been given to various chiefs by Anúshirwán and others who organized that country. They are now all under the sceptre of Mohammed Ben Yezíd; amongst them is Khorásán Shah (Khosrú Shah) and Rawán Shah روان شان (دادان شاه). We shall relate how he became master of the kingdom of Sharwán. He and his father were in possession of Láyidán, and had no other kingdom*. The king of Sharwán is

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* وسنذكر بعد هذه الموضع تغلبه علي مملكة شروان و كان قبل ذ لك علي لايد ان الخ

the neighbour of the king of Taberistán طبرستان, who is, in our time, a Moslim of the name of Ibn Okht 'Abdul Melik ابن اخت عبد الملك, who has been Emír of Báb el-Abwáb.

The nation nearest to Báb el-Abwáb are the Haïdan حيذان (جيذان). They form one of the kingdoms of the Khazar. Next to Haïdán is the kingdom of the Khazar. Their metropolis was the city of Semender * سمندر, which is eight days' journey from the town of Báb el-Abwáb. This city has a numerous population of Khazar, but it is no longer the capital, for when Solaïman Ben Rabí'ah el-Báhilí سليمان بن ربيعة الباهلي conquered Semender in the beginning of the Islám, the king transferred his residence to Itil اتل, which is seven days' journey from Semender; and since this time the kings of the Khazar reside there.

This town (Itil) is divided into three parts, by a large river, which rises from the higher regions of the country of the Turks, and from which an arm branches off, somewhere near the country of the Targhiz الترغز (Bulgarians), and falls into the sea of Máyotis †. This town has two sides. In

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* Compare Frœhn, *de Chasaris*, in Actis Acad. Imp. Scient. Petersbourg, 1822, vol. viii. Klaproth informs us, that the modern name of Semender is Tarku, or Tarkhú ترخو.

† The error that the Don is a branch of the Wolga is also met with in Byzantine authors. (Klaproth.)

the middle of the river is an island, in which the king resides. The palace of the king stands on the extremity of this island, and is connected by a bridge of boats with one of the two sides of the town. In this town are many Moslims and Christians, Jews and Pagans. The king, his suite, [and the Khazar of his army*,] embraced the tenets of the Jews, in the reign of er-Rashíd. To this king flock the Jews from all the Moslim districts, and from the Byzantine empire; for the emperor forced the Jews of his dominions to turn Christians, and loaded the converts with favours. The present [332, A.H.] Byzantine emperor is Armanus ارمنوس (Romanus II.). We shall speak in another chapter on the Byzantine emperors; how many there were; and we shall also give the history of Romanus and his colleague. Under these circumstances, many Jews took flight from the Byzantine empire into the country of the Khazar. As we cannot insert in this book the history of the conversion of the king of the Khazar to Judaism, we refer the reader to our former works.

One of the various Pagan nations who live in his country are the Sekálibah صقالبة (Sclavonians), and another the Rús روس (the Russians). They live in one of the two sides of this town: they burn

* These words are left out in some copies.

the dead with their cattle, utensils, arms, and ornaments. When a man dies, his wife is burnt alive with him; but, when the wife dies, her husband is not burnt. If a bachelor dies, he is married after his death. Women are glad to be burnt; for they cannot enter into paradise by themselves. This usage prevails also among the Hindus, as we have said. But the Hindus never burn a woman with her husband, unless it is her own wish.

The majority of the population of this country are Moslims; for the standing army of the king consists of Moslims. They are called al-Lárisians اللارسية (الاريسية), and come from Khowárezm; whence they emigrated at an early period, after the spreading of the Islám; on account of drought and plague which had visited their country. They are brave, good soldiers, and form the strength of the king of the Khazar in his wars. They fixed certain conditions under which they would establish themselves in his country; one of these conditions was, that they should be allowed to profess publicly the Islám; to build mosques and call out the prayers; and that the vizier of the kingdom should be a man of their religion and nation. The vizier there is at present from amongst them; his name is Ahmed Ben Kuwaïh احمد بن كويه. Another condition is, that if the king of the Khazar should have a war against the Moslims, they would remain separate in his camp, (observe neutrality,) and not fight against

a nation who profess the same religion; but they would fight for him against any other nation. There are, at present, seven thousand horsemen of theirs, in the army of the king, armed with bows and equipped in cuirasses, helmets, and coats of mail: he has also some spearsmen. In point of arms, they are like the soldiers in Moslim countries. Their supreme judges, in religious and civil matters, are Moslims.

In accordance with the constitution of the kingdom of the Khazar, there are nine supreme judges in the country; two of them for the Moslims; two for the Khazars, who follow the laws of the Pentateuch in passing sentence; two for the Christians, who follow the laws of the gospel in their decisions; and one for the Sclavonians, Russians, and the other pagan population. The pagan judge decides after the heathen laws; that is to say, the dictates of reason, (not revelation). If any important case comes before him, he refers to the Moslim judges, and lets them decide after the law of the Islám.

There is no other king in these parts who has *paid* troops, except the king of the Khazar. Every Moslim has there the name Lárisian, (although he may not be of this nation,) and it is even extended to such Russians and Sclavonians as serve in the (standing) army or household of the king; although they are pagans as we have said*. But there are

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* وكل مسلم من تلك الديار يعرف باسما هولا القوم

many Moslims in this kingdom besides the Larisians; they are artisans, tradespeople, and merchants, who have been attracted by the justice and security (of persons and property) afforded by the government. They have a great public mosque الجامع, the Minâret of which rises above the royal palace; and several private mosques المسجد, where children are instructed in reading the Korán. If the Moslims and Christians, who are there, agree, the king has no power over them.

El-Mas'údí says, What we have said does not refer to the king of the Khazar himself, but we mean the Khákán خاقان (*Major domus*); for there is a king in the country of the Khazar, besides the Khákán. He is shut up in his palace: he never makes a public procession, nor does he show himself to the nobility or the people, and he never goes out from his palace. His person is sacred, but he has nothing to do with the affairs of the state, either to command or forbid. Everything is administered by the Khákán for the king, who lives with him in the same palace. If a drought, or any other misfortune, befals the country of the Khazar, or if a war or any other accident happens to them, the lower and higher classes of the nation run to the king, and say, "The administration of

اللا رسبة و الروس و الصقالبة الذين ذكرنا انهم جاهلية
من جند الملك و عبيده ۞

this Khákán brings misfortune upon us: put him to death, or deliver him to us, that we may kill him." Sometimes he delivers him to them, and they put him to death; at other times he takes charge himself of the execution; and sometimes he has pity on him, protects him, and sets him free without doing him any harm, although he might have deserved it. I do not know whether this institution dates from ancient times, or whether it has been recently introduced. The Khákán is chosen from among the nobility* by their chiefs; but I think that the royalty of the present dynasty takes date from a remote period.

The Khazar have boats, with which they go on a river, which falls above their city (Itil) into the river (Wolga) that runs through their capital (Itil).

* وانما منصب خاقان هذا من اهل بيت باعيانهم ارى ان الملك كان فيهم قديما. *Ahl bait*, or *ahl el-boyútát* means, I believe, generally persons of family, or the nobility. Klaproth and Fræhn differ from my opinion: the latter translates the words ولا تصلح الخقانية الا في اهل بيت معروفين "Dignitas autem non nisi certæ alicui familiæ competit," which I should have rendered by "To the Khákánship only men of family are competent, who have distinguished themselves." With the Alites اهل بيت means the members of the family of Mohammed; and thus I ought to have explained it in the note page 52, *supra*. In Persian history, اهل البيوتات are the ancient nobility.

On the banks of this river, which has the name of Bortás برطاس, Turks have settled, who form part of the kingdom of the Khazar. Their country is well-cultivated, and lies between the Khazar and the kingdom of the Targhiz (Bulgarians). The river (Bortás) comes from the Targhiz (Bulgarians), and there is an active navigation carried on between the Targhiz and Khazar. Bortás is originally the name of a Turkish nation, as we have before said, who live on this river, and give to it their name. From their country come the furs of black and red foxes, which are called the Bortásian furs. A black fur of this kind costs one hundred dinars, and more; but the red are cheaper. Dresses of these furs are worn by the kings of the Arabs and the Barbarians; and they form part of their vanity; for they are considered more valuable than the furs of sable سمور, hermeline الفنك, and the like. The kings wear tiaras قلانس, khaftans, and robes دواج, of these furs. If kings have their khaftans and robes lined with black Bortasian foxs' fur, it is excusable (although it is against the divine laws).

From the upper course of the river of the Khazar (Wolga), an arm branches off (the Don), that falls into a narrow gulf of the sea, Pontus, which is the sea of the Russians; for no nation, excepting the Russians, navigates this sea. They are a great nation, living on one of the coasts of

this sea. They neither have a king nor do they acknowledge a positive law (revelation), شريعة. Many of them are merchants, and trade with the kingdom of the Targhiz. The Russians are in possession of great silver mines, which may be compared with those in the mountain of Láhjir لاهجر (سيخر) in Khorásán. The capital of the Targhiz is situated on the coast of the sea Máyotis*. In my opinion, this country belongs to the seventh climate. The Targhiz are of Turkish origin. Their caravans go as far as Khowárezm in Khorásán, and from Khowárezm caravans go to them; but there live several wandering hordes of Turkish origin, who are distinct from the Targhiz, between these two countries which render the road of the caravans unsafe.

The present king of the Targhiz† [in 332 A.H.] is a Moslim. He embraced this religion, in the time of el-Moktader Billah after 310 A.H., in consequence of a vision. His son has made the pil-

* The town of the Bulgarians, says Klaproth, is situated on the Wolga, under the place where it unites with the Kama, and not on the Black Sea. El-Mas'údí confounds the Bulgarians who live on the Wolga with those on the Danube. So far Klaproth. I think that el-Mas'údí made a distinction, calling the one nation Targhiz, and the other Bulgar بلغر, and that some copyists wrote in both instances Bulgarians, and others Targhiz.

† One copy reads Bulgarians, and this name agrees with the Byzantine historians.

grimage (to Mokka), and was at Bagdad. Moktader sent him one great and several small standards, and presents of money. They have a great public mosque. This king has made a holy expedition against Constantinople, with about fifty thousand horsemen. His predatory corps spread as far as the territory of Rome, Spain, the country of Borjan برجان (Burgundy?), Galicia, and France*, which is about two months' journey from Constantinople; the intermediate country is partly cultivated and partly uncultivated. The Moslims had made a religious war from Tarsus, on the Syrian frontier, against Jarkendiyah جرقندية, under the minister † Thaml ثمل, the governor of the frontier, who is known under the name ed-Daksi الدقصى (الدلعي), with the Moslim and Christian ‡ vessels which he

* الافرنجة El-Ifranjah. I suppose this word means the French in authors who wrote before the crusades, for the eastern Arabs derived their knowledge of Europe from the Moors in Spain, who were best acquainted with the French amongst all European nations, if they were not the only Christian nation beyond the Pyrenees of whom they had a precise knowledge. Since the Crusades, the word Ifranjah means any European.

† الخادم means that he had a place in the household of the khalif. First, slaves were employed to serve the khalif; subsequently, they took advantage of the weakness of the sovereign, and the menial offices in his household became of more importance than right or talent. Thus, Khádim, or servant, became a title as minister with us.

‡ One copy reads مراكب المسلمين والعمانيين, "The Mos-

commanded, in A. H. 312; they passed through the strait of Constantinople and entered a gulf of the Mediterranean, which has no communication with any other sea, and then they came into the country of Jarkendíyah. On land they met a number of Targhiz who came to their aid; and they said that their king was not far off. This proves what we have said, that the Targhiz had extended their military expeditions as far as the Mediterranean. Some went with the Moslims on board the Tarsian vessels, and came to Tarsus.

The Targhiz (Bulgarians) are a great and powerful nation: they are brave and have subjected their neighbours; and one horseman of theirs, who has turned Moslim, to the number of which belongs the king, can oppose three other horsemen and two hundred unbelievers. The inhabitants of Constantinople are not able to defend themselves against them, excepting by their walls; the same is the case with other districts in that neighbourhood; their only protection are their fortresses and walls.

The night is exceedingly short in the country of the Bulgarians all the year round; some believe that a Bulgarian cannot boil (meat in) his kettle

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lim and 'Ománian vessels;" and another مراكب الشاميين و البصريين "the Syrian and Basrian vessels." As they could not bring the vessels from the Persian Gulf into the Mediterranean, I read the last word النصرانيين.

before the morning comes. We have explained the reason of this phenomenon in our former books, as depending upon the spherical form (of the earth); we have also said, that the night lasts in some parts of the world six months without interruption; and then again, that they have six months' day, and no night. This is about (the time when the sun is in) capricornus جدي. The reasons which are connected with the spherical form (of the earth) are also stated by the authors of the astronomical tables.

The Russians الروس consist of several different nations and distinct hordes; one is called اللوذاعبه (اللودعانه) (Lithuanians?). They go on their mercantile business as far as Spain, Rome, Constantinople, and the Khazar. After the year 300, they had five hundred ships, every one of which had one hundred men on board: they passed up the estuary (of the Don) which opens into the Pontus, and is in communication with the river of the Khazar (Wolga). The king of the Khazar keeps a garrison on this side the estuary, with efficient warlike equipments to exclude any other power from this passage, and to prevent them from occupying, by land, that branch of the river of the Khazar which stands in connection with the Pontus; for the Nomadic Turks, who are the Ghozz الغز, try frequently to winter there. Sometimes the water

(the Don) which connects the river of the Khazar (Wolga) with the above-mentioned estuary is frozen, and the Ghozz cross it with their horses, for although it is a great water, the ice does not break under them. The king of the Khazar himself frequently takes the field against them, if his garrison is too weak to drive them back, and he prevents them from going over the ice, thus defending his dominions. It is impossible for the Turks to cross the river in summer.

When the Russian vessels came to the garrison, on the entrance of the estuary, they sent to the king of the Khazar to ask his permission to pass through his dominions, to go down his river, and enter into the sea of the Khazar, which is the sea of Jorján, Taberistán, and of other places of the Barbarians الاعاجم as we have stated, promising him half the plunder which they should make from the nations who live on the coast of this sea. He gave them leave. They entered the estuary, and, continuing their voyage up the river (Don), as far as the river of the Khazar (Wolga), they went down this river, passed the town of Itil, and entered through its mouth into the sea of the Khazar. This is a very large and deep river. By these means the Russians came into this sea, and spread their predatory excursions over el-Jíl, ed-Daïlem, Taberistán, Aboskún, which is the name for the coast of Jorján, the Naphtha Country

التغاطة, and towards Aderbíján, the town of Ardobíl اردبيل which is in Aderbíján, and about three days' journey from this sea. They shed blood, plundered property, made children prisoners, and sent out predatory and incendiary corps in all directions. The inhabitants of the coasts of this sea were thrown into consternation, for they had never had to contend with an enemy from these quarters; for the sea had only been frequented by peaceful traders and fishing-boats. They had been at war with el-Jíl, ed-Daïlem, and the leader of the forces of Ibn Abí-s-Sáj ابن ابي ساج, but with no other nation. The Russians landed on the coast of the Naphtha Country, which is called Bábikah بابكة (Bákú), and belongs to the kingdom of Sharwan-Shah. On their return from the coast, the Russians landed in the islands which are near the Naphtha Country, being only a few miles distant from it. The king of Sharwán was then 'Alí Ben el-Haïthem. As the merchants sailed in boats and vessels in pursuit of their commercial business to those islands, the Russians attacked them; thousands of Moslims perished, and were partly put to the sword, partly drowned. The Russians remained several months in this sea, as we have before said. The nations on the coast had no means of repelling them, although they made warlike preparations and put themselves in a state of defence, for the inhabitants of the

coasts on this sea are well civilized. When they had made booty and captives, they sailed to the mouths of the river of the Khazar (Wolga), and sent messengers with money and booty to the king, in conformity with the stipulations which they had made. The king of the Khazar has no ships on this sea, for the Khazar are no sailors; if they were, they would be of the greatest danger to the Moslims. The Lárisians* and other Moslims in the country of the Khazar heard of the conduct of the Russians, and they said to their king: "The Russians have invaded the country of our Moslim brothers; they have shed their blood and made their wives and children captives, as they were unable to resist; permit us to oppose them." As the king was not able to keep them quiet, he sent messengers to the Russians, informing them that the Moslims intended to attack them. The Moslims took the field and marched against them, going down the banks of the river. When both parties saw each other, the Russians left their vessels and formed their battle array opposite the Moslims. In the ranks of the latter were many Christians of Itil اتل. The number of the Moslim army was about

* الارسية al-Larisiah, or Allaris, for the syllable *iah* expresses sometimes the plural; they are the Alares of the middle ages, as Klaproth correctly supposes.

fifteen thousand men, provided with horses and equipments. They fought three days, and God gave victory to the Moslims: they put the Russians to the sword, others were drowned, and only five thousand escaped; who sailed (first) along the bank of the river, on which Bortás* is situated; (then) they left their vessels and proceeded by land. Some of them were slain by the inhabitants of Bortás, and others came into the country of Targhiz, where they fell under the sword of the Moslims. There were about thirty thousand dead counted on the banks of the river of the Khazar. The Russians did not make a similar attempt after that year.

El-Mas'údí says, we have related this fact in proof (of our statement that the Black sea and Caspian are separated) against those who maintain that the sea of the Khazar is connected with the sea Máyotis and the strait of Constantinople, through the Máyotis or Pontus; for if this was the case, the Russians would have made their voyage by this way, being the masters of the Black sea, as we have said. Besides, the merchants of all the nations who live near this sea state, unanimously, that the sea of the Barbarians الاعاجم has no strait by which it is connected with any other sea; and as this sea is but small, it can be known in its whole ex-

* One copy reads Autás اوطاس.

tent. The history of the Russian ships, which we have related, is generally known amongst all nations who live there. I have forgotten the exact date of their expedition, but it happened after 300 A. H. Perhaps those who maintain that the sea of the Khazar is connected with the strait of Constantinople mean, under the sea of the Khazar, the sea Máyotis, and the Pontus, which is the sea of the Targhiz and Russians; God knows how this is.

The coast of Taberistán extends along this sea (the Caspian), and there is the town called es-Samer السمر (العم), which is a seaport, and one hour of the day from the town of Itil. On the coast of Jorján is the town Aboskún*, about three days' journey from (the town of) Jorján. On this sea are also el-Jíl and ed-Daïlem. There is a constant navigation carried on between the above-mentioned towns and Itil. They go up the river [Wolga] as far as Itil; they sail also to Bákah (Bákú) باكة, which yields white and other naphtha; white naphtha is found no where on earth but there. Bákú lies on the south of the kingdom of Sharwán. In this naphtha country is a crater (chimney) from which fire issues perpetually, throwing up a high flame. Opposite this coast are several islands: one of them is three days distant, in which there is a great vol-

* All MSS. write this name invariably السكون.

cano which often throws out fire, at all seasons of the year. The fire rises like a high mountain in the air, and its light spreads over the greater part of the sea, so that it is seen at a distance of one hundred farsangs. This volcano is like el-Borkán البركان in Sicily, which is between the country of the Franks and Afrikiyah. There is no volcano on earth which makes a greater noise, nor any the smoke of which is more black, or the flames more copious, than that which is in the kingdom of the Maharáj. Next comes the volcano of Barahút برهوت, which is not far from Asfár and Hadhramaut, in the country of esh-Shihr, which is in the province of Yemen and 'Omán. The noise is heard like thunder at a distance of several miles, and it throws live coals up from its depth like mountains, and pieces of black rock which rise so high in the air that they can be seen at many miles' distance; then they fall down again, partly into the crater, and partly round it. The live coals which are thrown out are stones which have become red by the particles of heat which they have absorbed. We have explained the cause which produces volcanoes (springs of fire) in our Akhbár ez-zemán.

In this sea are islands opposite the coast of Jorján, where a sort of white falcons بزاة are caught. These falcons are soon made tame; and one has little to fear that they will associate (with the wild

birds); but they are rather weak, for the sportsmen who catch them in these islands feed them with fish; and, if any other food is given to them, they become reduced in strength. Men who distinguish themselves by their knowledge of falconry الصواري, and of the different sorts of rapacious birds which have been employed for the same purpose, among the Persians, Turks, Byzantines, Hindus, and Arabs, say, that falcons of a white colour are the quickest and handsomest; that they have the best shape and chest; and that they are soonest tamed, and the strongest of all falcons to rise in the air; that they have the longest breath, and fly furthest, for they are very light and spirited*, and they have a hotter temper than any other species of falcons. The difference of colour depends upon the difference of climate. Hence, they are of a pure white in Armenia, in the country of the Khazar, in Jorján, and the neighbouring countries of the Turks, on account of the great fall of snow in those climates.

A sage of the Khákáns خواقين, or kings of the Turks, to whom all other kings of the Turks pay submission, says, "When the falcons of our country bring out their young from the nest into the open field, they rise in the air till they come to a cold and dense atmosphere, where there are insects

* Literally, "there are parts of warmth in them."

with which they feed them; this soon makes them strong, and they learn to use their wings and to fly high to find their food. Some times fragments of those insects are found in the nests of falcons." According to Galen's classification, the air is warm and moist; so that the cold of the air is owing to the intenseness of winds which rise. The air is not without beings which inhabit it. Balinás بلیناس (بلیانس)* (Pliny) says, "Since in these two elements, viz., earth and water, are beings and inhabitants, the two upper elements, *i.e.*, air and fire, must also have beings and inhabitants."

I have found in some anecdotes of er-Rashíd, that he went out hunting one day in the country near el-Mausil, with a white falcon on his hand.

* This author is in the Royal Library at Paris. I shall have an opportunity of inserting the leading points of the contents of this curious and very philosophical book in another volume. M. De Sacy supposes, that the word is a corruption of Apollonius; this, however, seems not to be well founded. There are many instances in which the Arabs put an ا at the beginning of foreign names; but perhaps, none where they omit it. Dr. Nicolls found this author quoted in a MS. of the Bodl. Library (see *Catal. Bibl. Bodl.*). In a geographical work in the British Museum, which was composed under Mo'tadhed, he has the surname الرومي *the Roman*, and is said to have constructed talismans. It seems that the fame of the Latin naturalist penetrated to the Arabs, but as they had no translation of his works, they connected marvels with his name, and put it on the head of their own compositions.

The bird became uneasy on his hand, and he let it off: it rose in the air till it disappeared from his eyes. After he had despaired of seeing it again, he perceived it with an insect, which was like a serpent, or a fish, with wings like the fins of a fish. Er-Rashíd had it put on a plate; and, when he had returned from his sport, he called learned men, and asked them whether they were aware of a being living in the air. "O, Commander of the Faithful," answered Mokátil مقاتل, "a tradition of thy ancestor 'Abdullah Ben el-'Abbás informs us, that the air is inhabited by people امم of different forms; and nearer to us than these people live white insects, which breed in the air, being kept aloof by the thicker atmosphere. They grow to the shape of a serpent, or a fish, with wings; they have, however, no feathers. These insects are caught by the white falcons, which live in Armenia." The Khalif produced the plate, showed the insect, and made rich presents to Mokátil.

Some good observers have told me in Egypt and other countries, that they have seen white serpents in the air, which moved from one place to another with a celerity that was equal to lightning; that they fell sometimes upon an animal on the earth and killed it; that they are sometimes heard flying by night; and that their locomotion in the air is accompanied with a noise like that which is produced when a new cloth is unfolded. Persons

who have no knowledge of this subject, or other women (superstitious and ignorant persons), are frequently heard saying, that this sound proceeds from witches, who fly on wings of quills through the air. Various opinions have been stated on these topics; and such proofs have been adduced of the existence of animals in the two (upper) elements, as leave no doubt that animals are generated and grown in the two light elements, which are air and fire, as there are generated and grown in the two denser elements, earth and water.

El-Mas'údí says, the sages and kings have described the falcons, and dilated on their praise. The Khákán, or king of the Turks, says, "The falcon is courageous and well-behaved." Kisra Anúsharwán praises this bird in these words: "He is active and watchful, and he seizes the opportunity when he can." The Cæsar says, "The falcon is a noble king; when he is in need he takes, and when it is expedient he relinquishes." The philosophers speak thus of the falcon: "You may expect that a falcon will pursue his prey with great velocity, attack it powerfully, and fly very high, if he have long legs and a wide chest; for this is a sign of strength, and that he is light and quick. You will observe in birds of prey, that their strength is in proportion to the width of their chest, whereas their velocity and skill in turning round (in vertical motion) are in proportion to the length of their

legs and the compactness of their bodies; for the strength of the falcon is reduced if the wings are short, and the body thin (delicate); but if they are too long he is rendered weak and soon fatigued. Birds of prey cannot overtake any other birds than such as have short legs, and you will find that the strength of woodcocks, quails, and partridges, is in an inverse proportion to the length of their legs.

Arsijánis says, the falcon is a rapacious bird, but he is not provided with any sort of protection by nature; his strength consists in the slenderness (of the hind part of his body and the length) of his feet; and although he is the weakest of all birds in body, he is the most courageous, for he possesses a degree of heat which is not found in other birds. We found that his chest consists of a tendinous texture, and is not swelled with flesh. The words of Arsijánis are confirmed by Galen. The former author says further, that the falcon builds his nest on trees of thorns, which he puts together at different intervals; and he protects himself by these means against heat and cold. If he is breeding he builds for himself a house (nest), with a roof that shuts out rain and snow, that he may be comfortable and protected against cold.

Adham Ben Mohriz ادهم بن محرز says, that the first who amused himself with birds of prey was el-Háreth Ben Mo'awíyah Ben Thaur, who was the

father of Kindah الحارث بن معوية بن ثور وهو ابو كندة. He went out one day sporting, and laid snares for sparrows (small birds). An akdar bird اكدر fell upon one of the sparrows, which had already been caught in the snares. Akdar اكدر has the same meaning as Sakr* صقر, and is also called the Ajdal الاجدل. He ate the sparrow although he was himself caught. The king, surprised at his devouring the sparrow, although his wings were broken, shut him up in a large cage, and he saw that he was quiet, and that he did not make any efforts to escape. If food was given to him he ate it; if he saw meat he jumped on the hands of his master; and he became so tame that he did what was said to him, that he ate from the hand, and was carried unconfined. One day he saw a dove; he flew after it, from the hand of his master, and caught it. The king ordered therefore to use the falcon for hunting. One day when the king was going with the falcon and saw a hare, the falcon flew upon the hare and took it. The king used it therefore for sporting and killing birds and hares. Since this time falcons have been employed amongst the Arabs, and their use became more general.

Arsijánis ارسجانس the philosopher, relates res-

* This is a species of hawk. Baron v. Hammer-Purgstall (Falkner-Klee) renders this name in German by *Sakerfalke*.

pecting the hawks الشواهين, in his book which the Byzantine emperor, who had the name Nisbán(?) نسبان (ميسان), sent to el-Mahdí as a present from his country, that is to say, the Byzantine dominions, one day a hawk شاهين descended upon a water-fowl and caught it; then he rose in the air and repeated the same movements several times. The king said, "This is a sporting bird; he has shown his skill in flying down on the water-fowl, and this makes him fit for sporting; and he has shown us his quickness in rising in the air, which speaks for his agility." He was surprised when he saw how well he could turn round (in vertical motion), and was the first who used hawks شواهين for sporting.

Sa'íd Ben 'Ofaïr سعيد بن عفير (عمير) relates, on the authority of Háshim Ben Khadíj هاشم بن خديج (عاصم), that Constantine, the king of Amáriyah, went out sporting with a falcon, and came as far as the strait of the Pontus, which joins this sea with the Mediterranean. He crossed it, and went to the plains between the strait and the sea. Seeing a hawk persecuting a water-fowl, he admired him for his quickness, violence, and courage, in pursuing his prey, and he ordered him to be caught and tamed; and he was the first who used kawks. Observing that the meadow was extensive, and covered with flowers of different colours, he said, this is a strong place, between the sea and a

river (the strait), and fit for a town: and this induced him to build Constantinople.

We shall relate the history of Constantine, the son of Helena, who made the Christian religion victorious, in the chapter which treats on the history of the Byzantines. This is one version of the history of the construction of Constantinople.

Ibn 'Ofaïr relates, upon the authority of Abú Yezíd el-Fehrí ابو يزيد الفهري (ابو زيد الفهري), that it was the usage with the Lodriks اللدارقة, of Spain, that the king had hawks flying over the army, and over the cavalcade, whenever he went out on an expedition, or in procession. The birds were taught to fly sometimes high and sometimes low; so they went on till he took his quarters; then they sat round him. One day one of their kings set out; the hawks were with him, in the described manner, and one of them pursued and caught some birds which flew up. This induced the king to dress them for sporting; and he was the first who used them for this purpose in the Maghrib and in Spain.

El-Mas'údí says, it is the account of many persons who are well-versed in this subject, that the inhabitants of the Maghrib were the first who amused themselves with vultures عقبان. When the Byzantines (Romans) observed the robust constitution of their body and the abundance of their excrements افراط سلاحها, their wise men said no bird

is more fit for mischief than this. It is related that the emperor sent a vulture to the Kisrá, and wrote him, that he was more efficient than the falcon الصقر, with the sport of which he was so delighted. The Kisrá ordered him to be set against a wild buck ظبی, and the bird got the better of him, notwithstanding his resistance. The Kisrá returned, full of joy, from this sight. When he hungered him for sporting, the bird fell upon a boy, and killed him. The Kisrá said, "The emperor deprives us of our children without an army." The Kisrá presented the emperor in return with an eagle, and wrote to him that he had killed wild bucks, and similar animals; but he did not mention that the vulture had killed a boy. The emperor admired the eagle, which was like a hyena ضهد; but as he was not on his guard, several boys were torn to pieces by the bird. The emperor said, "The Kisrá takes us for his game; but, since we have made a game of him, it does no harm."

In speaking of the sea of Jorján and its islands, we went beyond our limits, and treated on the different sorts of birds of prey; we shall give a summary account of the falcons, and how many different species of birds of prey there exist, in the chapter on the Byzantine kings. Now we return to our account of Báb el-Abwáb, and the nations which live in the neighbourhood of this wall, and of the Caucasus.

We have already stated, that the population of Haïdán is one of the worst nations near Báb el-Abwáb; their king is a Mohammedan, and considers himself as descended from Kahlán. His children and his household are the only Moslims in all his dominions. The name of the present [332 A.H.] king is Salmán* سلمان (سيلعان); and I believe this is the title of every king of this country. Between the kingdom of Khaïdán خيدان (Haïdan) and Báb el-Abwáb, is a Mohammedan population of Arabian origin† who speak only Arabic. They live in villages situated in forests, jungles, valleys, and on large rivers. They have been there since the time when the country was conquered by them. Although their country is on the frontier of the kingdom of Haïdán, they are independent; for it is inaccessible on account of its forests and rivers. The distance from the town of Báb el-Abwáb to this country, is only three miles. The inhabitants of Báb el-Abwáb call them sometimes to their aid.

On the frontiers of the kingdom of Haïdán,

* This, observes M. Klaproth, is probably a fault instead of شمغال Shamgál, which is, to this day, the title of the prince of Kormik, who resides at Tarkhu.

† These Arabs live to this day in the neighbourhood of Sharwán as nomades. See Klaproth.

towards the Caucasus and the wall, is a king called Birzobán برزبان, he is a Moslim, and the name of his country is el-Karaj الكرج. The inhabitants are armed with clubs. Birzobán is the title of every king who rules over this country.

Next to the Birzobán is a nation called Ghumík غميق (عسق). They are Christians, and have no king, but chieftains, who are on friendly terms with el-Lán. Next to them, towards the wall and the mountain is the kingdom of Zarikerán زاريكران, which means "coat of mail manufactory," for most of the inhabitants are employed in making coats of mail, stirrups, bridles, swords, and similar instruments of iron. They have various religions; some are Moslims, others are Jews and Christians. Their country is very rough and inaccessible to the neighbouring nations. Beyond them are the dominions of Fílán Shah فيلان شاه, who is a Christian; and, as we have already stated, he is descended from Behrám Gúr. He has the name of king of the Serír (throne), for Yezdejerd, the last of the Sásánian kings, sent, when he took flight, his throne of gold and his treasures, with one of the descendants of Behrám Gúr, to this country, and there they were preserved till his death; for Yezdejerd went to Khorásán, where he was killed during the khalifat of 'Othmán, as we have related in this book and in our other works. They remained in this coun-

try; he made himself master of it, and his successors have therefore the name Sáhib es-Serír* to this day. The capital of this king is called Khonúkh† خنوخ. Twelve thousand villages obey him, and it is in his choice to make any of their inhabitants slaves. His country is rough, and therefore well protected against any invasion; it occupies a valley of the Caucasus. He some times overruns the country of the Khazar, for they live in plains, and he in mountains.

Next to this kingdom comes the kingdom of el-Lán, the king of which has the name of el-Kerkendáj الكركنداج (الكدكنداج), which is a general title for all kings of this country, as Filán-Shah is the title of all kings of es-Serír. The capital of el-Lán is Ma's معص (بعس), which means "observation of religion," ديانة. He has several magnificent palaces, besides his residence in the capital, in which he occasionally resides. He is related to the king of es-Serír, one having married the sister of the other. The kings of el-Lán embraced, after the rise of the Islám, during the 'Abbáside dynasty, the

* Serír is evidently the name of the nation, who are probably the same as the Serri of Pliny, (lib. vi., cap. 5,) who wrote nearly six hundred years before Yezdejerd. As Serír happens to mean throne in Arabic, the above fable was invented.

† Klaproth's MS. reads Homraj; he identifies therefore this town with Humry, in the territory of the Uzmei of the Kaitak, now called Kayah Kend.

Christian religion; previously they were Pagans; and after 320 A. H., they returned to their former faith, giving up Christianity, and expelling the bishops and priests who had been sent to them by the Byzantine emperor.

Between the kingdom of el-Lán and the Caucasus is a fortress, and a bridge over a large river. The fortress has the name of Kal'ah Báb el-Lán (the citadel of the Alan gate or pass), and was built by a king of the first Persian dynasty, called Isfendiár. He placed there a garrison, to prevent the Alans from entering the Caucasus; for no other road leads there but that which goes over this bridge, which is commanded by the castle. It is built on live rock, which renders it impregnable, and it is impossible to cross the bridge, if opposed by the garrison. This castle, which stands on the summit of the rock, has a spring of fresh water in its centre. This is one of the most famous fortresses on earth, both for its strength and for the historical recollections which are connected with it, and related by Persian poets, who describe its construction by Isfendiár.

Isfendiár had many wars with various nations of the eastern countries: he marched to the country of the Turks, and destroyed the city of es-Safr الصفر, which was very extensive, fortified by nature, and considered as impregnable; so that it had become proverbial with the Persians. The exploits

of Isfendiár, and the details which we have given, are related in the book كتاب السلس (السكمت or السطن or التبكين), which has been translated by Ibn el-Mokaffa' into Arabic. When Moslemah Ben 'Abd el-Melik Ben Merwán penetrated to those countries, he settled some Arabs in this fortress, after he had made peace with the nations, whose posterity defend the place to this day. Sometimes they receive their provisions from the plains which are near Tiflís. This town is five long days' journey distant from this fortress. One man can oppose all the unbelieving kings, in this castle, so advantageous is its commanding position, it being (as it were) suspended in the air, over the bridge and valley.

The king of the Alans* musters thirty thousand brave and stong horsemen: this force gives him the supremacy over other kings. The cultivation of his kingdom is uninterrupted, so that when the cock crows, he is answered in the whole of his dominions, the country being all covered with inhabitants and cultivation.

Next to the Alans live a nation called Kashak كشك: their country extends from the Caucasus to the Mediterranean بحر الروم. They are a great nation, and follow the Magian religion. They are, among all the nations whom we have mentioned,

* One copy reads, the king of es-Serír.

the cleanest, and the most handsome in their appearance, both men and women. They have good persons, are slender round the waist, have well-shaped hips, and are of a comely form. The Kashak women are celebrated for their charms. They dress in white, in Greek brocade الديباج الرومي, in cloth of scarlet السقلاطون colour, and other sorts of cloth, as gilt brocade. In their country various sorts of cloths are manufactured of hemp and other materials: one sort is called et-Tallí cloth الطلي (الطل): it is finer than damask (silk) الدبيقي, and stouter than (our) hemp cloth كند (كنّ). One piece of this sort of cloth costs about ten dinars, and is exported to the neighbouring Moslim countries. The same cloth is exported from other nations, who live near the Kashak; but the best comes from them.

The Alans are much stronger than this nation, and they cannot maintain their independency, except by fortifying themselves against the Alans in the citadel which they have erected on the sea coast. There is some controversy respecting the sea on which they live; some take it for the Mediterranean, whilst others consider it to be the Pontus. I have only to observe, that their sea is not far from the country of Trebizond, and that a constant navigation and trade are kept up between them and this city.

The reason why they are too weak to oppose

the Alans is, that their power is not concentrated under one king. If they were united, neither the Alans nor any other nation would have power over them. The word kashak is Persian, and means pride التيه and arrogance الصلف, for a person who has these two qualities is called كش in Persian.

Next to this nation comes another, the country of which is called the Seven Lands* السبع بلدان, and lies on the sea. They form a large and powerful nation, who are in possession of an extensive country. I know nothing respecting their religion and government. On the Seven Lands border a large nation, who are separated from the Kashak by a great river which falls into the Mediterranean, or into the sea Máyotis. On this river live numerous hordes, of a nation of the name of Irem إرم (ادم). They are Pagans, and strange looking people. There is a curious story related of fish which come every year to this country. They cut flesh off from them. When they come back the next year, the flesh has grown again, and they cut it off from the other side. This story is well known amongst the unbelievers of that country†.

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* The German name for Transylvania—*Siebenbürgen*—has nearly the same meaning, but is not as ancient as el-Mas'údí.

† Klaproth remarks, that the inhabitants of the coast of the Caspian, on the mouth of the Korr, cut the eggs out from the belly of the fish for caviar, and throw the fish back into the water.

Not far from this country is another between four high and inaccessible mountains, which include a plain of nearly one hundred miles. In the centre of this plain is a circle, as exact as if it had been marked out with compasses پیکار, in solid stone. The circuit is formed by a complete ring hewn in stone, which is fifty miles in circumference. The pieces [of rock by which this ring is formed] go vertically down like a wall which is raised from below upwards, two miles high.* These rocks render it impossible to go within the inclosure. By night, you see many lights in it in different places; and by day, you discover villages, cultivated grounds, rivers which water those villages, men, and cattle†; but every thing appears little, on account of the height from which you look down. Nobody knows what nation they are, for they are unable to climb

* یکون قعره نحو من میلین

† A similar story is related in Abúl-ghazí Khan, who followed Mongolish traditions. It seems, therefore, to be a widely spread tradition of Central Asia. Perhaps such places were secluded from the world to give to them, and those who inhabit them, through remoteness, a degree of sacredness. Any one who has passed the dreary and solitary plains extending many miles round Stonehenge, a sacred place of the Druids, near Salisbury, must be struck with this idea. Perhaps a comparison might be drawn, and even an affinity and connexion might be discovered, between those Tatar places of worship and the sacred forests of the Druids.

up (the surrounding mountains from within), and no one who ascends to the top (from without) can go down to them.

Behind these four mountains on the sea coast is another ring near the precipice; in it are forests and jungles, which are inhabited by a sort of monkeys who have an erect stature and round face; they are exceedingly like men, but they are all covered with hair. Sometimes it happens that they are caught. They show very great intelligence and docility; but they are deprived of speech, by which they could express themselves, although they understand* what is spoken. But they express themselves by signs. Sometimes they are brought to the kings of those nations, and they are taught to stand by them and to taste what is on their table; for the monkeys have the peculiar quality of knowing if poison is in food or drink. Some part of the food is given to the monkey who smells it, and, if he eats of it, the king eats: but, if not, he knows that it contains poison. The same is the practice of most Chinese and Hindu sovereigns. We have given in this book an account of the Chinese embassies which came to el-Mahdí; and we related what they said of the use which their kings make of monkeys for tasting their food. We have also

* One copy reads that they do not understand what is spoken.

mentioned the tale of the monkeys in Yemen, and of the plate of iron on which Solaïman Ben Dáwud wrote a treaty to the monkeys of Yemen; and of the governor of Mo'awíyah Ben Abí Sofyán, who wrote a document respecting them: and we have given the description of the great monkey who had a table on his neck.

There are no monkeys on earth who are so clever and mischievous as this species. Monkeys live in warm climates, as in Nubia, and in the most northern part of Abyssinia, on the banks of the upper course of the Nile. They are called Nubian monkeys, and are of a diminutive size, have little faces, and their body is as black as pitch, as the Nubians themselves are. This is the species which the monkey men القرادون have. They mount on a spear and go through their exercises on the top of it. Another species of monkeys are in the northern regions, forests, and jungles, in the country of the Sclavonians and of other nations, of which we have said, that they approach in their appearance, to the figure of man. Monkeys are also found on the coasts of the straits of el-Zánij, in the Chinese sea, and in the dominions of the Maharáj, who, as we have already said, is king of the islands opposite the kingdom of China, being situated between the kingdom of el-Ballahrá and China. The monkeys of those countries are very numerous, and famous for the perfection of their figure. From thence monkeys

and serpents were brought to el-Moktader. They were in long chains, and some of the monkeys had beards and long whiskers; some were young, and others old. The present was accompanied by many other curiosities of the sea; they were brought by Ahmed Ben Hilál احمد بن هلال, who was then governor of 'Omán. These monkeys are very well known to the sailors of Siráf and 'Omán, who trade with the countries of Kolah and ez-Zánij; they are also acquainted with the way of hunting the crocodiles (alligators), which live at the bottom of the water. El-Jáhit believes they are only found in the Nile of Egypt, and in the river Mihrán of es-Sind. We have related what is said on this subject, and where crocodiles are found, in the previous pages of this book. In many places of Yemen, the traveller is not able to fight his way through the monkeys, they are so numerous; so, for instance, in the valley of Nakhlah وادي نخلة, which is between el-Jenned and Zabíd, which is now [332 A.H.] under Ibrahím Ben Ziyád ابرهيم بن زياد, the governor of el-Harmalí الحرملي. This valley is one day's journey, or more, from Zabíd. It is well cultivated, and has abundance of flowing water and musa trees الموز. It is surrounded by two mountains. The monkeys form there two corps; each is lead by a Hazr هزر (هرر), which means a male monkey, who is distinguished by his superior size and virility,

and who is the leader of the rest. A she ape gives birth to a dozen young monkeys at once, as the sow brings forth many pigs. Some of the young monkeys are nursed and carried by the mother just as women carry their children, and the male takes care of the rest. They have parties and meetings, which are numerously attended. There you may hear them speechify, and discuss matters. The female monkeys chatter like women, when they are alone. If a man hears their conversation and does not see them, in those mountains, in musa and other trees, and by night, he has no suspicion but that they are human beings. The monkeys of Yemen are the wildest, most mischievous, and have the greatest docility. The Yemenites call the monkeys الرباح. The male and female animal have long ringlets of hair flowing over their shoulders, which are as black as possible. When they meet, they sit according to their rank, after their leader; and they imitate man in all their doings.

In the valleys, plains, and mountains at Márib, which is between the country of San'á and the castle of Kahlán قلعة كهلان, the monkeys are so numerous, that they may be compared with clouds.

Kahlán كهلان is one of the fortresses of Yemen, where now As'ad Ben Ya'fúr اسعد بن يعفور (يعفر), the king of Yemen, lives; separated from society, only with his court. This king is a rem-

nant of the Himyarite sovereigns, and has an army of about fifty thousand men, infantry and cavalry, in pay. They receive their pay every month at a fixed time, which is called النزلة*. They assemble here, and then they return into the Mikhálíf of that country: Mikhálíf means fortresses القلاع والمخاليف†.

This prince had wars in Yemen with the Karmatians, and the Lord of the Zanj ‡, who was 'Alí Ben el-Fadhl علي بن الفضل, after 270 A.H. 'Alí acted a great part in Yemen until he was killed: then Yemen surrendered to As'ad.

The monkeys are in several places of Yemen, and in other regions of the earth, which we forbear to mention; for we have explained the reason why

* نزل means to encamp and to quarter. They were probably drawn up in review when they received their pay: النزلة would therefore mean here, the being drawn up.

† مخلاف plural مخاليف, means, with other Arabic authors, a district of Yemen, of which there were seventy-two or seventy-three. Some of the names of these districts are found in Johannsen (Hist. Jemanæ, p. 34); but the list of all of them is in Ibn Khordádbeh's Geography (MS. of the Bodleian Library). This passage of el-Mas'údí's leads us to suppose that in every such district was a fortress, inhabited, as one may presume, by one of the Abná الابناء or chiefs of the Persian expedition, which conquered the country under Anúsharwán, and introduced a sort of feudal system as it would appear.

‡ The MSS. read المرحزة and المذبخرة.

they live in some quarters of the world, whilst they are not met with in others, in our Akhbár ez-zemán, where we have also given an account of the nisnás* النسناس, and the 'irbíd العربيد, which are a sort of animals like serpents, in the Hajr† حجر of Yemámah: the singular is, according to the opinion of some lexicographers, عربد. El-Motawakel asked, in the beginning of his Khalifat, Honaïn Ben Ishak to bring him, amongst other species of animals, some nisnás: only two specimens were brought for him to Serrmenráy; but he did not think to send for an 'irbad; perhaps because this animal perishes if it is removed from Yemámah, at a certain distance from this province, in the cage in which it is carried. The people of Yemámah use it against serpents, scorpions, and other vermin, as the people of Sijistán make use of the urchins قنافذ for this purpose. In ancient times no urchin was killed in that country. This town was built by Alexander, in an open and sandy country, and it is surrounded by sand hills, which are supported by wood and reeds. There are a number of vipers,

* A kind of ape or satyr, which are said to inhabit the desert of el-Ahkáf.

† This town is to be distinguished from el-Hijr, which is the Petra of ancient geographers: there is for the rest a passage in Pliny, lib. iv., cap. 32, where this town of Yemámah is to be understood under Petra.

and several species of serpents; so that if they had not many urchins, the inhabitants would be overcome by them. In the same situation are the Egyptians, in upper Egypt, and elsewhere. They have a little animal, which they call el-'irás العراس: it is larger than a locust and smaller than a weazel, of a red colour, with a white belly; and, if it was not for this reptile, the Egyptians would be overcome by basilisks الثعابين, which are a sort of great serpents. When the basilisk forms a ring round this little animal, it emits an air, by which the basilisk bursts. This air is peculiar to this little animal. The east has several peculiarities in land and sea, in animals, vegetation, and such as are caused by the destructive effects of the hot season. The same can be said of the west, the Tayammon التيمن, *i.e.*, the south, and the Jarí جري, which means the north. We have given an account of the nature of the quarters of the world, and it would be a digression from the plan of our work to enter into details on those subjects in this chapter.

We will therefore return to the account of the nations which live in the neighbourhood of Báb el-Abwáb, the wall, the Caucasus, the country of the Khazar, and the Alans. On the frontiers of the Khazar towards the west, live four Turkish nations, which derive their origin from the same forefather. Some of them are settled, whilst others are nomads. They are all brave and can

resist any nation. Each of them has its own king, whose dominions have an extent of several days, and they are contiguous to each other. Some of them are on the Pontus. They extend their predatory excursions as far as Rome مدينة رومية which is in the direction towards Spain. They are victorious over all the nations who live there. Between the king of the Khazar and the lord of el-Lán a friendship exists. They are immediate neighbours of the former. The first of these nations has the name Bajná بجنا (بختي or بجني). The second is called Bajkord بجغرد, the next following nation is called Bajinák بجناک (*Πατζινακιτοι*), and is the bravest of the four. The fourth is called Núkerodah (Novgorod?) نوكردة. Their kings have sovereign power*, they had wars with the Byzantines after the year 320 A.H. (932 A.D.) or in that year†. The Byzantines have, on the frontiers towards these four nations, a large Greek city which is called Walender ولندر (وليدان or ولند), which has a great population (garrison), and is protected by the sea on one side, and by mountains on the other. The inhabitants (garrison) of this town defended the country against the invasions of

* وملوكهم بدو

† Compare Cedrenus *ad annum* 934.

the before mentioned four Turkish nations, and they were unable to penetrate into the country of the Byzantines, being precluded by mountains, the sea, and this town. These four nations have been at war with each other, on account of a dispute respecting a Moslim merchant of Ardobíl, who, although he enjoyed the protection of hospitality of one of these nations, was injured by another. This gave rise to disunion. The Byzantines of Walender took advantage of it, invaded their country whilst they were disunited; they took many of their children prisoners, and plundered their property. When they heard of this, as they were occupied in their war, they united under one commander, proclaimed a mutual amnesty, remitting blood revenge; and the whole nation, about six thousand horse strong, at once repaired to the town of Walender, and this without being called out, and without collecting the men. If they had called out their men, they would have mustered about one hundred thousand horsemen. When Romanus who is the present emperor of the Byzantines, that is to say, in 332 A.H., had received intelligence, he sent against them twelve thousand (Arabic) horsemen* who had embraced the Chris-

* The Taghlebites, some of the Rabí'ah, and other tribes of Syria and Mesopotamia, used to serve in the army of the Byzantine emperors.

tian religion, with spears in the Arabic costume زِيّ, and fifty thousand Byzantines. They came in eight days* to the town of Walender ولندر, encamped beyond the town, and took (partly) their quarters in the houses of the inhabitants. The Turks had already killed a vast number of the population of Walender, but they defended themselves with their walls till this reinforcement reached them. When the four kings had oberved that their enemies had received the aid of those (Arabs) who had turned Christians, and of the Byzantines, they sent unto their own country, which lies towards the country of the Khazar, Alans, Báb el-Abwáb, and others, and collected the Moslim population† who did not enlist except in wars against unbelievers.

When the two armies had drawn up in battle array, the Christian Arabs advanced in front of the ranks of the Byzantines; and, on the side of the Turks, the merchants who were in their army proceeded from the ranks, and invited them to the Mohammedan religion, promising to bring them into the Moslim territory, if they would take quarter from the Turks. They refused to accept these

* One copy reads eighteen days.

† One copy reads, they collected Moslim merchants who were resident in their country, in that of the Khazar, Báb el-Abwáb, of the Alans, or any other country, and that portion of the four Turkish nations who had embraced the Islám.

terms, and they fought a general battle, in which the Christian Arabs and Byzantines were superior to the Turks; for their number was many times greater than that of their enemies. They remained that night at their posts. The four Turkish kings held a council, in which the king of the Bajnák said, "Give me the command to-morrow morning." They agreed to give it to him; and the next morning they posted many close bodies of troops (squares), of a thousand men each, on the extremity of the right wing, and on the extremity of the left wing. When the soldiers were drawn up, the bodies of troops (squares)* of the extremity of the right wing advanced, and fell upon the centre of the enemy, fighting their way to the place of the squares which had been posted at the extremity of the left wing, and the latter advancing upon the right wing, fell equally upon the centre of the enemy, and fought their way to the right wing: an uninterrupted shooting (of arrows, stones, &c.) ensued, and these bodies of troops ground the enemy like a millstone, following each other; but the centre, and the right and left wings of the Turks stood quiet, whilst the squares were in action. They fought thus: the squares of the Turks who went out from the extre-

* كردوس means the squares or close bodies, as they were in the Roman order of battle. But here it seems to mean light cavalry in contradistinction to the troops of the line.

mity of the right wing opened their operations by shooting on the left wing of the Byzantines: they passed their (own) right wing, keeping up the shooting and came to the centre. The squares which came from the extremity of the left wing began to shoot on the side of the right wing of the enemy, proceeded to the left wing, and continued to shoot, advancing to the centre where the squares (of both sides) met, grinding the enemy, as we have said. When the Christian (Arabs) and the Byzantines saw their state, and the breaking up of their ranks under the uninterrupted shower of arrows which came from their enemies, they charged the loose troops in front of the army. Thus they came close on the line of the Turks, which stood firm to receive them. The squares opened before them, and the Turks fell all at once *en masse* upon them; this had the effect of putting the Byzantines to flight. The Turkish line [not the loose troops (or squares) of their battle array] charged, after this attack, the line of the enemy without intermission; and, at the same time, the squares fought them from the right and left. They fell under the sword, and were in the greatest difficulty; the cries of men and horses were terrible; and about six thousand Byzantines and Christian (Arabs) were killed, so that they could almost ascend to the walls of the town over their carcases. The town was taken, the sword made several days' ravages; and the inhabitants were made pri-

soners. After three days, the Turks proceeded towards Constantinople. They passed a number of cultivated districts, meadows, and estates, spreading slaughter and taking prisoners, till they came to the walls of Constantinople. There they staid for about forty days, and sold the captive women and children for linen, cloths of brocade, and silk. They put the men to the sword, none received quarter; sometimes they did not spare even women and children. They made predatory excursions all over these countries, and as far as [the country of the Sclavonians and Rome. At present their invasion extends even to*] the frontiers of Spain, France, and Galicia. The predatory incursions of the above-mentioned Turkish nations continue to this day to infest Constantinople, and the above-mentioned kingdoms.

We return to the account of the Caucasus, the wall, and Báb el-Abwáb, having given a concise account of the nations who live in those countries. One of these nations lives on the frontiers of the Alans, and has the name el-Abkház الابخاز. They are Christians, and form a monarchy: the present king has the name et-Tobílí الطبيلي (Theophilus?)†.

* These words are left out in some MSS. and by Klaproth; and it is very likely that they are interpolated.

† The MS. of Leyden reads thus: "They have at present their own king, but they are, nevertheless, under the supremacy

The dominions of this Tobílí are called Mesjid of Dúl-Karnaïn (Alexander). The Abkház and Khazárians used to pay tribute to the governor of the frontiers of Tiflís, since the time when this city was subjected by the Mohammedans, who settled there (a military colony), which continued up to the reign of el-Motawakel. There was a king in these frontiers, of the name of Ishak Ben Isma'íl, who had subjected, with the Moslims whom he had under his command, the nations of that neighbourhood. They acknowledged their submission to him by paying the capitation tax. His power was in the ascendant (and he considered himself as an independent prince), until el-Motawakel sent an army against the frontier of Tiflís, which took the country by force, after some battles. Ishak was killed; for he had made himself independent in that country. It would be too long to relate his whole history, which is pretty well known in

of the king of the Alans. Their country extends as far as the Caucasus. Next to them live the Khazarians الخزرية, who are a great nation and profess the Christian religion. They are also called el-Hazrán الحزران. They have at present a king of the name of Tobí'a الطبيعي, whose dominions occupy the place called Mesjid Dúl-Karnaïn. The Abkház and Khazarians used to pay tribute to the governor of the frontiers of Tiflís," etc.

Klaproth observes, that the Hazrán occupied a part of Mingrelia and Guria, which is still called Kadzaro by the Turks.

those countries and elsewhere, amongst persons possessed of a knowledge of history. He pretended to be a Koraïshite and of the Omaïyde family; but it is not true. Since that time the Moslims have lost their power on the frontiers of Tiflís, and have never recovered it. The neighbouring kingdoms refused their submission, and they encroached upon the principal estates (villages) of Tiflís. You are obliged to pass through those unbelieving nations if you wish to go to the most distant Mohammedan dominions about Tiflís, since they live all round this Moslim province, the inhabitants of which are a people of great strength and bravery; but they are surrounded by the said kingdoms.

Beyond the Kharzan خرزان (Hazarán), is the country of the Samsahá الصمصحا, who are Christians, mixed, however, with Pagans: they have no king. Next to the Samsahians, between the frontier of Tiflís and the fortress Báb el-Lán, which we have described, is the kingdom of the Senárians الصنارية (الصيارية): their king has the name Kereskús كرسكوس (كركسوس). They are Christians, and believe that they are of Arabic origin, and a portion of the 'Okaïl* tribe (which belongs to the

* One copy reads من نزار بن معد و من مضر و فخذ من عقيل, and another copy reads من نزار بن معد بن مضر بن فخر من عقيل.

confederation) of the Modhar tribes (which have the same origin as the other) Nizár tribes. They have lived there from ancient times, and have subjected many nations of the Caucasus. I have seen in the country of Márib, in Yemen, several men of the 'Okaïl tribe, variously accoutred, and did not find any difference between them and the manners of their brethren on the Caucasus. This tends to strengthen their assertion. They have many horses and great wealth, and there are no people in all Yemen of the tribe of Nizár Ben Ma'add besides the 'Okaïl family, except the accounts which are given of the children of Anmár انمار Ben Nizár Ben Ma'add, of their immigration into Yemen, of the interview which Jarír Ben 'Abdullah el-Bajalíy جرير بن عبدالله البجلي had with the Prophet, and the history of the Bajílah بجيلة. The Sinárians believe that they had lived with the 'Okaïl in the country of Márib, and that they separated from the 'Okaïl, who still live in Yemen, in ancient times, under several circumstances which are related in history.

Next to the kingdom of the Sinárians lives a nation called Shakin * شكين who are Christians, interspersed with Moslims who are mostly merchants,

* This is the country of Shakhi, which lies north of the Korr and Karabágh. (Klaproth.)

or employed in other trades المهن. Their king is at present, when we publish this book, Ader Ben Samah Ben Homáyir (هام) هُمَايِر بن سمه بن ادر.

Next to them is the kingdom of Kaïlah قيلة. The population of the capital consists of Moslims, whilst the villages, and estates about the town, are inhabited by Christians. Their present king is A'anbasah اعنبسه (عسه) The Lame. He gives shelter to robbers, vagabonds, and highwaymen.

Next comes the kingdom of the Múkánians الموقانية. We have already mentioned this country, saying that it has been conquered, and now forms part of the dominions of Sharwán-Sháh. But it is to be distinguished from a country on the coast of the sea of the Khazar, which has the same name. Mohammed Ben Yezíd who is at present known as Sharwán-Shah شروان شاه, had been King Láyidan-Sháh لايدان شاه, and his ancestors had the same title; for, at that time 'Ali Ben el-Haïthem had the title of King Sharwán-Sháh. But when 'Ali was dead, Mohammed made himself master of (the dominions and title of) Sharwán-Shah and other countries, as we have related, after he had killed his uncles, and occupied the said kingdoms. He is in possession of a fortress, called the fortress of Tiár تيار, which is situated on the Caucasus, and the strongest known on earth, excepting a fortress in Fáris not far from Síráf, on the sea coast, in a

place called ez-Zírobád الزيرباد, which belongs to 'Abdullah Ben 'Imárah. This fortress has the name of ed-Dikdán الديكدان.

There are many fortresses on earth of which strange stories are related, which have been collected by Abú-l-Hosaïn el-Medáini, in a monograph on this subject, which he has entitled, "The book of the Fortresses" كتاب القلاع. In this book are select stories respecting fortresses, some of which we have given in our Akhbár ez-zemán.

El-Mas'údí says, this is a view of the account of the town Báb el-Abwáb, the wall, Caucasus, and the inhabitants of these countries. We have given a detailed narration of their manners and modes in warfare, and of the stratagems of their kings, in our Akhbár ez-zemán. The accounts which we have given of them, and the descriptions of their kingdoms, dwell on objects which are palpable (*i. e.*, the present state), and not on abstractions (or the history of past times), and which anybody who chooses to visit the countries which we have described may see*.

'Obaïd Allah Ben Khordádbeh gives in his book which has the title of, "The Roads and the Kingdoms," the distances of places by the road (not as

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* و ما ذكرنا من اخبارهم واوصاف ممالكهم فهو اخبار عن موجود يدركه الحس غير معدوم يعرفه من طرا الي ما وصفنا من البلاد ۞

the crow flies), but he does not give any account of the kings and kingdoms. There is no use in showing merely the distances and roads, for this regards only sending couriers* and despatching parcels and letters. The same author mentions how great the revenue of the villages of el'Irak was. Such account, however, cannot be correct, for the revenue is always sinking and rising, disminishing and increasing, according to circumstances†; and he states, that the mount el-'Arij العرج which is between Mekka and Medina coheres with the mountains of Syria, so that it is connected with the mount of el-Akra' at Antiochia, which is again in connexion with the mount el-Kám الكام. This is a curious notice, and shows that he knew, that the various parts of the earth are connected, and no where interrupted nor separated, except, that in some places there are low, in others high, countries. His

* The MS. of Leyden leaves the reading of this word doubtful, and others write فتوح, instead of فيوج. The reader may refer, respecting Ibn Khordádbeh, to the note to page 331. Here is confirmed what has been said there partly as conjecture, without being aware of this passage, namely, that Ibn Khordádbeh's work was intended as a road and post book. Perhaps it was even the official directory.

† I published the whole of this account of the land-tax of Ibn Khordádbeh, from the MS. of Oxford, with the accounts of some other authors on the same subject, in the Asiatic Journal of 1839.

book may be considered as the best work in its way. Of equal merit is his book on the chronology and history of the nations before the Islám.

Ahmad Ben et-Taïb, the companion of el-Mo'-tadhed Billah, wrote a book on the same subject, in which he gives an account of the whole world; but what he says, is, for the most part, contrary to truth; and I believe that it is a pseudonym work to which his name is prefixed, for he was possessed of much more knowledge than what this book bespeaks; and if it is genuine, we must consider that God, the Almighty, gives, by his infinite wisdom, absolute power and mercy to his servants—to those success in their labours to whom he thinks best.

One of the Persian kings built the town of Bab el-Abwáb, of the wall of which we have said, that it extends over land, sea, and mountains, and several fortresses: he settled military colonies there, and he defined the ranks of the kings. He wrote to the king of the Khazar, el-Lán, and Turks, and to the kings of other nations, who ruled over Berda'ah er-Rúm, el-Baïlakán, Aderbíján, Zanján زجاني (*sic*, or زحال), Abhar ابهر (ابهي), Kazwín, Hamadán, ed-Daïnawar, Noháwand, and other places which were under the dependency of el-Kúfah and el-Basrah (after the Arabic conquests), and form part of el-'Irák. God may keep the said nations within their limits, particularly since the Moslim power has been

so reduced, and is in such a decline that the Byzantines are victorious over the Moslims; the pilgrimage to Mekka is in a bad state; holy warfare is neglected; the highways are unsafe, and the roads bad; every chief makes himself the independent master of the provinces in which he is, as was the case under the kings of the Satrapies, after the death of Alexander, until Ardeshír Ben Bábek Ben Sásán united the empire. He restored order, he rendered religious service safe, and promoted the cultivation of the country (by paying attention to irrigation, and thus it continued) until God sent his prophet, through whom he dispelled the darkness of wrong religions, and destroyed the services ordained by false creeds. The Islám was victorious till at present, but now, that is to say, in 332 A.H., under the Khalifat of Abú Ishak Ibrahím el-Mottakí Lillah its pillars give way, and its foundations are sinking. God is the helper in human affairs.

There are many curious accounts connected with Báb el-Abwáb, and the various fabrics which have been raised by Kisrá Ben Kobád Ben Faïrúz, that is to say*, Kisrá Anúsharwán: as the town of stone مدينة الحجارة near a place called el-Masít

* The MS. of Leyden reads, "Who was the father of Anúsharwán." If this reading is adopted, the word "Ben" before "Kobád" is to be left out. This alteration, however, is not confirmed by any MS.

المسيط (المسعط). The wall which he raised in the country of Sharwán and which is called the wall of clay, and the wall of stone which has the name el-Bermeki البرمكي; other accounts refer to the country of Berda'ah برذعة. We will not enter into further details, having spoken on this subject in our former works.

The river el-Korú الكرو (الكرز) (Korr or Cyrus) rises in the country of Khazarán in the kingdom of Jerír جرير; it takes its course through the country of Abkház* to the province of Tiflís, which forms the Moslim frontier; in the middle of this province it is divided and runs to the Solawerdians السلوردية, (الساوردية or الساروتة) (Shulawerdi) who are a brave and strange nation of Armenian origin, as we have said. From these the hatchets called الساوردية (*sic*) طبرزينات have their name; which are in use with the Siábihah السيابحة (الشامية) and other Barbarian corps جند الاعاجم. This river, which has the name el-Korr الكر, passes through Barʼáj برداج, a place of the province of Berda'ah, and ·w miles distant from this capital; then it receives es-Sinárah الصنارة (الصيادة) the river es-Ras نهرالروس), which runs near Trebizond. And ·se two rivers are united, they fall into the Khazar.

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*he MSS. read انجان and الحان.

The river er-Ras comes from the dominions of Babek el-Khorramí بابک الخرمي, which are called the country of Badín بدين, and belong to Aderbíján, and from a mount, which has the name of Jebel Abí Músa, in el-Ghárát* الغارات: on this mountain live several nations, belonging to er-Rán, in Armenia. It passes the town Warthán ورثان (وبلعن), and it comes to the place where it falls into the Korr, near the village called Sinárah, as we have said.

The river Isfédrúd اسفيدرود, which means the White River, by the way of the transposition of the words, according to the genius of each of the two languages, the Persian and the Arabic†, passes through the country of ed-Daïlem, and washes the castle which has the name Kal'ah of Salár سلار (سلام), which is the name of Ibn Aswár the Daïlemite ابن اسوار الديلمى, who is one of the kings of ed-Daïlem, who has at present [that is to say, in the date when we write this book] rendered himself

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* Some copies read er-Rán.

† بتقديم وتاخير بين اللغتين وهي الفارسية والعربية literally, "According to the putting before and behi the two languages, namely, the Persian and the Ar is to say, the Persians put the adjective before th and say the white river; whilst the Arabs obse order, saying the river the white.

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