A H B

Bushee

ARABIA.

VOL. II.

MOCHA.

HARPER & BROTHERS, NEW-YORK.

44-29225

Harper's Stereotype Edition.

THE

HISTORY

OF

ARABIA.

ANCIENT AND MODERN.

CONTAINING

A DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY—AN ACCOUNT OF ITS INHABITANTS, ANTIQUITIES, POLITICAL CONDITION, AND EARLY COMMERCE—THE LIFE AND RELIGION OF MOHAMMED—THE CONQUESTS, ARTS, AND LITERATURE OF THE SARACENS—THE CALIPHS OF DAMASCUS, BAGDAD, AFRICA, AND SPAIN—THE CIVIL GOVERNMENT AND RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES OF THE MODERN ARABS—ORIGIN AND SUPPRESSION OF THE WAHABEES—THE INSTITUTIONS, CHARACTER, MANNERS, AND CUSTOMS OF THE BEDOUINS—AND A COMPREHENSIVE VIEW OF ITS NATURAL HISTORY.

BY ANDREW CRICHTON.

WITH A MAP AND ENGRAVINGS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

NEW-YORK:

PUBLISHED BY HARPER & BROTHERS,
NO. 82 CLIFF-STREET.

1838.

DS223
C7
1838

ENGRAVINGS IN VOL. II.

VIGNETTE.—View of the South Quarter of Mocha.
An Arab of Rank in the Costume of Yemen . . . . Page 127
Mecca and the Grand Temple during the Pilgrimage . . . 185
Convent of El Bourg near Tor 251
Abdallah ibn Saoud, Chief of the Wahabees 301
A Young Female of the Coffee Mountains 313

Gift from
Miss Alice H. Bushee
Jan. 6, 1932
THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
SERIAL RECORD
MAR 2 1944

CONTENTS

OF

THE SECOND VOLUME.

CHAPTER I.

THE ABBASSIDES, OR CALIPHS OF BAGDAD.

Accession of the Abbassides—Caliphs of that Dynasty—Almansor—Haroun al Raschid—Almamoun—Motassem—Capricious Cruelty of Motawakkel—Magnificence of the Caliphs—Weakness and Corruption of their Government—Their Military Operations—Wars of Haroun al Raschid and his Successors with the Romans—Victories of Nicephorus Phocas and John Zimisces over the Moslems—Causes of the Downfall of the Abbassides—Despotic Power of the Turkish Guards—Ravages and Cruelties of the Karmathians—Dismemberment of the Empire into independent Principalities—Persia usurped by petty Dynasties—Conquests of Mahmoud of Ghizni in India—Irruptions of the Tartars—Togrul Beg appointed Viceroy of the Mohammedan Dominions—Hoolaku lays Siege to Bagdad—Surrender and Pillage of that Capital—Death of Mostasem and Extinction of the Caliphate Page 9

CHAPTER II.

CALIPHS OF AFRICA, EGYPT, AND SPAIN.

The Aglabites or Caliphs of Cairoan—Military Exploits of the Western Arabs—Reduction of Crete—Conquest of Sicily—Invasion of Italy—Pillage of Rome—Siege of Gaeta—Naval Victory of the Christians—Subjugation of Corsica and Sardinia by the Saracens—Expulsion of the Aglabites—Moorish Kingdom of Timbuctoo—Dynasty of the Fatimites in Egypt—Their Subversion by Saladin, Founder of the Ayubites—Dynasty of the Ommiades in Spain founded by Abdalrahman—Their Power and Magnificence—Extinction of the Caliph

ate—Conquest of Granada by Ferdinand—Wealth and Population of the Moorish Capitals—The Government, Arms, and Military Tactics of the Arabs—Revenue, Trade, and Marine of Spain under the Saracens—Reduction of Sicily by the Normans, and final Overthrow of the Mohammedan Power in Europe 39

CHAPTER III.

LITERATURE OF THE ARABS.

The Arabs turn their Attention to Learning—Their rapid Progress—Literary Ardour and Patronage of the Caliphs—Haroun al Raschid—Almamoun—Vathek—College of Mostanser at Bagdad—Academies and Libraries founded in Persia, Syria, Egypt, Africa, and Spain—Course of Study in the Saracen Schools — Grammar — Rhetoric — Poetry — Tales — Arabian Nights' Entertainments—Story-tellers—History—Biography—Numismatics—Geography—Statistics—Metaphysics — Medicine and Medical Authors—Rhazes—Avicenna—Pharmacy—Anatomy and Surgery—Botany—Chymistry—Astrology—Astronomy—Optics — Mathematics—Trigonometry—Algebra—Arithmetic—Architecture—The Fine Arts—Painting—Calligraphy—Music—Agriculture—Manufactures in Steel, Porcelain, and Leather—Claims of the Arabs as the Restorers of Letters and the Importers of useful Arts and Inventions into Europe 60

CHAPTER IV.

CIVIL HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT OF ARABIA.

Extinction of the Saracen Power—Formation of new Kingdoms in the East—Victories and Dominions of Timur—Conquests of the Turks and Portuguese in Arabia—Selim I. obtains the Investiture of the Caliphate—Expulsion of the Turks by the Independent Arab Chiefs—Dominions of the Imam of Sanaa—His Government, Revenues, and Military Force—Description of Sanaa—Visits of European Travellers to that Capital—Principal Towns in Yemen—Beit el Fakih—Taas—Mocha—Aden—Government of Hadramaut—Of Oman—Description of Muscat—Court, Revenues, and Commercial Enterprise of the Imam—Islands of Bahrein—Pearl Fisheries—Depredations of the Joassamee Pirates in the Persian Gulf—Various Expeditions from India to suppress them—Reduction of Ras el Khyma and their principal Fortresses—Arab Settlers on the Persian Frontier—Classification of the wandering Bedouin Tribes—Their migratory Habits and Military Strength—Government of their Sheiks—Their Laws and Judicial Trials—Reflections on their Political Institutions . . . 108

CHAPTER V.

HEJAZ, OR HOLY LAND OF THE MOSLEM.

Government of Hejaz—Succession and Power of the Sheriffs—Reign of Ghaleb—Sheriff Families at Mecca—Cities and Towns in Hejaz—Jidda—Yembo—Taïf—Mecca—Description of the Beitullah or Grand Temple—The Court and Colonnades—The Kaaba—The Black Stone—The Tob or Covering of the Kaaba—The Zemzem Well—Servants and Revenues of the Mosque—Inhabitants of Mecca—Their Character, Domestic Manners and Employments—Low State of Arts and Learning in Hejaz 168

CHAPTER VI.

THE MOHAMMEDAN PILGRIMAGE.

The Pilgrim-caravans—Their different Routes—Description and Number of Pilgrims—The Mahmal—The Ihram—Duties of the Pilgrims on arriving at Mecca—Walk to Safra and Omra—Journey to Arafat—Sermon of the Cadi—Curious Appearance of the Scene—Stoning of the Devil—The Feast of Sacrifice—Return of the Procession to Mecca—Visit to the Interior of the Kaaba—Departure of the Caravans—Altered Appearance of the City—Holy Places round Mecca—Pilgrimage to Medina—Description of the City—Its Inhabitants—Their Character and Occupation—The Mosque of the Prophet—The famous Tomb of Mohammed—Ceremonies required of the Hajjis—Servants and Revenues of the Mosque—Sacred Places near Medina—Return of the Pilgrims—Bedr—Suez—Convent of St. Catherine—Regulations and Hospitality of the Monks—Places of Superstitious Resort about Mount Sinai—The Cave of Elijah—The Rock of Meribah—Gebel Mokkateb or the Written Mountain—The Convent near Tor—Gebel Narkous or Mountain of the Bell . . . 205

CHAPTER VII.

HISTORY OF THE WAHABEES.

Origin of the Wahabees—Their Founder, Abdel Wahab—Account of their Doctrines—Success of Ibn Saoud and Abdelazeez in Nejed—Siege and Plunder of Kerbela—Submission of Mecca and Medina—Destruction of religious Monuments—Murder of Abdelazeez—Accession of Saoud—His Character—Government—Revenues—Military Tactics—Revival of the pilgrimage—Predatory Incursions of the Wahabees—Attempts of the Turkish Government to suppress them—Expe-

dition from Egypt lands at Yembo—Defeat of Toussoun Bey at Jedeida—Recapture of Medina by the Turks—Thomas Keith, a Native of Edinburgh, made Governor of the City—Recovery of Mecca and Hejaz—Mohammed Ali takes the Command in Person—Arrest and Death of Ghaleb—Repulse of the Turks at Taraba—Capture of Gonfode—Death of Saoud—Accession of Abdallah—Strength of the Turkish Army—Defeat of the Wahabees at Bissel—Surrender of Taraba and Beishe—Cruelties of Ali—His Return to Egypt—Campaign of Toussoun in Nejed—Treaty of Peace with Abdallah—Treachery of Ali and Renewal of Hostilities—Expedition under Ibrahim Pasha—His success in Nejed—Siege and Surrender of Deraiah—Death of Abdallah—Suppression of the Wahabees and Destruction of their Capital—Reflections on the Character of their Government and Religion 254

CHAPTER VIII.

SOCIAL STATE OF THE ARABS.

National Character of the Arabs—Their Family Pride—Orders of Nobility—Their Domestic Life—Their Tents—Furniture—Mode of Encamping—Dress—Personal Appearance—Acuteness of their Senses—Sagacity in tracing Footsteps—Their Arms—Food and Cookery—Manner of Eating—Diseases—Wealth and Industry—Marriage—Divorce—Education of their Children—Funerals—Modes of Salutation—Hospitality Warfare—Robbery and Theft—The Blood-revenge—Amusements—Poetry and Music—Learning—Medicine—Superstitions—Language—Arts—Commerce—Proposed Steam Routes by the Euphrates and the Red Sea—Population—Concluding Reflections 306

CHAPTER IX.

NATURAL HISTORY OF ARABIA

Want of Information on the Natural History of Arabia—Scientific Discoveries of the Danish Travellers—GEOLOGY—Mount Sinai—Hills of Hejaz and Yemen—Volcanic Rocks—Hot Springs—SOIL—Agriculture—Crops—Harvest—Comparative Fertility of different Districts—MINERALOGY—No Gold or Silver Mines in Arabia—Precious Stones—BOTANY—Vegetables—Plants—Coloquintida—Tobacco—Hemp—TREES AND SHRUBS—Fruit-trees—The Palm—Date-groves—Manna—Gum-arabic—Honey—SHRUBS—The Nebek—Tamarisk—Balsam of Mecca—The Gharkad—Henna—Acacia—Incense Tree—Coffee—ZOOLOGY—Wild Animals—Hyenas—Monkeys—Rock-goats—Hares—Jerboas, &c 349

ARABIA;

ANCIENT AND MODERN.

CHAPTER I.

THE ABBASSIDES, OR CALIPHS OF BAGDAD.

Accession of the Abbassides—Caliphs of that Dynasty—Almansor—Haroun al Raschid—Almamoun—Motassem—Capricious Cruelty of Motawakkel—Magnificence of the Caliphs—Weakness and Corruption of their Government—Their Military Operations—Wars of Haroun al Raschid and his Successors with the Romans—Victories of Nicephorus Phocas and John Zimisces over the Moslems—Causes of the Downfall of the Abbassides—Despotic Power of the Turkish Guards—Ravages and Cruelties of the Karmathians—Dismemberment of the Empire into independent Principalities—Persia usurped by petty Dynasties—Conquests of Mahmoud of Ghizni in India—Irruptions of the Tartars—Togrul Beg appointed Viceroy of the Mohammedan Dominions—Hoolaku lays Siege to Bagdad—Surrender and Pillage of that Capital—Death of Mostasem and Extinction of the Caliphate.

With the elevation of the house of Abbas the family of Mohammed ascended once more the pulpit and the throne of their ancestor; and so long as the Saracen power continued to exist, they ruled the greater part of the Moslem world. The Arabs have marked the several dynasties with different degrees of reverence and respect. The reigns of Abu Beker, Omar, Othman, and Ali are distinguished by the title of the Perfect Caliphate, as that of their successors

is called the Imperfect. The Ommiades are generally styled Caliphs of Syria, their capital being Damascus; while the Abbassides are known in history as the Caliphs of Bagdad, the city to which they transferred their court. In the rise of the Mohammedan monarchy, the empire, however menaced by revolt, was still one and undivided; but in its decline and fall this indivisibility ceased, and the Moslems beheld three independent sovereignties erected, towards the close of the eighth century, within different parts of their dominions—one seated at Bagdad, another in Egypt and Africa, and a third in Spain.

The house of Abbas, whose accession to the throne was attended with circumstances of such unparalleled cruelty as to procure for its first caliph the epithet of *Al Saffah*, or the Sanguinary, ruled over the Eastern World with various degrees of authority for a period of five hundred years. The first century beheld their power undiminished; though the dismemberment of several provinces showed that their government was inherently weak, and that the unwieldly fabric could not long maintain its stability. Like other great nations of antiquity, the policy of the Saracens seemed better adapted for the acquisition of empire than for its preservation; and though, by a surprising effort of arms, they had compelled the world to acknowledge the might of the Commander of the Faithful, they could not infuse into their system those principles of wholesome and vigorous administration essential to its perpetuity. The incessant workings of faction made it necessary to invest the lieutenants of provinces with absolute command; and these, as the monarchy grew feeble and degenerate, were enabled to make their governments hereditary, and to assume every thing except the name of kings. The seeds of dissolution were slowly matured by foreign wars and domestic revolts; and the first

twenty reigns are all that can be assigned as the prosperous era of the Abbassides. In Arabia their authority was nominally maintained by their viceroys; though the sheiks of the desert gradually resumed their ancient independence, and regarded the successors of Mohammed merely as the chiefs of their religion. As their power commenced in blood, so it will be found in the sequel to have terminated its career in the most dreadful scenes of cruelty and carnage. The middle of the thirteenth century brought the tragic history of their fallen race to a close, when the proud capital of Islam fell into the hands of the Tartars.

DYNASTY OF THE ABBASSIDES, OR CALIPHS OF BAGDAD.

A. D.	A. H.		A. D.	A. H.	
949	132	Saffah	934	322	Rhadi
754	136	Almansor	941	329	Mottaki
775	158	Mahadi	944	333	Mostakfi
785	169	Alhadi	946	334	Almoti
786	170	Haroun al Raschid	974	363	Altai
809	193	Alamin	991	381	Alkadir
813	198	Almamoun	1031	422	Alkayem
833	218	Motassem	1075	467	Moktadi
842	227	Vathek	1094	487	Mostader
847	232	Motawakkel	1118	512	Mostarshed
861	247	Montaser	1135	529	Alrashed
862	248	Mostain	1136	530	Moktafi II.
866	252	Motazz	1160	555	Mostanjed
867	255	Mohtadi	1170	566	Mostadi
870	256	Motamed	1180	575	Almaser
892	279	Motaded	1225	622	Daher
902	289	Moktafi I.	1226	623	Mostanser
908	295	Moktader	1242	640	Mostasem
932	320	Kaher			

Of the earlier princes of this dynasty, several were not more distinguished for their warlike prowess than for their love and encouragement of science. The reigns of Saffah and his successor were chiefly occupied in extirpating the race of Ommiah, whose hapless adherents were persecuted with unsparing vengeance. Almansor had established his court at

Hashemiah, a city founded by his brother on the site or in the vicinity of Anbar; but an insurrection compelled him to resort to the erection of a new capital—and in the 145th year of the Hejira the foundation of Bagdad was laid. The aid of astrology was called in to ascertain a propitious season for commencement; and in a short time rose the City of Peace, a splendid metropolis, on the banks of the Tigris, which continued the seat of imperial luxury for nearly five centuries. The rural scenery was beautiful; the spacious river had a width of 250 yards, and a depth, when the waters were at the highest, of forty-six feet. The neighbourhood was rich in gardens and villages; and some idea of its ancient population may be formed, when we learn that 800,000 men and 60,000 women could attend the funeral of Hanbal, their popular saint. Yet all this magnificence seemed but ill adapted to the temper of Almansor, whose extraordinary penury obtained for him the nickname of *Abu Dawanek*, or Father Halfpenny. After his wars and buildings, he left behind him 600,000,000 drachms and 24,000,000 dinars of gold (about 24,850,000*l.* sterling)—a treasure which the vices or the munificence of his children scattered in a few years. In a single pilgrimage to Mecca, Mahadi expended 6,000,000 dinars (2,775,000*l.*), and distributed 150,000 dresses to the poor.

Haroun al Raschid (Aaron the Just), whose name Eastern romance has made so familiar to European ears, yielded to none of his predecessors in the fame and splendour of his reign. He was eminently liberal and humane; and excelled as a warrior, a statesman, and a scholar. He conversed familiarly with all classes of his subjects; and from these adventures sprang numerous anecdotes, which historians have been careful to preserve. To obviate the jealousies and collisions likely to arise from the nomination of a successor, he had proposed an equal division

of the empire among his sons—a scheme which created the very evils it was intended to avert. One trait contrary to the general complexion of his character was his unrelenting cruelty to the Barmecides, especially Yahia and his son Jaafar, who had served him long, and given the most distinguished proofs of zeal and fidelity. To this illustrious family, well known to the Western World through the same enchanting tales that have celebrated their royal master, Haroun had entrusted the entire administration of his extensive dominions. But court favour is precarious: circumstances confirmed and exasperated the caliph's aversion, and death or imprisonment extirpated the unhappy race of Barmec. The ingratitude of Haroun in this instance inflicted its own punishment; for with their destruction his affairs fell into immediate and irretrievable confusion.

The reign of Alamin was one continued scene of insurrection, revolt, and fraternal discord. His treasures were exhausted; and to supply the deficiency he was obliged to commit to the crucible his gold and silver plate. The precious contents of his warehouses were openly exposed to sale, that he might have wherewithal to stimulate his soldiers to exert themselves in defence of the capital, then besieged by his brother Almamoun, who was proclaimed caliph in Khorasan. A body of 5000 mercenary troops had joined his standard; but, as he had neither rich dresses nor pecuniary rewards to bestow, they were compelled to rest satisfied with a fumigation of their beards over pans of civet, which were supplied in great profusion by the caliph's orders; and from this species of luxury the inhabitants of Bagdad gave them in ridicule the appellation of the Civet corps. The head of this unfortunate monarch, who was assassinated by a slave, exhibited on the walls of Bagdad, announced to his brother that he enjoyed an undivided throne.

Almamoun, who, but for his own imprudence, might have rendered his government as peaceful as it was splendid, is generally regarded as the most magnificent of the Abbassidan caliphs. At his nuptials a thousand pearls of the largest size were showered on the head of the bride; while gifts of lands and houses, scattered in lottery-tickets among the populace, announced to the astonished holders the capricious profusion of the royal bounty. Before drawing his foot from the stirrup, he gave away 2,400,000 gold dinars (1,110,000*l.*), being four-fifths of the income of a province. In the encouragement of literature he was the Mæcenas of the East. Learned men from all parts of the world were invited to resort to the court of Bagdad, where their talents and their works received the most distinguished tokens of imperial favour; and in return, these happy scholars laboured to the utmost of their power in extolling the glory of their generous patron, and gratifying his taste by collecting and presenting to him the most rare and curious productions of oriental genius. Notwithstanding his many eminent virtues and endowments, his panegyrists complain that he evinced a favourable disposition to that heretical doctrine of the Motazalites which denies to the Koran the authority of a divine revelation; and the last years of his life were spent in enforcing on his subjects, by severe persecution, the acknowledgment that it was of human origin. His capital and his army he threw into commotion, by commanding them to assume the green uniform instead of the black, the symbol of his family. His military talents, which were great, found exercise in making incursions against the Greeks, or in quelling insurrections in Persia, Arabia, and various parts of his dominions; for in one year not fewer than four usurpers made their appearance in Syria, Palestine, Egypt, and Western Africa.

The errors of Almamoun, both political and

spiritual, devolved on his brother and successor, Motassem. The name of the *Octonary*, by which he is designated in history, originated from the remarkable coincidences, that he was the *eighth* caliph of his family—the *eighth* in descent from Abbas—he gained *eight* distinguished victories—*eight* sons of princes were enrolled in his service—he possessed *eight* thousand male, and as many female, slaves—he had *eight* sons and *eight* daughters—he was master of *eighty* thousand horses—and left in his coffers *eight* millions of gold dinars, with *eighteen* millions of drachms of silver. His strength was so prodigious that he is said to have carried a burden of 1000 pounds' weight; and such was the muscular power of his arm, that he could hold a sheep in each hand until his attendants flayed them alive. Among other luxuries he kept 130,000 piebald horses in his stables at Samarra, and maintained 50,000 boys at court, to each of whom he furnished a satchel or little bag for provisions. He was the first caliph that added to his name the title of *Billah*, or *B'Allah*, equivalent to the *Dei Gratia* of Christian sovereigns.

Vathek was a liberal patron of learned men, and so charitable to the poor, that not a single beggar, through the whole course of his reign, was to be met with in his dominions. His brother Motawakkel displayed all the caprice and cruelty of a tyrant. He evinced his displeasure against the Jews and Christians by compelling them to use wooden instead of iron stirrups—to wear leathern girdles, to have badges on their clothes, and to paint the figures of devils or hogs and apes on their door, to distinguish them from the Mussulmans. Among other instances of his folly and depravity, it is recorded that one of the amusements in which he chose to indulge himself was to give a magnificent entertainment, and in the moment of convivial gayety to turn a lion loose among the terrified guests. Sometimes

he would introduce a snake into the sleeve of an unfortunate courtier, or cast leathern jars full of scorpions into a crowded assembly, or in the middle of the hall where he had prepared a banquet for his favourites, without suffering any one to rise from the table or change his place. Besides these mischievous diversions, he exercised great severity on his subjects, of whom not less than 80,000 perished in the Armenian rebellion. Persons of distinction, who had the misfortune to incur his displeasure, he enclosed in an iron stove lined with pointed nails, which he caused to be heated in proportion to the enormity of the crime he intended to punish. But the tyrant met with his deserts, having fallen by the hands of his own slaves, who employed against his life those scimitars which he had recently distributed among them for the defence of his person and throne. From the death of this prince the destination of the crown was usually fixed by the fierce and mercenary chiefs of the Tartar slaves or guards, and in their power it continued for twelve successions, including a period of about eighty-four years.

Yet with all this weakness a show of external strength and magnificence was maintained. Of Moktader's court and camp at Bagdad (A. D. 917) we find a curious picture in Abulfeda, little accordant with the declining state of his authority. "The caliph's whole army," says he, "both horse and foot, was under arms, which together made a body of 160,000 men. His state-officers, the favourite slaves, stood near him in splendid apparel, their belts glittering with gold and gems. Near them were 7000 eunuchs; 4000 of them white, the remainder black. The porters or doorkeepers were in number 700. Barges and boats with the most superb decorations were seen floating upon the Tigris. Nor was the palace itself less splendid, in which were hung up 38,000 pieces of tapestry; 12,500 of which were of silk, embroidered with gold.

The carpets on the floor were 22,000. A hundred lions were brought out with a keeper to each. Among the other spectacles of rare and stupendous luxury, was a tree of gold and silver, spreading into eighteen larger branches, on which, and on the lesser boughs, sat a variety of birds, made of the same precious metals, as well as the leaves of the tree. The birds warbled their natural harmony, each in its own strains; the whole being effected by the spontaneous motions of machinery." Such was the marvellous luxury of the Abbassides, seated amid the riches of the East. The ambassadors of the Greek Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, on whose account such courtly grandeur was displayed, were led by the vizier, himself splendidly dressed, through all this magnificence, to the foot of the caliph's throne.

The arts by which this ingenious splendour was supported seem then to have flourished in great perfection; and we are told that Hallaj, a famous juggler and fanatic, who was executed at Bagdad (A. D. 922), could astonish his numerous spectators by making winter fruits appear in summer, and summer fruits in winter; and even bring showers of drachms from the clouds, by merely stretching out his hands in the air. The viziers and other officers of state imitated the extravagance of their master. Kimar, the emir of Mostadi, carried his ideas of magnificence so far, that in his chamber of retirement, a chain of gold was suspended from the roof to rest his hands on; and in the same apartment stood a golden vase, charged with musk, amber, and the most expensive aromatics.

But the nations of the East had learned to despise these idle pageantries, and trample on the degraded successors of the prophet. Of the first twenty caliphs of the house of Abbas, nine had been cut off by poison, hunger, or assassination. Kaher was dethroned by the Tartar guards; the searing instru-

ment was passed across his eyes, and in this wretched state he is said to have prolonged an existence of sixteen years, during which he was regularly seen every Friday, with other blind mendicants, at the gates of the principal mosque of his own capital, soliciting the alms of the charitable. Of the succeeding monarchs, five, Mottaki, Mostakfi, Mostarched, Alrashed, and Mostasem, met the same fate. With a few exceptions, the power of the Abbassides, after Rhadi, was reduced to an empty pageant,—a mere gilded phantom. Sometimes their condition was so degraded, that they were confined like prisoners in their palace, exposed to blows and insults, and scarcely allowed the ordinary means of subsistence. So entirely was Rhadi the creature of Ibn Rayek, his *Emir al Omra* (commander of commanders), an officer first instituted by him, and superior to the vizier, that he could not draw a single dinar from the treasury for his own use without the permission of this absolute minister, who even officiated in the great mosque, and had his name inserted in the public prayers.

Usurpers had risen up in almost every province, and erected themselves into independent sovereigns. The dominions of the once mighty Emperors of the Faithful were nearly circumscribed within the walls of Bagdad, which still contained an innumerable multitude of inhabitants, vain of their past fortune, discontented with their present state, and oppressed by the demands of a needy government, whose exchequer had heretofore been replenished by the spoil and the tribute of nations. Irak, the greater part of Persia, the provinces round the Caspian and beyond the Oxus, had recognised other masters. Syria and Arabia no longer obeyed the caliph; while the rulers of Egypt and the West had withdrawn their allegiance from the humbled pontiff on the banks of the Tigris. Corruption and venality pervaded every department of the state;

the office of cadi of Bagdad, first exposed to sale in the reign of Almoti, was purchased for 200,000 drachms (4583*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*); and we learn from Abulfeda, that all the chief offices of government were disposed of in a similar manner. The administration was sometimes put into the hands of women belonging to the court; and among the secretaries and counsellors of Moktader was a damsel named Yamek, who was so thoroughly versed in the weightier points of legislation, that the judges in the determination of criminal causes, as well as the doctors of the law in their most important decisions, were frequently obliged to have recourse to her for assistance. Religious differences gave rise to bitter and incessant animosities. In every profession which allowed room for two persons, the one was generally a votary, and the other a persecutor, of the sect of Ali. The rigid disciples of the famous Hanbal carried their phrensy so far as to invade the privileges and the pleasures of domestic life. Entering the houses of the citizens, they spilled the wine wherever they found it, beat the musicians, and broke their instruments to pieces; nor could they be reduced to submission except by the publication of a severe edict.

This state of corruption and licentiousness was occasionally checked by a firm and determined hand; and some of the last of the Abbassidan princes acted with an energy that would have done credit to the brightest days of the caliphate. The policy of Alkayem and Moctadi led them to strengthen their interests by powerful matrimonial alliances. The latter espoused the daughter of Malek Shah, who was received at Bagdad amid an illumination of waxen torches, "which eclipsed the stars, and set the firmament in a blaze." Of the luxury or expenditure of their nuptial banquet, some estimate may be formed from the assertion, that in the article of sugar alone, 500 tons weight was consumed.

Such was the vigilant prudence of Mostader, that during the whole of his reign not a single insurrection occurred to disturb the tranquillity of his government. His son Mostarched has obtained a distinguished name among the few latter sovereigns of the house of Abbas, who, in the decline of its power, displayed some portion of zeal to revive the expiring lustre of the caliphate. Mostanjed was a prince of considerable energy, and scrupled not to throw some unfortunate ladies of the harem into the Tigris, for intriguing against his successor.

Under Mostanser and Mostasem the taste for expensive magnificence revived. Previous to one of the religious festivals, the former ordered his jeweller to prepare a vast quantity of small golden balls, which he caused to be distributed among his domestics, and shot from pellet-bows over all parts of the city. Mostasem, the last of his line, whose power had dwindled to a mere pre-eminence in dignity, affected a higher degree of pomp and ceremony than the most splendid of his predecessors. The greatest princes were with difficulty allowed access to his presence. In imitation of the Kaaba, the gate of his palace was furnished with a stone and a piece of black velvet, to which his subjects paid almost divine honours; and when the principal officers of state made their court, they did homage to the proud pontiff, by rubbing their eyes and forehead on these venerable emblems, and kissing them with profound humility. When he went abroad he generally wore a mask or a veil, to inspire his people with the greater respect; as he passed, the crowded streets were too narrow to contain the multitudes that flocked to behold him; and the windows or balconies were let at an extravagant price.

The few conquests achieved by the Abbassides were chiefly due to the talents of their earlier princes; and of these it will be necessary to give a cursory sketch before recording the entire downfall

of their house. During the sanguinary feuds that followed, and confirmed their elevation to the throne, the Greeks had stolen the opportunity of avenging their wrongs and enlarging their limits. With an army of 100,000 men they had invaded Syria, and defeated a body of Arabs, of whom they killed 2000, with five emirs or principal officers. But a severe retribution was exacted by Mahadi, who despatched a force of 95,000 Persians and Arabs to the shores of the Bosphorus, under his second son the renowned Haroun al Raschid. A body of the imperial troops was defeated, and several of the provinces laid waste with fire and sword. A woman then occupied the Byzantine throne; and the encampment of the Saracens on the opposite heights of Scutari informed Irene, in her palace at Constantinople, of the loss of her troops and the devastation of her territories. The helpless sovereign, or her ministers, consented to sign an ignominious peace; nor could the exchange of some royal presents disguise the annual tribute of 70,000 pieces of gold, which was imposed on the Roman empire.

Fifteen years afterward (A. D. 796), when Haroun had ascended the throne, he renewed his incursions into the imperial dominions, and ravaged Lydia and Lycaonia, whence he carried off an immense quantity of booty. Eight times were these predatory inroads repeated; and as often as the Greeks declined the regular payment, they were taught to feel that a month of depredation was more costly than a year of tribute. On the deposition and banishment of the empress, her successor Nicephorus resolved to obliterate this badge of servitude and disgrace, which, in his epistle to the caliph, he ascribed to the weakness of a female reign. "The queen," said he, borrowing his allusion from the game of chess, "considered you as a rook, and herself a pawn. That pusillanimous woman submitted

to pay a tribute, the double of which she ought to have exacted from the barbarians. Restore, therefore, the fruits of your injustice, or abide the determination of the sword." At these words, by way of bravado, the ambassador made Haroun a present of several excellent sabres. The caliph smiled at the threat, and drawing his famous scimitar (*Samsamah*), a weapon of historic or fabulous renown, he cut them asunder one by one, like so many radishes, before the eyes of the astonished Greeks, without seeming to exert the strength of his arm or turning the edge of his well-tempered blade. He then dictated an epistle of tremendous brevity: "In the name of the most merciful God! Haroun al Raschid, Commander of the Faithful, to Nicephorus the Roman dog, I have read thy letter, thou son of an unbelieving mother. Thou shalt not hear,—thou shalt behold my reply." A war of desolation ensued. With a force of 100,000 men, Haroun invaded the imperial territories. Nicephorus was overthrown in Lycaonia, with the loss of 40,000 of his best troops, having received three wounds in the action.

In this campaign the Saracens ravaged the adjacent provinces, and took a considerable number of the principal towns; after which they compelled the emperor to a treaty of peace, by which he engaged to pay annually 300,000 dinars (138,750*l.*), and abstain from hostile encroachments in future. On the faith of this stipulation the caliph withdrew into Western Irak; but the distance of 500 miles, and the inclemency of the season, which set in with unusual severity, encouraged Nicephorus to violate the truce by assailing the Moslem dominions. The Commander of the Faithful was not slow to punish the aggression. In a rapid march during the depth of winter, he passed the snows of Mount Taurus, and landed a regular army of 135,000 men in the plains of Phrygia. A large body of volunteers swelled this huge armament to 300,000 persons.

Like a host of locusts they swept the surface of Asia Minor far beyond Tayana and Ancyra, and invested the Pontic Heraclea, now a paltry town, but then a flourishing place, whose ships had conveyed home the intrepid Xenophon and his ten thousand; and whose walls, 1200 years afterward, were capable of sustaining a month's siege against the combined forces of the Arabs. The ruin was complete; the city was reduced to ashes; and, besides immense spoil, 16,000 captives enhanced the triumph of the conqueror.

Several other towns met a similar fate. Cyprus was attacked, and the inhabitants pillaged without mercy; after which, the "Roman dog" was compelled to retract his haughty defiance, and submit to an annual assessment. As a further mark of his degradation, the coin of the tribute-money was stamped with the image and superscription of Haroun and his three sons. It was perhaps fortunate for Nicephorus, as the terms might have been still more humiliating, that his adversary was hastily called away to check the progress of revolt at Samarcand, where the usurper, Ibn al Leith, had assumed the title of caliph. The insurrection spread over the Transoxian provinces, and extended also to Khorasan and Kerman. Haroun had left his favourite palace at Racca to march against the rebels, when death put an end to his triumphant career. His general Harethmah, laid siege to Samarcand, and conveyed the refractory chief in chains to the presence of Almamoun.

The Emperor Theophilus, one of the most active and high-spirited princes that reigned at Constantinople during the middle ages, had led an army five times in person against the Saracens. In the last of these expeditions (A. D. 838) he invaded Syria at the head of a hundred thousand men, and besieged the obscure town of Sozometra, the birth-place of Motassem, which he took and levelled with the

ground. The male inhabitants were all put to the sword, and the women and children carried into captivity. At Malatia, in Cappadocia, 1000 females were made prisoners; these, and the natives of other towns which he reduced, were treated with excessive cruelty, their eyes put out, or their noses and ears cut off. The arms of Motassem were at that moment occupied with the revolt of the Persian impostor Babec, who was taken in 837 and put to an ignominious death. This fanatic had for twenty years maintained his power against the caliphs; during which time he had massacred above 250,000 individuals. Nud, one of his officers, employed in these executions, acknowledged that he had destroyed with his own hand more than twenty thousand Moslems.

On the suppression of this rebellion, Motassem conducted a formidable army into Asia Minor. Ancyra was laid in ashes, and not a town or fortress belonging to the Christians could withstand him. Amorium was invested; and after an obstinate siege of fifty-five days, and the loss of 30,000 Greeks, the place was betrayed by one of the inhabitants, who had abjured the Christian religion. The walls were levelled with the ground, and 30,000 wretched captives gratified the vengeance of the conqueror. Theophilus had marched to the relief of his native city; but he was opposed by a body of ten thousand Saracens. The two armies came to a general action at Dazymenum. The Arabs at first were broken; but the Greeks, in the pursuit, were so galled by the arrows of the Turks, that they were in their turn thrown into complete disorder; and had not the enemy's bowstrings been damped and relaxed by the evening rain, very few of the Christians would have escaped with their emperor from the field of battle. Tired of destruction, Motassem returned to his new palace of Samarra.

The loss of 70,000 Moslems in the siege of Amo-

rium entailed a severer fate on the unhappy captives, who were treated like the most atrocious criminals. Mutual necessity sometimes extorted the exchange or ransom of prisoners; but, in the religious conflict of these great empires, peace was without confidence, and war without mercy. Quarter was seldom given in the field; those who escaped the edge of the sword were condemned to hopeless servitude, or cruel torture; and a Catholic emperor relates, with visible satisfaction, the execution of the Saracens of Crete, who were flayed alive, or plunged into caldrons of boiling oil. Vathek negotiated with Michael III. for an exchange of captives. The Christians and the Moslems were drawn up on the banks of the Lamus, near Tarsus. Of the Arabs, 4460 men, 800 women and children, and 100 confederates were exchanged for an equal number of Greeks; and more might have been redeemed, had not the caliph excluded from the benefit of the cartel all heretics who refused to assert the creation of the Koran. The two bands passed each other on the middle of the bridge, and the shouts of *Allah akbar!* on the one side, and *Kyrie eleison!* on the other, announced the grateful tidings that they had joined the respective camps of their countrymen.

Under the feeble successors of Moktader and Rhadi, irruptions were occasionally made into the Grecian territories, both by sea and land; but, in proportion as the Eastern World was convulsed and broken, the Byzantine empire had recovered its prosperity, especially after the accession of the Basilian race, whose wisdom and talents infused a new strength into the government. The lofty titles of the Morning Star and the Death of the Saracens were applied in the public acclamations to Nicephorus Phocas, a sovereign as renowned in the camp as he was unpopular in the city. The twelve years' reign (A. D. 963–975), or military command of this prince, and of his assassin and successor John Zi-

misces, the two heroes of the age, form the most splendid period of the Byzantine annals. In a series of bloody combats, they extended their victories from the mountainous defiles of Cappadocia to the deserts of Bagdad. The conqest of Cilicia may be said to have been achieved by the surrender of Masifia or Mopsuestia, and Tarsus. In the siege of the former city, which was taken by assault, 200,000 Moslems, including probably the inhabitants of the dependant districts, were predestined to death or slavery. Tarsus was reduced by the slow progress of famine. The besieged held out in the hope of succour from Egypt; and no sooner had the Saracens yielded on honourable terms, than they were mortified by the distant view of their supplies, the arrival of which by sea was too late to avail them. The Mohammedan population were dismissed in safety to the confines of Syria, and their places replenished with a colony of Christians.

Having forced and secured the narrow passes of Mount Amanus, the Greeks repeatedly carried their arms into the heart of Syria. Antioch and Aleppo were once more restored to the faith of Christ and the dominion of the Cæsars. Nicephorus, with a strong army, invested the latter place, and having applied his military engines to the walls, he made his attack with great fury. After a fruitless assault of three days, a dissension of the inhabitants left the gates unguarded, and afforded the Greeks an opportunity of entering the town. Vast multitudes of men and women were put to the sword. In the palace the victors seized a well-furnished magazine of arms, a stable of 1400 mules, and 300 bags of silver and gold. Ten thousand youths of both sexes were led into captivity; the weight of the precious spoil exceeded the strength and number of the beasts of burden; the remainder was consumed with fire, and after a licentious possession of ten days, the Romans abandoned the scene of desolation. In

their Syrian inroads, the Greeks reduced more than 100 cities; eighteen pulpits of the principal mosques were committed to the flames, to expiate the sacrilege of the disciples of Mohammed. On the shifting scene of conquest, the names of Hierapolis, Apamea, Emesa, Acre, and Baalbec, again appear. The Emperor Zimisces encamped in the Paradise of Damascus, where he accepted the ransom of a submissive people; and the torrent was only stopped at the impregnable fortress of Tripoli, on the Phenician coast.

From the passage of Mount Taurus to the Persian Gulf, the Euphrates had been impervious to the Greeks since the days of Heraclius. It was crossed by the victorious Zimisces: and the historian may imitate the speed with which he overran the once famous cities of Samosata, Edessa, Martyropolis, Amida, and Nisibis, the ancient limit of the Roman empire in the neighbourhood of the Tigris. His ardour was quickened by the desire of grasping the imaginary wealth of the Abbassides in their own capital. But Bagdad was relieved of its apprehensions by his sudden retreat. Satiated with glory and laden with plunder, Zimisces returned to Constantinople, where he displayed in his triumph the silks and aromatics of Asia, with 300 myriads of gold and silver. The Saracen states recovered from the effects of this transient hurricane. On the departure of the Greeks, the fugitive princes returned to their capitals; the Nestorian and Jacobite Christians broke their involuntary oaths and exchanged their allegiance; while the Moslems again purified their temples, and overturned the images of the saints and martyrs. Antioch, with the towns of Cilicia and the isle of Cyprus, were the only permanent and useful accessions to the Byzantine territories of all the imperial conquests in the East.

But the recovery of so many cities and provinces added nothing to the exhausted power of the Abbas-

sides; and, in contemplating the fallen fabric of their greatness, it is easy to discover the principal causes which hastened that catastrophe. When the Arabian conquerors had spread themselves over distant countries, and were mingled with the servile crowds of Persia, Syria, and Egypt, they insensibly lost the hardy and martial virtues of the desert. The Turks and Tartars, who dwelt northward of the Oxus and the Jaxartes, possessed the daring enterprise peculiar to their climate; and from their hordes the mercenary forces of the caliphs were frequently recruited. Those robust youths, either taken in war or purchased in trade, were educated in the exercises of the field and the profession of the Mohammedan faith. From being slaves they were imbodied into household troops, and placed in arms round the throne of their benefactor. Motassem was the first that introduced the dangerous expedient of Turkish guards, of whom he received above 50,000 into his capital. If his own troops had been factious, the foreign militia to whom he had intrusted his person proved still more refractory. From protectors they soon became lords over the Commander of the Faithful, usurping dominion both in the palace and in the provinces. Their licentious conduct provoked the public indignation, and may be regarded as one leading cause of detaching the Moslems from the allegiance which was due to their lawful sovereigns, and ultimately of subverting the throne.

Another formidable enemy to the stability of the Abbassides was the religious sect of the Karmathians, who sprang up in the vicinity of Cufa about the 277th year of the Hejira. Their founder was an Arabian fanatic of the name of Karmath, who assumed to himself many lofty and incomprehensible titles, The Guide, The Demonstration, The Word, The Holy Ghost, The Camel. He affected great sanctity and strictness of life; claimed to be the herald of the Messiah, the representative of John

the Baptist, Gabriel, and the imams descended from Ali. He altered the established forms of worship, relaxed the duties of ablution and fasting; permitted the use of wine and forbidden foods; preached against the utility of the pilgrimage; and enjoined his disciples to pray fifty times daily. He chose twelve apostles to govern his flock and propagate his doctrines; and such was the success of these missionaries among the Bedouins, as to threaten Arabia with a new revolution. From Bahrein and the shores of the Persian Gulf, these zealots spread their conquests far and wide, over Chaldea, Syria, and Mesopotamia. As they disowned the title and abhorred the worldly pomp of the caliphs, they persecuted their subjects with the bitterest hostility.

Many a bloody conflict ensued; but the mercenaries of Bagdad were terrified to face an enemy 107,000 strong, who neither asked nor accepted quarter. The cities of Racca, Baalbec, Cufa, and Bussora were pillaged; Bagdad itself was filled with consternation; for the daring Abu Taher, with no more than 500 horse, had advanced to Anber, and threatened to attack the City of Peace. A lieutenant had recommended the Karmathian chief to withdraw; when the latter, to evince the determination of his troops, turned to three of his companions, and at his command the first plunged a dagger into his own breast; the second leapt into the Tigris; and the third cast himself headlong from a precipice. "Relate," continued he, "to your master what you have seen; before the evening he shall be chained among my dogs." The Saracen camp was surprised, and before the evening the menace was literally executed. Mecca was an object of aversion to the Karmathians, and in the 317th year of the Hejira (A. D. 929) Abu Taher entered the sacred city at the season of the pilgrimage. Every species of cruelty and profanation was committed. Thirty thousand citizens and strangers were put to

the sword; and the most venerable relics of the Moslem faith were carried off or trampled in the dust. After this bloody and sacrilegious exploit, the turbulent fanatics continued to infest the borders of Irak, Syria, and Egypt; and though they received occasional checks from the Mohammedan arms, they were for two centuries the pest and scourge of the caliphate.

The unwieldy magnitude of the Saracen empire itself, and the number of independent principalities that sprung up in its bosom, were other obvious and powerful accessories to its destruction. Almamoun might proudly assert that it was easier for him to rule the East and the West than to manage a chess-board of two feet square; yet errors in the game of politics, though less palpable, are no less fatal than mistakes in the artificial management of rooks and pawns; and it is easy to discover, that so early as the reign of this caliph, the authority of the crown in the remote provinces was already impaired. Distance slackened the reins of order and obedience among the subjects of the Abbassides. A change was scarcely visible so long as the lieutenants of the caliph were content with their vicarious title; so long as they merely solicited for themselves, or their sons, a renewal of the imperial grant; and still maintained on the coin, and in the pulpits of the mosque, the name and the prerogatives of the Commander of the Faithful. But, in the settled and hereditary exercise of power, the viceroys assumed the pomp and attributes of royalty. The alternative of peace or war, of punishment or reward, depended solely on their will; and the revenues of the government were reserved for local services, or private magnificence. Instead of a regular supply of men and money, the successors of Mohammed were flattered with the ostentatious gift of an elephant, a cast of hawks, a few bales of silk, or a supply of musk and amber.

Persia, from being a province, became itself the heritage of several petty dynasties, who successively threatened the capital and usurped the power of the Abbassides. The earliest of these was that of the *Taherites*,—the posterity of the valiant Taher, who had taken an active part in the civil wars of the sons of Haroun. His descendants, or successors, reigned in Khorasan till the fourth generation, when they were supplanted by the *Sofferides*, a name borrowed from the trade of their founder, Jacob ibn Leith, who exercised the humble craft of a brasier, and afterward the less honourable profession of a robber. This dynasty was overthrown by the arms of the powerful Tartar chief Ismail Samani, whom the caliph Motamed had invited to his assistance. In the year 873 he passed the Oxus with 10,000 cavalry, so poor that their stirrups were of wood, and so brave that they vanquished the Soffarian army, eight times more numerous than their own. For several generations the Samanides exercised a turbulent and precarious rule over Khorasan, Seistan, Balkh, and the Transoxian provinces, including the cities of Samarcand and Bokhara; but they were at length swept away by more potent usurpers. The *Bowides* or *Dilemites*, so called from their ancestor Buiyah, a fisherman of Dilem, were their rivals and their enemies; and about the middle of the tenth century the Persian throne and the sceptre of the caliphs were usurped by three powerful brothers, Ali, Ahmed, and Hassan, on whom the feeble Mostakfi bestowed the highest dignities, and the pompous titles of *Moezodowlah* (Column of the State), *Amadodowlah* (Pillar of the Throne), and *Rocnodowlah* (Angular Stone of the Court); epithets which discover the fallen majesty of the Saracen emperors. Under this dynasty the language and genius of Persia revived; and the authority of the Arabs beyond the Tigris may be said to have termi-

nated within little more than three centuries after the death of Mohammed.

Mesopotamia, with the important cities of Mosul and Aleppo, were occupied by the Arabian princes or sultans of the tribe of Hamadan. The poets of their court could repeat without a blush, that nature had formed their countenances for beauty, their tongues for eloquence, and their hands for liberality and valour. But their elevation and their reign were marked by scenes of treachery, murder, and parricide. The wealth and dominion of the Bowides and various other petty dynasties, yielded in their turn to the victorious arms of the first sultans of Ghizni, whose authority, for a short period, extended over a great part of Persia. But the chief glory of these monarchs arose from their holy wars against the infidels of India. Subuktagi, originally a Turkish slave, took Cabul, and overran the fine province of the Punjaub. Mahmoud inherited the ruling passions of his father,—devotion to religion, and love of military glory. Sensible of the importance of such an ally, the caliph encouraged him to obtain a never-dying name in this world, and eternal happiness in the next, by spreading the religion of the Prophet; and, in imitation of other popes, conferred on him the titles of The Right Hand and Protector of the Faith. The other vowed in return, that his sword through life should be consecrated to the service of Islam; and it would be difficult to compute the millions whom he forced, by that powerful instrument of conversion, to embrace its tenets. His eldest son, Musaood, was dignified by the caliph with the title of The Light of Posterity and The Beauty of Nations. On the second was conferred the appellation of The Aim of Fortune and The Column of the State. The last services of Mahmoud, after subduing a considerable part of India in twelve expeditions, were against the Turks,

who had invaded his Persian dominions and obtained several advantages over his generals. He expired at his Palace of Felicity after a reign of thirty-five years, being the first Mohammedan prince that bore the title of sultan. His successors were involved in fraternal disputes and military rebellions. They lost the whole of their possessions in Persia, and their history for above a century, till their final extinction by the Tartars, presents only a mournful detail of petty wars and massacres.

It was from these warlike hordes, whose prowess was soon felt from China and India to the barren wilds of Northern Europe, that the tottering throne of the Abbassides received its final overthrow. After the death of Mahmoud, the Seljuks, under Togrul Beg, the first prince of his dynasty (1038), subdued Jorjan, Tabaristan, Azerbijan, Korasm, Irak, and Khorasan. The increasing insolence of the Turkish guards had compelled Alkayem to implore the assistance of this Tartar chief, who had now assumed the title and state of a sovereign. He was received by the caliph at Bagdad with the greatest respect. At this interview Alkayem appeared with all the mummery of state that belonged to his high office. He was seated on a throne, which was concealed by a dark veil. The celebrated *boneda*, or black mantle of the Abbassides, was thrown over his shoulders, and in his right hand he held the staff of Mohammed. Togrul approached the successor of the Prophet on foot, accompanied by his nobles, who, laying aside their arms, had joined in the procession. He kissed the ground, stood for a short time in a respectful posture, and was then led to the caliph, near whom he was placed on another throne. His commission was then read, appointing him King of Bagdad, Viceroy of the Caliph, and Lord of all the Mohammedans. He was invested with seven dresses (the usual symbol of official preferment), and had seven slaves bestowed on him,—a ceremony imply-

ing that he was authorized to rule the seven regions subject to the Commander of the Faithful. He was likewise adorned with a collar and bracelets; a veil of gold stuff, scented with musk, was thrown over his head, on which two crowns were placed, one for Arabia, the other for Persia; while two swords were girt on his loins, to signify that he was ruler both of the East and the West.

To consolidate this copartnery of interests, the caliph married the sister of his new ally; while the latter shocked the pride of the house of Abbas by espousing Zeida, the daughter of their spiritual chief. The nuptials were celebrated at Rhé, the Suljuk capital, with great splendour; but as the royal bridegroom had arrived at the age of seventy, their happiness was only of a few months' duration. Togrul and his successors, Alp Arslan and Malek Shah, were zealous Moslems of the Sonnee sect; and it was owing to this circumstance that the caliphs under their administration enjoyed an ease and dignity far superior to what fell to their lot while in the hands of the Bowides. His victories over the Greeks, and his cruel persecution of the Christians, on whose necks he fixed a horseshoe, or large iron collar, as a mark of ignominy, have placed Alp Arslan, according to the judgment of the Mohammedans, among the most distinguished sovereigns of Asia.

The kingdom founded by Togrul, which extended from the Mediterranean to the borders of China, and the various principalities into which it was divided, fell in their turn before that great destroyer of the human race Zingis Khan (A. D. 1202), and his grandson Hoolaku. The former subdued the whole of Tartary; and before his death his vast territories reached from the Indus to the Volga, and from the shores of the Persian Gulf to the snowy wastes of Siberia. The carnage he committed was terrible; for his armies, which exceeded 600,000 men, or, in the language of oriental hyperbole, "outnumbered

the drops of rain," were never idle. The conquests of the father were extended by his immediate successors into Russia, Bulgaria, and Poland; but it was to Hoolaku that fortune reserved the achievment of destroying the capital of Islam and the last of the Abbassidan caliphs. With 120,000 horse and 1000 families of Chinese artificers, skilled in the art of throwing naphtha and other inflammable substances, he quitted the Mogul territory; and, traversing the plains of Irak, he appeared (October 1757) at the head of this prodigious force before the walls of Bagdad. The caliph courted accommodation by sending him valuable presents: and it was not till all hopes of peace had departed, that he discovered the treachery of his prime minister, by whose advice he had dispersed his troops, and left the capital defenceless. Forgetting their own weakness, the citizens assumed a tone of defiance, and treated with scorn the proposal to surrender. "Who is Hoolaku, and what is his power, that he should presume to make war on the house of Abbas? Their empire is derived from God alone; and, therefore, no prince can meet with success that endeavours to overturn it. Let him return to Hamadan, and we will intercede with the Commander of the Faithful to forgive the enormous crime he has committed." The Tartar smiled at this affectation of imperturbable majesty, and being joined by all his detachments, immediately laid seige to the metropolis.

On each side of the city mounds and trenches were drawn, with high towers, in which the assailants planted their stone-engines, fire-engines, and other warlike machines. For the space of nearly two months the inhabitants, though exposed to every species of violence and injury, defended themselves with considerable obstinacy. But the enemy having made themselves masters of the walls, and every thing being ready for storming the place, Mostasem resolved to commit his person to the hazard of an

interview with the Tartar chief. Accompanied by his two sons, together with a numerous group of relatives and the most distinguished members of his court, he quitted Bagdad by the Gate of Peace, and approached the pavilion of Hoolaku. The caliph and a few of his attendants were admitted without difficulty, but the remainder were excluded; and many of them were doomed, the very same day, to the fatal distinction of becoming the first victims of the conqueror's unsparing ferocity. In this melancholy retinue were about 700 women belonging to the caliph and his sons, with 300 eunuchs. The traitorous vizier was set at liberty; but his master was detained in captivity. The two sons were condemned to death; but the eldest had already found a more honourable grave in defending one of the gates of his father's capital.

On Friday, the ninth of Saphar (Feb. 14, A. D. 1258), Hoolaku made his entry into Bagdad, where he treated his generals and principal officers to a sumptuous entertainment. To this display of barbarous festivity and triumph the last of the Abbassides was now summoned, and required, as the host of his conqueror, to produce something that should be worthy the acceptance of such an exalted guest. Conceiving that nothing more was intended than expressed, the unhappy monarch gave direction that a present of 2000 costly and magnificent robes, 2000 dinars of gold (925*l.*), together with a variety of gold and silver plate, vases, and other articles, enriched with jewels of the greatest price and beauty, should be selected from his treasury and wardrobe, and laid in the usual style, in trays, before Hoolaku. Surveying them with an eye of contempt, the proud Mogul distributed every article among his attendants. "The whole of thy visible property," addressing Mostasem, "as well as that of the inhabitants of Bagdad, is already at the disposal of my followers. Of that it was needless to make an

offering. What we require of thee is to give us some indication with respect to thy hidden treasures." The object of the barbarian could no longer be misunderstood. The captive prince pointed in silence to the area in the court of his palace; and on opening the ground there was discovered what might have been amply sufficient to glut the utmost cravings of avarice;—a tank, or covered reservoir, loaded to the brim with ingots of solid gold, each weighing 100 meskals, or nearly a pound and a quarter avoirdupois. This immense wealth did not satiate the vengeance of the remorseless Hoolaku, who is said to have kept his illustrious but unfortunate prisoner several days without food or sustenance of any kind. When the pangs of hunger could no longer be endured, the wretched Mostasem sent to implore relief; but the tyrant, in mockery of his distress, ordered his attendants to set before him a dish full of gold and jewels. The last act of the tragedy approached; and it became a subject of deliberation how the sacred person of the caliph should be disposed of, as it was superstitiously believed that the shedding of his blood would be followed by some awful and tremendous convulsion of nature. To quiet these uneasy apprehensions, the ferocious Tartar resolved that he should be sewed up in a leathern bag; others say wrapt tightly in felt, or coarse hair blankets, and in this manner dragged through the streets of the city until he expired; every joint and bone of his frame being pounded as in a mortar. The rest of his children, his brothers, his relations, his household officers, and every agent of his government, were cut off with the same unsparing cruelty. The devoted city was now surrendered to the license of the Mogul army, and, for the space of forty days, such a scene of pillage, massacre, and blood ensued, as outraged humanity, and almost surpassed the bounds of belief. The Persian authors assure us, that in the

city alone the number of the slain amounted to 800,000 persons, exclusive of the multitudes that were butchered in the adjoining villages. If this estimate be correct, we may believe that the waters of the Tigris were reddened, and its usual dimensions swelled, with the tributary streams of human gore. This memorable revolution terminated the dynasty of the Abbassides, after it had subsisted for a period of 523 lunar years. The regal authority of this celebrated race, and the greater part of their remaining dominions, now devolved on the Mogul princes of the blood of Zingis. Since that event Bagdad has witnessed various other sieges and revolutions. It was burnt and plundered by the ferocious Timur (A. D. 1401), who erected a pyramid of human heads on its ruins. In 1637, it incurred he vengeance of Amurath IV., the Turkish sultan: 300,000 troops encamped under its walls, and by the incessant play of 200 pieces of artillery, its towers and ramparts were levelled with the ground. The vaults and cellars were filled with the dead bodies of those who had fled to these recesses for security. The sobs and cries of 15,000 women and children were drowned by the shouts of the enemy exulting over the fallen Queen of the East; and the trembling remnant is said to have owed their preservation to the music of Shah Kali, whose touching strains are alleged to have melted Amurath to tears of compassion. Since that period the once illustrious city of the Abbassides has been degraded to the seat of a Turkish pashalic. In the present century it can number 200,000 inhabitants. The rich merchants and the beautiful princesses of the Arabian Tales have all disappeared; but it retains the tomb of the charming Zobeide, and can boast of its numerous gardens and its well stocked bazars. The citizens live in greater security than is usually enjoyed in the East; and a European might fancy that the shade of old Haroun al Raschid still preserves the

same admirable order which was formerly maintained among all classes by the terror of meeting that redoubted caliph as he wandered the streets of his capital in disguise.

CHAPTER II.

CALIPHS OF AFRICA, EGYPT, AND SPAIN.

The Aglabites or Caliphs of Cairoan—Military Exploits of the Western Arabs—Reduction of Crete—Conquest of Sicily—Invasion of Italy—Pillage of Rome—Siege of Gaeta—Naval Victory of the Christians—Subjugation of Corsica and Sardinia by the Saracens—Expulsion of the Aglabites—Moorish Kingdom of Timbuctoo—Dynasty of the Fatimites in Egypt—Their Subversion by Saladin, Founder of the Ayubites—Dynasty of the Ommiades in Spain founded by Abdalrahman—Their Power and Magnificence—Extinction of the Caliphate—Conquest of Granada by Ferdinand—Wealth and Population of the Moorish capitals—The Government, Arms, and Military Tactics of the Arabs—Revenue, Trade, and Marine of Spain under the Saracens—Reduction of Sicily by the Normans, and final Overthrow of the Mohammedan power in Europe.

Various dynasties of Arab princes rose and successively ruled in Africa and Egypt. In the year of Christianity 797, Ibrahim ibn Aglab had been sent, by the Caliph Haroun al Raschid, governor into the western parts of Africa. Fifteen years after, encouraged by the rebellious state of the Moslem empire at the accession of Almamoun, he assumed to himself an almost absolute power in that country, and conquered a large extent of territory, over which he and his descendants ruled as sovereign princes, under the name of the *Aglabites*, for more than a century. This new empire, whose capital was Cairoan, included the ancient kingdoms of Maurit ia and

Massylia, with the republic of Carthage. Several of these caliphs took the name of Mohammed, and signalized their reigns by exploits, both naval and military, not unworthy the heroic age of the Moslem conquests. Numerous bodies of their troops occasionally served in the mercenary armies of Bagdad, and assisted the Abbassides in maintaining their authority over the insurrectionary provinces of the East.

It was in the time of Almamoun that the islands of Crete and Sicily were subdued by the Western Arabs. The former of these conquests is passed in silence by their own writers, who were indifferent to the fame of Jupiter and Minos. But we learn from the Byzantine historians, that a piratical band of Andalusian volunteers, discontented with the climate or the government of Spain, had set out with only a few galleys on an exploratory voyage, in quest of a more genial settlement. Landing at Alexandria, they were introduced into that city by a rebellious faction, where they cut in pieces both friends and foes, pillaged the churches and mosques, sold above 6000 Christian captives, and maintained their station in the capital of Egypt, till they were repulsed by the forces of Almamoun, who had taken the command in person. In their excursions among the Mediterranean islands they had seen and tasted of the fertility of Crete; and with forty galleys they soon returned to make a more serious attack. Loaded with spoil they prepared to retreat; but, on descending to the shore, they were dismayed to find their vessels in flames, and still more surprised when their chief Abu Caab confessed himself the author of the disaster. In their indignation they suspected him of madness or treachery. "Of what do you complain?" said the crafty leader in reply to their clamours. "I have brought you to a land flowing with milk and honey. Here is your true country; repose from your toils, and forget

the barren place of your nativity. As for your wives and children, your beautiful captives will supply the place of the one; and in their embraces you will soon become the fathers of a new progeny."

Their first habitation was their camp, surrounded with a ditch and a rampart, in the Bay of Suda. An apostate monk pointed out to them a more desirable residence; and the modern appellation of Candia, from *Candax*, the fortress and colony of the Spanish Arabs, has superseded the ancient name, and been extended to the whole island. Of its thirty cities the inhabitants of Cydonia alone had courage to retain their freedom and their Christianity. The timbers of Mount Ida soon repaired the loss of the Saracen navy; and during a period of 138 years, these licentious freebooters defied the curses and the arms of the Byzantine emperors, until they were extirpated by the valour of Nicephorus Phocas; "when the natives," to use the words of a contemporary writer, "exchanged the detested superstition of the Hagarenes for the baptism and discipline of the Catholic church." In the reign of Motamed they captured the imperial fleet in the Mediterranean, and put 5000 Greeks to the sword at Melazzo in Sicily. A short time after, they reduced the island of Lemnos, ravaged without control the coasts of Asia, made themselves masters of Thessalonica, and threatened to invest Constantinople.

Sicily had been repeatedly attacked by the Western Arabs; but its loss was occasioned by an act of injudicious rigour. Euphemius, an amorous youth, who had stolen a nun from her cloister, was sentenced by the emperor to the amputation of his tongue. He appealed to the Saracens of Africa, who sent him back with a fleet of 100 ships, and an army of 700 horse and 10,000 foot. These troops landed at Mazara, near the ancient Silenus, and after some partial victories, in which they made themselves masters of Ragusa, Messina, Enna, and other places,

they invested Syracuse. This city was delivered by the Greeks; the apostate youth was slain, and his African auxiliaries reduced to the necessity of feeding on the flesh of their own horses. In their turn they were assisted by a powerful reinforcement from Andalusia; and by degrees the western and largest portion of the island was subdued. Palermo became the seat of the emir or governor (A. H. 228), and the navy of the Saracens rode with ease in its commodious harbour. Syracuse resisted the Moslem yoke for a period of fifty years; and in the last fatal siege, her citizens displayed some remnant of the valour which had formerly baffled the power of Athens and Carthage. The cruelties and exactions of the Arabs were enormous. The silver plate of the cathedral weighed 5000 pounds, and the entire spoil was computed at 1,000,000 pieces of gold (about 462,500*l.*).

For more than two centuries the emperors of Constantinople, the princes of Beneventum, and the Moslem armies, contended in all the horrors of war for the possession of Sicily. By degrees, the religion and language of the Greeks were eradicated; and such was the docility of the new proselytes, that 15,000 boys submitted to be circumcised and clothed on the same day with the son of the African caliph. In the year 953, Hassan, governor of Sicily, sent a powerful army to the coast of Italy. At Reggio the inhabitants and the garrison had fled; but the imperial forces were overthrown, and their commander, with several officers of note, taken prisoners in the action. Successive squadrons issued from the harbours of Palermo, Biserta, and Tunis. A hundred and fifty towns of Calabria and Campania were attacked and pillaged; and had the Saracens been united, the land of Romulus, and the patrimony of St. Peter's successors, must have fallen an easy and glorious accession to the empire of Mohammed.

No event in the military history of the Arabs

awakens our curiosity or surprise more than their invasion of the Roman territories. Who could have foretold that the roving Bedouins should have insulted the majesty of the Cæsars in their own capital, or raised their tecbar in the neighbourhood of the eternal city? In full possession of Sicily, these "Sons of Satan," as the Librarian Anastasius with pious indignation calls them, entered with a fleet the mouth of the Tiber, and presumed to approach the venerated metropolis of the Christian world. The gates and ramparts were guarded by a trembling people; but the church and tombs of St. Peter and St. Paul, without the walls, whose sanctity had been respected by Goths, Vandals and Lombards, were pillaged by the rapacious disciples of the Koran. The images, or Christian *idols*, were stripped of their costly offerings; a silver altar was torn away from the shrine of St. Peter; and if any thing escaped their destructive hands, it must be imputed to the haste rather than the scruples of the spoilers. But their divisions saved the capital. Directing their course along the Appian Way, they pillaged Fundi, and laid siege to Gaeta. In the hour of danher the Romans implored the protection of the Latin sovereign Lothaire; but the imperial army was overthrown by a detatchment of the Moslems. The church and the city owed their safety to the courage and energy of Pope Leo IV., who, from the pressing crisis of affairs, was unanimously called to the chair without the forms and intrigues of an election.

The welcome news that the siege of Gaeta had been raised, and a part of the enemy with their sacrilegious plunder immersed in the waves, gave the harassed Romans the assurance of a short respite. But the storm soon burst upon them with redoubled violence. A fleet of Arabs and Moors from Africa, after a short refreshment in the harbours of Sardinia, again cast anchor off the mouth of the Tiber.

sixteen miles from the city. The vigilance of the pontiff had provided for the emergency, by his alliance with the maritime states of Naples and Amalfi; and in the hour of danger their galleys appeared in the port of Ostia, under the command of Cæsarius, a noble and valiant youth, who had already humbled the naval pride of the Saracens. Leo hastened to meet the descent of the enemy, not in the garb of a warrior, but with the solemnity of a Christian bishop. The allies and city bands in arms attended him to Ostia, where they were reviewed, and animated by his paternal benediction. The pious soldiers kissed his feet, received the communion with martial devotion, and listened to the papal supplication, that the same God who had supported St. Peter and St. Paul on the waters of the sea, would strengthen the hands of his champions against the adversaries of the Holy Faith. The Moslems preferred a similar prayer against the infidels, and with equal resolution advanced to the attack. The Christian galleys bravely maintained their advantageous position along the coast, and victory was inclined to their side, when it was less gloriously terminated in their favour by a sudden tempest, which confounded and appalled the stoutest mariners. While they enjoyed the shelter of a friendly harbour, the Saracens were scattered and dashed in pieces among the neighbouring rocks and islands. Those who escaped the disasters of shipwreck and hunger neither found nor deserved mercy at the hands of their implacable pursuers. The sword and the gibbet reduced the dangerous multitude of captives; and the remainder were usefully employed in restoring the fortifications and sacred edifices which they had attempted to destroy.

Among the spoils of this naval victory, thirteen Arabian bows of pure and massy silver were suspended round the shrines of the apostles, where the pontiff, at the head of the warriors and citizens, paid

their grateful devotions for so happy a deliverance. By the care of Leo, Rome was soon restored to its wonted splendour. The churches were renewed and embellished; nearly 4000 pounds of silver were consecrated to repair the losses of St. Peter; and his sanctuary was decorated with a plate of gold, weighing 216 pounds, embossed with portraits of the pope and the emperor, and encircled with a string of pearls. Had the Arabs been inspired with the impetuous energies of the first soldiers of the Koran, a different fate might have awaited the capital of Christendom.

In the year 810 Corsica submitted to the Mohammedan yoke. A powerful Saracen, named Lanza Ancisa, introduced some troops into the island; and, by the united influence of arms and eloquence, the inhabitants were induced to expel the Greeks and embrace the Moslem faith. For 166 years Lanza and his successors were sovereigns of the island. At the close of that period, the zeal of the Christians in Italy burst into a flame of war; the last king was driven away, and Corsica again acknowledged the pope for her supreme lord. Sardinia was invaded and subdued about the same time. The natives did not long submit to the yoke; they expelled their assailants; and, for a safeguard against future aggressions, placed themselves under the protection of Louis le Debonnaire, at that period King of France and Emperor of the West. The successors of Charlemagne were as feeble as the representatives of the Prophet in the East; and the Sardinians, driven to their own resources, invested their leaders, under the title of judges, with full military power; and, for a while, the island was relieved from the inroads of the Africans and Spanish Moors. At the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century, it seems to have again become a Moslem province, and 100 years elapsed before its state was changed. Pope John XVIII., touched

with its unhappy condition, invited the Catholic princes to relieve it from the cruel devastations of the Arabs. The piety and cupidity of the republics of Genoa and Pisa were awakened at the call; and, notwithstanding the dreadful annoyance of the Greek fire, they succeeded in annihilating the power of the Saracens. The liberators contended long and vehemently for the possession of the island, and the skill of Italian diplomacy was exhausted in settling the rival claims. The Emperor Frederic Barbarossa, in the year 1165, bestowed the investiture of the whole island on the Pisans. These measures, however, were ill calculated to procure repose; an equal partition was soon after made between the contending states, which induced those jealous republics to lay aside their animosities, and enjoy their booty in peace.*

In the year of Christianity 909, Abu Abdallah, emir or governor of Sicily, defeated the caliph of Cairoan, and drove the family of the Aglabites from the throne, which they had occupied more than a century. The conqueror, having seized the western capital, bestowed the vacant caliphate on Obeidallah, one of the posterity of Ali, who assumed the title of *Mahadi*, or Director of the Faithful, built a new city which he called Mahadia, and claimed the distinction of being the founder of the *Fatimite* dynasty in Africa, where he soon put an end to the power of the *Edrisites*, so called from their founder Edris, a descendant of Ali, who fled from Mecca (A. D. 784), and had wrested the countries of Fez and Tangier from the caliphs of Bagdad. For five centuries a succession

* For the conquests of the Saracens in Italy and the Mediterranean, in addition to the authorities already cited, the reader may consult the annalists Baronius and Pagi; De Guignes (Hist. des Huns, tome i.); Muratori (Script. rer. Ital.); Carusii (Bibl. Hist. Sicil.); Cod. Diplom. Arabo-Sicil., Malaterra, and Giannone (Istoria Civil di Nap.); Anuzi (Hist. de Sardaigne); Meursius (lib. ii. cap. 7, 15, 21); Belon. (Observations, &c. chap. 3-20); and Tournefort (Voyage du Levant, tome i.).

of fleeting dynasties ravaged and distracted these western provinces. Various kingdoms were formed, the most considerable of which were those of Morocco, Algiers, and Tunis. From Leo Africanus, it appears that in the year 1215 a flourishing kingdom was founded at Timbuctoo by a Moorish chief. Some of its rulers had the reputation of warlike princes, who maintained a splendid court, encouraged commerce, and extended their frontiers in all directions. Of their prosperity the Portuguese voyagers received the most flattering accounts, but were never tempted to ascertain their authenticity by ocular evidence. Other adventurers were equally negligent; and it is only at the present day that the successful career of African discovery has made this mysterious capital known to Europeans. It were out of our province to pursue further the history of Northern Africa. Scenes of horror and bloodshed fill its pages. The grand seignior, since the time when Solyman assisted the two Greek corsairs, Hayradin and Barbarossa, with his fleets in reducing Tunis and Algiers, has always claimed the Barbary States as fiefs of Constantinople; and the proud list of his titles is still swelled by their names.

Egypt was reduced by Moez, the last of the African caliphs, who built Grand Cairo (A. D. 972), and established there the dynasty of the Fatimites; leaving his western dominions to be holden in fief by one of his generals. His genealogy was doubtful; but he had now an argument to prove his legitimacy, which it might have been dangerous to call in question, and which silenced the indiscreet demand of one of the Arabian princes of the sacred blood, who inquired from what branch of the family he drew his title. "This," exclaimed Moez, drawing his scimitar, "is my pedigree; and these," throwing a handful of gold among his soldiers, "are my kindred and my children." His general Jauher had sent a detachment of troops towards Syria and Palestine;

and with such gallantry were his orders executed, that Ramla, Tiberias, and Damascus were compelled to swear allegiance to the conqueror of Egypt. The name of Almoti was suppressed, and that of Moez substituted in the mosques, not only of Egypt, but in Syria and Arabia, as far as the city of Medina; Mecca being the only place of importance that persisted in recognising the house of Abbas. Saladin, whose name stands associated with the most brilliant achievements of Mohammedan valour, was first elevated to the dignity of vizier; and by a series of artful and energetic measures, he soon became absolute ruler of the country, and the founder of a new dynasty (A. D. 1171). From the Indian Ocean to the Mountains of Armenia, from Tripoli to the Tigris, his power was felt and acknowledged. Even in Arabia, the greater part of which owned his authority, his name was inserted in the public prayers. The title of *Ayubites*, by which he and his successors are distinguished in history, was derived from the name of his father. Under his descendants Egypt was repeatedly assailed by the Crusaders. Too feeble to defend themselves, the Ayubite princes had recourse to the protection of foreigners. Twelve thousand Turks from the shores of the Caspian had been purchased, and trained to military service as attendants of the royal person. From being slaves, these Mamlouks soon became masters; and at the end of twenty years from their first introduction into the country, they murdered the last successor of Saladin, and placed one of their own chiefs, Azzaddin, on the throne (A. D. 1250). The sway of the Mamlouks and Borghites, two branches of the same dynasty, endured for two centuries and a half; when the victorious arms of the Turks in 1517, reduced that kingdom to the condition of a province.

Spain was one of the first of the Moslem conquests that detached itself from the parent stock. In the general proscription and massacre of the Ommiades

that ensued on the accession of the house of Abbas, a royal youth of the name of Abdalrahman, a younger son of Merwan, escaped the fury of his enemies. With his brother and his child he fled, and concealed himself in the woods on the banks of the Euphrates. His persecutors discovered his retreat; the child was slain, and the two brothers plunged into the river. Fainting with fatigue, Solyman accepted the proffered mercy of the pursuers, and returned to the shore, where he was basely put to death. The more robust Abdalrahman swam the dangerous passage, and was hunted by the ruthless foe from the deserts of Irak to the recesses of Mount Atlas in Africa.

The Saracens of Spain retained their attachment to the family of Moawiyah; their zeal was rekindled by the presence of a prince of that race in their neighbourhood, and they immediately invited the wandering exile to ascend the throne of his ancestors. Dreading the implacable vengeance of his enemies, and dazzled by the splendours of a crown, Abdalrahman received the message with joy, and was saluted with acclamations on the shore of Granada. The cities of Malaga, Ronda, Xeres, and Seville, tendered him their allegiance; and the descendants of Merwan saw restored in Spain (A. D. 755) the honours of the caliphate, which they had lost in the East. His elevation was not gained without opposition and bloodshed; but all the efforts of the Abbassides were in vain. In a battle of several days near Seville, their lieutenant, Alala, fell with 7000 of his followers; his head, in salt and camphor, was sent to Mecca, and suspended before the gate of the palace; the streets of that city and of Cairoan were strown with similar trophies; and the Caliph Almansor expressed his thankfulness that he was separated by seas and lands from an adversary who appeared to be not a man, but a demon. After a successful struggle he established himself

firmly on the throne of Cordova, where death put an end to his projects (A. D. 788) after a reign of thirty-three years. The renown of this prince acquired him the friendship and esteem of Charlemagne, who, after having tried his prowess in war, courted his alliance by offering him his daughter in marriage. His rival, the Caliph of Bagdad, spoke of him with admiration, calling him the Hawk of the Koreish, on account of the ability he displayed in surmounting difficulties in his flight from Asia to Europe, and of the celerity with which he made himself master of a kingdom, without the assistance of friends or followers.

The dynasty of the Spanish Ommiades existed for nearly three centuries. In wealth and grandeur some of their princes equalled, if not surpassed, their gorgeous rivals in the East. Under Alnasar (A. D. 939), the annual revenue of Spain from the towns and villages is said to have amounted to 5,480,000 dinars (2,534,500*l.*); and from spoils taken in war, to 765,000 dinars (353,812*l.* 10*s.*), besides a fifth of the soldiers' plunder, not computed in the register of the treasury. Of this vast income, one-third was appropriated to the army, one-third to building, and the remaining third to the royal exchequer. Our imagination is dazzled with this picture of courtly splendour; yet, if we consult the experience of the possessor, it will perhaps excite our pity, rather than our envy or admiration. In a memorial, written with his own hand, and found in his closet after his decease, he has left an authentic estimate of his felicity. Amid riches and honours, power and pleasure, Alnasar, "the heir of prosperity," found, in a reign of fifty years and seven months, only fourteen days of undisturbed enjoyment. The glories of this period were even eclipsed by that of his son Hakem, who subdued the provinces of Barbary, and annexed to his other dominions the sovereignty of Western Africa. But the luxury, the

tyranny, and the negligence of the last princes of the house, lost them the conquests which had been won by the valour of their ancestors, and were the causes of this fine kingdom passing into other hands. Lieutenants and viziers rebelled, and aspired to independent rule. The Caliph Hesham was deposed by the army, and with him was finally extinguished the power of the Spanish Ommiades (A. D. 1036).

Their downfall became the signal for feuds and contentions; usurpers divided the sovereignty among themselves, and there arose as many dynasties as there were principal towns. Malaga, Algesiras, Cordova, Toledo, Seville, Jaen, Lisbon, Tortosa, Badajos, Saragossa, Valencia, Murcia, Almeria, Denia, and the Balearic Isles, had each its separate king and government. In consequence of their mutual jealousies, frequent wars, massacres, and intestine commotions, these petty monarchs either fell a prey to each other, or were gradually subdued by the ancient possessors of the country. The little province of Granada alone maintained its independence, reinforced by subsidies from Africa and the fugitive Moslems from the cities conquered by the Christians. For nearly three centuries it continued to increase in population, wealth, and power; and was governed by the laws and religion of Mohammed, until it was finally destroyed by the arms of Ferdinand and Isabella, whose fortunate marriage united the crowns of Castile and Arragon, and annexed to their dominions all the inferior principalities of the kingdom. Thousands of the zealous and conscientious followers of the Arabian Prophet were put to the sword or driven into exile, and the more timid compelled to a nominal acknowledgment of the gospel. The surrender of Granada, after ten years of incessant fighting, terminated the dominion of the Moors in Spain, which had endured 778 years, and engaged the Christians in 3700 battles. "This great triumph of our holy Catholic faith," says the

pious and minute Fray Agapida, "took place in the beginning of January in the year of our Lord 1492, being 3655 years from the population of Spain by the patriarch Tubal; 3797 from the general deluge; 5453 from the creation of the world; and in the month Rebiah, in the 897th year of the Hejira, or flight of Mohammed, whom God confound!"*

This detested nation, whose conquest and expulsion were attended with such atrocities, and such triumphs to the Catholic church, were by far the most industrious and skilful part of the Spanish population; and their loss was a blow to the greatness and prosperity of that kingdom, from which it has never recovered. The literary activity and commercial enterprise of the Arabs, which the wise policy of their caliphs encouraged, contributed both to enrich and adorn their adopted country. Cordova, the seat of the Ommiades, was scarcely inferior in point of wealth and magnitude to its proud rival on the banks of the Tigris. A space of twenty-four miles in length and six in breadth, along the margin of the Guadalquiver, was occupied with palaces, streets, gardens, and public edifices; and for ten miles the citizens could travel by the light of lamps along an uninterrupted extent of buildings. In the reign of Almansor it could boast of 270,000 houses, 80,455 shops, 911 baths, 3877 mosques, from the minarets of which a population of 800,000 were daily summoned to prayers. The seraglio of the caliph,—his wives, concubines, and black eunuchs, amounted to 6300 persons; and he was attended to the field by a guard of 12,000 horsemen, whose belts and scimitars were studded with gold. Granada was equally celebrated for its luxury and its learning. The royal demesnes extended to the distance of twenty miles, the revenues of which were set apart to maintain the fortifications of the city. Of the duty on grain,

* Conquest of Granada by Washington Irving.

the king's exchequer received about 15,000*l.* yearly —an immense sum at that time, when wheat sold at the rate of sixpence a bushel. The consumption of 250,000 inhabitants kept 130 water-mills constantly at work in the suburbs. The population of this small kingdom under the Moors is said to have amounted to 3,000,000, which is now diminished perhaps to one-fifth of that number. Its temples and palaces have shared the same decay. The Alhambra stands solitary, dismantled, and neglected. The interior remains of the palace are in tolerable preservation, and present a melancholy picture of the romantic magnificence of its former kings. Seville, which had continued nearly 200 years the seat of a petty kingdom, enjoyed considerable reputation as a place of wealth and commerce. The population in 1247 was computed at 300,000 persons, which, in the sixteenth century, had decreased one-third. It was one of the principal marts for olives in the Moorish dominions; and so extensive was the trade in this article alone, that the *axarafe*, or plantations round the suburbs, employed farm-houses and olive-presses to the amount of 100,000, being more than is now to be found in the whole province of Andalusia.

The government of the Arabs in Spain was a military despotism—tempered, however, by manners and customs which made it preferable to the irresponsible rule of Eastern tyranny. The throne was elective; yet the reigning monarch had seldom much difficulty in transferring the sovereign power to a favourite son. Though a military people, the Saracens were but little skilled in what may be called the tactics of the profession. Hakem was the first of the caliphs that organized an army, paid his soldiers regularly, and formed magazines of warlike stores. The command of the native Spanish troops was usually given to some relation of the monarch, or other confidential person; and their

arms consisted of a short coat-of-mail, a light helmet, Arabian horse furniture, a leathern buckler, and a slender spear. The African mercenaries sometimes used camels in battle, so equipped as to make the hump on their backs appear larger than its natural size—a stratagem that frequently threw the Christian army into confusion.

Their arms were a peculiar kind of knotted staves, or rather pikes, termed *armas*, which they drove furiously against the enemy. The massy silver of their belts, their bridles, and their swords displayed the magnificence of a prosperous nation. Their accoutrements were light, and not like those of the Christians, who were completely cased in steel. Their combats generally consisted in personal encounters rather than regular engagements; each man fighting for himself until the strongest or bravest remained masters of the field. Beyond this, indeed, the military knowledge of the Spaniards themselves was not much advanced; but their infantry was superior to that of the Moors, inasmuch as they could both attack and resist a charge in a body—while the latter, unaccustomed to such a mode of assault, was scarcely of any service. This defect, however, was amply compensated by the superiority of the Moorish cavalry, which was composed of horsemen selected from the best families, and mounted on excellent chargers, to the management of which they were trained from infancy. Instead of wagons, they were attended by a long train of camels, mules, and asses; the multitude of these animals, whom they bedecked with flags and ensigns, appeared to swell the pomp and magnitude of their host; and the horses of the enemy were often thrown into disorder by the uncouth figure and odious smell of the camels of the East. Their order of battle was a long square of two deep and solid lines, the first consisting of archers, the second of cavalry. In general actions they were accus-

tomed to make their first onset with wild cries and howlings, in order to intimidate the foe—a practice which is said to have been introduced in the reign of Almansor, and was adopted by the Turks. In military tactics the Arabs were, upon the whole, inferior to the Christians; but their skill in the arts and sciences gave them, during part of their conquests, an incalculable advantage over the latter. With the composition of gunpowder, and the different ways of applying it in war, they were not unacquainted; and we know from various authorities that they employed artillery. Casiri has cited two native historians, who prove that it was both known and used by the Spanish Arabs in the latter part of the twelfth and beginning of the thirteenth century; and he has given extracts from two contemporary Spanish writers, who describe these destructive engines as being certain iron tubes or mortars, which emitted thunder and fire.

The annual revenue of the Spanish caliphs was immense. In the reign of Abdalrahman III., the greatest sovereign that ever sat on the Moorish throne, it was reckoned equivalent to 5,500,000*l.* of sterling money, which at that time probably exceeded the united income of all the Western monarchies. It was derived, first, from a tithe of all produce whatsoever, which was paid in kind; secondly, from a duty of twelve and a half per cent. on every commodity imported or exported; of an impost of one-tenth part on every species of goods transferred by sale; and, lastly, of a tribute of one-fifth levied on property belonging to Jews and Christians. How Spain could supply all this magnificence and expense may be a subject of wonder or dispute to political economists. But the fact is certain, and perhaps not of very difficult solution. Her population, notwithstanding all the devastations of civil war, was on the same grand scale with her palaces and her productions both natural and artificial. Under the

Saracens she boasted of eighty great cities—300 of the second and third order; besides smaller towns and villages innumerable. Most of these were planted with nurseries of art and industry, which gave an unexampled activity to trade and manufactures. There was scarcely a country in the civilized world to which their traffic did not extend. Throughout Africa, arms and accoutrements, silks and woollen cloths of various colours, were in great demand. With Egypt and the Grecian states they bartered their different exports, to a still greater amount, for such commodities as were in popular request in Spain. Their drugs and dies were exchanged for oriental perfumes; and the luxuries of India were brought from Alexandria to Malaga to supply the wants of the court. The manufactories of Spain were the arsenals from which France and England drew their best military accoutrements—such as helmets, lances, swordblades, and coats-of-mail, which had reached a perfection in that country unknown to the rest of Europe. The profits derived from these successful speculations must have been incalculable; and, while abundantly remunerating the merchant, they afforded a prodigious source of revenue to the sovereign.

In the fourteenth century the Arabs had an immense marine; the woods and forests of Spain furnished them with timber, and they are said to have possessed a fleet of more than 1000 merchant vessels. From an Arabian writer on commerce, of the tenth century, it appears that the balance of trade was decidedly in favour of the Moors, whom Casiri, from their maritime traffic and the distant voyages they undertook by sea, compares to the ancient Phenicians and Carthaginians. Gold, silver, copper, raw and wrought silks, sugar, cochineal, quicksilver, iron, olives, oil, myrrh, corals fished on the coast of Andalusia, pearls on that of Catalonia, rubies and amethysts from mines in the neighbour-

hood of Malaga and Carthagena, were among the most valuable and lucrative articles of exportation. These facts, attested by native authors, will throw light on the hitherto unexplained magnificence of the Western caliphs. Commerce was the true foundation of their greatness—the secret spring that filled the treasures of Spain, and fed the wealth and industry of her inhabitants. At length the fleets of the Christians, as well as of the kings of Arragon and Portugal, gradually defeated the maritime forces of the Moors, until they were totally annihilated after the conquest of Algesiras, Seville, and Almeria.

In all their actions by sea and land, the Arabs retained their characteristic mode of warfare; they sustained with patient firmness the fury of attack, and seldom advanced to the charge until the enemy were thrown off their guard or overcome with fatigue. But if they were broken and repulsed, they knew not how to rally or renew the combat; and their dismay was always heightened by a superstitious presentiment that they were abandoned of Heaven. The decline and fall of the caliphs countenanced the fearful opinion that God had declared himself on the side of the foe; nor were there wanting, both among Mohammedans and Christians, some obscure oracles which predicted their alternate defeats. In their various encounters with the Arabs, the princes, both of Asia and Europe, too often felt that these barbarians had nothing barbarous in their discipline. If their ships, engines, and fortifications were of a less skilful construction, they had the vanity to think it was a defect of nature rather than any fault of their own; for they readily acknowledged that the same God who had given a tongue to the Arabians had more nicely fashioned the hands of the Chinese and the heads of the Greeks.

Since the reduction of Sicily by the Moslems, the Greeks had been anxious to regain that valuable

possession. The southern provinces, which now compose the kingdom of Naples, were in the ninth century divided into the rival principalities of Benevento, Salerno, and Capua, whose mutual jealousies had invited the Arabs to the ruin of their common inheritance. Their shores were visited almost annually by the squadrons which issued from the harbour of Palermo; while a colony of Saracens had fixed themselves at Bari, which commands the entrance to the Adriatic Gulf. The depredations of these adventurers called down the vengeance of the Greeks and Franks, whose combined strength was necessary to root out this nest of pirates. The fortress was invested by sea and land; and, after a defence of four years, the Arabs submitted to the clemency of Louis, grandson of Charlemagne, who commanded in person the operations of the siege. But they still continued to infest the country, pillaging the monasteries and profaning the churches. In the work of devastation they were joined by a new enemy from the north. The citizens of Bari had invited the Normans (A. D. 1016) to assist in shaking off the Grecian yoke. These ferocious auxiliaries soon established themselves permanently in the dukedom of Naples, and ultimately assisted such of the petty princes as appealed to their sword. In every enterprise of war or danger they promptly volunteered their aid, and Sicily at that time opened an inviting scene for their services. In their first efforts against that island, the Latin emperors had been unsuccessful; 20,000 of their best troops were lost in a single expedition, and the victorious Moslems ridiculed the policy of a nation which entrusted eunuchs, not only with the custody of their women, but with the command of their armies.

Internal divisions, however, effected what the Byzantine armaments had attempted in vain. The emirs aspired to independence; the people rebelled against the emirs, and the cities and castles were

usurped by their respective chiefs. In these domestic quarrels the weaker of two rival brothers implored the friendship of the Christians; and a band of 500 Norman warriors, knights on horseback, landed in Sicily under the standard of the Governor of Lombardy. The valour of the Arabs quailed before the ponderous swords of this new and untried foe. In three successive engagements they were defeated; in the second their leader fell; and in the last, 60,000 of their troops were left dead on the field. Thirteen cities, and the greater part of the island, after a possession of 200 years, were reduced to the obedience of the Greek emperor.

Twenty years afterward, Sicily felt the prowess of a new conqueror, the famous Count Roger, the twelfth and youngest son of Tancred, a Norman banneret, who had joined the fortunes of his brothers and countrymen, then possessors of the fertile region of Apulia. In an open boat he crossed the strait, landed with only sixty soldiers, drove the Saracens to the gates of Messina, and returned in safety with the spoils of the adjacent country. Neither difficulties nor dangers could repress his activity. Before the walls of Trani, 300 Normans withstood and repulsed the whole force of the island. At the battle of Ceramio, 50,000 horse and foot were overthrown by only 136 Christian soldiers (most probably knights, but so stands the narrative of the historian), without reckoning St. George, who fought on horseback in the foremost ranks.

Notwithstanding the frequent and powerful succours which the Sicilian Arabs obtained from their brethren in Africa, town after town yielded to the bravery of the Normans, who added those splendid conquests in the Mediterranean to the list of their achievements in England, France, and other kingdoms of Europe. After a war of thirty years, Roger obtained the sovereignty of Sicily, with the title of Great Count; that of king being afterward bestowed

on his son. The Saracens were protected in the enjoyment of their property and religion; but the island was restored to the jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff, who planted the principal cities with new bishops, and gratified the clergy by a liberal endowment of the churches and monasteries.

CHAPTER III.

LITERATURE OF THE ARABS.

The Arabs turn their Attention to Learning—Their rapid Progress—Literary Ardour and Patronage of the Caliphs—Haroun al Raschid—Almamoun—Vathek—College of Mostanser at Bagdad—Academies and Libraries founded in Persia, Syria Egypt, Africa, and Spain—Course of Study in the Saracen Schools — Grammar — Rhetoric — Poetry — Tales — Arabian Nights' Entertainments—Story-tellers—History—Biography—Numismatics—Geography—Statistics—Metaphysics — Medicine and Medical Authors—Rhazes—Avicenna—Pharmacy—Anatomy and Surgery—Botany—Chymistry—Astrology—Astronomy—Optics — Mathematics—Trigonometry—Algebra—Arithmetic—Architecture—The Fine Arts—Painting—Calligraphy—Music—Agriculture—Manufactures in Steel, Porcelain, and Leather—Claims of the Arabs as the Restorers of Letters and the Importers of useful Arts and Inventions in Europe.

It was at a period when ignorance and barbarism overspread every part of the Western World, that literature and philosophy found an asylum in the schools of the Saracens. Unlike the Goths and Huns, they became the instructers and enlighteners of the countries they had conquered. Their stern fanaticism yielded to the mild influence of letters; and, by a singular anomaly in the history of nations, Europe became indebted to the implacable enemies of her religion and her liberties for her most valu-

able lessons in science and the arts. In the preceding chapters of this work we have beheld the disciples of Mohammed in the character of warriors and conquerors. Their success in arms had been enough to satiate even the most unmeasured ambition. But, great and splendid as were the events we have just detailed, we shall turn with pleasure from fields of blood, from scenes of misery and vice, to contemplate the more gentle and useful progress of the Arabs in the cultivation of learning. The first Mussulmans knew, or at least esteemed, no other book than the Koran. But this aversion to intellectual pursuits gradually relaxed, in proportion as their faith and their empire extended. The possession of those happy countries, so long the seats of ancient taste and splendour, naturally introduced among them a spirit of refinement; and here their career was as rapid and surprising as it had been in the field. The literature of Greece, such as it was in the days of Pericles, required the slow growth of nearly eight centuries of progressive cultivation. The same period elapsed between the foundation of Rome and the age of Augustus. In France, the reign of Louis XIV., the brilliant era of wit and genius, was 1200 years subsequent to that of Clovis. But among the Saracens, such was their enthusiasm for learning, that little more than a single century elapsed from the period of their deepest barbarism to the universal diffusion of science over the vast extent of their dominions. It was in the year 641 that Omar committed the Alexandrian library to the flames, and in 750 the house of Abbas, the munificent patrons of letters, mounted the throne.

Under the first of the Ommiadan caliphs, the genius of Greece had begun to obtain an influence over the Arabs. But it was not till the great and final division of the empire—till Bagdad arose, a fair and splendid city—that the golden age of Arabian literature commenced in the East, and the Muses

were courted from their hallowed retreats beyond the Bosphorus, to expiate the guilt of conquest and illustrate the fame of the Abbassides. Almansor, successful in his domestic wars, turned his thoughts to the acquisition of science. Accident brought him acquainted with a Greek physician, named George, who was invited to court to prescribe for the removal of a temporary indigestion. To him the Saracens were indebted for the introduction of medicine. The famous Haroun al Raschid has acquired a splendid name as the encourager of letters. He was fond of poetry and music, and himself considerably skilled in these divine arts. Volumes have been written on the learning of the Moslem empire during this caliph's reign. Whenever he undertook a journey, or a pilgrimage, he carried with him a retinue of a hundred learned men. The Arabs were deeply indebted to him for their rapid progress in education, for he issued a law that a school should be attached to every mosque erected within his dominions. With a toleration superior to the fanaticism of his creed, he did not despise the knowledge which the believers of another faith possessed. The head of his schools, and the chief director of academical studies in his empire, was a Nestorian Christian of Damascus, of the name of John ibn Messue. His generous example was imitated by his successors; and in a short time the sciences that were cultivated in the capital were diffused to the distant extremities of the caliphate.

But the Augustus of Arabian literature was Almamoun, whose attention from his youth had been chiefly engrossed with books and study. Even in his father's lifetime, and during his journey to Khorasan, of which he was appointed governor, he had selected for his companions the most eminent scholars among the Greeks, Persians, and Chaldeans. His accession to the throne did not abate his ardour for knowledge. Bagdad became the resort

of poets, philosophers, and mathematicians, from every country and of every creed. His ambassadors and agents in Armenia, Syria, and Egypt were ordered to collect the most important books that could be discovered. The literary relics of the conquered provinces, which his governors amassed with infinite care, were brought to the foot of the throne as the most precious tribute he could demand. Hundreds of camels might be seen entering Bagdad loaded with volumes of Greek, Hebrew, and Persian literature; and such of them as were thought to be adapted to the purposes of instruction, were at the royal command translated by the most skilful interpreters into the Arabic language, that all classes might read and understand them. Masters, instructers, translators, and commentators formed the court of Bagdad, which appeared rather to be a learned academy than the capital of a luxurious and warlike government. Aware of the vast treasures that were deposited in the libraries of Constantinople, Almamoun, in concluding a treaty of peace with the Grecian emperor, Michael III., stipulated, as one of the conditions, that a collection of rare and valuable authors should be delivered up to him. These were immediately subjected to the process of translation; but it must be recorded with regret that, through an ill-judged partiality for his native tongue, he gave orders that after the Arabic versions were finished, the original manuscripts should be burned.

The Caliph Vathek not only admired and countenanced literature and the sciences, but was himself a proficient in some of them, especially poetry and music. He was particularly addicted to astrology; and having conferred with some of his learned fraternity in his last illness, they assured him, on consulting his horoscope, that his reign was yet to endure fifty years. His death in ten days falsified this prediction, and ruined the credit of Hassan ibn

Sohal. Abu Masher, an eminent astrologer, flourished in the reign of Mostain; but his talents received sorry encouragement, for that prince ordered him to be severely whipped, because an event which he had foretold actually came to pass.

Long after the power of the Abbassides had dwindled into a mere pageant of state, they affected to patronise and cultivate learning. Many distinguished men in almost every science illustrated this period of Saracen history; but the capital of the muses in the East had seen innumerable rivals spring up in other parts of the empire. The last prince that shed a ray of departing glory on his race was the Caliph Mostanser, who adorned Bagdad by the celebrated college that bore his name. According to oriental historians, this edifice had no equal in the Moslem world, whether we consider the beauty and elegance of the building, the number of students it contained, or the splendid revenues assigned it by its founder. Each of the four chief sects of the Sonnees had its appointed professor, with a monthly salary and a maintenance from the royal exchequer. Every student had daily a very handsome allowance of provisions of all kinds. There were baths set apart for their use, and a physician employed to attend them at the caliph's expense.

The example of the sovereign was sometimes followed by viziers and governors. Achmed ibn Tolun, viceroy of Egypt, distributed every month among the most distinguished ecclesiastics in that country 1000 dinars of gold (462*l.* 10*s.*); and sent to Bagdad not less than 2,200,000 dinars (1,017,500*l.*) for the benefit of the poor and learned in that city. Another vizier founded a college there at the expense of 200,000 (92,500*l.*), and endowed it with an annual revenue of 15,000 dinars (6937*l.* 10*s.*). The benefits of public instruction in that capital were communicated, perhaps at different times, to 6000 students of every degree, from the son of the noble to that

of the mechanic. The celebrity of its schools may be inferred from the vast numbers of poets, historians, physicians, and astronomers which it produced; and for several ages it abounded in learned men, in the various departments of science, more than any other place in the Moslem dominions.

In every considerable town, schools, academies, and libraries were established. Bussora and Cufa almost equalled the capital itself in reputation, and in the number of celebrated authors and treatises which they produced. Damascus, Aleppo, Balkh, Ipsahan, and Samarcand became renowned as seats of science. It was the glory of every city to collect the treasures of literature; and we are told that a private doctor refused the invitation of the sovereign of Bokhara, because the carriage of his books would have required 400 camels. The same enthusiasm was carried by the Saracens beyond the frontiers of Asia. Egypt became a second time the asylum of letters and art; and the Spanish Jew, Benjamin Tudela, relates in his Itinerary that he found in Alexandria more than twenty schools for the cultivation of philosophy. At a later period Cairo possessed numerous colleges, some of which were so substantially built as to serve, during a rebellion, the purpose of a citadel for the army. The royal library consisted of 100,000 manuscripts, elegantly transcribed and splendidly bound, which were lent out to the students without jealousy or avarice. In its arrangement, the first place was given to copies and interpretations of the Koran; the next to writings on the traditions of Mohammed; books on law succeeded; and after these philology, poetry, and science, in their respective order.

The historians of Africa dwell with pride on the academical institutions which adorned the towns scattered along its northern coasts. Cairoan, Larace, Fez, and Morocco, were endowed with magnificent establishments for the instruction of the peo-

ple; and their rich libraries preserved to Europe many valuable works which nowhere else existed. It was in Spain that Arabian learning shone with a brighter lustre, and continued to flourish to a later period, than in the schools of the East. Cordova, Seville, and Granada rivalled each other in the magnificence of their academies, colleges, and libraries. The former city, celebrated as the birthplace of the poet Lucan and the two Senecas, possessed a celebrated university in the time of the Romans. Its reputation did not degenerate under the Saracens, and Casiri has enumerated the names and writings of nearly 170 eminent men, natives of this place. Hakem founded here a college and a royal library comprising 400,000 volumes: he had carefully examined every work, and with his own hand wrote in each the genealogies, births, and deaths of their respective authors. The academy of Granada was long under the direction of Shamseddin of Murcia, so famous among the Arabs for his skill in polite literature. Ibn Almotawakkel, who reigned there in the twelfth century, possessed a valuable library, many of whose original manuscripts are still preserved in the Escurial. Casiri has given a catalogue of those accounted the most rare in the time of the Moors; and has recorded the names and works of 120 authors, theologians, civilians, historians, philosophers, and other professors, whose talents conferred dignity and fame on the university of Granada. Toledo, Malaga, Murcia, and Valencia, were all furnished with splendid literary apparatus. In the cities of the Andalusian kingdom alone, seventy libraries were open for the instruction of the public. Middeldorpf has enumerated seventeen distinguished colleges and academies that flourished under the patronage of the Saracens in Spain, and has given lists of the eminent professors and authors who taught or studied in them.

A few scattered notices are all that we possess

respecting the course of study and internal government of the Arabian schools. Every institution for the education of youth, strictly speaking, was connected with religion; hence public establishments for this purpose were always found in conjunction with the mosques. Of these foundations there were two classes;—one was composed of inferior schools, where children, chiefly of the lower orders, were instructed in the elements of reading, writing, and religion. From the Arabic alphabet they gradually advanced to the Koran, for the correct pronunciation of which, rules were carefully prescribed. A second description of colleges called the *Madras*, though sometimes connected with the mosques like the preceding, were occasionally erected as independent institutions. Here were taught the higher branches of grammar, logic, theology, and jurisprudence. Many of these colleges were so constituted as to contain thirty apartments, each of which was occupied by three or four students. The government of every school and academy was confided to a rector, chosen from the most eminent of the learned, and often without regard to his religious opinions. That academical examinations took place among all the pupils seems highly probable;—with respect to medical students the fact is certain. In Egypt and Spain this class were subjected to a very strict investigation as to their proficiency. Casiri has noticed a treatise by a professor of Cordova, containing seventy-seven questions to be proposed to medical candidates, and when the *Achimbasi* or chief physician was satisfied of their qualifications, they received a testimonial or diploma, under his hand, authorizing them to practise. The different professors were furnished with text-books, on which they lectured, authorized by the colleges, and accounted classical by the Arabs.

Whatever might be the real progress of the Saracens in the speculative or the useful sciences, their

studies embraced a course sufficiently ample to exercise every faculty of the human mind. Grammar and rhetoric were cultivated with singular assiduity by all who aspired to literary honours and distinctions. As always happens, the precepts of elegant composition have succeeded the models;—the inimitable Koran, and the pure dialect of the Koreish, had refined the Arabian tongue long before its rules were fixed and its beauties analyzed in the rival schools of Cufa and Bussora. The literati of Spain were not inferior to those of the East in the prosecution of their philological investigations. We learn from Casiri that Abdallah ibn Hescham, in his "Introduction to a Chastised Mode of Speaking," reviews and corrects the errors of hundreds of former grammarians.

Eloquence, one of the three national distinctions of the ancient Arabs, had ceased to be cultivated after the time of Mohammed and his immediate successors, when oriental despotism had banished the freedom of the desert. But this art was revived by the Saracens, who exercised themselves alternately in the compositions of the academy and the pulpit. Among these distinguished orators Malek was considered the most pathetic; while Sharaif possessed beyond all others the art of blending the brilliancy of poetry with the vigour of prose. Horairi was placed in the same rank with Cicero and Demosthenes; and his academical orations, we are assured, deserved to be written, not on paper or vellum, but on silk and gold. In the sixth century, Granada could boast of Bedreddin, surnamed the Torch of Eloquence; while Sekaki, the most celebrated writer on the *belles-lettres*, produced a work on rhetoric called the Key of the Sciences, which obtained him the title of the Arabian Quinctilian.

Poetry, anciently a favourite occupation of the Arabs, continued, after the restoration of learning, to be cultivated with enthusiasm; and such was the

fertility of their genius, that they are said to have produced more works in this department than all other nations united. Owing to the distractions of the caliphate, the Arabian muses seem to have been silent till the reign of the Abbassides. It was in the courts of Haroun and Almamoun, and more especially under the Ommiades of Spain, that poetry arrived at its highest pitch of splendour. At this era flourished that bright assemblage of bards, chivalrous lovers, and romantic princesses, whom the oriental writers compare to Anacreon, Pindar, and Sappho. Among their most eminent improvers of versification were Motanabbi of Cufa, styled the Prince of Poets, and Khalil ibn Ahmed, who first subjected it to regular rules.

Several of the latter caliphs of Bagdad cultivated this elegant art with the greatest ardour; as did the sultans of Mosul, Aleppo, Seville, and Cordova. Even ladies entered the lists as votaries of the muse. Valadata, daughter of the Caliph of Cordova, endowed with equal beauty and genius, was considered as the Arabian Sappho. Aysha, another princess at the same court, was scarcely less distinguished; her orations and poems were frequently read in the royal academy of that city with the greatest applause. Labana, also a native of that learned capital, not only excelled as a poetess, but was deeply skilled in philosophy and arithmetic, and held an office not often enjoyed by females, that of private secretary to the Caliph Hakem. Seville could boast of Safia, whose poetry and beautiful penmanship were the subject of equal admiration; of Algasania, who wrote verses in praise of the caliphs; and of Maria, who has been honoured with the title of the Arabian Corinna. So great was the number of poets, that Abul Abbas, son of the Caliph Motassem, wrote an abridgment of their lives, which contains notices of 130. Casiri has further recorded the fragment of a work entitled the "Theatre of the Poets," which

originally consisted of twenty-four volumes. Hejiaz composed a biography of the Arabian bards in fifty volumes; and Safadi another in thirty, besides the lives of illustrious men distinguished for extraordinary valour. In the large Miscellany of Thaalebi, called Yatima, may be seen a specimen of the united beauty, elegance, and dignity of the Arabian muse. It contains the lives and some of the verses of the finest writers who flourished in Syria, Egypt, Mesopotamia, Chaldea, Arabia, Persia, and Tartary. Numerous collections of poems exist in Spain, termed *Divans* or Academical Prolusions, from the circumstance of their having been honoured with a recital in the colleges or academies. These comprise idyls, elegies, epigrams, odes, satires, and almost every other species of poetry familiar to the Greeks and Romans.

The structure of the rhymes and verses, as may be seen in the Commentaries of Sir William Jones was subjected to particular laws, which imparted a degree of harmony and regularity to the whole composition. The two forms of versification most in use were the *Gazella* and the *Cassida;* both of which were compositions in distichs, the alternate lines in every couplet being made to rhyme with each other throughout the whole poem. The Gazella was an amatory or lyrical ode, which ought not to contain less than seven, nor more than thirteen couplets; while the length of the Cassida, employed in songs of love or war, might extend from ten to a hundred distichs. The most celebrated of these Divans were those of Abu Nowas, and Ibn Mokannas whose epigrammatic wit procured him the title of the Arabian Martial.* Of all the different kinds of poetical com-

* The Arabs were extremely fond of reiterations and jingling sounds in the poetry,—

"When shall it be, and when shall it be, and when shall it be, and when,
That I shall be, and love shall be, and music shall be, and wine?"

position, the moral and didactic appear to have been in the highest repute with the Saracens; hence they wrote in verse, with as much facility as in prose, treatises on grammar, rhetoric, theology, medicine, and even on the abstruse sciences of mathematics and astronomy.

Amid this luxuriant variety, it has been remarked as a curious circumstance that the Arabs have not a single poem which is strictly epic. The nearest approach to dramatic writing are a few dialogues in rhyme; but these belong rather to satire than comedy. The classic models of the Greeks and Romans, the works of Sophocles and Euripides, of Terence and Seneca, were despised by the Arabs as timid, cold, and constrained; and among all the books which, with an almost superstitious veneration, they borrowed from these nations, there is scarcely a single poem. Neither Homer nor Pindar, Virgil nor Horace, were allowed to enter into a comparison with their own writers; and consequently none of those relics of classical genius were judged worthy of translation. A Syriac version of the bard of Troy was made so early as the reign of Haroun al Raschid by Theophilus, a Christian Maronite of Mount Libanus; but much as the oriental muse delighted in the themes of love and wine, she was an entire stranger to the effusions of Ovid and the lyrics of Sappho and Anacreon. The heroes of Plutarch, and Livy, and Tacitus, were left to slumber in

Of their epigrammatic wit, Professor Carlyle (Specim. of Arab. Poetry) has translated some examples. The following stanzas are by Ibn Alrumi, who lived and died at Emesa, in the reign of Motaded, and who excelled in every species of versification:—

TO A VALETUDINARIAN.

"So careful is Isa, and anxious to last,
So afraid of himself he is grown,
He swears through two nostrils the breath goes too fast,
And he's trying to breathe through but one."

oblivion; and the eloquence of Koss and Horairi superseded that of Cicero and Demosthenes.

Fully to appreciate the beauties of Arabian poetry would require an acquaintance with the productions of the country, and with the manners and peculiarities of the inhabitants. For want of this knowledge the oriental muses have been criticised with extreme severity and injustice. Nor is it perhaps very surprising that those who have read the most celebrated compositions of the Eastern poets, in Latin or French translations only, should feel but an indifferent relish for their charms, or form a cold judgment of their merits. Comparisons and similes founded on local objects have a point and beauty that can only be felt in the land that gave them birth; though we may easily comprehend what force and propriety such metaphors as the *odour of reputation* and the *dews of liberality* must have had in the mouths of those who so much needed refreshment on their journeys, and were accustomed to regale their senses with the sweetest fragrance in the world. The same remark is true of the figures and images drawn from those beautiful and agreeable scenes with which the Eastern nations are perpetually conversant. The Hebrew muse delighted in the roses of Sharon, the verdure of Carmel, and the cedars of Lebanon; so did the Arabs adorn their verses with the pearls of Oman, the musk of Hadramaut, the woods and nightingales of Aden, and the spicy odours of Yemen. Compared to our idiom, such emblems may appear fantastic and extravagant, however striking and just in the glowing language of the East. They differ essentially from those we meet with in the schools of Greece and Rome. The acacia and the tamarisk of the rocks bloomed not in their famed Parnassus, nor in the groves of their academy; and were we to attempt to transplant these exotic flowers to the gardens of Europe, perhaps we should

not be surprised to find a portion of their beauty gone, and our gratification diminished.

With the Arabs the want of epic and dramatic poetry was abundantly compensated by a species of composition which in some degree combined the nature of both. It is to their brilliant imagination that we owe those beautiful tales, which surprise us not more by their prodigious number than their exhaustless variety. With the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, the *Alif Lila wa Lilin*, or the Thousand-and-One Stories told by the Sultaness of the Indies, who is not acquainted? The pleasure we derive from their perusal makes us regret that we possess only a comparatively small part of these truly enchanting fictions. The author or authors of this immense collection of tales are unknown, and the learned in Europe differ as to their origin. Von Hammer, on the authority of Masoudi, suggested some years ago that they were not originally Arabian, but translated from the Indian or Persian in the reign of the Caliph Almamoun,—an opinion certainly opposed by the circumstance, that a foreigner could scarcely have succeeded in giving so accurate a description of Arabian life and scenery. Mons. Galland, who first supplied a French version (A. D. 1706), supposed that not more than a six-and-thirtieth part of them were known in Europe; and a late traveller (Dr. Daniel Clarke) has given a list of 172 tales contained in a manuscript purchased by him in Egypt, divided in the same manner as the celebrated Nights' Entertainments. It rarely happens, this author remarks, that any two copies of the *Alif Lila wa Lilin* resemble each other; and the title is indiscriminately bestowed on every compilation of popular stories that embraces the same number of parts,—a fact which may help to account for our comparative deficiency in this department of oriental literature.

Besides those committed to writing, a vast num-

ber of these diverting legends had no more durable tablet than the memory of itinerating story-tellers. Crowds of both sexes in every region of the Mohammedan world still earn their livelihood by their wonderful talent for recital; and they never fail to attract an audience; for the indolent natives of Turkey, Persia, and India willingly bury their present cares in the pleasing dreams of the imagination. The Africans, in the midst of their deserts, assemble nightly round the blazing fire in their tents, and learn to forget their own hardships and fatigues in the captivating narrative of ideal adventures. The public squares of the cities in the Levant abound with these wandering reciters, and their assistance is called in to fill up the heavy hours of the palace and the seraglio. Their art is even prescribed as a substitute for medicine; and physicians not unfrequently recommend them to their patients in order to sooth pain, to calm the agitated spirits, or produce sleep after long watchfulness.

Of their astonishing powers of memory we find an instance recorded in Hamad of Damascus, known by the title of *Arawiyah*, or the Narrator, one of the literary suite of the second Walid, and reckoned the most conversant of men in the history, poetry, genealogy, and language of the Arabs. "Commander of the Faithful," he replied to the caliph, "I can relate the works of every poet with which you are acquainted, or have heard of; I can, moreover, relate the works of those with whom you are not acquainted; and no one can repeat to me a poem, ancient or modern, but I can tell to which of the two classes it belongs. I will undertake to repeat to you, for every letter of the alphabet, 100 poems of the larger description, besides small pieces, all made before the introduction of Mohammedanism, independently of the poetry that has appeared since that era." In proof that this was no idle boast, Hamad continued to relate till the caliph grew

tired, and appointed another to hear him; and when informed that the narrator had actually repeated 2900 odes from authors before the time of Mohammed, he ordered him a present of 100,000 drachms (2291*l.* 13*s.* 4*d*). An equal sum was paid him by the Emir Yussuf, governor of Irak, who was exceedingly puzzled on account of a stanza which had occurred to his mind, and of which he did not know the author. Hamad not only told him the name of the poet, but repeated the entire composition from which the verse was taken.

History, so much neglected by the ancient Arabs, was cultivated with great assiduity by the Moslems; and there is extant an immense number of works in this department, comprising annals, chronicles, and memoirs; besides descriptions of particular kingdoms, provinces, and towns. A catalogue of the authors' names would fill a volume; and we can only notice a few of the more celebrated. The works of Abulfarage, a Christian physician of Malatia, in Lesser Armenia, who flourished in the thirteenth century, and of Abulfeda, a writer of high repute both in the East and the West, we have already noticed. Ibn Katib, another eminent historian of the fourteenth century, was descended of a noble family, and vizier to Mohammed, caliph of Granada. He was deeply versed in every branch of science, but chiefly remarkable for the extent and accuracy of his historical knowledge. He wrote treatises on forty-one different subjects, some of them consisting of many volumes; and there is scarcely a topic in elegant or scientific literature that he left untouched. His Chronology of the Caliphs and Kings of Spain and Africa has the lofty appellation of the "Silken Vest embroidered with the Needle." A treatise on the Choice of Sentences he designates "Pure Gold." His Lives of Eminent Spanish Arabs, celebrated for their learning and piety, are perhaps not inaptly termed "Fragrant

Plants;" but it might puzzle a modern reader to discover that "Approved Butter" means a dissertation on Constancy of Mind; or to find a History of Granada in a "Specimen of the Full Moon." Ibn Hassem, a native of Cordova, was equally renowned for poetic genius, historical information, and attainments as a linguist. His writings on various subjects, both in prose and verse, were so multitudinous, that, after his decease, his son is said to have collected 400 volumes of them, comprising about 80,000 leaves. Ibn Haion, an inhabitant of the same city, wrote an account of Spain in ten volumes; and another work on history, embracing the occurrences of his own times, which extends to sixty. It were tedious to specify the "Golden Chains of Faith," a highly-celebrated performance on the Character and Productions of Royal and Eminent Spanish Authors in the fifth century of the Hejira; or the "Mines of Silver," a biographical work of the famed Ibn Abbar; or the "Fallen Pearls and Picked-up Flowers" of Abu Bakri. Every state, every province, every city and town, possessed its individual chronicler and historian. A full history of Spain, from the time when it was first peopled to the close of the thirteenth century, giving an account of its geography, productions, and literary institutions, was continued by six authors in succession, and cost the labour of 115 years.

Works on biography, memoirs of the different caliphs, and of men peculiarly distinguished for their virtues, talents, or achievements, were innumerable. The two Razis of Cordova, father and son, filled many large volumes with illustrious genealogies, and annals of distinguished viziers. Abul Walid, a statesman and historian of Seville, wrote an account of the Ommiades in Spain, similar to that given by Masoudi of the Caliphs of Asia. These Arabian Plutarchs descended even to the brute creation. Such was the passion for every species of composi-

tion, and the desire to leave no subject untouched, that Ibn Zaid of Cordova, and Abul Mondar of Valencia, wrote a Genealogical History of celebrated Horses; as did Alasueco and Abdolmalec that of Camels which had risen to distinction. This last-mentioned author and eminent antiquary rendered to his conntrymen the same literary service that Bayle and Moreri conferred on Europeans, by giving them a copious historical dictionary. The Arabs possessed encyclopædias, gazetteers, and other similar compilations on critical and biographical subjects. They were familiar, in short, with all those inventions which curtail labour, dispense with the necessity of research, and afford facilities to indolence or curiosity. The Dictionary of the Sciences, by Mohammed Abu Abdallah of Granada, was an elaborate work, consisting of eleven parts, of which a fragment of the seventh and the four last are still extant. A similar compilation was made by the renowned Farabi, who spoke seventy-two languages, and wrote on every science then known.

With numismatics the Saracens were well acquainted. Namari and Makrizi wrote histories of Arabian money; the latter also produced a treatise on the legal weights and measures. Azaker wrote commentaries on the first inventors of the arts; and Gazali, in his learned work on Arabian antiquities, treated in a profound manner of the studies and discoveries of his countrymen.

Of geography they had, so far as their limited means went, a tolerably accurate knowledge. The library at Cairo could boast of two massive globes, one of which was of brass, the other of pure silver, constructed by an Arabian cosmographer, which weighed 3000 drachms, and is said to have cost as many thousand crowns of gold. In this department Abulfeda holds a conspicuous rank. The Sheriff Edrisi of Cordova, who made the celebrated silver globe for Roger II., king of Sicily, is justly distin-

guished for his "Geographical Amusements," which he wrote and dedicated to that monarch. Of this, however, only an abridgment has appeared in print, published by the Maronites under the absurd title of "Geographia Nubiensis." The Saracens of Spain were at great pains to cultivate this science by actual surveys; and Casiri has described not less than eighteen Voyages or Itineraries of learned men, who travelled for the express purpose of acquiring and diffusing a knowledge of geography. Ibn Raschid, one of them, journeyed through Africa, Egypt, and Syria, hearing and conversing with the most eminent scholars in those countries; of whom, as well as of their most remarkable libraries and academies, he has given some account in his travels.

Statistics and political economy, though of slow growth among the Arabs, did not escape their attention. The ambition of conquest was succeeded by a spirit of inquiry into the wealth and resources of the countries that had yielded to their arms. So early as the reign of Omar II., Assam ibn Malec his viceroy in Spain, transplanted into that country much of the wisdom of the East as respects the improvements of productive industry. In the statistical survey which he composed for the caliph's information, he described not only the different provinces and cities, together with their respective rivers, ports, and harbours, but also the nature of the climate and different soils of Spain, its mountains, plants, and minerals; giving an exact account of its imports, and of the manner in which its various productions, natural or artificial, might be manufactured and applied to the best advantage.

In the speculative sciences the Arabs excelled as much as they did in polite literature. Their acute temperament of mind was well adapted to the study of philosophy and metaphysics, and on these acquirements is founded the reputation of many ingenious and celebrated men, whose names are still revered in Europe. Gazali applied the doctrines of

metaphysics to theology; and Alkendi, a native of Bussora, who flourished in the caliphate of Almamoun, was so celebrated among his contemporaries, that he was called, by way of eminence, the Arabian Philosopher, the Great Astrologer, the Phœnix of his age. Notwithstanding the extravagant encomiums of his friends, he was unquestionably endowed with rare talents; the 200 different works which he composed show him to have been deeply versed in all the learning of the Greeks, Persians, and Indians.

But, however enthusiastically the Arabs pursued these ingenious studies, their progress was more specious than real. Their ardour was ill-regulated, preferring the subtleties to the more important and practical lessons of the science. The system of Aristotle was well fitted to this prevailing taste of the Saracens. Though they were neither unacquainted with Plato, nor insensible to the merits of his works, the Stagyrite became their exclusive favourite, and received from them an intellectual homage that was almost divine. All parties acknowledged his authority and appealed to his assistance, whether in attack or defence; and the most solid arguments both of Jews and Christians against the truth of the Koran were laid prostrate before the resistless artillery of his syllogisms. An accurate translation, or a learned commentary on his works, appeared to them the highest pitch of excellence to which the genius of man could attain. At the head of all these subtle expounders stood Averroes, who, in the felicitous obscurity of his opinions, was by some reckoned superior to his master. The library of the Escurial comprises many authors on ascetic and mystic divinity; but for a detail of their lives and writings the curious reader is referred to the elaborate pages of D'Herbelot and Casiri.*

* For the state of literature among the Arabs the authorities are numerous:—Middeldorpf (De Instit. Lit. Arab. in Hisp.),

The natural sciences were cultivated by the Arabs not only with great ardour and success, but with judicious views of the means whereby their progress might be promoted. The knowledge which they possessed of medicine is a subject of curious inquiry. In a country where the climate is healthful and the inhabitants abstemious, the healing art was not likely to be highly esteemed; and accordingly we find the starving physicians of Arabia complaining that exercise and temperance deprived them of the greatest part of their practice. About the time of Mohammed the profession appears to have been held in better repute. His contemporary, Hareth ibn Kaldah, an eminent practitioner, who had settled at Mecca, was occasionally honoured with his conversation and applause. This learned personage was physician to Abu Beker, and a pupil of the Greek

Abulfarage (Dynast. a Pococke), Asseman (Bibl. Orient.), Casiri (Bibl. Arab. Hisp.), Toderini (Littér. des Turcs), Andres (Dell' Orig. Prog. e Stat. d'Ogni Litterat.), Schnurrer (Bibl. Arab.), Renaudot (Hist. Pat Alex.), Fabricius (Bibl. Græc.). Each department of learning has been treated by particular writers:—*Philosophy*,—Brucker (Hist. Crit. Philos.), Leo Africanus (De Virib. Illust. Arab.). *Poetry*,—Sir W. Jones (Comment. de Poes. Asiat.), Carlyle (Specim. of Arabian Poetry), Sismondi (Litt. du Midi.). *Medicine*,—Le Clerc (Hist. de la Mèd.), Freind (Hist. of Med.), Sprengel (Hist. de la Méd.), Moir (Ancient Hist. of Med.). *Botany*,—Haller (Bibl. Botanica, tome i.). *Chymistry*,—Beckmann (Hist. of Inventions), Watson (Chemic. Essays), Boerhaave (Chymistry). *Mathematics*,—Montucla (Hist. de Mathemat.), Encyclopæd. Britannica (Playfair's Supplement). *Astronomy*,—Lalande (Astronom. tome i.), Bailly (Hist. de l'Astronomie), Halley (Philosoph. Transact. vol. xvii.), La Place (Système du Monde). *Architecture*,—Murphy (Arabian Antiquities of Spain), Swinburne (Travels in Spain), Professor Shakspear and Hartwell Horne (Hist. of the Mohammedan Emp. in Spain.) *Agriculture*,—Jacob (Travels in Spain), Townshend (ditto), La Borde (Voyage, Pittoresque et Historique, de l'Espagne), Masdeu (Hist. Crit. d'Esp.), Gregorius (Rerum Arabic. quæ ad Hist. Siculam spectant Collectio). The most valuable collection of Arabic literature is that of Casiri, who has preserved and classed 1851 manuscripts; but it is to be regretted that the work was not executed, until a fire, in the year 1671, had consumed the greater part of the Escurial library.

school of Jondisabour in Persia, founded by Shapoor I. who, according to Abulfarage, married a daughter of the Emperor Aurelian, and by her means introduced the doctrines of Hippocrates into the East.

When conquest had supplied the Arabs with the means of luxury and intemperance, this science was better appreciated. In the schools of Bagdad and Alexandria, the study of physic was encouraged with the usual munificence of the caliphs. Translations of Hippocrates and Galen. issued from the same manufactory that had clothed Plato and Aristotle in an oriental dress. Most of these versions, the merit of which is freely discussed by Renaudot, and piously defended by Casiri, are ascribed to Honain, an eminent physician of the Nestorian sect, who died A. D. 576; and Messue, the celebrated preceptor of Almamoun, who was principal or superintendent of the College of Bagdad. Serapion, Alkhendi, Thibet ibn Korra, the friend and astrologer of the Caliph Motaded, Baktishua and his son Gabriel, with a host of others, are names which adorn the medical annals of the Saracens. The lives of more than 300 Mohammedan physicians, consisting of Arabs, Syrians, Persians, and Egyptians, were recorded by an author named Osaiba, part of whose work, about a century ago, Mr. Mead, at his own expense, caused to be translated from the original; but it proved so incoherent and so full of puerile stories, that the task was abandoned. To Ali ibn Al Abbas, surnamed the Magian, from the sect to which he belonged, we are indebted for the earliest as well as the best account of Arabian physic. This eminent author was a star of the first magnitude in the galaxy of learned men who flourished at the court of Adodowlah, sultan of Aleppo. His book, called *Al Meleki* or Royal Work, which appeared about the year 980, was intended to be a complete system of medicine, and continued to maintain its ascendency till superseded by the Canon of Avicenna.

Al Razi, or Rhazes as he is commonly designated, is a name of which Arabian literature has reason to be proud. He flourished in the tenth century, and had the reputation of being deeply skilled in almost all sciences as well as in medicine. He was appointed director of the hospital at Rhé, in Irak, his native city, and afterward delivered lectures in the College of Bagdad, in which he was by far the most distinguished professor of his time. His fame rests chiefly on his medical writings, the principal of which, *Alhawi* or the Continent, comprehended his account of diseases. He wrote, among other works, a small but curious tract on quacks, whom he characterizes with a fidelity that makes his descriptions applicable to the pretending knaves of modern times. This treatise is remarkable, from being the earliest medical work in which *Eau de vie* is mentioned, as also different kinds of beer manufactured from rice, barley, and rye. Another merit of this distinguished scholar, and what perhaps above all has tended to heighten his reputation as an author, is his treatise on small-pox and measles, being the first account of these diseases ever given. His remarks on climate, season, situation, and constitution, denote the accurate and philosophic observer. Indeed, from the minute and excellent descriptions of disease to be found in his works, embracing not only the more commonly known, but others of rare occurrence, and some recorded for the first time, such as tic douloureux and hypochondria, there can be as little doubt that his opportunities of observation were immense, as that his genius enabled him to turn his experience to the best account.

But in learning and reputation, Rhazes was surpassed by the famous Abdallah ibn Sina, a name which the Jews abbreviated into Abensina, and the Christians into the well-known appellation of Avicenna. This Prince of Physicians, as the Arabs denominate him, was a person nearly as remarkable for the extent and variety of his precocious attain-

ments as the Admirable Crichton; while in the medical world he attained a celebrity rivalled only by the fame of Hippocrates and Galen. He was born in the year 980, at a small village near Bokhara. Removing to Bagdad for the prosecution of his studies, he there applied himself to the cultivation of philosophy and medicine, in both of which his progress was surprisingly rapid. Besides physic, the range of his acquirements comprehended logic, morals, metaphysics, astronomy, philology, mathematics, natural history, and theology. While yet in his nineteenth year, Avicenna was regarded even by the old and experienced as a complete prodigy of learning, and the deference paid to his judgment was sufficient to flatter his utmost vanity. During his residence at Hamadan, he was chosen first physician to the sultan, and afterward raised to the dignity of vizier. His literary fame, and that of the brilliant court to which he was attached, drew the admiration of surrounding princes. But his popularity was short-lived, and his life seemed destined to be a restless one. Finding his liberty endangered, for having refused the invitation of Mahmoud of Ghizni to honour his capital with a visit, he withdrew to Jorjan, where the splendour of his reputation, not only as a physician but a man of science, increased beyond all rivalry.

The subsequent history of this remarkable personage is short. Though possessed of an excellent constitution, he had so impaired it by the use of wine, and its accompanying vice, that he died from intestinal inflammation, in his 56th year, at Hamadan. Avicenna is one of those on whom praise and vituperation have been lavished with equal excess. It may be somewhat difficult to account for the despotic supremacy which his writings acquired in the Saracen schools; for they were not only translated, abridged, and commented on, but formed text-books for the professors in the principal colleges of Europe, and continued the oracles of medical knowledge for

nearly 600 years. His Cunon consists of five books, each of which has its subdivisions. His Materia Medica must have been sufficiently absurd, as we find him recommending the administration of gold, silver, and precious stones, with a view to purify the blood. It is to this ridiculous belief that the custom of gilding and silvering pills is to be referred. In anatomical knowledge he appears to have been extremely superficial. To follow out the intricacies of his pathology, his speculations on the functions of the brain, the vital spirits, pleurisies, fevers, faculties, and temperaments, is unnecessary for our purpose. Posterior to Avicenna, flourished, among many others of lesser note, Abulcasis, Avenzoar, and his pupil Averroes, whose fame was as distinguished in medical as in metaphysical science.

To pharmacy the Arabs paid particular attention; and they deserve the credit of having set the first example of publishing pharmacopœias or regular dispensatories, containing collections of authorized formula. The shops of the Saracen apothecaries were placed under the immediate superintendence of the magistrates, who took care that they should be provided with genuine drugs, and that these should be sold at reasonable prices. Many of the pharmaceutical terms, as naphtha, camphor, syrup, and jalap, are of Arabian origin. In this branch of the science Avenzoar was well versed; and in his treatise we find accounts of both simple and compound medicines not elsewhere to be met with. The discovering of antidotes for poisonous plants seems to have been a favourite research with him. Various other writers enlarged the limits of pharmacy. The elder Messue employed, as emetics, powder of fine bark, and decoctions of hyssop; and as a styptic in violent bowel-complaints he had recourse to the rennet of different animals, particularly the hare. In curing similar disorders, Serapion advised boiled milk, in which red-hot iron had been dipped.

In anatomy and surgery, the Arabs never attained to any remarkable proficiency. The polluted touch of the dead alarmed the most determined naturalist; and the orthodox Mussulman felt himself debarred from this impious knowledge by the prejudices of his creed. When Toderini asked a mufti if it was allowable to practise human dissection, he was told that the very question itself was an infringement of their divine law. To mutilate a corpse was prohibited by the religious belief that the soul does not depart from the body at the moment of death, but remains, after deserting the other members, for a considerable time in the breast. Besides, it was deemed necessary to appear entire at the stern tribunal of Munkir and Nakir, to undergo the sepulchral examination. Hence the anatomical studies of the Arabs were restricted to the lower animals, and skeletons in the cemeteries. In their writings on the subject, they did little more than translate and paraphrase the works of the Greeks.

The surgery of Ali Abbas has some distinctive features; for though he modestly professed only to be a copyist, he made a great many observations peculiar to himself. His son, who followed the same profession, was the author of a book on the diseases of the eye. In operating for cataract, Avicenna recommended depression; and speaks of extraction, which he had several times seen practised, as a very dangerous experiment. The most eminent of the Arabian surgeons was Abulcasis, whose name has been already introduced. He complained of the deplorable state into which the art had fallen in his day; and informs us that the Spanish practitioners dashed into all kinds of operations without knowing in the least degree the nature of the parts they were dividing, and consequently without attending to the precautions necessary for averting danger. His surgery is arranged into three books; the first treating of caustics, the second of surgical

diseases, and the third of luxations, together with some miscellaneous particulars.

Abulcasis is the only ancient writer on anatomy that has described the instruments used in each particular operation. To him we owe the invention of the probang, an elastic rod tipped with sponge, for dislodging extraneous substances from the gullet. Another instrument of his own, was that for operating in fistula lachrymalis, which he has explained, as also the needle used by the oriental surgeons for cataract. The knife, which he calls *alnessil*, and used in the section of a vein, as distinct from puncture, is by some presumed to be our common lancet —a term which the French borrowed from the ancient Gauls. The myrtle and olive knives, so called from resembling in shape the leaves of these plants, were employed for blood-letting by incision. For opening veins in the forehead, use was made of the *fosserium*, said to resemble the phleme for bleeding cattle, and which required percussion to make it penetrate the skin. We learn from Casiri, that among the Escurial manuscripts there is a treatise in the Cufic character, which contains a collection of plates of surgical instruments.

Botany, as subsidiary to medicine, was cultivated by the Arabs with considerable success. This science they advanced far beyond the state in which it had been left by Dioscorides, who flourished about the commencement of the Christian era. His herbal they enriched by the addition of 2000 plants; and their knowledge of the vegetable world enabled them to insert in their pharmacopœias several remedies which had been unknown to the Greeks. Rhazes, Ali Abbas, and Avicenna are names that adorn the annals of this elegant and useful study; but the most distinguished of all the Arabian botanists was Ibn al Beithar, a native of Malaga. In his zeal for herborizing, he travelled over every part of Europe, Africa, and Asia; inspected and analyzed every thing that was rare, curious, or valuable in the

three kingdoms of nature; and, on his return, published the result of his investigations in three books: first, on the nature and virtues of plants—second, on metals and minerals—and third, on animals. He died at Damascus in the year 1248, in which city he held the dignity of vizier. Casiri mentions another eminent botanist, Ibn Phara, a celebrated physician of Corella, who was appointed curator of the botanical garden of the Sultan Alnasar. Albiruni, who died in 941, travelled in India during the long period of forty years, to observe the nature and properties of the mineral and vegetable kingdoms; and has given the result of his researches in a rare and exceedingly valuable treatise on precious stones.

The praise of originality, however, is more justly due to the Saracens for their discoveries in chymistry, of which they may be considered as the inventors, in so far as regards its introduction into medicine. Before their time this science was degraded to the same level with magic and astrology, and confounded with the reveries of alchymy, or the art of making gold by means of the philosopher's stone, which is usually described as a red powder, having a peculiar smell. Besides the virtue of transmuting metals, this precious compound was believed to have the inherent property of charming evil spirits, curing all diseases, and protracting the span of human existence to an indefinite extent. The history of alchymy, from first to last, is full of fiction and obscurity, and consists of little else than an account of dupes and impostors who made a livelihood by vending their mystic nostrums to the ignorant at an extravagant price; for, strange as it may appear, multitudes were found credulous enough to believe that wealth and immortality could be bottled up in thumb-vials, or extracted by means of the crucible from oxides and powders.

This study, however, was attended with many incidental advantages, by extending the boundaries

of chymical knowledge, teaching a greater degree of facility in operations, and leading to the discovery of many new and valuable substances which, without some such strong incentive, would have perhaps remained much longer in obscurity. Struck with the result of investigations which they did not understand, the Arabs applied themselves to this department of science, with the view of making it subservient to the composition of medicines and the cure of diseases. In conducting distillations, and detecting the properties of various bodies, they made great improvements. The three mineral acids were discovered; the vegetable and mineral alkalies were distinguished from each other; and the preparation of alcohol made known. Rhazes is generally allowed to be the first regular practitioner that made use of chymical remedies; and from his mentioning corrosive sublimate and mercurial ointment, various preparations of arsenic, the sulphates of copper and iron, saltpetre, and borax, it is evident that the science had already passed its infancy.

But the true patriarch of Arabian chymistry was the famous Geber, a native of Harran in Mesopotamia, who lived in the eighth century. Little is known of this writer, except his works, which contain many and important chymical facts. Besides the metals, sulphur, and salt, with which the Greeks and Romans were familiar, he knew the method of preparing sulphuric acid, nitric acid, and aqua regia. He was familiar with the art of dissolving the metals by means of these acids, and actually prepared nitrate of silver and corrosive sublimate. He was acquainted with potash and soda, both in the state of carbonates and caustic. He was aware that these alkalies dissolve sulphur, and he employed the process to obtain it in a state of purity.

Of Geber's works, so far as they have appeared in Latin or English, we possess only four tracts;

though D'Herbelot states that he wrote 500 volumes on chymistry. The greater number of chymical processes, such as they were almost to the end of the eighteenth century, were perfectly known to him; and if we compare his writings with those of Dioscorides and Pliny, we shall perceive the vast progress which chymistry, or rather pharmacy, had made in the schools of the Saracens. The early nomenclature of the science demonstrates how much it owes to the Arabs. The terms alcohol, alembic, alkali, aludel, and others, clearly indicate their derivation; nor should it be forgotten that those characters of drugs, essences, extracts, and medicines which are frequently to be found in apothecaries' shops, and which to vulgar eyes appear to be vested with occult powers of healing, are all to be traced to them. It is the opinion of Sprengel, that the writings of the Arabs, even at the present day, might be of service, were our chymists and physicians capable of perusing the works of Geber, Messue, Rhazes, Averroes, and Avicenna in the native tongue.

Allied to medicine was the science of astrology, which the Saracens cultivated with great zeal. The doctrine of sidereal influences is very ancient; and at a later period each part and member of the human body was assigned to the custody or dominion of a particular star. The heart, brain, liver, spleen, bile, kidneys, and other viscera were successively affected by the sun and moon, and by the planets Jupiter, Saturn, Mercury, Mars, and Venus; so that a physician, before he could understand or attempt to cure a disease, had to ascertain the magical harmony between the planets and the habits of his patient. He durst not venture to draw blood without consulting the position of the heavens, nor order a cathartic unless the constellations were favourable. With a people so superstitious as the Arabs, such a science could not fail to be popular. Accord-

ingly its professors, independently of all medical considerations, were seen in the courts, and consulted in the cabinets of princes; and no public or even private enterprise of moment was undertaken without previously obtaining the concurrence of the heavenly bodies.

The most flourishing period of Arabian astronomy was the reign of Almamoun, who was himself devoted to the study of this science. He caused a complete digest of it to be composed by the most eminent men of his court, and provided at his own cost the necessary instruments of observation. The land of the Chaldeans still supplied the same spacious level, the same unclouded horizon; and under his munificent patronage the philosophers of Bagdad, first on the plains of Shinar, and a second time on those of Cufa, accurately measured a degree of the great circle of the earth, and determined at 24,000 miles the entire circumference of our globe. The process by which this remarkable measurement was conducted is described by Abulfeda, from the relation of Ibn Khallican and the best historians. The obliquity of the ecliptic was calculated at about twenty-three degrees and a half; but not a single step was made towards the discovery of the solar system beyond the hypothesis of Ptolemy.

Among the Arabian astronomers were several who distinguished themselves both by their writings and observations. Albumazar published an Introduction to Astronomy—a Treatise on the Conjunction of the Planets—and another on the Origin, Derivation, and End of the World. The celebrated Alfragani composed a classical work entitled Elements of Astronomy, of which a translation, with notes, has been given by Professor Golius, and which presents a concise exposition of Ptolemy's Almagest. This author likewise produced a treatise on solar clocks, and on the astrolabe. Moham-

med ibn Musa, Abdallah ibn Sahal, and Yahia ibn Mansor were eminent writers on this science, and their astronomical tables were admired for their exactness. Albathani (or Albategni), one of the most learned men that adorned the court of Moktader, was justly renowned as the author of the Sabian tables, drawn up from the astronomical observations which he made in the course of forty years (A. D. 879–921), at Racca, on the Euphrates. His laborious researches were of the highest importance to the science. He gave a new and improved theory of the sun, from which some valuable results were derived; and supplied the defects of the Ptolemæan tables by his more accurate observations. His work on "The Science of the Stars," which is still extant, long held a very high place in the estimation of philosophers. We owe to him a more correct calculation of the obliquity of the ecliptic than had hitherto been made; he also determined the annual movement of the equinoxes, and found the duration of the tropical year to be 365 days and a decimal fraction.

His contemporary, Ibn Korrah, likewise observed the declination of the ecliptic—distinguished the motion of the apogee of the sun and planets from that of the stars in longitude; and, what is most important of all, ascertained that the solar revolution was completed in 365 days, 6 hours, 9 minutes, and 12 seconds—a calculation not very different from that now in use. Arzakel, the reputed author of the Toledan tables, who flourished towards the end of the eleventh century, was famous for his hypothesis to account for the diminution of the sun's eccentricity, which he conceived to have taken place since the time of Ptolemy, and the motion of the sun's apogee. His idea was adopted by Copernicus; and subsequently applied to the moon by Horoccius, Newton, Flamstead, and Halley.

Modern astronomy is indebted to the Saracens for

the introduction of observatories. Appended to the celebrated mosque at Seville was the lofty tower of the Giraldo, built under the superintendence of the famous mathematician Geber (A. D. 1196), which long served this purpose, and which still remains one of the most noble and ancient monuments, perhaps, in Christendom, in honour of this science. The learned Bailly attributes the revival of astronomy to the Spanish Arabs, and the translations of the works of Alfragani. He affirms that Kepler drew the ideas that led to his discovery of the elliptical orbits of planets from Nureddin Petrucci, whose Treatise on the Sphere is preserved in the Escurial. From Lalande and Andres we learn that Alfonso X., king of Castile, who has immortalized himself by his astronomical pursuits, and whose tables have contributed so much to promote the knowledge of the heavenly bodies, received his information chiefly from the Moors, whom his liberality induced to settle at Toledo.

The schools of Bagdad and Cordova did not neglect the study of optics. Alfarabi, Ibn Haitim, and Alhazen devoted their attention to this subject; but the works of the two former are lost. The treatise of the latter, who wrote in the twelfth century, has been frequently noticed. It is cited by our distinguished countryman Roger Bacon; and was illustrated by Vitellio, a native of Poland, who lived in the thirteenth century. In mathematics, though the Saracens did not ascend to the higher branches, yet in the other division of the science their knowledge was far from being inconsiderable. The works of the most eminent Greek geometricians were translated, and the schools of the East supplied in their vernacular tongue with versions of Euclid, Theodosius, Hypsicles, Menelaus, and Apollonius of Perga.

How highly these studies were valued by Almamoun, may be imagined from his liberal offer of 100

pounds' weight of gold to engage in his service the famous mathematician Leo of Constantinople, who was then employed by the Emperor Theophilus in delivering lectures and establishing schools in his capital. But the invitation was declined; as the Greeks, from a foolish vanity of their superior excellence, were jealous of imparting to heathen the sacred fire of their learning. Ibn Korrah enriched the literature of his country with translations of Archimedes and the Conics of Apollonius. But none of them seem to have bequeathed to the world any treatises of importance; and, at the revival of letters in the fifteenth century, this branch of the science is said to have been found nearly in the state in which it was left by Euclid. Brucker, in his History of Philosophy, maintains that the Saracens owed their mathematical knowledge solely to the Greeks, and that the study made no progress whatever in their hands. But later writers, particularly Montucla, have done ample justice to their researches in certain departments of this sublime science.

Trigonometry derived from the Arabs the form which it still retains. They substituted the use of sines for that of the chord, which had been employed by the ancients. Ibn Musa and Geber composed original works on spherical trigonometry; and Alkendi, besides his own treatise, *De Sex Quantitatibus*, translated that of Autolycus, *De Sphæra Mota*. Algebra, though not the invention of the Saracens, received valuable accessions from their talents; and, on comparing them with their predecessors, their advances will perhaps be found as conspicuous as the improvements which have been suggested and the progress that has been made by later and even by modern proficients. Ibn Korrah and Ibn Musa are the earliest Arabian mathematicians who have treated on this science. The former wrote on the certainty of the demonstrations of the

algebraic calculus, and the latter is accounted the inventor of the solution of equations of the second degree. There is an original treatise by Omar ibn Ibrahim, on the Algebra of Cubic Equations, which exists in manuscript in the library of the University at Leyden; and we learn from Casiri that the principles and the praises of this science were sung in an elaborate poem by Alcassem, a native of Granada.

The numerical characters, which have tended so much to simplify and abridge calculations, and without which none of the exact sciences could have been carried to the point at which they have arrived in our day, were beyond all doubt communicated to us by the Arabs. They were not, however, the inventors of these digits, which, as well as their arithmetic, they acknowledge to have received from the East; and many of their treatises on this subject they denominate "Indian Arithmetic," "The Art of Computing according to the Indians," &c. It is well known that the Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans, and perhaps other nations, used alphabetical letters for the representation of numbers. The Indians adopted this simple and natural method; and their original numerals, of which the Arabic ciphers are merely an abridgement, may be considered as primitive words or characters. Their use and general diffusion in Europe must be ascribed to the persevering industry of the famous Gerbert, afterward Pope Sylvester II., who is the first philosopher known to have visited Spain in the pursuit of knowledge. On his return he founded two schools—one at Bobbio in Italy, and another at Rheims in France, both of which were numerously attended, and contributed to give a new turn to the study of philosophy.

Their mathematical and mechanical knowledge the Arabs turned to various purposes of multiplying and improving the conveniences of life—such as the

construction of aqueducts, baths, cisterns, and canals. Their acquaintance with hydraulics is manifest from the number of mills and other waterworks employed in the useful process of irrigation. Accustomed to an arid and sultry climate, they considered the command of water to be a material requisite in every country where they settled. The *pontanos* or reservoirs in Spain, and the tanks in Africa, were either erected or restored by them. Their palaces and mosques were furnished with capacious cisterns. The gardens of the Alhambra contained sheets of water, in the surface of which the buildings were reflected; and in most of the principal cities fountains played in the streets, as well as in the courts of the houses, by which the atmosphere was attempered during summer. In the famous palace of Toledo was a pond, in the midst of which rose a vaulted room of stained glass adorned with gold. Into this apartment the caliph could enter untouched by the water, and sit while a cascade poured from above, with tapers burning before him. We are not aware that any discoveries of theirs in hydrostatics have been transmitted to us; but the titles of two works by the celebrated Alkendi are mentioned in Casiri, viz. on Bodies that Float on Water, and on Bodies that Sink.

Architecture was an art in which the Arabs particularly excelled; and the revenues of kingdoms were expended in erecting public buildings, of which Jerusalem, Babylon, and Baalbec, afforded the most stupendous models. It has been observed as a circumstance worthy of remark, that no people ever constructed so many edifices as the Arabs, who extracted fewer materials from the quarry. From the Tigris to the Orontes, from the Nile to the Guadalquiver, the buildings of the first settlers were raised from the wreck of cities, castles, and fortresses, which they had destroyed.

In the style of architecture, the Arabs both of the

East and the West had a kindred resemblance, as appears by contrasting the disposition of the apartments of the Alhambra, and other remains of Moorish art, with the accounts given by travellers relative to the general mode of oriental buildings. While little attention, comparatively, was bestowed on the exterior of their mansions, on the furniture and accommodation within every thing was lavished that could promote luxurious ease and personal comfort. Their rooms were so contrived that no reverberation of sound was heard. The light was generally admitted in such a manner as, by excluding external prospects, to confine the admiration of the spectator chiefly to the ornaments and beauties of the interior. Their arrangements for ventilation were admirable; and by means of caleducts, or tubes of baked earth, warm air was admitted, so as to preserve a uniform temperature. The utmost labour and skill were expended in embellishing the walls and ceilings. Their tiles had a blue glazing over them; their paving-bricks were made of different colours,—blue, white, black, or yellow,—which, when properly contrasted, had a very agreeable effect. Nothing is more astonishing than the durability of the Moorish edifices. The stucco composition on their walls became hard as stone; and, even in the present century, specimens are found without a crack or a flaw on their whole surface. Their woodwork also, which is of a more fragile nature, still remains in a state of wonderful preservation. The floors and ceilings of the Alhambra have withstood the neglect and dilapidation of nearly 700 years; the pine-wood continues perfectly sound, without exhibiting the slightest mark of dry-rot, worm, or insect. The coat of white paint retains its colour so bright and rich, that it may be mistaken for mother-of-pearl.

The history of Arabian architecture comprises a period of about 800 years; which M. Laborde has divided into three distinct epochs, marking its rise,

progress, and decay. From the end of the thirteenth century, the era of its decline in Spain, it exhibited a mixture of styles borrowed from the revival of the arts in Italy. The origin of what is called Gothic architecture, we know, has been much disputed; but among the different hypotheses, that of Sir Christopher Wren, which derives it from the Arabs, is certainly the most probable. The crescent arch, said to be the symbol of a celebrated goddess whose worship among the ancients was universal, was first adopted by the Arabs of Syria, and invariably used in the edifices erected by them during the reigns of the Ommiades. After their dethronement the Abbassides, disdaining to imitate their rivals, introduced at Bagdad an arch resembling the section of an oval taken below the transverse diameter. A similar form was adopted by the sovereigns of Granada; but it is worthy of remark, that so long as the house of Moawiyah ruled in Spain, the arch of their Syrian ancestors prevailed from the Atlantic to the Pyrenees.

The Mohammedan religion was unfriendly to what we usually denominate the fine arts. To the first Moslems painting and sculpture were considered odious, as leading to idolatry and a breach of their Divine law. Subsequently, however, these scruples decreased as literature and the arts were introduced; and the caliphs, both of the East and the West, evaded or violated with impunity the prohibitions of the Koran. At first, as a substitute for pictorial delineation, the orthodox artists patiently traced those lineal ornaments of Mosaic and network which covered the interior of their mosques and palaces. It was the same religious feelings that gave birth to that peculiar style of embellishment, which from the Arabs has been denominated the *Arabesque*, and which rejects human or animal figures; the subjects, whether painted or sculptured, consisting wholly of imaginary plants, flowers, or foliage. In later times

the restraints of religion yielded more and more to the progress of the arts. Some of the Eastern caliphs caused their images to be stamped on their coins. In Spain, Abdalrahman III. ventured to place the statue of his favourite mistress over the magnificent palace which he had erected for her reception. The Alhambra had its sculptured lions, its ornamented tiles, and historical paintings.

In one branch of the fine arts, that of calligraphy or ornamental writing, the Saracens particularly excelled. The extensive manufacture of translations brought this necessary accomplishment to a very high degree of perfection. Afrihi ibn Adi, a Jacobite Christian, who flourished at Bagdad under the caliphs Mostakfi and Almoti, and was much employed in transcribing books of literature, wrote so fine a hand as to resemble typography; and with such expedition, that in the course of a day and a night he could finish 200 pages. His contemporary Ahdab, surnamed *Al Mozawer*, or the Falsifier, was the most ingenious forger and imitator of penmanship that any country ever produced. He could counterfeit any hand; and with such dexterity, that even the person whose autograph was imitated could not distinguish the copy from the original. Adodowlah, the vizier of Almoti and Altai, turned this singular faculty to his own advantage, by causing him to write letters calculated to sow jealousy and dissension between such of the neighbouring princes as he wished to subdue; and this fictitious correspondence often produced the desired effect. To the Chinese and Persians, the Arabs were indebted for their method of imparting a remarkable purity and neatness to their paper. They employed inks of extraordinary lustre, and studied to adorn their manuscripts with beautiful and vivid colours, so as to render them more pleasing to the eye.

Music was an art to which the Arabs were ardently attached. But the rude and natural strains in

which the shepherds of the Desert sung their loves and their wars, became under the caliphs a study and a science. Its professors were cherished and honoured in the courts of their sovereigns, who encouraged their exertions, as they did those of the poets, by handsome rewards. At Bagdad and Cordova schools were established expressly for the cultivation of this delightful art; and from these seminaries issued many illustrious performers. Of the effects of their skill some very extraordinary but well-attested instances have been recorded, which may justify the remark that, like the famed Timotheus of old, they could, by the magic touches of their lute, raise or depress at pleasure the passions of their masters. Isaac Almouseli, so called from Mosul where he resided, is ranked by the orientals among the most distinguished musicians that ever lived. Mahadi, father of Haroun al Raschid, having accidentally heard him sing one of his compositions, accompanied by a lute, was so charmed with the performance that he appointed him chief musician to the court,—an office which he filled with universal applause during the reign of five successive caliphs. Haroun, whose inauguration he commemorated in a short poem still extant, was delighted with his talents, and considered his presence necessary in every part of amusement.

This prince had other reasons for admiring his musical powers. He had quarrelled with his favourite mistress Meridah, and determined never to see her more. The lady became inconsolable. Jaaffar, the vizier, imparted her distress to Almouseli, and requested him to perform before the caliph a song composed on the occasion; which he did with such pathos of execution, that in a fit of sudden affection, the repentant monarch rushed into the presence of Meridah, implored her to forgive his indiscretion, and bury their unhappy discords in eternal oblivion. Overjoyed at this unexpected revolution of fortune,

the lady ordered 10,000 drachms (229*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*) to be given to Jaaffar, and as much to Almouseli; while the caliph doubled the present to both.

Abu Mohammed, another musician of Bagdad, flourished in the reign of the Caliph Vathek, who was so enchanted with one of his compositions, that he threw his own robe over the shoulders of the performer, and ordered him a donation of 100,000 drachms (2291*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.*). The famous Al Farabi, whose universal attainments have been already noticed, was so eminently skilled in music, that he has been styled the Arabian Orpheus. On his return from the pilgrimage to Mecca, he introduced himself at the court of Saifadowlah, the first sultan of Aleppo, whom he astonished with the variety of his accomplishments. After disputing with the most learned doctors of the court, whom he put to silence, he joined a band of musicians that were accidentally performing, and accompanied them with his lute. The prince was delighted, and requested to hear some composition of his own,—one of which in three parts he immediately produced and distributed among the band. The first movement, we are told, threw the sultan and his courtiers into a fit of excessive laughter;—the second melted them into tears;—and the last lulled even the performers themselves to sleep. Al Farabi wrote a work on the subject, entitled the Elements of Music, preserved in the Escurial, which treats on the principles of the art, the harmony of natural and artificial sounds, and the various kinds of musical composition, besides containing the notes or gamut of the Arabs, and upwards of thirty figures of their musical instruments. Another work on the same subject is the *Kitab Al Agani*, or Great Collection of Songs, by the celebrated composer and poet Abulfaraji. Of two volumes, the first only is extant, which contains 150 ariettas, the lives of fourteen distinguished musicians, and four eminent female singers. There is a striking similitude

between the Arabian and the Italian gamut; and it is highly probable that the terms, sol, fa, ut, &c. used in the old mode of teaching music, were borrowed from the Moors of Spain. To the Saracens we are indebted for the invention of the lute, which they accounted the most beautiful of all instruments. They had likewise the organ, flute, harp, tabor, and the mandoline, with which they serenaded their mistresses. On these occasions, not only the words and air of their songs, but even the colour of their dress, indicated the triumph of the fortunate, or the despair of the rejected lover. Black and yellow denoted grief; green was expressive of hope; blue, of jealousy; and the violet or flame-colour, of impassioned love. In addition to the musical instruments just mentioned, a recent traveller alleges that the bagpipe, which has so long been considered national among the Scottish Highlanders, was unquestionably of Arabic origin.* Without pretending to decide whether it be a native of Asia or Europe, we may remark that, in the two countries, there is a wonderful similarity both in the shape of the instrument and in the mode of playing it. The tube is perforated in the same manner; the bag is angular, and pressed with the arm. The *gaspah* of the Arabs is a common reed open at both ends, like the German flute, with three or more holes in the side, according to the extent of the musician's abilities. The *tarr*, another of their instruments (the *tympanum* of the ancients), consists of a thin hoop of wood, with a skin of parchment stretched over the top like a sieve. This serves for bass in their concerts, and they touch it, like the tambourine, very dexterously with their fingers, knuckles, or palms. Connected with this art was the practice of employing *jongleurs*, who accompanied with their instruments the recitations of the poets. Dancing was a favourite amuse-

* Colonel Johnson's Overland Journey.

ment with the Spanish Arabs; and from them our ancestors borrowed the morris-dance, which formed a part of their May-games. To the diversions of hunting, hawking, and horsemanship, they were passionately addicted.

Of all the sciences cultivated by the Arabs, agriculture is that in which they made the greatest progress. No civilized nation of their times possessed a code of husbandry more judicious or more perfect. Many of their learned men turned their attention to this subject. Kutsami, author of the Nabathæan Agriculture, Abu Omar, Abu Abdallah, Abu Zacharia, and others, afforded to their countrymen valuable instruction in the different branches of rural economy. From these treatises it appears that the Saracens were well acquainted with the nature and properties of soils and manures; and the proper application of them to every particular species of crops, trees, and plants. They were familiar with the rearing and management of cattle; and the European horse was greatly improved by a mixture with the Arabian breed. They had a thorough knowledge of climate, and possessed the happy art of appropriating, in their various productions, the different soils to that kind of culture best adapted to them. Great care and skill were also bestowed on the formation of gardens, and the choice and arrangement of plants; and by this means many valuable exotics were naturalized. Besides rice, olives, oranges, and the sugar-cane, we are indebted to the Saracens for the introduction of the cotton-tree, the pistachio, ginger, myrrh, henna, sesame, saffron, spinach, and a variety of fine fruits and vegetables, now considered as indigenous. In ornamental gardening they took great delight; studying the gratification of the eye as well as of the palate. Flowers and fountains of water they had in the richest abundance. A monument of their horticultural taste still remains in the garden of the Alcazar at Seville,

which is preserved in its original state. There are walks paved with marble, and so contrived that they can be turned into continuous fountains, by forcing up small jets of water from minute pipes inserted between the joining of the slabs.

In metallurgy, or the working of mines and metals, there is evidence that the Arabs had arrived at considerable perfection. Their skill in the different manufactures of hardware was remarkable, and known to every civilized nation in the world. The blades of Mushraf and Damascus were not more renowned in the East than the swords of Granada and Toledo in the West. The temper of the Spanish arms was held in the highest repute; that country being the arsenal which supplied Europe and Africa with cuirasses, bucklers, casques, scimitars, and daggers. The celebrated Alkendi, among his numerous works, produced a treatise on the different kinds of swords, in which the perfections of the metal are particularly discussed; and another, on the art of preparing steel in such a manner that the edge of the weapon could neither be broken nor blunted. Of the skill of the Saracens in the formation of porcelain, some exquisite proofs remain in the superb vases still preserved in the Alhambra, and in the glazed tiles which formed a distinguished ornament of their palaces. One species of manufacture in which they pre-eminently excelled was that of tanning, currying, and dying leather; which, though almost lost in Spain by the expulsion of the Moors, was transferred to Fez, where great numbers of them settled. The skins were stained with green, blue, or scarlet, of the liveliest tints, for which a peculiar sort of woad was used, and then finished with such a degree of brilliancy as to resemble varnish. The art was afterward carried to England, where the terms *Morocco* and *Cordovan* are still applied to leather prepared after their mode.

Such then, was the state of perfection to which

literature, science, and the arts were carried, and continued to flourish from the ninth to the fourteenth century of our era, in those vast countries which had submitted to the yoke of Islam. The literary apparatus of the Saracens was splendid, and their progress merits all the eulogy that has been bestowed on it. Certain prejudices, however, deprived them of part of the benefits which they might have reaped from a familiar intercourse with classic authors; and, as has been remarked, with all their enthusiasm for European learning, there is no example of a poet, an orator, or even an historian of Greece and Rome being translated into their language.*

Though the Saracens cannot claim to rank high as inventors and discoverers, they must be acknowledged as the restorers of letters and the great depositaries of science. Many useful treatises, now lost in the original, were preserved in their language. Besides some of the commentaries of Galen and Hippocrates, we owe to this cause the completion of the mathematical works of Apollonius Pergæus; part of which, in Arabic, was discovered about the middle of the seventeenth century, in the Medicean Library, and part among the Bodleian Collection, of which a Latin version was given by the Savilian professors, Bernard and Halley. It is unquestionable that a great number of the inventions which at the present day add to the comforts of life, and without which literature and the arts could never have flourished, are due to the Arabs. They taught us the use of the pendulum in the measurement of time; and also of the telegraph, though not with all the speed and effect of modern improvement. The manufacture of silk and cotton was brought by them

* We must make one exception. Erpenius states, that in the great library at Fez, which contained 32,000 volumes, there was preserved an entire copy of Livy in Arabic.—*Lomier, de Biblioth.*

into Spain, as was probably the art of dying black with indigo. They introduced the use of camels and carrier pigeons into Sicily. The art of enamelling steel, the system of a national police, the principles of taxation, and the benefits of public libraries, were all derived from the same source. Rhyme, a pleasing characteristic of modern verse, though some have assigned to it a Gothic origin, was doubtless borrowed from the Saracens by the troubadours and Provençal bards, who derived from the same source the sentiment of honour, the mysticism of love, and the spirit of chivalry, so copiously infused into our early romances. Even Descartes, as Huet has asserted, was indebted to them for his celebrated metaphysical principle, *Cogito, ergo sum.* To them also belongs the honour of making us acquainted with the manufacture and use of paper. This invaluable commodity, it is true, had from a very remote period been made in China from the refuse of silk, bamboo, and other substances. About the year 649 the invention was introduced at Samarcand by the Tartars, who used cotton instead of silk; and when that flourishing city was subdued by the Moslems, the process was conveyed to Mecca, by Yussuf Amru (A. D. 706), where paper was made similar to that now manufactured, though it does not appear to have come immediately into general use. From Mecca, the art spread through all the Arabian dominions. In Spain, which was renowned for this article from the twelfth century downwards, flax, which grew there abundantly, was substituted for cotton, the latter being scarce and dear. Alphonso X. established paper-mills, and his example passed successively into France, Germany, and England.

Gunpowder, the discovery of which is generally attributed to Schwartz, a German chymist, was known to the Arabs at least a century before any traces of it appear in European history. Though it

is probable they may have derived their knowledge of this composition from the Indians, they certainly improved its preparation, and found out different ways of employing it in war. The mariner's compass has been alternately given to the Italians and the French; but Tiraboschi, notwithstanding his partiality for his country, is decidedly of opinion that the honour of its invention is due to the Arabs. Its adoption in Europe is not older than the thirteenth century, while among the Arabs it was known in the eleventh. The polarity of the magnet is alleged to have been known to Aristotle; and something like the compass was in use among the Chinese; but as the Saracens paid considerable attention to navigation, and often undertook long and laborious voyages, history has, with much probability, assigned to them the discovery of the magnetic needle.

Some writers have offered a conjecture that this singular people paved the way for our immortal Newton towards discovering the doctrine of attraction; but as the astronomical treatises of the famous mathematician Mohammed ibn Musa, upon which this supposition is founded, are not extant, the honour of the English philosopher remains unimpaired. It is worthy of remark, that when the historians of the middle ages mention most of these inventions for the first time, they treat them, not as novelties, but as things in general use; hence the presumption is, that they were all gradually imported by obscure individuals, and not by men of genius; and that however much they may have altered our system of war, commerce, science, and education, they were brought by a people familiar with their practice, and from a country where they were already universally known. But whatever may be the claims of the Saracens to the praise of original genius, they formed the link which unites ancient and modern letters. Their schools and academies were the shrines at

which the barbarized nations of the West rekindled the torch of science and philosophy; and thus the ravages occasioned by their wars were, in some degree, expiated by their scattering the germs of social and intellectual improvement over the wide regions which they successively occupied. In the colleges of Cordova, Seville, and Toledo, the scholars of Italy, France, Germany, and England drank from the copious fountain of Arabian literature. Among the number of their distinguished students were Adelard, a monk of Bath, in the eleventh century, Morley, a native of Norfolk, and our countryman, the celebrated Michael Scott, who is only known in Scotland by his reputation as a wizard.

By the command of Charlemagne, the principal Arabic books were translated into Latin, for the use of the people in the various provinces of his empire. For several centuries medicine found a secure retreat at Salerno and Montpellier, whither students flocked from all quarters of Europe, and where the Christians became acquainted with the works of Galen and Hippocrates. Even the Greeks and Jews did not disdain to learn the healing art from the Saracens, many of whom were induced by the liberality of Alphonso X. to settle at Toledo. The Arabian arithmetic, introduced by Gerbert, was improved by Leonardo, a merchant of Pisa, who learned the art during his residence at Algiers, about the commencement of the thirteenth century; and to that commercial republic may be attributed the distinction of being the first among the Christian states of the West which employed this system of notation. In short, without exaggerating the labours of the Arabs, it may be said that we are indebted to them, not only for the revival of the exact and physical sciences, but for most of those useful arts and inventions that have wrought so total a change, and given so beneficial an impulse to the literature and civilization of Europe.

CHAPTER IV.

CIVIL HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT OF ARABIA.

Extinction of the Saracen Power—Formation of new Kingdoms in the East—Victories and Dominions of Timur—Conquests of the Turks and Portuguese in Arabia—Selim I. obtains the Investiture of the Caliphate—Expulsion of the Turks by the Independent Arab Chiefs—Dominions of the Imam of Sanaa—His Government, Revenues, and Military Force—Description of Sanaa—Visits of European Travellers to that Capital—Principal Town in Yemen—Beit el Fakih—Taas—Mocha—Aden—Government of Hadramaut—Of Oman—Description of Muscat—Court, Revenues, and Commercial Enterprise of the Imam—Islands of Bahrein—Pearl Fisheries—Depredations of the Joassamee Pirates in the Persian Gulf—Various Expeditions from India to suppress them—Reduction of Ras el Khyma and their principal Fortresses—Arab Settlers on the Persian Frontier—Classification of the wandering Bedouin Tribes—Their migratory Habits and Military Strength—Government of their Sheiks—Their Laws and Judicial Trials—Reflections on their Political Institutions.

The history of the Saracens, both as a military and a political nation, may be said to have expired with the reduction of Bagdad by the grandson of Zingis Khan. The successors of Mostasem, to the number of eighteen, called the Second Dynasty of the Abbassides, were merely the spiritual chiefs of the Mohammedan religion. For two centuries and a half the ecclesiastical supremacy continued in the hands of these venerable phantoms; when at length the tide of invasion swept away the only remaining vestige, and feeble representative, of the once proud caliphs of the East. Long before the downfall of the Abbassides, Arabia had shared in the declining fortunes of its masters. Instead of being the seat of the successors of the Prophet, or the centre of

a mighty empire, it had dwindled into the condition of a province; where, except in the character of pontiff, the power of the sovereign was little regarded. Amid the distractions of foreign wars many chiefs of the interior shook off their precarious allegiance, and resumed their ancient habits of independence. Only the coast and the principal cities acknowledged the yoke of the neighbouring monarchs; and during the hostilities which for 300 years desolated the continent of Asia, the Arabs mingled with the auxiliary bands that swelled the ranks of the Egyptians and Persians in their sanguinary campaigns against the Turks and Tartars.

In the West, their unwieldy empire, despoiled of Spain, Africa, and the Mediterranean islands, had shrunk within its original boundary, the Red Sea, but their power was not increased by the dismemberment of these remote provinces. The commanders of the faithful had been stripped of much valuable territory in Asia by Mahmoud of Ghizni and his successors, the founders of the Mohammedan power in India. The race of the Gaurides and the Afghans, who had supplanted the descendants of that warlike sultan (A. D. 1160), and extended the dominions and the faith of Islam from Delhi and Lahore to the distant extremity of the vast province of Bengal, yielded in their turn to the swords of the Moguls (A. D. 1413), who, from being the conquerors, became the sovereigns of that peninsula. Persia, whose jewelled sceptre had fallen from the nerveless grasp of the despicable successors of Omar and Ali, was long a prey to every daring adventurer who had the courage to seize it. For a hundred years it was ruled by Hoolaku and his descendants, whose fortunes may be said to have ended with the weak and indolent Abu Seyd (A. D. 1356); for the few princes that succeeded him were mere pageants, whom the nobles of the court elevated or cast down as suited the purposes of their ambition. From an obscure ad-

venturer, Ismael, at the age of eighteen, became sole monarch of the country (A. D. 1502), and founder of the Suffavean dynasty, which continued to hold the reins of government till the beginning of the last century.

The empire of the great Zingis, which had destroyed and superseded the temporal power of the caliphs, was itself doomed to experience the same fate from the fierce Tartars, who, bursting in swarms from their immeasurable steppes, and rolling onward like a resistless torrent, overthrew in one common ruin the thrones of the principal dynasties of the East. The renowned Timur, or Tamerlane, who as chief of one of these tribes had ascended the throne of Zagatai in 1370, was the leader of those barbarous invaders. A fertile kingdom of 500 miles in length and as many in breadth might have satisfied a man of ordinary ambition; but this Alexander of the Desert aspired to the conquest and monarchy of the whole world: and before his death he had the rare fortune to place twenty-seven crowns on his head. With an army occupying a space of thirteen miles from wing to wing he left his capital of Samarcand. The hostile nations yielded in succession to his arms, and his name was pronounced with terror from the Ganges to the distant wilds of Siberia. Penetrating to the "regions of perpetual daylight," he made himself master of the Russian capital of Moscow; where the astonished Moslems found themselves for the first time relieved from the obligations of evening prayer. Everywhere his course was tracked by desolation and blood. At Ispahan, Bagdad, and two other places on the road to Delhi, pyramids of human sculls, amounting to 70,000, 90,000, and 100,000 respectively, were raised as the barbarous monuments of his triumphs. The battle of Angora (A. D. 1402) has immortalized the glory of Timur and the defeat of his rival Bajazet, the fourth of the Ottoman

emirs, who gratified the pride and vengeance of his conqueror in the captivity of an iron cage. This decisive victory cost the lives of about 200,000 Turks and nearly as many Tartars. The dominions of this wonderful man were inferior in extent only to those of the Saracens in the zenith of their power.

The star of Timur rose and set amid scenes of carnage; and his race, as well as his empire, might have become extinct, had not Baber, the grandson of Abu Seyd already mentioned, after a long and noble struggle against the Uzbeck Tartars, the enemies and subverters of his family, retired to India, where his great talents obtained for him one of the most splendid thrones in the world. This sultan was the first that received the title of Emperor of Hindostan, and with him commenced (A. D. 1526) the sovereignty of the Great Mogul in that peninsula, which flourished till the beginning of the eighteenth century, when it received its death-blow in the fall of Aurengzebe (A. D. 1707),—a prince who raised it to the zenith of its glory, and whose sway extended over a region containing 64,000,000 inhabitants. His successors have in their turn vanished from the scene; and their richest kingdoms are now possessed by a company of British merchants.

Though the Turkish sultans could not, like the Arabian caliphs, style themselves the descendants and successors of the apostle of God, they piously espoused the cause of the Koran; and, like the Saracens, affected to wage war only for the interests of Islam. Selim I., after reducing the whole peninsula of Mesopotamia, made himself master, in 1516, of Syria and Egypt. The Arabs alone refused him their obedience. Since the ruin of the caliphate, they had in a great measure shaken off the foreign authorities to which they had been partly subject. The neighbouring powers, too much engrossed with their own quarrels, had never attempted their subjugation; till the Portuguese, under Gama, made their appearance in the Red Sea (A. D. 1504).

Instigated by the fanatical ambition of founding an Eastern empire, the King of Portugal had assumed, among other magnificent titles, that of "Lord of the Navigation, Conquest, and Commerce of Arabia;" and commenced the exercise of his prerogative by capturing a Moorish vessel, the crew of which were treated in the most savage manner. From the beginning of the sixteenth century different expeditions from Lisbon visited the Arabian coast. Alphonso Albuquerque, in 1506, reduced Curiat, Muscat, and other important cities on both sides of the Persian Gulf. Gauri, the last of the Mamlouk sultans of Egypt, before his overthrow by Selim, desirous to rid his neighbourhood of these troublesome adventurers, fitted out an expedition, and seized most of the ports on the Red Sea. But on the extinction of that dynasty the greater part of these cities fell again into the hands of their European masters. The Ottomans, in order to secure the possession of Egypt, and restore to its ports the lucrative trade of the East, found it necessary to continue the war against the Portuguese in co-operation with the sultans of India. Solyman Pasha, the governor of Cairo, was ordered by Selim to equip at Suez a fleet of seventy galleys, manned by 7000 of the best Turkish soldiers. With this powerful armament he recovered all the towns on the Arabian Gulf as far as Aden.

Another circumstance tended to confirm the dominion of Selim over Arabia. One of the descendants of the caliphs of Bagdad (Mohammed XI.), on the ruin of that capital by the Moguls, had fled to Egypt; and being the last of the sacred race, his family were treated with all the respect due to the successor of the successors of the Prophet. A scion of this fallen trunk of the Abbassides was found by Selim at Cairo in 1517, and conducted to Constantinople, where he maintained him at his own expense, and at his demise received from him the formal renunciation of the caliphate. In this empty

title the Turkish sovereign obtained a distinction, which secured to him and his descendants the veneration of all Mussulmans of the Sonnee sect. The posterity of this last of the caliphs have sunk to the level of subjects; but the spiritual influence and supremacy derived from this investiture is by no means a barren privilege, even to the present occupant of the Turkish throne. Partly by gifts, and partly by intimidation, Selim allured many of the Arabian chiefs and commanders to his allegiance. Even the Sheriff of Mecca delivered to him the keys of the sacred city, and openly acknowledged his sovereignty. By the influence of this venerated personage, many of the wandering tribes of the Desert were induced voluntarily to submit to his authority, and to deliver hostages for their future obedience. From this circumstance, and from this period, may be traced the duty which has been annually performed by the Turkish sultans, as commanders of the faithful, of conducting the zealous Moslems on their pilgrimage to the sacred territory,—a privilege which was henceforth delegated to the Pasha of Damascus, and to whom it still belongs.

The conquests of Selim left his son, Solyman I., little to achieve in Asia, except to preserve and consolidate the vast empire which he had acquired. In Arabia this sultan, who appears to have carried the Ottoman name to the highest pitch of glory, employed his arms with great success. From Suez to Aden the whole coasts acknowledged his power. Penetrating inland, he obtained possession of Yemen, and even carried his victories into some of the mountainous regions beyond its northern frontier; so that the peninsula became almost entirely an appendage of the Turkish empire, governed by pashas or beglerbegs appointed by the Porte.

The reigns of Achmet II. and Mustapha II. (A. D. 1696) were disturbed by revolts of the Arab tribes,

who plundered and impeded the pilgrims on their route, and even made the Khan of the Tartars himself their prisoner. The former, unable to conquer, was glad to compound with the sheiks of the Desert; while the latter, through the bravery of Arslan, the Pasha of Tripoli, defeated the freebooters, and upheld the authority of the Turkish emperor as protector of the sacred territory. Nadir Shah made an attempt to subdue the Arabs who constantly infested his frontier; and, in the prosecution of this object, had at an immense expense equipped a fleet of twenty-five sail on the Persian Gulf. But the success of the expedition was frustrated by religious animosities; for the sailors, being Indians, who were Sonnees, refused to fight against their brethren of the same orthodox faith; and after massacring their Sheah officers they carried off the ships. Another of his schemes was to transport these troublesome neighbours to the shores of the Caspian Sea, and settle a colony of Persians in their room; but his tragical death, in 1747, prevented the execution of this project.

The precarious authority of the Turks received frequent shocks from the independent princes and sheiks in the interior, who had never been subdued. So early as 1630 they were expelled from Yemen, where their name and their government were alike odious, and obliged to evacuate all the places on the coasts, which they had occupied for more than a century. The sultans style themselves sovereigns of Hejaz; but their sole title to this distinction consists in a few slender prerogatives, which may now be considered as nearly annihilated. As lord-paramount, the grand seignior can appoint or depose a governor, though he dare not always venture to punish a rebel. The revenues which he draws from this capricious province are proportionate to his diminished authority, being limited to a few trifling dues at certain ports. These

are, however, more than counterbalanced by his expenditure in pensions, grants, and pious foundations established at the different sacred places.

Except under the reigns of the warlike caliphs, the same primitive and simple form of government may be said to have subsisted in Arabia from the most remote period of its history. Among the modern Bedouins it remains in all its purity; in other parts it has undergone some changes, without, however, being materially altered. The whole peninsula is divided unequally among a vast number of petty sovereigns, under different titles, and exercising various degrees of authority; bearing a strong analogy to those social arrangements which appear to have prevailed in Europe in the middle ages, and more recently among the Highland clans of Scotland; except only that the inferior chiefs have seldom been in a state of vassalage, and never knew the feudal government. In the fertile and civilized districts, monarchies more or less extensive have been formed, either by conquest or by religious prejudices.

Among the most considerable of the Arabian princes is the imam, who resides at Sanaa, and who may be styled King of Yemen, as his dominions extend over the greater part of that large and fertile province. The elevation of this royal family is coeval with the expulsion of the Turks in 1630,—a revolution which was achieved by their ancestor the famous Khassem, who traced his descent from the Prophet. It was while residing privately on his patrimonial inheritance, on the mountains near Loheia, that with the aid of the neighbouring sheiks he freed his country from the odious sway of the Ottoman pashas. Raised thus to the dignity of a sovereign, he assumed the modest title of *sejid*, or lord; but, after his death, the gratitude of the nation bestowed on him the epithet of The Great.

His son Ismael adopted the title of imam: he was so economical that he made and sold bonnets for his livelihood, to save the public revenue, and restricted his household to one wife and a female slave. He died after a reign of thirty years, and was held in the highest esteem, both for his talents and his piety. His descendants, to the number of eleven in succession, had filled the throne at the time when the traveller Niebuhr visited that country. The interval had been signalized by the contests of various pretenders to the crown, chiefly of the reigning family. The imam Mahadi, who ascended the throne in 1746, had some formidable adversaries to oppose, particularly the heroic Abdurrab, governor of the small province of Hosjerie, who proclaimed himself an independent sheik. After taking possession of Kataba, Taas, and other districts, on which he levied heavy contributions, the imam was obliged to conclude a peace with him.

Though the throne of Yemen is hereditary, and devolves, if generally approved by the subjects, on the eldest legitimate son, yet the rightful succession is often violated. The jurisdiction of the imam in ecclesiastical matters, though absolute among his own subjects, extends not over the dominions of other sovereigns of the same sect, who employ a mufti or cadi as their spiritual ruler. In the exercise of his prerogative he is controlled by the supreme tribunal of Sanaa, of which he is only president, and which consists of a certain number of cadis, possessing the sole power of life and death. These assessors, generally persons of incorruptible integrity, are nominated by the sovereign, and removable at his pleasure—a circumstance which, if he is disposed to abuse his authority, puts it in his power to extort their suffrages by threatening them with disgrace; but this extreme measure is seldom resorted to. The public offices at court are numer-

ous, but titles of honour are few. The first minister is simply styled *fakih*—an appellation so vague as to include all holding place or employment who are in any degree above the vulgar. Every petty district has its governor, who, if not of princely or noble birth, is called *walih* and *dowlah*, or sometimes emir, when he happens to be of low extraction. A dowlah in Yemen resembles a pasha in Turkey, only acting in a more restricted sphere. He commands the forces in his province, regulates the police, and collects the taxes. They are all obliged to render frequent account of their administration; and to prevent their accumulating too much wealth where the governments are lucrative, they are recalled every two or three years. When guilty of high misdemeanors, or convicted of malversation, they are punished by imprisonment or confiscation, but seldom capitally. Every city in which a dowlah resides has likewise a cadi, who is sole judge in civil and ecclesiastical affairs. In large villages the chief is a sheik; and in every little town a sub-dowlah resides, with a small garrison of soldiers to preserve order. The *emir bahr* is the inspector of seaports; and in the inland districts the *sheik el belled* is the officer who levies taxes, and determines what each individual must pay. Sales and markets are regulated by their own emir; the principal gates in cities and fortresses are intrusted to similar officers; even the post of chief jailer and watchman is honourable, and an object of ambition. Where the governments are considerable, the dowlahs are attended by a *bas-kateb*, or comptroller, whose business it is to keep a strict eye upon their conduct, and acquaint the imam with the general state of affairs. This spy, by his misrepresentations, often supplants the governor; but he is himself placed at the mercy of another bas-kateb, and shares in his turn the fate of his predecessor.

The revenues of the imam arise both from a land

and a poll tax, and from duties payable on articles of merchandise. Coffee affords a very considerable income, as the crown is entitled to receive a fourth part of the selling price before it can be put on board ship for exportation. The different departments vary in their contributions according to circumstances. Niebuhr learned that Mocha, in the summer season, when vessels from India arrive and depart, paid 7000 crowns per month—at other times only 4000; Loheia yielded 3000 crowns; Hodeida, 1400; Beit el Fakih, 3600; and Zebid 1400.* It is difficult to obtain accurate knowledge either of the revenue or expenditure of the Arabian princes. Strangers are obliged to use great caution in putting questions on this subject, otherwise their curiosity may cost them their head. Oraki, a Jew, and surveyor-general of buildings, the person whom the Danish traveller consulted, estimated the income of Mahadi at 830,000 crowns, or 188,306*l.*, a month; but in consequence of the temporary loss of Kataba, Aden, Abu Arish, Taas, and some other provinces, it was reduced nearly one-half.

The military force of Sanaa, though not precisely known, consisted, according to Niebuhr, of about 4000 infantry and 1000 cavalry. The chief command of the army was intrusted to four sheiks; and under them were many *nakibs*, or officers of an inferior class, some of whom had been raised from the condition of slaves. Nakib is the highest title that the sovereign can confer, that of sheik being hereditary, and peculiar to petty princes or independent Arabs. In times of peace the military are employed as state pageants, or engaged in civil occupations. The cavalry attend the imam or the dowlah to the mosque, wherever their head-quarters may happen to be; and, after conducting their master home, they exercise themselves in arms and horsemanship,

* The German crown is equal to 4*s.* 6½*d.* nearly.

which they perform with great dexterity. The cavalry have no uniform, every one dressing according to his own fancy. Their arms are a long lance, a sabre, a curved dirk stuck in their girdle, and sometimes a pair of pistols in the holsters of their saddles. A pair of boots are drawn on their naked legs, and the ends of their turbans flow down between their shoulders.

The infantry, while in garrison, have little else to do than act as sentinels or foot-guards to the dowlah. In accompanying him to the mosque they use wild and grotesque gestures, flourishing their scimitars or their muskets in the air, and singing and leaping like men insane or intoxicated—a practice which is supposed to have some reference to an ancient usage of exciting courage when marching to battle. Their pay Niebuhr states at two crowns and a half per month, and their dress is as irregular as that of the cavalry. The greater number wear nothing but a piece of short linen around their loins, and over that is a girdle in which their curved dagger is fixed. Their heads are covered with a kerchief or a cap of blue linen; and their hair, which is long, is knotted or folded up into a kind of bag. A buckler, sabre, and lance are their ordinary arms; and they are trained in the use of musketry. They have a singular method of displaying their courage and fidelity in battle, resembling that of the *solduri* among the Romans. A soldier willing to evince his devoted attachment to his chief binds up his leg to his thigh, and continues to fight until the enemy are routed, or himself cut to pieces. The marine of Yemen is on a very limited scale, a naval force being unnecessary, as there is little to dread from enemies or corsairs.

Sanaa, the capital of the imam, stands at the foot of Mount Nikkum. Abulfeda describes it as being the largest city in Yemen, and resembling Damascus for the multitude of its waters and orchards;

but the wealth and populousness which it enjoyed under the Hamyarite kings no longer exist. Niebuhr, who resided in it for a short time, says the circumference is not more than an hour's walk; and the inhabitants are not so numerous as this extent might lead us to suppose, a considerable part of the space being occupied with gardens. The walls are constructed of earth, faced with unburnt brick, and surmounted by a great many small turrets; and if we can believe the report of the French travellers who visited Yemen in 1712, their breadth is sufficient to admit of driving eight horses abreast.* It has seven gates, and a number of mosques, some of which were erected by the Turkish pashas. The public baths are only twelve; but there are several noble edifices built in the Arabian style. No less than three palaces were erected by the imam Mahadi: these are constructed partly of brick, and partly of hewn stone; but they must not be judged, in point of elegance or accommodation, by the standard of European taste. Only one of them could boast the luxury of glass windows, though they are provided with extensive gardens. Some of the principal inhabitants have in their country-houses small panes of stained glass, brought from Venice. In the city the windows have merely shutters, which are closed in time of rain, and the house is then lighted by a round wicket fitted with a piece of Muscovy glass.

Here, as in most other places in the East, there are large *simseras* or caravansaries for merchants and travellers; as also separate bazars for wood, coal, iron, grapes, corn, butter, salt, bread, and the bartering of old clothes for new. The other trades, including all who traffic in the merchandise of India, Persia, and Turkey, as well as those who deal in all sorts of spices and drugs—the fruiterers, carpen-

* Voyage de l'Arabie Heureuse.

ters, smiths, shoemakers, saddlers, tailors, stonecutters, goldsmiths, barbers, cooks, and writers or scribes, have each their respective stand in the open street, with their little portable shops. Jews are not permitted to live in the city; they reside, to the number of about 2000, in a village in the suburbs. They are treated with great contempt; yet the best artisans in Arabia are of this nation, especially potters and goldsmiths, who come within the walls by day to work in their little shops, and in the evening retire to their own habitations. Many of them carry on a very considerable trade, and are occasionally advanced to places of trust. Oraki was an eminent merchant before he was made by the imam comptroller of customs and surveyor of the royal buildings and gardens. He had incurred the displeasure of his master shortly before the arrival of the Danish traveller, and his disgrace involved his countrymen in a severe persecution. Fourteen of their synagogues were demolished by order of the government; all the stone pitchers in which they kept their wine were broken; all their houses above 14 cubits high (25½ feet) were pulled down, and none exceeding that height were permitted to be raised in future.

Fruits are very abundant. It is said there are more than twenty different species of grapes, one of which is without stones; and as they do not all ripen at the same time, they continue to afford a delicious refreshment for several months. By preserving and hanging them in their cellars the citizens secure an agreeable food the greater part of the year. Vast quantities of them are dried; and the exportation of raisins forms a considerable branch of traffic. The adjacent plain of Rodda is covered with gardens, and watered by small streams. Timber for firewood is scarce and dear, the hills in the vicinity being bleak and bare; so that this article is brought from the distance of three days' journey,

and a camel's load costs two crowns. There is a partial supply of pit-coal, and even peat is used, but of so bad a quality as to require a mixture of straw to make it burn. The castle contains a mint, and a series of prisons for persons of different ranks. It is the residence of several princes of the blood. The battery consisted, when Niebuhr visited it, of seven iron cannons, partly buried in the sand and partly mounted upon broken carriages; and these, with six others near the gates, which are fired on festival-days, were all the artillery of the metropolis of Yemen.

The first Europeans that visited the court of Sanaa were the deputation of a company of French merchants of St. Malo engaged in the coffee-trade, during their second expedition in 1711 and the two following years. The residence of the imams was then at Mohaib or Mouab, a small town to the north of Sanaa, and eight days' journey from Mocha. It was built by the sovereign then on the throne, Mohammed, who was involved in perpetual wars; and appeared remarkable for nothing but its palace, which consisted of two large wings three stories high. The walls and most part of the houses were of mud.

That prince is described as an old man, eighty-seven years of age, of a complexion inclining to tawny, and an agreeable aspect. In his dress he maintained the greatest simplicity, never wearing any other habit than a fine cloth of a green or yellow colour, without any ornament. His legs and feet were bare, with the exception of slippers after the Turkish fashion. The only mark of distinction was a kind of veil of white silk over his turban, which covered his head, and, falling down before, was tied under his chin like a woman's hood. The same plainness and modesty of attire were observed in the courtiers and other officers of the household. The grandees never approached him without taking hold of his right hand, which was laid upon his

knee, and kissing it with the most profound respect.

The only thing like state ceremony, and in which the simple manners of the court were laid aside, occurred when his majesty went to the mosque. On these occasions there was a splendid military parade, including infantry, cavalry, and officers of the palace. The king rode a beautiful white charger, which nobody else was permitted to mount. By his side were the two princes, his sons, on horses richly caparisoned. Over his head, as a screen from the heat, was borne a large parasol or canopy of green damask, with a red fringe ornamented with gold tassels, and surmounted by a globe of gilt silver. Immediately before the royal person rode an officer carrying the Koran in a bag of red cloth; the sword-bearer rode behind. During the march of this pageant, tambours, timbrels, and hautboys ceased not to play; and, to swell the train, they were joined by fifty led horses and as many camels from the king's stables at Damar, which had saddles, bridles, and housings, ornamented with gold and silver, with a battle-axe suspended on the one side, and a beautiful sabre on the other. The heads of the camels were furnished with tall plumes of black ostrich feathers. The place of prayer was a pavilion or open tent, into which the sovereign alone entered, the spectators performing their devotions at the same time, and imitating the imam in the various motions of the requisite ceremonies.

The French deputies were astonished at contrasting the size and elegance of the palace with the homeliness of its furniture. The walls were merely hung round with a piece of printed calico, five or six feet in breadth; and its only accommodation was a sofa, with plain cushions and carpets, which served the purposes of chair, table, and bed. The plains in the vicinity were sown with rice and wheat; while nearly all the hills and valleys were covered with

vines, coffee, and fruit trees of every description. The royal gardens were extensive, but presented nothing particular, except in the arrangement of the shrubberies, which contained specimens of all the trees known in the kingdom. The harem was kept in the castle, and replenished with 600 or 700 women. When they ventured abroad, their ordinary conveyance was on the backs of camels, enclosed in a sort of cage covered with scarlet and stuffed with cushions, on which they sat or lolled at pleasure. The only entrance into this sedan was by a small opening before, which was covered with a curtain or veil of fine linen. The ladies in general used a profusion of scents and odours; many of them had large gold rings suspended from the end of their nose, besides bracelets of the same metal on their arms, neck, and ankles.

When Niebuhr visited the court of Yemen, fifty years afterward, Mohaib had ceased to be the royal residence. Damar contained about 5000 houses, with a dowlah, and a university attended by nearly 500 students. At Sanaa the Danish travellers were conducted to the royal presence by the secretary of the vizier. The court of the palace (the *Bustan el Motakkel*) was so crowded with horses, officers, and servants, that it would have been impossible for the strangers to force their way, had not the principal equerry, who had formerly been a slave, opened a passage through the crowd with the aid of a ponderous staff in his hand. The hall was a spacious square chamber, having an arched roof, lighted from the top. In the centre was a large basin, with some *jets d'eau* rising to the height of fourteen feet. Behind this reservoir was a platform about a foot and a half high, and five feet in length. On this was set the throne slightly elevated, and resembling a square pedestal or altar, covered with silk stuffs. The floor of the apartment was spread with Persian carpets. The imam sat half-buried in cushions, with his legs

across. His dress was a bright green robe with full sleeves, such as were worn by the caliphs. On each side of his breast was a rich filleting of gold lace, and on his head he wore a white turban of ample dimensions. His sons sat on his right-hand, and his brothers on his left. Opposite to them was the vizier, Fakih Achmed, and on the lower elevation were placed the European visiters. On each side of the hall were ranged the principal grandees and officers of the court, who all shouted, "God save the imam!" as the strangers kissed the hem of the royal robe.

The pompous manner of going to mosque, which is described by the French travellers, was witnessed by the Danes. The better to display his magnificence, the imam usually made a long and circuitous progress, passing out by one gate of the city and entering by another; his train, after prayers, being joined by all the inhabitants who have performed their devotions. A large body of soldiers marched before; and, besides the princes of the blood, there were in the procession at least 600 noblemen, ecclesiastics, civil and military officers, all superbly dressed and mounted; the rear was brought up by a vast concourse of people on foot, and by a number of camels in pairs, bearing empty sedans, and small flags fixed by way of ornament to their saddles. On each side of the imam was borne a standard, surmounted by a small box or casket of silver filled with amulets, whose virtues were supposed to render him invincible. Various other banners were fortified with similar talismans. The same rich canopies, called *medallas*, were extended over the heads of the king and some other members of his family; these being a distinction peculiar to the sovereign and princes of the blood, and claimed by the sheiks, sheriffs, and nobility in other parts of Yemen, who constantly display this mark of their independence. Altogether, the *cortège* was magnificent but disor-

derly, the multitude crossing and jostling each other. The firing of the military was awkward, as were their evolutions and exercises in front of the palace.

After their audience with the imam, the strangers paid their respects to Fakih Achmed. The vizier's house was not large, and on one side entirely open on account of the heat. The garden was stocked with fruit trees, and in the middle was a *jet d'eau*, wrought by an odd sort of hydraulic machinery; the water being put in motion by means of an ass and a man alternately mounting and descending an inclined plane. This apparatus was less for ornament than use in cooling the air, and was common in the gardens of all the principal inhabitants of Sanaa.

The traveller and his companions, on the eve of their departure, received from the imam each a complete suit of clothes, with a letter to the Dowlah of Mocha, desiring him to pay them 200 crowns as a farewell present; while the secretary had orders to furnish camels and asses for the whole of their journey, besides a quantity of provisions. The dress Niebuhr describes as being exactly like that worn by the Arabs of distinction throughout Yemen, consisting of a shirt over wide drawers of cotton cloth, and a vest with straight sleeves covered by a flowing gown. The turban is very large, falling down between the shoulders. The *jambea*, a sort of crooked cutlass or dagger, is inserted in a broad girdle, and to the handle is sometimes attached a kind of chaplet or rosary, which the Mohammedans use at prayers.

Since the visit of the Danish travellers internal wars and political revolutions have wrought many changes in Yemen, and greatly eclipsed the splendour of that ancient monarchy. About the commencement of the present century, Mr. Pringle, the British resident at Mocha, twice visited Sanaa, which he describes as a handsome town surrounded with

SPAIN * INTERN

An Arab of Rank in the Costume of Yemen.

gardens. The palace was an elegant building; and at court a considerable degree of dignity and splendour was maintained. The imam, whom Lord Valentia represents as a person about 78 years old, and fast approaching to dotage, was still endeavouring to amuse himself in his harem of 400 Abyssinian slaves; apparently insensible of the danger that threatened him from the encroachments of the Wahabees. His family, consisting of 19 brothers and 24 sons and grandsons, was torn by domestic quarrels. The whole disposable force of the kingdom did not then exceed 600 horse and 3000 foot, though it is reckoned in ordinary times at 1000 cavalry and 4000 infantry.

The dominions of this prince in Niebuhr's time were subdivided into thirty governments or provinces, of which the Tehama contained six, and the inland country twenty-four. These petty districts were not all equally populous or important, and to describe them in detail would be as irksome as it is superfluous. The territory of Loheia, the most northern part of the kingdom, is arid and barren. The city was built about the middle of the fifteenth century; and, like several others in these parts, owed its foundation to a Mohammedan saint, whose hut stood near the shore, where a town gradually accumulated round his tomb. The houses, with the exception of a few stone edifices, are mere mud hovels thatched with grass, having a straw mat for a door, and scarcely any windows. The harbour is so indifferent that even the smallest vessels are obliged to anchor at a considerable distance. Its staple trade is coffee, of which annual purchases are made by merchants from Cairo and other places.

The journey to Beit el Fakih is represented as lying generally through a parched and barren tract of country. The only accommodation are wretched coffee-houses intended to serve the purposes of our inns. These *mokeias*, as they are called, are paltry

huts, furnished merely with a *sevir*, or long bench of straw ropes; nor do they afford any refreshment but *kischer*, a hot infusion of coffee-beans, or sometimes millet-cakes with camel's milk and butter. The kischer is served out in coarse earthen cups; wheaten-bread was a rarity in the province, and the water was scarce and bad. The owner or master of the inn generally resides in some neighbouring village, whence he comes daily to wait for passengers. Another description of coffee-houses is the *mansale*, where travellers are received and entertained gratuitously, if they will be content with the usual fare of the country. The guests are all lodged in one common apartment, which is served and furnished in the same homely style as the mokeias.

The city of Beit el Fakih (or House of the Sage) derived its name and origin from a famous saint, Achmed ibn Mousa, whose sepulchre is shown in a handsome mosque near the town. His reputation for miraculous cures was as celebrated as that of any martyr or confessor in the Romish calendar. One of his most wonderful performances was the liberation of a Turkish pasha who had been for twenty years a captive in Spain, where he was bound in a dungeon to two huge stones, with ponderous and massy chains. Long and in vain had he invoked every canonized name in the annals of Islam; but when the aid of Achmed was solicited, the compassionate saint stretched his hand from the tomb, and at this signal the pasha instantly arrived from Spain, carrying with him both fetters and stones, to the great amazement of the inhabitants of Beit el Fakih, who were then met to celebrate the anniversary festival of their ghostly patron. The city contains little of an interesting nature. The houses stand separate from each other; many of them are built of stone, others of mud mixed with dung. The surrounding plain, though not fertile, is well cultivated; and the authority of the resident dowlah extends

over a wide district. Hodeida has a tolerable harbour, a small citadel, a patron saint, and a dowlah, whose jurisdiction is confined to the town. Zebid, once the capital of Tehama, the residence of a sovereign, and the most commercial city on the Arabian Gulf, now retains little but the shadow of its former splendour. It is furnished with a dowlah, a mufti, three cadis, and an academy.

After visiting the coffee-mountains in the neighbourhood, and the towns of Kahme, Bulgosa, and Kusma, which last stood on the loftiest peak of the range, Niebuhr proceeded to Udden and Jobla. The country was solitary; and in the few villages which they passed the houses were still more wretched than in Tehama: they had no walls, and consisted merely of poles laid together and covered with reeds, some of which grew in the valley to the height of twenty feet, forming an agreeable shade.

Taas, a place of some celebrity, stands at the foot of the fertile hill of Sabber, and is encompassed with a wall varying from sixteen to thirty feet thick, and flanked with several towers. Within this rampart rises a steep rock about 400 feet high, on which the citadel or fortress of Kahre is built, defended by an exterior coating of brick. The present town is of comparatively modern origin, and owed its foundation to the attractive virtues of the tomb of Ismael Malec, its patron saint, who according to tradition was once king of that country. A mosque bearing his name was reared on the spot where his remains were buried; but nobody has been permitted to approach his tomb since on one occasion he thought proper to work a miracle which gave great dissatisfaction to the authorities of the place. This marvellous event was related to Niebuhr:—Two beggars had asked charity from the dowlah, of whom one only received alms; the other repaired to the sepulchre of Ismael to implore his interposition. The holy man, who when alive had been liberal of his

bounty, gave the mendicant a letter containing an order on the dowlah for the payment of 100 crowns. Upon examination the document was found to be in the handwriting of the deceased, and sealed with his seal. With such evidence before his eyes the governor durst not refuse, and paid the beggar the demand in full; but, to avoid such troublesome drafts in future, the tomb was enclosed with a lofty wall.

In the city and neighbourhood stood many deserted and ruinous mosques, some of which appeared to be erected by the Turkish pashas. The subsequent governors of the place had built several noble palaces, which were the greatest ornaments in it; but many of the houses had been destroyed, and the surrounding country almost depopulated, during the civil wars occasioned by the revolt of the governor, Dowlah Achmed, brother to the imam El Mansor Hossein. On being recalled, this officer refused to obey; and with a force of 2000 men he stood out for twelve years, leaving the succession to his eldest son Abdallah. The place was taken and pillaged about the end of the year 1760.

On the route from Taas to Sanaa the principal cities are Abb, Jerim or Yerim, and Damar. Abb is situate on the summit of a hill, surrounded by a strong wall, and contains about 800 houses, most of them well built. Jerim, which some suppose to be Dafar, an ancient capital of the Hamyaric kings, is but a small town; the houses are built of stone or sun-dried bricks. The castle stands on a rock, and is the residence of the dowlah. In all the markets locusts were sold at a low price; and these the peasants dry and lay up for winter provisions.

In Yemen the usual method of travelling is on asses, which in that country are large, strong, and spirited, walking at a pace not very agreeable to the rider. As Christians, however, are not prohibited the use of horses, Niebuhr and his companions pre-

ferred that animal; hiring camels for their baggage. A bucket of water is sometimes suspended from the saddle,—that being an article indispensable in these arid regions. The roads in general are of a very bad description. Among the mountains the path is sometimes so narrow that a single camel only can pass at a time; in other places it winds up steep and rugged acclivities, and is formed of a causeway or pavement, which is occasionally broken and rendered impassable by the descending torrents.

The town of Mocha, the name of which a celebrated article of its export-trade has rendered so familiar to our ears, has no pretensions to antiquity. It was not in existence 400 years ago; and nothing was known of it till the adventures of the Dutch and Portuguese in India opened the Red Sea to the nations of Europe. Its place, as a commercial port, was originally supplied by the village of Moosa. This wretched hamlet, which now consists of a few circular huts with conical roofs, built of matting or leaves of the date-palm, must have then stood on the shore of the Arabian Gulf, though the retirement of the waters at this spot, as elsewhere, has left it a distance of five hours' journey from the modern town. It is still the residence of a sub-dowlah, and distinguished for its delicious water and its excellent fowls.

The origin of Mocha is ascribed to the great reputation of its patron saint, the famous Sheik Schædeli, who had here a hermitage, which was eagerly resorted to by disciples from all parts of the country to drink his coffee and receive his benedictions. After his death an elegant mosque was raised over his tomb: the principal wall and one of the gates of the city still bear his name; the people swear by him, and thank Heaven every morning on his account for having taught mankind the use of that delightful beverage, the healing virtues of which were long reckoned as efficacious as

his prayers; they implore the Divine favour on his descendants, who are held in great honour, and enjoy the title of sheik. Such is the oriental history of the founding of Mocha. When the Portuguese, under Don Alphonso Albuquerque, first visited it in 1513, it was with the intention of uniting themselves to the Abyssinian Christians against their common enemy the Moslems; but they returned without deriving any advantage from the attempt. In 1538, it seems to have been a place of little importance, probably under a Turkish governor; as Solyman Pasha, who commanded the Egyptian fleet, mentioned it as a castle where he stopped on returning from his disgraceful expedition against Diu.

In the beginning of the seventeenth century, when the Red Sea was first visited by the English under Captain Alexander Sharpey of the Ascension (1609), Mocha had become the grand mart for the trade between India and Egypt. The Turkish governor was courteous and liberal, and allowed the foreigners to traffic without injury; but the succeeding pasha was a man of a very different character, as Admiral Sir Henry Middleton, who was sent by the East India Company on a trading voyage the following year, experienced to his cost. The treacherous Turks not only assaulted the strangers in the town, but made an attack on their ships in the harbour. The gallant commander and part of the crew "were manacled like so many slaves;" Sir Henry was threatened with the loss of his head for daring to set his polluted foot on the soil where the city of their holy Prophet stood, and consigned to a dungeon, where "he had a hard floor for his bed, a great stone for his pillow, and good store of rats and mice to keep him company." After lying in captivity for some time, he was conveyed a prisoner to Sanaa, which he describes as something bigger than Bristol; but by the interposition of certain friends he

obtained his release, and was remanded to Mocha, with a stern injunction that neither he nor any of his nation should again revisit these ports.

Captain Saris with a small expedition arrived in the course of next year, when he found the Turks more liberal, and met with greater civility; but the spirit of religious antipathy was too fierce to admit the continuance of trade. Monsieur de la Merveille, with the French deputation from St. Malo, had visited Mocha in 1708, and obtained a treaty of commerce and the establishment of a factory for his countrymen; previous to which time, the only foreign settlement in the town belonged to the Dutch.

It was not till the year 1618 that Captain Shilling of the Royal Anne obtained a firman from the Imam of Sanaa and the Governor of Mocha, granting to the English, "on the faith of the Prophet's beard, liberty to sell and buy without let or molestation in that or any other port within their dominions." Twenty years afterward the French bombarded the town, in order to extort payment of a debt of 82,000 crowns (18,620*l.*) from the dowlah, which they obliged him to reimburse; besides reducing the duties from three to two and a half per cent. During this temporary warfare, the trade of the English and Dutch, who had formed a union of interests, remained in perfect security. Several of the Arabs in Niebuhr's time recollected the siege, and were well pleased at the punishment of the avaricious dowlah, whom they represented as pursued backward and forward wherever he went with "pots of fire." This was the last city in Yemen of which the Turks retained possession; the Arabs having recovered it, according to report, not by conquest, but by purchase. Since the Ottomans were dislodged, it has had no other master than the Imam of Sanaa.

In the present century Mocha has been described by various Europeans. Viewed from a distance,

the town looks handsome and cheerful, the houses seem lofty, and have a square solid appearance. Their unvaried whiteness contrasts beautifully with the dark-blue sea, and, no shrub or tree intervening to break the uniformity of colour, gives it the semblance of being excavated from a quarry of marble. Over the tabular line of flat roofs, the minarets of three mosques rise to a considerable height, with several circular domes of *kubbets* or chapels. The roadstead is almost open, being only protected by two narrow tongues of land, on one of which is a ruined castle, and on the other an insignificant fort. A grove of date-trees adjoins the city, and extends nearly two miles along the southern beach; a pleasing object for the eye to repose upon, contrasted with the interminable expanse in every other direction of brown and desolate sterility. The wall, by which it is completely surrounded, is not more than sixteen feet high towards the sea; though, on the land side, it may in some places be double that height. The two forts that guard the harbour stand about a mile and a half asunder; a single broadside from an English man-of-war would level the whole to the ground.

The internal condition of the city corresponds not with the imposing aspect of the exterior; and the moment the traveller passes the gates, his romantic ideas are put to flight by the filth that abounds in every street. The houses of the lower class of the people, who rarely change their under-dress until it is worn to rags, are circular huts composed of wickerwork, covered inside with mats, and sometimes on the outside with a little clay. The roofs are uniformly thatched; and in front each has a small area or yard fenced off. The inhabitants have a singular fancy for crowding their dwellings in clusters, though there is ample space within the walls left unoccupied. All the principal buildings face the sea, and consist chiefly of public edifices

The British factory is a large and lofty structure; those of the French and Dutch are rapidly falling into decay. The mansion of the dowlah is the best in the city, having one front to the sea; while on two other sides are a square for military exercises, and a range of official dwellings. None of these have much pretension to architectural elegance. The walls have fantastic ornaments in white stucco. The windows are in general small, and not arranged in any regular order; they are closed with lattices, and sometimes open into a wooden carved-work balcony.

The town, according to Lord Valentia, does not contain a population of more than 5000 souls, though the French travellers made it amount to twice that number. The garrison consists of about 80 horse and 200 matchlock-men, who receive a regular pay of two dollars and a half per month. There is not a vestige of discipline among them. When on guard at the different gates they recline on couches, with their matchlocks lying negligently by their side, while the right hand is occupied with sustaining either a pipe or a cup of coffee. Their greatest display takes place when they attend the dowlah to the mosque, with the usual pomp of gay streamers, and of green and red flags. A lively writer has described a procession which he witnessed at Mocha ten years ago. The dowlah rode a beautiful little iron-gray charger, and was accompanied by about half a dozen persons, well dressed and of some condition; the rest of the attendants, amounting to the like number, were meanly clothed, and mounted on wretched horses. A large band of regular infantry from the garrison followed, in plain costume,—a common blue shirt, small dark turbans, a rude body-belt for their cartridges, and a priming-horn. They marched in a wide front, their matchlocks sloped upon their shoulders, their free hands grasping the firearms of their comrades singing as they proceeded some war-

song in loud chorus. When the dowlah reined up at the gateway of his residence, the military ranged themselves on one side of the square, and fired three volleys in the air, retiring every time to the wall to load. The only thing remarkable in their exercise was their address with the lance, and the extremely small space within which the combatants wheeled their horses.

The streets of Mocha present a motley appearance, both as to the dress and character of the inhabitants. Under the coarse awnings of its narrow bazars are to be seen brown and black complexions, half-naked peasants, and richly-attired merchants, in robes of woollen cloth, with a red woollen cap, and a tassel of purple silk, peering above the folds of their snow-white turban. There is the Jew, the Banian, the Persian, the Egyptian, and the jetty Abyssinian, straight as the young areca, and having his short curled hair died with a reddish yellow,—the foppery of his country. There is the stout Arab porter in his coarse brown garment, bowing under a heavy load of dates, the matting all oozing and clammy with the luscious burden. Lastly, there is the Bedouin, with the hue of the desert on his cheek, the sinewy limb, the eye dark and fiery, his legs and arms bare, sandals on his feet, and his bronzed bosom open to the sun and wind. He walks erect, and moves onward giving place to none; —a broad, straight, two-edged sword in his hand, and a long poniard in his girdle. Other objects in these bazars attract attention:—extended rows of camels and asses, the large coarse sheep of Abyssinia, the small thin species of Arabia, the tall brown goats;—the shops of the armorers, with their long polished swordblades, daggers, spears, matchlocks, and here and there the half-worn shield of other days;—then there are the cooks' shops, with their hot cakes of bread, and their large coppers with portions of meat and fowls swimming in ghee, and

ready for the traveller;—besides there are the caravansaries and coffee-houses, with groups of townsmen and traders reclining on couches of the date-leaf, smoking their small hookahs, sipping their kischer, and perpetually stroking their long beards.

The government of Mocha is one of the best in the gift of the imam, owing to the large sums which the dowlah is able to extort from the Banians and foreign traders. Formerly an Arab of high rank was appointed to the office; but of late it has been deemed more prudent to give it to a slave, who can easily be removed, and from whom it is more safe to take the profits of his situation. From the avaricious temper of the local authorities, Niebuhr and his companions experienced the most vexatious treatment in the seizure of their baggage, and the destruction of some of their valuable instruments. Lord Valentia makes the same remark as to the covetous and tyrannical character of the ruler of Mocha, and ascribes to him a new method of extorting money from the Banians, by confining them in a room, and fumigating them with sulphur till they complied with his demands. The dowlah in 1823 is represented as a more amiable personage, quiet and civil to Europeans, and not oppressive to the people. He was an Abyssinian, not at all striking either in his figure or appearance, who had been a slave in the family of the imam, and promoted for his good conduct. Without the walls of the town are three extensive suburbs; one occupied by common labourers; one by the Abyssinian mariners, who detest the natives; and the third by the Jews, who are not allowed to wear a turban, and held in such contempt that an Arab may spit upon and strike them. These last carry on an extensive illicit trade in brandy distilled from dates. These suburbs are not more cleanly than the town. The bed of the river Moosa is filled with an accumulation of filth and rubbish; its waters never

reach the sea except after heavy rains, on one of which occasions it swept away a considerable part of the Jewish village that had been built in its dusty channel.

In the territory of Yemen, besides the governments already mentioned, there are an immense number of small hereditary princes, sheiks, and dowlahs, who live in a state of vassalage or independence, according to the ability of the imam to retain them in subjection. In nobility of descent and dignity of rank, many of them acknowledge no superior, and assume the symbols and prerogatives of royalty. To enumerate these petty sovereigns would be impossible. The mountain of Schæhava, north-east from Loheia, contained 300 villages, which were divided among a great many sheiks, most of whom claimed kindred with the reigning family at Sanaa. The famous hill of Sabber, near Taas, was said to be parcelled out to more than a hundred free and hereditary sheiks.

Of independent states in Yemen, besides those within the imam's dominions, Niebuhr has specified no fewer than thirteen; and others doubtless might exist, of which he had obtained no information. These were Aden, Kaukeban, Kobail or Heschid-u-Bekel, Abu-Arish, Khaulan, Sahan, Saade, Nejeran, Kahtan, Nehm, East Khaulan, Jof, and Jafa.

Aden belonged to the imam until 1730, when the inhabitants expelled the governor, elected a sheik, and declared themselves independent. Abulfeda and Ibn-Haukul describe it as a flourishing town; but it suffered repeated devastations in the wars between the Turks and Portuguese, and its commerce was transferred to Mocha. When Sharpey visited it (1609), "it belonged to the Great Turk, and was the key that let him into all the treasures and sweetnesses of the Happy Arabia." A hundred years afterward the French, who put into the harbour, describe the town as of considerable extent,

and containing several elegant buildings. Of these the finest were the public baths: they were all lined with marble or jasper, covered with a handsome dome, open at the top for the admission of light, and adorned inside with galleries, supported by magnificent pillars. The markets were stored with meat, fish, and other provisions of excellent quality. Many of the houses were handsome, and two stories high; but the heaps of rubbish and ruins testified that its ancient splendour was gone. The town lies at the foot of high rocky mountains, which surround it almost on every side; on their summits and in the narrow passes were several forts. Towards the sea, by which alone the city can be approached by a very narrow causeway or peninsula, the access was guarded by five or six batteries of brass cannon. The bay is eight or nine leagues wide at the opening, and affords good anchorage, from eighteen to twenty fathoms. The scenery around is of a wild and savage character, giving few indications of that felicity or delight of which its name is said to be the expression. Cape Aden is a very lofty and steep rock, which the mariner can descry at the distance of 15 or 20 leagues. To this small state pertain a number of inferior towns and castles.

The principality of Kaukeban was ruled by imams of its own, claiming their descent from Mohammed, until they were obliged to yield up the title to Khassem, the new Arabian conqueror. The chiefs of Kobail compose a sort of confederacy (Heschid-u-Bekel) for their mutual defence; their subjects make excellent soldiers. The territory of Jafa is surrounded by that of Aden, and was under the dominion of Sanaa until the end of the 17th century, when the inhabitants revolted from the imam. In these districts are a multitude of petty sovereigns, the chief of whom take the title of sultans; Jafa and Jof being the only part of Arabia where that name is used. Abu-Arish and Mareb are governed by sheriffs; the latter lies 16 leagues north-east from

Sanaa, and, though containing only about 300 houses of mean appearance, is the capital of the province.

The province of Hadramaut is ruled by a number of petty independent sovereigns, of whose history or dominions little has been recorded beyond the names of a few cities on the coast. These have their particular sheiks, many of whom may have descended in patriarchal succession from the most remote antiquity. Among those princes, some have been dignified by travellers, but improperly, with the title of kings. The city of Doan is said to be more elegant than the capital of Yemen, from which it is distant five-and-twenty days' journey. The most powerful of these sovereigns is the Sheik of Keshin, whose dominions composed the imaginary kingdom of Fartach, as laid down in the older maps; —an error which may, perhaps, have arisen from his occasional residence in the town of that name. He possesses the island of Socotra, of which the heir-presumptive of the reigning family is always the governor. Dafar and Shibam have their resident sheiks. Aidan used to be celebrated for its annual fair, and the pilgrimage to the tomb of Kahtan.

The province of Oman is governed by an imam, but contains a number of petty sovereigns, of whom the princes of Jau, Gabria, Gafar, Rank, Gabbi, Dahara, Makaniat, and Seer have the title of sheik. Seer, which the Persians call Julfar, extends from Cape Mussendom along the Gulf, and is ruled by a chief of considerable maritime power. It is one of those districts which withdrew from the authority of the imam. Of the cities and towns of Oman little is known. Rostak was formerly the capital of the sovereign. Sohar and Kalbat were once flourishing cities, but now greatly decayed.

The modern capital, from which the sovereign takes his title, is Muscat. The Portuguese made themselves masters of it in 1508, and built two

churches, one of which was afterward converted into a magazine, and the other into the residence of the wali, or governor. From this possession they were driven by the Arabs about the middle of the seventeenth century, through the treacherous aid of a Banian, who had been robbed of his daughter by the Portuguese commander. In 1746, Oman was invaded by Nadir Shah, who subdued all the country as far as Muscat, which he also took, with the exception of two forts. On the death of that warlike prince the Persians abandoned their conquests. The ancient reigning families, the Gaffri, the Hamani, and the Arrabi (the latter pretended to be the descendants of the Koreish), again resumed the supreme power. It was at this period that Ahmed ibn Said, ancestor to the present imam, succeeded in establishing his independence, after a feeble resistance from the Gaffri. Several years ago, when the government of India was engaged in suppressing Arab pirates (the Joassamees) who infested the Persian Gulf, this prince acted in alliance with the British; and it is to this circumstance that we owe much of our recent information as to the state of his capital, and the resources of his government.*

The town of Muscat is romantically situated, being built on a small sandy beach, and lying in a sort of glen or recess behind the bay. On either hand it is surrounded with bleak and rugged cliffs; without a tree, a flower, or a blade of grass to break their uniformity of nakedness. Occasionally their tops are shrouded in mist, with here and there a hoary waterfall, dashing from rock to rock until it reaches the ocean below. The harbour, the best and almost the only one on that part of the Arabian

* Buckingham's Travels in Assyria. Fraser's Journey. Sir J. Malcolm's Sketches of Persia. An interesting account of Seid-Said, who mounted the throne in 1807, is given by his physician, Vincenzo, a native of Italy, under the name of Sheik Mansour.

coast, has a singular appearance. It is bounded on each side with bold and abrupt rocks, from two to three hundred feet high, on which are numerous small forts. The town is protected by several batteries; but the greater part of the city is composed of ill-built houses, and huts of date-tree leaves of the most wretched description, all huddled together in the greatest confusion. The streets are rough, narrow, and crooked. The windows, which are without glass, resemble loopholes, and the walls are covered with a white plaster or cement. The water is good; the fruit of the best quality,—grapes mangoes, peaches, plantains, figs, pomegranates, limes, melons, and dates. Nowhere is there greater variety of fish; in the bay they swarm like gnats in a summer evening; the rocks supply oysters and other shell-fish, all of which are sold at a very cheap rate. As the pasturage is scanty in this neighbourhood, dried fish a little salted, and pounded date-stones, form the chief articles of food for their cattle, of which they are very fond. Horses and sheep as well as cows are fed on this diet.

The property of the inhabitants consists for the most part in their live-stock; but the most valuable species is the date-tree, the price of which, individually, varies from seven to ten dollars; and by this standard they estimate landed estates, which are said to be worth three, four, or five thousand date-trees, according to the number that grows upon them. Property of every kind descends by inheritance, the son possessing the liberty of disposing of it as he pleases. The sovereign has no right in the soil, further than the tenth of its produce; nor can he in any way interfere with the privileges of the owner. Lands are commonly let on lease, or for an annual rent, usually payable in produce. Slaves are here, as in all other parts of Arabia, employed in agricultural labour; but they are treated with uniform kindness and indulgence. Oman is by no means

celebrated for its manufactures. Turbans and waist-bands, or girdles of cotton and silk, striped or checked with blue; cloaks, cotton, canvass, gunpowder, and arms of inferior quality; earthen jars, called *murtuban*, for the Zanguebar market,—comprise almost all their fabrics. They also prepare an esteemed sweetmeat, named *hulwah*, from honey or sugar, with the gluten of wheat, and ghee, and a few almonds.

The price of live-stock at Muscat is extremely various. Camels, according to their blood and quality, will bring from thirty to three hundred dollars apiece; goats from four to six; sheep from one and a half to six; mules are not reared, neither are horses abundant; but the asses of Oman are celebrated as the finest in Arabia. The price of the common kind varies from one to forty dollars; but the best breeds sell for very extravagant sums.

The present imam is considered the richest and most powerful sovereign on the Persian Gulf. Such of the British officers and merchants as have visited that port represent him as a man of amiable dispositions, and possessed of superior talents and information; being much superior to the Arab chiefs in general, and adored by his subjects. He administers justice daily in person, sitting under a portico in the vicinity of his palace; and his decisions in general are received without a murmur. Mr. Fraser describes his countenance as of mild and pleasing features,—his complexion of a light yellow,—his eyes dark and expressive, though rendered almost sleepy at times by their heavy lids and long dark lashes; his beard was full and black, without the assistance of die; his mustachios being clipped rather short, and allowing part of the cheek to be seen. His dress was the plain Arab costume,—a white cotton gown with wide sleeves, opening down the breast, but buttoned to the throat, and reaching to the ankles; round his waist was a scarf of blue checked cotton, in which was stuck a silver-hilted

dagger or jambea. A blue checked cotton handkerchief was wound round his head, the ends hanging down, and bordered with red, green, and yellow. His sword was of the Persian form, in a plain black scabbard. The chief minister, Said Abdul Kaher, was as plainly dressed as his master. Neither of them wore jewel or ornament of any kind.

The palace is the most conspicuous edifice in the town: it stands close by the sea, is three stories high, and might be mistaken for a merchant's counting-house and store-rooms. The hall of audience is a veranda overhanging the water, under the terrace of which boats pull up to land visiters. The floor was covered with a common Persian carpet, and the furniture consisted of a table and a few plain chairs in the European fashion. A collation was served of fruits, sweetmeats, and sherbets, set out in cut crystal of the most elegant fabric. Though naturally gentle, this prince is not deficient in energy and decision when occasion requires. His courage in battle was frequently signalized while co-operating with the British forces; particularly in the expedition with Sir John Malcolm against the Arab pirates in the Gulf, where his assistance materially contributed to their suppression. At the attack of one of the towns, when the British were compelled to retire, the imam observed at some distance a sergeant alone, and surrounded by a detachment of the enemy. Unsupported as he was, he did not hesitate a moment; returning instantly, he dashed singly among the rebels, and, after killing several of them, brought off the man in safety.

The revenues of the imam are derived from various sources. Besides receiving a tenth of the produce of the soil, he possesses considerable landed property of his own, and rents extensive tracts of country from the Persian government, including valuable mines of sulphur. A more lucrative source income is the duty of one-half per cent on all

merchandise passing up the Gulf in Arab bottoms. From the province of Oman alone, it has been reckoned at more than 120,000 dollars (26,250*l.*) annually; and from all other ports of Arabia, and from Zanguebar, to about 30,000 or 40,000 dollars more. Commerce, however, is the chief fountain of his wealth. Besides the ports on the Gulf, he trades to all parts of the East; to the coasts of Arabia and Africa; to Madagascar and the Mauritius. His capital is the great *entrepôt* for warehousing and exchanging the produce of various nations; and in such a traffic, the sovereign doubtless possesses many advantages over his subjects. His expenditure is light compared to his income; he has no regular military establishment to keep up, nor any expensive machinery of government; and after all his outlay, it is supposed that he may deposite annually a surplus of nearly 100,000 dollars.

In addition to his hereditary dominions on the Arabian coast, the imam holds in possession the islands of Kishma and Ormuz; and rents, from the crown of Persia, Gombroon with its dependencies, including a tract of coast of about ninety miles in extent. The inhabitants of Muscat, in point of manners, cleanliness, and liberality to strangers, are reckoned the most civilized of their countrymen; and, though not addicted to war, they are esteemed the best mariners in Arabia. They use small merchant-vessels called *trankis*, the sails of which are not formed of matting, as in Yemen, but of linen. The planks are not nailed, but tied or sewed together. A little to the north-west of Muscat, and seated at the bottom of a cove nearly resembling its own, lies the town of Muttra. Though a place of less business, it contains a greater number of well-built houses, and affords a cooler and more agreeable residence than the capital.

The province of Hajar, or El Hassa, belonged to the sheiks of the Beni Khaled, one of the most

powerful tribes in Arabia, whose jurisdiction extended so far through the Desert as often to harass the caravans passing between Bagdad and Aleppo. Katif, or El Katif, is a port and a large trading town, with a deep bay and the ruins of an old Portuguese fortress. The inhabitants share with the Bahrein islands in their pearl-fishery as well as in their general commerce, though the governments are independent of each other. Graine is a large and populous town, seated on a fine bay; though the sandy desert presses close upon its walls, and not a blade of vegetation enlivens the dreary scenery around. It stands about fifty miles from the bar of the Euphrates; and is chiefly inhabited by mercantile and trading people, who engage in all the branches of commerce carried on throughout the Gulf. Their principal employment is fishing, and Niebuhr states that more than 800 boats were engaged in this species of naval industry.

The isles of Bahrein may be considered as part of Hajar, and were formerly subject to the lords or kings of Lahsa. They were taken possession of, after many revolutions and changes of masters, by the combined arms of the Portuguese and Persians; and Antonio Correa, the leader of the former, added the title of Bahrein to his name. The cause of this expedition was the refusal of Mocrim, sheik of Lahsa, to pay tribute. The chief was beheaded, and the Portuguese commander, in memory of the share which he had in this event, was authorized to bear a king's head in his coat-of-arms, which the historians of his own country say is still borne by his descendants. These islands are two in number; the larger is called Bahrein, an appellation which seems modern, for Abulfeda, and the Arabs of the coast call it *Aval;* the smaller retains its ancient name of Arad. The length of the former is about ten miles, and its breadth five. Its general appearance is low; but it is everywhere fertile, well

watered, and supports a numerous population. The whole soil is industriously cultivated, producing dates, figs, citrons, peaches, and other fruits. It is reckoned to contain no fewer than 300 villages Minawah, the principal town, is large and populous, and has a good harbour, with twelve caravansaries. Here many wealthy merchants reside, and carry on an extensive commerce with India, as well as in supplying the Arabian markets with the manufactures and productions of that country.

This island is remarkable for its springs of fresh water arising in the sea. One of these gushes up with great force through a sandy bottom, at the depth of three fathoms. A jar is fitted to the mouth of this spring; and to procure the water a person dives with an empty bag of goat's skin rolled under his arm: this he dexterously places over the mouth of the jar, and being filled in a few seconds, it floats up with him to the surface. There are four or five springs of this kind round the island, and in this way is obtained all the water that is drunk at Arad. Strabo mentions a similar spring near the Phenician island of Aradus, on the coast of Syria, from which the ingenious inhabitants contrived to draw a supply by means of a leaden ball and a leathern pipe.

The chief celebrity of these islands is derived from their valuable pearl-fishery, which is carried on in June, July, and August. In the sixteenth century, the produce was estimated at five hundred thousand ducats (147,395*l.*); at present it is calculated to yield annually pearls to the value of about twenty lacks of rupees (193,750*l.*): the greatest portion of which is shipped for India, and the remainder are dispersed throughout the Persian and Turkish empires, by way of Bushire, Bussora, and Bagdad. From thence the best specimens are conveyed to Constantinople, Syria, Egypt, and even the great capitals of Europe. The bank on which this fishery is carried on ex ends nearly southward to Ras el

Khyma, and the finest of the pearls are found among the group of Maude's islands, near Haloola, so called probably from *loolo*, the Arabic name for a pearl.

About two thousand boats are annually employed in this trade, of which the islands of Bahrein furnish one-half, and the small ports on the coast the remainder. In the summer months the bank presents a busy scene. The divers are Arabs and negro slaves, who are generally trained to the practice from their youth. They go down in all depths, from five to fifteen fathoms, remaining from two to five minutes, and bringing up from eight to twelve oysters in both hands. On reaching the surface they merely take time to recover breath, and then dive again immediately. The largest and finest pearls are brought up from the deepest water; and all of them are said to be as hard when taken out of the fish as they are ever afterward. At first they are of a purer white than after they have been exposed to the air; and in this respect they are calculated to lose annually one per cent. in value. Of the two kinds, the yellow are chiefly sent to India, where this tinge is preferred; the pure white are most esteemed in Europe, and even find a better market in all the great Turkish and Persian towns. The pearl of Bahrein is considered very superior to that of Ceylon, both in quality and colour. Before sending them off from the island, they are carefully assorted as to size, shape, and tint; then, being drilled through, are strung on threads, and made up into round bundles of about three inches diameter, sealed and directed, and sent in that form to their various destinations. They are then called by the metaphorical name of *Roomaan el Bahr*, or "pomegranates of the sea," to which these bundles bear a pretty exact resemblance.

All the gains of the fishery are divided in the most equitable way, by shares in proportion to the capital embarked in the boats. The food of the divers

during the season is chiefly fish, dates, and a small allowance of bread, rice, and oil. Their earnings are barely enough to support them through the winter, which they pass in a state of indolence and dissipation. They use the precaution of oiling the orifice of their ears, and placing a horn over the nose when they dive, to prevent the water from entering by these apertures; but when they have been long engaged in this service, their bodies are subject to break out in sores, their eyes become bloodshot and weak, and all their faculties seem to undergo a premature decay.*

The coast from Cape Mussendom to Bahrein has been, from time immemorial, occupied by a piratical tribe of Arabs called Joassamees, already alluded to. Their local position necessarily engaged them in maritime pursuits, either as traders in their own vessels, or as pilots and sailors hired to navigate the small craft of the Gulf. From their superior skill and industry, and fidelity to their engagements, they maintained a high reputation, until subdued by the arms of the Wahabees, after a resistance of three years. Their principal town, Ras el Khyma, with all its dependencies along the coast, submitted to the yoke, and embraced the new doctrines of the conquerors.

This revolution wrought a total change, not only in the faith but in the character and habits of these refractory tribes. Instead of living quietly on the scanty productions of their own soil, and the fish of their own waters, the Joassamees directed their views to war and plunder. Their first captures were the small coasting traders which, from their defenceless state, soon fell an easy prey. Imboldened by success, they directed their efforts to higher emprises, until their prowess was felt and dreaded from the mouth of the Euphrates to the Indian Ocean.

* Buckingham's Travels in Assyria, chap. xxiii. Morier's Travels through Persia.

It was about the year 1797 that they first came into collision with the British government in the East; for as they had hitherto waged war only against what are called native vessels, no hostile measures had been taken against them by the English. In that year they had the boldness to violate this neutrality by attacking, under pretext of obtaining a supply of ammunition, one of the East India Company's cruisers, the Viper, of ten guns, while lying at anchor in the inner roads of Bushire. The pirates were beaten off; but with the loss of the gallant Lieutenant Carruthers and a considerable number of the crew. This act of daring treachery, however, did not call forth the immediate vengeance of the India government. In 1804, fresh aggressions were commenced, and continued for a series of years with increasing insolence and barbarity. Not fewer than nine British cruisers or ships of war,—the Fly, Shannon, Trimmer, Fury, Mornington, Teignmouth, Minerva, Sylph, and Nautilus,—were successively attacked or seized by these daring marauders, and numbers of their crews and passengers put to the sword.

This system of lawless aggression, and the serious injury suffered by the Gulf trade, at length induced the British government to have recourse to vigorous measures for maintaining the national character, and clearing the seas of these brigands. In 1810, Lieutenant-colonel (afterward Sir Lionel) Smith and Captain Wainwright were sent against them with a considerable armament, which sailed from Bombay in September, and soon anchored off Ras el Khyma, where the troops were landed under cover of the boats and ships. This metropolis of the pirates stands in latitude 25° 47′, and longitude 55° 34′, on a narrow tongue of sandy land, with a safe harbour, extending about half a mile in length and a quarter in breadth—having several strong points of defence with towers and batteries. Their

maritime force was considerable; and if concentrated might have amounted to at least 100 vessels, with perhaps 400 pieces of cannon, and about 8000 fighting-men, well armed with muskets, swords, and spears. On the landing of the English, the inhabitants assembled in crowds to repel the invaders; but the regular volleys and steady charge of the troops overcame every obstacle, and multiplied the heaps of slain. A general conflagration was ordered, with unlimited permission to plunder. The town was instantly set on fire in all parts, and about sixty sail of boats and dows, including the captured Minerva, were burned and destroyed. The complete conquest of the place was thus effected with very trifling loss to the assailants.

The expedition then proceeded to Linga, a small port of the Joassamees, on the opposite side of the Gulf, which was taken without resistance. Luft, another of their harbours in the island of Kishma, was attacked; and, though severely galled with musketry, the British succeeded in getting possession of the place. The town and fortress were delivered over to the Imam of Muscat, as this was a settlement which had been taken from him by the pirates. Their next exploit was the recovery of Shenaz, a fort that had also belonged to the same prince, nearly midway between Muscat and Cape Mussendom. When about four thousand shot and shells had been discharged, a breach was reported to be practicable, and the castle was accordingly stormed. The resistance made in the town was still desperate—the Arabs fighting as long as they could wield the sword; and even thrusting their spears up through the smoking fragments of towers and houses, in whose ruins they remained irrecoverably buried. Their loss in killed and wounded was computed at upwards of 1000 men. The expedition, having now swept round the bottom of the Gulf, and believing their object was accomplished,

returned to India. But the sequel proved that their task was far from being completed. In a few years the piracies were renewed, accompanied with the usual atrocities, and extended as far as the entrance of the Red Sea.

A second expedition was fitted out, which sailed from Bombay in November, 1819. Ras el Khyma and the fort of Zyah were again reduced—the Arabs during these operations displaying a courage and pertinacity that excited the astonishment of the troops opposed to them. To bind them more strictly, and to try the effect of moral influence, a treaty was concluded, which guarantied the cessation of plunder and piracy by sea and land. Matters being so far adjusted, the squadron returned to Bombay, leaving a force of 1200 native troops and artillery at Ras el Khyma, the occupation of which was merely intended as a temporary measure. The services of this detachment were soon rendered necessary against a tribe of Arabs called the Beni bu Ali, occasioned chiefly by the complaints of the Imam of Muscat. The settlement of this fierce tribe lay near Cape Ras el Hud; but the first attempt of the British, who were commanded by Captain Thomson, entirely failed. By a sudden and overwhelming attack of the natives the detachment was totally destroyed. Out of three hundred and eleven that went into action, seven officers and 249 men were murdered on the spot. Scarcely a wounded man escaped, as the *khunjer*, or dagger, finished what the sword began.

This disaster, however, was speedily repaired by a third expedition fitted out at Bombay next year, and which succeeded in getting possession of the town of Bu Ali; the works were blown up, and such of the guns and heavy stores as could not be carried off were destroyed. The inhabitants defended their fortress with a bravery approaching to phrensy, which an eyewitness compared to that of the Scotch

Highlanders at Prestonpans, both as to the mode of warfare and the deadly weapon, the broadsword, used on these occasions with such desperate execution. "All," says he, "who beheld this extraordinary attack concur in declaring that more determined courage and self-devoting resolution never was displayed by any men than by the Arabs. On that day, not only were they totally unchecked in their advance by the heavy and well-sustained fire which mowed them down in multitudes every instant; but, despising the lines of bayonets opposed to them, they threw themselves upon the troops, seizing their weapons with both hands to break their ranks, and sacrificed themselves to cut down their enemies, even with the bayonet sticking in their bodies. All the Indian and European troops that fell were cut down with the broadsword, the matchlock being scarcely used during the whole affair. Before the firing had entirely ceased, women were to be seen walking among the dead and dying, totally regardless of the danger that surrounded them: their object was, according to custom, to drag off their friends who had been killed or wounded; and it appeared that some of them were actually engaged in the attack. Notwithstanding the loss of husbands and children, they bore no outward signs of grief; nor did they utter one lamentation, or shed openly one tear of regret or apprehension, at the very moment when their fortress was blown up, and they believed themselves to be included in the work of destruction."* Part of the prisoners were delivered over to the Imam of Muscat, and part carried to Daristan, on the island of Kishma, to which the troops left at Ras el Khyma had been transferred, on account of bad health and the scarcity of provisions.

On the opposite coast of the Gulf, from the mouths

* Fraser's Journey to Khorasan. Appendix A.

of the Euphrates nearly to those of the Indus, numerous Arab tribes have formed settlements, where they live in a state of independence under their own laws. They lead a seafaring life, employing themselves in fishing and gathering pearls. The Beni Houl, a powerful and formidable clan, occupy the barren tract from Gombroon to Cape Berdistan. They are highly esteemed for their valour; but their mode of government renders that quality of little avail. Bushire and Bendereek are chiefly inhabited by different tribes, originally from Oman. Their fondness for the sea contrasts remarkably with the disposition of the Persians, of whom all classes have an unconquerable antipathy to that element.

The territory round the point of the Gulf, extending from the Arabian Desert to Endian, is occupied by the tribe of Kiab, whose sheik, Solyman, acquired some celebrity in consequence of his disputes with the English, in which he captured some of their vessels. His principal residence was Ghilan, a town near one of the outlets of the Euphrates. The Beni Lam, a numerous tribe, occupy the banks of the Tigris from Korna to Bagdad. They exact duties on goods conveyed by that route, and sometimes pillage caravans, in spite of the chastisements they occasionally receive from the Turkish pashas. One of the most powerful tribes, both as to the extent of their territories and the number of their dependencies, is that of Montefik, who possess all the country on both sides of the Euphrates from Korna to Arja. In winter they pasture their cattle in the desert; and in summer, when the grass is burnt up, they remove to the banks of the river. They trace their genealogy beyond the era of Mohammed and from time immemorial have been sovereigns of that country. Their nobility is divided into many branches; and Niebuhr observes that the family then reigning consisted of 150 persons, all of whom

might aspire to the supreme power, and were intrusted with a certain share of authority. More than twenty inferior tribes lived in a state of subjection to them, who all, in the event of war, joined the troops of the principal chief.

The rich plains of Mesopotamia, once cultivated and populous, are now inhabited, or rather desolated, by wandering Arabs under their respective sheiks, who, if they knew to concentrate their strength, might set the Ottoman governors at defiance. The Beni Khasaal are agriculturists, and have a great many petty tribes subject to them, some of which are again subdivided into thirty or forty inferior clans. They can muster a force of 2000 cavalry, and a proportionate number of infantry. The Beni Temin and Beni Tai roam between Bagdad and Mosul, paying a small annual tribute for their Assyrian possessions. The whole extent of country, including the frontiers of Persia almost to the source of the Euphrates, the Hauran or Syrian Desert, Palestine, the peninsula of Sinai, the greater part of Nejed, and the central wilderness of Arabia, are occupied by migratory hordes of Bedouins. To detail all the names and minor branches of these tribes would be to fill our pages with a barbarous nomenclature. Burckhardt, who stands so honourably distinguished as an oriental traveller, has not only enumerated their various classes, but furnished a minute account of their local establishments and military force, as well as of their extraordinary customs, manners, arts, and institutions.*

The most celebrated and powerful tribe, perhaps, in the whole Arabian peninsula, is that of the Aenezes. In winter they generally take up their quarters on the plain between the Hauran and Hit, a position on the Euphrates; though sometimes they pass that limit and pitch their tents in Irak. In

* Burckhardt's Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys, 2 vols.

spring they approach the Syrian frontier, and form a line of encampment, extending from near Aleppo to eight days' journey southward of Damascus. The whole summer they spend in seeking pasture and water; in autumn they purchase their winter provision of wheat and barley, and return after the first rains into the interior of the Desert. They are divided into four principal clans,—the Wold Ali, the El Hessenne, the El Rawalla, or more properly El Jelas, and the El Besher; and these again are separated into numerous inferior bodies. The Sheik of the Wold Ali occupies the first rank among their chiefs, and is therefore styled *Abu el Aeneze*, or the Father of the Aenezes. The Rawalla generally occupy the desert from Gebel Shammar towards Jof; but they frequently encamp beyond the Tigris and the Euphrates. In point of military strength they are formidable, possessing more horses than any of the Aenezes. The El Besher are the most numerous of these grand divisions, and have their residence chiefly in Nejed.

To ascertain the population of each of the different tribes is rendered very difficult, from a prejudice which forbids them to count the horsemen; as they believe, like the Eastern merchants, that whoever knows the exact amount of his wealth may soon expect to lose part of it. Exclusive of those in Nejed, Burckhardt reckons their forces at about 10,000 cavalry, and perhaps 90,000 or 100,000 camel-riders; and thinks that the whole northern Aeneze nation may be estimated at from 300,000 to 350,000 souls, spread over a country of at least 40,000 square miles. Most, though not all, of the great Aeneze tribes are entitled to passage-money from the Syrian caravans. The Hessenne take a yearly *surra*, or tribute, of fifty purses (about 1000*l.*); the Wold Ali levy to the same amount; while the Fedaan, one of the strongest of these clans, receive nothing in the way of annual impost from the pilgrims.

The Arabs northward from Palmyra call themselves Ahl el Shemal, or Northern Nations; a name which the natives of Hejaz apply, from their relative position, to the whole of the Aeneze tribes. The El Mauali inhabit the district near Aleppo and Hamah. Their emir or sheik receives an annual sum from the Governor of Aleppo, for which he protects the villages of the pashalic against the aggressions of the other Arabs. They are reckoned treacherous and faithless; an example of which is recorded in one of their chiefs, who murdered at a convivial feast in his own tent above 200 Aeneze guests, that he might get possession of their mares. The Hadedyein, the El Seken, who reckon about 600 tents, the El Berak, and various other tribes, wander in that neighbourhood. The mountains from Homs towards Palmyra, the extensive territory of the Hauran, the plains of Leja and Jolan, are traversed by numerous hordes, who are tributary to the Pasha of Damascus; though circumstances often induce them to throw off their allegiance, and appropriate to their own use the *miri*, or tax from the peasants, and other dues they are employed to collect. The Beni Sakkar, a tribe of free Arabs, are celebrated for their courage and their robberies. They have a force of about 500 horsemen, who find constant occupation in plunder, or in defending their possessions from the inroads of the Aenezes. The Arabs of Belka, whose camps extend to the eastern margin of the Dead Sea, comprise about forty small tribes, amounting in all to between 3000 and 4000 tents. They drive cattle for sale to Jerusalem; and their great sheik pays an annual tribute of 2000 sheep to the Pasha of Damascus. The plains about the Dead Sea and the Lake of Tiberias are inhabited by the Ghour Arabs. The Ahl el Kebly, or Southern Nations, comprehend the various tribes that dwell south of Palestine, and along the borders of the Red Sea

Gebel Shera is peopled by the Hejaje, who num-

ter about 400 horsemen. The Howeytat, the Mowali, the Omran, Debourt, Bedoul, Hekouk, and various others, occupy the desert from Suez to Akaba. The Omran are a strong clan, and of very independent spirit. Their frequent depredations render them objects of terror to the pilgrims proceeding to Mecca, who are under the necessity of passing through their territories. Five tribes, called the Towara, or Arabs of Tor, inhabit the peninsula of Sinai; these are the Sowaleha, the Mezeyne, the Aleygat, the Tayaha, and the Terabein, who feed their flocks in the Petræan deserts. They maintain very little intercourse with their eastern neighbours, and can muster together a force of more than 600 matchlocks. In dry seasons they occasionally approach towards Gaza or Hebron; and some have a caravan called Kheleit, of more than 4000 camels, which sets out every year to Cairo, where they purchase wheat, barley, and articles of dress.

Most of these, with various other branches, called the Sherkyeh Arabs, have colonized the western shore of the Red Sea, from Suez as far as Nubia. During the time of the Mamlouk reign in Egypt, they might be said to have been masters of a considerable part of the country. They exacted tribute from the peasants, and engrossed a great share of the transport-trade. The Maazy sometimes pasture their cattle near the Nile, but generally reside in the mountains. From 500 to 600 horsemen constitute the utmost force of all the Sherkyeh tribes. Some years ago, if their own reports are to be credited, they could muster at least 3000; but their numbers have been considerably reduced by their wars with the Pasha of Egypt, who at present levies a tribute on them, and observes their movements with so much vigilance that they are not even permitted to make war upon each other,—the most galling restriction under which an Arab can be placed.

On the eastern coast of the Gulf, the Bedouins

extend from the deserts of Akaba to the northern confines of Yemen. The Beni Okaba and the El Bily possess the small town of Moilah and the neighbouring country. The Hateym are one of the most widely dispersed of all these wandering hordes. In Syria, in Lower and Upper Egypt, along the Tehama, in Nejed and Mesopotamia, encampments of them are always to be found. They are despised as a mean race, with whom the other Bedouins refuse to intermarry; and for one man to call another a Hateymi is considered an unpardonable insult. The great tribe of the Jeheyne inhabit the country round Yembo, and constitute the chief portion of its population. They are much addicted to war, and can raise a force amounting to 8000 matchlocks. They acknowledge a nominal allegiance to the Sheriff of Mecca, and, like all the other tribes southward of Akaba, are entitled to the *surra* or passage-money from the Egyptian pilgrims.

The Beni Shammar inhabit the mountains of that name, and are mortal enemies to the Aenezes. They are subdivided into numerous branches, some of which have settlements in Irak, and make frequent plundering incursions into the Hauran. The greater part of the country extending from Kasym to Medina is occupied by the Beni Harb, who have also possessions on the coast from Yembo down to Jidda and Leith. In summer they migrate to Palestine and Mount Lebanon, on the summits of which they pitch their tents and feed their cattle. From the aggregate of this formidable race, there might perhaps be reckoned a body comprising between 30,000 and 40,000 men armed with matchlocks; and such is the numerical strength of their main tribes, that each of them is rather to be considered as a distinct clan. Among their branches extending to the east and south of Medina, are the Mezeyne, the Beni Safar, Beni Ammer, El Hamede, Beni Salem, Sobh, El Owf, and Dwy Daher. The Sheik of El

Hamede is at present considered as chief of all the Beni Harb; to the Sobh belong the town and district of Bedr, where a market is held, at which some of them are wont to sit during the whole day in their small shops, and in the evening they mount their camels and return to their families in the Desert.

The principal station of the Zebeyde tribe is to the north of Jidda; but, as their country is in general poor, they are obliged to seek for other means of subsistence than what can be derived from pasture alone. Many of them are active fishermen, and serve as sailors and pilots to ships navigating the Red Sea. A certain number have established themselves in this capacity on the Shut El Arab below Bagdad. In consequence of their commercial pursuits the other Harbs look upon them with disdain.

The excellent pasture-ground about Taïf, and the chain of mountains eastward, are inhabited by the Ateybe, who formerly were the inveterate enemies of the Harb tribe, and could muster a force of from 6000 to 10,000 matchlocks. The Lahyan and other Bedouin tribes about Mecca are all poor, owing to the sterility of the soil and the high price of commodities. The Beni Fahem regularly supply the city with charcoal and sheep. Of the once celebrated Koreish, only 300 matchlock-men now remain, who encamp about Mount Arafat. They are but little esteemed by the other Bedouins, and derive their chief subsistence from the charity of the pilgrims, or the price of the milk and butter which they carry to Mecca. The Adouan, an ancient and powerful tribe, have been nearly exterminated by a series of continual wars with their neighbours. Many of the other tribes in these mountainous regions were known in Arabian history prior to the era of Mohammed; such as the Hodhail, who muster 1000 matchlocks, and are reputed the best marksmen in the whole country; the Thakif, who compose half

the inhabitants of Taïf; the Beni Sofian, Beni Rabiah, Beni Abs, Beni Kelb, and Beni Asyr, who can assemble 15,000 men-at-arms. The Beni Saad and Beni Kahtan are famous from the most remote antiquity; the former being the tribe among whom the Prophet himself was educated, and the latter esteemed more wealthy in camels than any Bedouins of the Eastern desert. A man is reckoned poor who has only forty; and some even of the middle classes possess 150. The Abyde, the Senhan, Wadaa, Sahar, Begoum, Hamadan, Shomran, and Zohran border on the territory of the Imam of Sanaa.

Among all these nomadic tribes one form of government seems to prevail; and though at first view it may not seem calculated to secure that grand object of legislation—the protection of the weak against the strong,—yet from the experience of ages, during which their political state has not suffered the smallest change, it appears that their civil institutions are well adapted to their habits and mode of life. Every tribe has its chief sheik, or emir as he is sometimes styled; and every camp (for a tribe often comprises many) is headed by a sheik, or at least by an Arab of some consideration. All the sheiks, however, that belong to the same tribe, acknowledge the common chief, who is called the sheik of sheiks. The dignity of grand sheik is hereditary in a certain family, but is not confined to the order of primogeniture; on his death the inferior sheiks choose his successor, more for his personal qualities than from any regard to age or lineal succession. This right of election, with other privileges, obliges the object of their choice to treat them rather as associates than subjects; and the only ceremony attending the election is the simple announcement to him, that henceforth he is to be regarded as head of the tribe. Disputes occasionally arise in choosing between a son, a brother, or some other distinguished relation, and each party

adheres to its own favourite. A sheik is sometimes deposed, and a more brave or generous man elected in his place. He has no actual authority over the individuals of his tribe beyond what he derives from his superior abilities; and though they may pay deference to his advice, they would spurn his commands.

The real government of the Bedouins may be said to consist in the separate strength of their different families, who constitute so many armed bodies, ever ready to punish or retaliate aggression; and it is this mutual counterpoise alone that maintains peace in the tribe. The most powerful Aeneze chief dares not inflict a trifling punishment on the poorest of his subjects, without incurring the risk of mortal vengeance from the injured party. The sheiks, therefore, exercise a very precarious sway, and must not be regarded as princes of the Desert,—a title with which some travellers have dignified them. Their prerogative consists in leading their troops against the enemy, in conducting public negotiations, and superintending the general economy of the encampment; and even these privileges are much limited. The sheik cannot declare war or conclude peace without consulting the chief men of his tribe; if he wish to break up the camp, he must previously ask the opinion and concurrence of his people; and if the spot which he fixes for the new encampment does not please them, they pitch their own tents at some distance, or join the camp of another tribe.

The sheik derives no yearly income from his subjects; on the contrary, he is obliged to support his title by considerable disbursements, in the way of presents to his friends, and hospitality to strangers. His means of defraying these expenses are the sums which he levies in tribute and plunder, or obtains from the pilgrim-caravans. He acts in a legal as well as in a political capacity; but in cases of litigation he has not the power to execute any sen-

tence. The Arab can only be persuaded by his own relations; and if they fail, war commences between the two families and all their kindred respectively. The parties sometimes agree to abide by his decision, or to choose umpires; but they cannot on any occasion be compelled to yield, though an adversary may be cited before the cadi or judge. The fees of this officer are considerable, and always paid by the gainer of the cause, never by the loser.

In cases where difficulties occur which baffle his powers of sagacity to unravel or decide, the cadi sends the litigating parties before the *mebesshae*, or chief judge, who subjects them to the trial by ordeal, similar to that employed formerly in Europe. Should his endeavours to reconcile the disputants prove vain, he directs a fire to be kindled in his presence; he then produces a long iron spoon (used by the Arabs in roasting coffee), and having made it red-hot, he takes it from the fire and licks with his tongue the upper end of the spoon on both sides After this ceremony he replaces it in the fire, and commands the accused person first to wash his mouth with water, and then to lick the spoon as he had done. If the accused escape without injury to his tongue he is presumed to be innocent; otherwise, he loses his cause. Persons have been known to lick the *beshaa*, as it is called, above twenty times without the slightest harm. In cases of manslaughter or murder, where the accused denies the charge, appeal is always made to this tribunal.

Corporal punishments are unknown, pecuniary fines being always awarded, of whatever nature the crime may be. An insulting expression, a blow according to its violence or the part struck, the infliction of a wound from which even a single drop of blood flows, have each their respective fines ascertained. Calling a man a dog incurs the penalty of a sheep; a wound on the shoulder, three camels. The forfeit for killing a watch-dog is remarkable:

the dead animal is held up by the tail, so that its nose just touches the ground; its length is then measured, and a stick of equal dimensions is fixed into the earth. Over this the delinquent is obliged to pour as much wheat as will wholly cover it. The wheat is the fine due to the owner of the dog. The evidence of a witness may be given verbally or in writing; and where there are none, the accused party is acquitted on solemnly attesting his innocence by an oath.

There are several kinds of judicial oaths in use among the Arabs: one of the most common is to lay hold with one hand of the *wasat* or middle tent-pole, and swear "by the life of this tent and its owners." The "oath of the wood" is more serious, and consists in taking a piece of stick or stone, and swearing "by God and the life of him who caused it to be green and dried up." The "oath of the cross lines" is only used on very important occasions,—suppose stolen goods, or where the fact of the guilt cannot be proved by witnesses. The accuser leads the suspected person a distance from the camp; and then with his *sekin* or crooked knife draws on the sand a large circle with several cross lines inside. The defendant is obliged to put his right foot, sometimes both feet, within this magic ring, the accuser doing the same, and charging him to repeat the following words:—"By God, and in God, and through God, I did not take it, and it is not in my possession." To make this ceremony still more solemn, a camel's udder-bag (*shemle*) and an ant (*nemle*) are placed together within the circle, indicating that the accused swears by the hope of never being deprived of milk and winter provision. It is called "the oath of the shemle and nemle;" and to swear falsely by it would for ever disgrace an Arab.

Generally speaking, the political institutions of the Bedouins may be traced to that natural authority which the primitive fathers of mankind exercised

over their families, and which viewed the duty of obedience as founded less on any legal obligations than upon the opinion of benevolence in the ruler. The office of their sheiks and elders, the maxims which they observe in war and in negotiating peace, must have arisen from the common wants and the common consent of the tribes. They are so simple —so well adapted to the spirit of their free and wandering life—that every nation not yet reduced to slavery, if thrown at large upon this wide desert, might be expected to observe the same laws and usages. The case, however, is very different with their civil institutions; and it is not easy to imagine how so many arbitrary regulations in their social economy—so many nice distinctions in estimating the price of wounds and insults—could have sprung up by chance, or originated in the gradual improvement of a wild and warlike multitude. Their political code differs from that most generally prevalent throughout the rest of the Moslem world, and must have been the work of a legislator older than the revolution achieved by Mohammed. The Prophet obliged the Bedouin Arabs to renounce their idolatry, and to acknowledge the unity of a Divine Creator; but he seems to have been less successful in forcing his laws upon his own nation than in establishing them with their assistance in the surrounding countries.

CHAPTER V.

HEJAZ, OR HOLY LAND OF THE MOSLEM.

Government of Hejaz—Succession and Power of the Sheriffs—Reign of Ghaleb—Sheriff Families at Mecca—Cities and Towns in Hejaz—Jidda—Yembo—Taïf—Mecca—Description of the Beitullah or Grand Temple—The Court and Colonnades—The Kaaba—The Black Stone—The Tob or Covering of the Kaaba—The Zemzem Well—Servants and Revenues of the Mosque—Inhabitants of Mecca—Their Character, Domestic Manners, and Employments—Low State of Arts and Learning in Hejaz.

The government of Hejaz, which includes the territories of Medina, Jidda, Yembo, Taïf, and Gonfode, belongs to the Sheriff of Mecca. The honour attached even to a nominal authority over the holy cities had led, in former times, to frequent disputes between the caliphs of Bagdad, the sultans of Egypt, and the imams of Yemen; although the possession of that dignity, instead of increasing their income, obliged them to incur great expenses. The sole benefit they derived was the right of clothing the Kaaba, and of having their names inserted in the prayers of the mosque. The supremacy of Egypt over Mecca, so firmly established from the beginning of the fifteenth century, was transferred by Selim I. to the sultans of Constantinople; in whose hands, with the interruption of a few years, it has since continued. The sheriff was invested annually with a pelisse from the grand seignior, from whom he held his office; and in the Turkish ceremonial he was ranked among the first pashas of the empire. When the Porte became unable, even by means of large armies, to secure its command over that coun-

try, these subordinate rulers threw off their dependence; although they still called themselves the servants of the sultan, prayed for him in the great mosque, and received the wonted investiture.

The succession to the government of this province, like that of the Bedouin sheiks, is not hereditary; though it usually remained in the same tribe so long as the power of that tribe preponderated The election was always made from one of the sheriff families descended from the Prophet, settled in Hejaz. They were divided into various subordinate branches, of which sometimes one sometimes another enjoyed the sovereignty of the holy cities. There were no ceremonies of installation or oaths of allegiance. The new governor received complimentary visits; his band played before the door,—an honour significant of royalty; and his name was inserted in the public prayers. Succession rarely took place without disputes; but the contests were in general neither sanguinary nor of long duration. The rivals submitted, or rather withdrew in gloomy silence; and atonement for the blood shed on both sides was duly made by fines paid to the relations of the slain.

The result of these political quarrels was attended with bad consequences to the community; for though they checked the power of the reigning sheriff, they weakened the state by the frequent occurrence of wars, feuds, and intestine broils. The vicissitudes of fortune to which they gave rise, and the arts of popularity which the chiefs were obiged to employ, gave to the government of Hejaz a character different from that of most other countries in the East. None of that haughty ceremony was observed which draws a line of distinction between oriental sovereigns or vicegerents and their subjects. The court of the sheriff was small, and almost entirely devoid of pomp. He was addressed by the plain title of *seidna* (our lord), or *sadetkum*

(your highness); and the meanest of the people considered it no violation of etiquette to represent their grievances personally and boldly though respectfully to demand redress. No large body of regular troops was kept up, except a few Mamlouks or Georgians as a body-guard; and when war was determined upon, he summoned his adherents and partisans to meet the emergency; but they received no regular pay.

The dress of this great functionary is the same as that of all the chiefs of the sheriff families at Mecca, consisting usually of a silk gown, over which is thrown a white abba of the finest manufacture of El Hassa; the head is enveloped in a Cashmere shawl, and the feet in sandals, or yellow slippers. When he rides out on state occasions, he holds in his hand a short slender stick, called *metrek;* and over him a horseman carries the umbrella or canopy.

To present an account of the sheriffs of Mecca were only to describe the petty wars of rival factions. Burckhardt shrank from the task of tracing their intricate pedigrees, and the historical notice of them given by D'Ohsson is chargeable with several errors. About the middle of the last century the sovereignty was held by Mesaad; and after his death (in 1770) it was seized by Hossein, the leader of an adverse party, but again returned to his family in the person of Serour, who slew his rival in battle (1773), and whose name is still venerated in Hejaz on account of his extraordinary courage and sagacity, which were frequently called into exercise in repressing the turbulence and depredations of the inferior chiefs. His death, which happened in 1786 was bewailed as a public calamity, and his remains were followed to the grave by the whole population of Mecca. Two of his brothers aspired to the supreme power, of which Abdelmain kept possession for five days only, when the younger brother, Gha

leb, by his superior skill and intrigue, and by the great reputation which he had acquired for wisdom and valour, supplanted him in the government.

During the first years of his reign the slaves and eunuchs began to indulge in their former disorderly behaviour and acts of oppression; but the new sheriff soon freed himself from their influence, and acquired at length a firmer authority over Hejaz than any of his predecessors had ever enjoyed. His nephews, the sons of Serour, attempted to wrest from him the reins of power, but without success. His government, on the whole, was lenient and cautious, although his extreme avarice betrayed him into many acts of individual oppression. The whole of his private household consisted of fifty or sixty servants and officers, and as many slaves and eunuchs. His harem contained a small establishment of wives, being about two dozen of Abyssinians, and twice that number of female attendants to wait upon them and nurse their children. When in the full enjoyment of his power, he possessed a considerable influence over the Bedouin tribes of Hejaz, but without any direct authority.

The income of the sheriff is derived chiefly from the customs paid at Jidda and Yembo, which were much increased by Ghaleb, who had also engrossed a large share of the commerce to himself, having eighty dows constantly engaged in the coffee trade. He also levied a tax upon all cattle and provisions, carried either to the coast for exportation, or into the interior of the country. The other branches of his revenues were the profits realized from the sale of provisions at Mecca; a capitation-tax on all Persian hajjis; presents, both gratuitous and compulsory; part of the money sent from Constantinople for the use of the temple; and rents to a considerable amount from landed property, consisting of gardens around Taïf, and plantations in many of the neighbouring wadis; besides houses and caravansa-

ries at Jidda, which he let out to foreigners. Burckhardt calculates the annual receipts of Ghaleb, during the plenitude of his power, to have amounted to about 350,000*l.* sterling; but when the Wahabees occupied Hejaz, it probably did not exceed half that sum. The maintenance of his household did not perhaps require more than 20,000*l.* per annum. The small force he kept up in time of peace did not exceed 500 men, whose pay was from eight to twelve dollars per month. During war, the increase of his army to 3000 or 4000 troops rendered some additional expense necessary; but there is reason to conclude, that never at any period of his power did this governor live up to the full amount of his income. The reign of this sheriff has acquired considerable importance in Europe from its connexion with the history of the Wahabees; and his name will again be necessarily introduced in our notice of these fanatical warriors.

Of the sheriff families at Mecca, who may be regarded as the former Mamlouks or janizaries of Arabia, only a small number (Burckhardt enumerates twelve) now remain, who serve as auxiliaries under their respective chiefs, either in the armies of their friends or their enemies. Their great versatility of character and conduct has destroyed their credit for honesty; and this popular distrust is increased by the suspicion that they belong to the heterodox sect of the Zaidites; while the Meccawees follow the doctrines of Shafei. In personal appearance and gallant bearing they surpass most other tribes of their countrymen. Those whom Burckhardt had an opportunity of seeing were distinguished by fine manly countenances, strongly expressive of noble extraction; they had all the bold and frank manners of the Bedouins; were fond of popularity; and endowed with an innate pride which, in their own eyes, set them far above the Sultan of Constantinople. They form a distinct class, into which no foreigners are admitted. They are spread over several

other parts of Arabia, and acknowledge most of the sheriffs of Yemen and Hejaz as their distant relations. They delight in arms and civil broils; and have a singular custom, which was practised in the days of Mohammed, of sending every male child eight days after its birth to the tent of some neighbouring Bedouin, where he is brought up with the children for eight or ten years, or till he is able to manage a mare, when the father takes him home. During the whole of this period, except a short visit in his sixth month, the boy never sees his parents, nor enters the town; nor is he in any instance left longer than thirty days after his birth in the hands of his mother. By this hardy education he becomes familiar with all the perils and vicissitudes of the desert life; his body is inured to fatigue and privation; and he acquires an influence among the Bedouins which afterward becomes of much importance to him. He acquires for his foster-parents all the affection of relationship; and sometimes the sheriff boys steal away from their own homes to rejoin the friends and associates of their infancy.

At Mecca, and in every town throughout Hejaz, justice is administered by the cadi. The fees are enormous, and generally swallow up one-fourth of the sum in litigation. The most barefaced acts of corruption, bribery, and oppression occur daily in the *Mehkames* (halls of judgment), and these disorders are countenanced by the Turkish sultan, who had long been in the habit of paying the judges 100 purses per annum out of his treasury, in consideration of the emoluments he received from the office. In lawsuits of importance, the muftis of the four orthodox sects have considerable influence on the decisions.

Within the dominions of the sheriff are comprehended, as has already been noticed, the cities of Mecca, Medina, Yembo, Taïf, Jidda, Gonfode, Hali, and several other places less considerable.

Jidda, views of which are given by Head and Niebuhr, is described by travellers as a pretty town, built upon a slightly-rising ground, the lower part of which is washed by the sea. It extends along the shore more than half a mile. On the land-side it is surrounded by a wall in a tolerable state of repair, but of no strength. Its watch-towers are mounted with a few rusty guns, one of which is famous over all the Red Sea, and may be called the Mons Meg of Arabia, as it is said to carry a ball of 100 lbs. weight. A ditch ten feet wide and twelve deep is carried along its whole extent; and there is a battery, which guards the entrance from the sea and commands the harbour. The approach from the shore is by the quays, where small boats discharge the cargoes of the large ships; the latter being obliged to anchor in the roadstead, at the distance of two miles. The entrance is shut every evening at sunset; and thus, during night, all communication is prevented between the town and the shipping.

On the land-side are two gates leading to Mecca and Medina; opposite these the ditch is filled with rubbish, which serves instead of a drawbridge. The suburbs contain only huts formed of reeds, rushes, or brushwood, inhabited by peasants, labourers, and Bedouins. The streets of the town are unpaved, but, on the whole, regular, spacious, and airy. The houses are two or three stories high, handsome, and generally built of large blocks of very fine madrepore; though uniformity of architecture is not observed. There is usually a spacious hall at the entrance, where strangers are received, and which, during the heat of the day, is cooler than any other part of the house, the floor being kept continually wet. There the master, with all his male attendants, hired servants, and slaves, may be seen at noon enjoying the siesta. The doorways are elegantly arched, and covered with zigzag fretwork ornaments carved in the stone. The windows are

numerous, sometimes large sometimes small, with wooden shutters. The bow-windows exhibit a great display of joiners' and carpenters' work, which is often painted with the most gaudy colours. Travellers have been struck with the resemblance between the arches at Jidda and those in the English cathedrals; some being pointed, like the Gothic; others flat, and retiring one within another, like the Saxon.

The most respectable inhabitants have their residence near the sea, where a long street running parallel to the shore appears lined with shops, and presents many khans constantly and exclusively frequented by the merchants. The pasha's palace is delightfully situated on the water's edge; yet the edifice itself is rather paltry than handsome. There are many small mosques, and two of considerable magnitude. Water is scarce; but in all the public places there are persons who sell it in glasses, and have near them a small chafing-dish, in which they burn incense and aromatics; by this means the air is constantly perfumed. The same custom is observed in the khans, shops, and even private houses. The markets are well supplied; but vegetables and other provisions require to be brought from a distance, there being no gardens near the town or verdure of any kind, except such as is afforded by a few shrubs and date-trees. Beyond the gate is held the market for corn, cattle, wood, charcoal, and fruits. Eastward lies the principal burying-ground, containing the sepulchres of several sheiks: here, too, is shown the tomb of Eve, the mother of mankind, which Burckhardt was informed is a rude structure of stone, about four feet in length, two or three in height, and as many in breadth. The principal commercial street of Jidda has a vast number of shops, which, as in all parts of Turkey, are raised several feet above the ground; before them are stone benches, on which purchasers seat themselves, and where they are sheltered from the sun by an

awning usually made of mats fastened to high poles. The pipe is the constant companion of the lower classes, and of all the sailors on the Red Sea. The head or bowl consists of an unpolished cocoanut shell which contains water, and the smoke is inhaled through a thick reed, or a long serpentine tube. The coffee-houses are generally filthy, and never frequented by the better class of merchants. The dealers in other commodities are very numerous; sellers of butter, honey, oil, and sugar; of vegetables, fruits, and confectionary of all descriptions. There are pancake-makers and bean-sellers, who furnish these articles for breakfast; soup-sellers, shops for roasted meat or fried fish, stands for bread and *leben* or sour-milk (which is sold by the pound, and extremely dear), for Greek cheese, and salted or smoked beef from Asia Minor, to accommodate visiters at mid-day. Corn-dealers have their shops, where Egyptian wheat, barley, beans, lentils, dhourra, rice, and biscuits may be purchased. The druggists, who are mostly natives of India, have their laboratories; where, besides medical compounds, they retail wax, candles, pepper, perfumery, sugar, and spices of all sorts. A considerable article of their trade consists in rosebuds brought from the gardens of Taïf: these the inhabitants of Hejaz, especially the ladies, infuse in water, which they afterward use for their ablutions. Tailors, clothiers, and barbers are not numerous; the latter act here as surgeons and physicians, as they formerly did in England. There are a good many shops where small articles of Indian manufacture are sold. Very little European hardware finds its way to these markets, except needles, scissors, thimbles, and files; copper-vessels, water-skins, and other domestic utensils are generally imported. In a street adjoining the great market-place live a few artisans, blacksmiths, silversmiths, carpenters, and some butchers, chiefly natives of Egypt.

Jidda may be called a modern town; for, although known in ancient times as the harbour of Mecca, its importance as a market for Indian goods can only be traced to the beginning of the fifteenth century. During the predominance of the Wahabees it had been in a declining state; its trade was much depressed, and many of the houses had gone to ruin. Since the conquests of the Egyptians, however, it has recovered its former condition, and is now as flourishing as at any period in its history. In 1823 it had a Turkish governor, Rustan Aga, who lived in great state, and kept a considerable military establishment. Burckhardt states the number of inhabitants generally at from 12,000 to 15,000; but about the time of the pilgrimage, and during the summer months, there is a great influx of strangers, which increases that amount perhaps one-half: they are almost exclusively foreigners. The settlers from India, Egypt, Syria, Barbary, Turkey, and other nations may be still recognised in the features of their descendants, who are all mixed in one general mass, and live and dress in the same manner. The aboriginal tribes who once peopled the town have either perished by the hands of the governors, or been driven to other parts of the country; those who can be truly called natives are merely a few families of sheriffs, who are attached to the mosques or the courts of justice. This mixture of races is the effect of the pilgrimage, which every year adds fresh numbers to the population. The Jiddawees are almost entirely engaged in commerce, and pursue no manufactures or trades but those of immediate necessity. Their traffic by land is confined to Mecca and Medina. A caravan departs for the latter place once in forty or fifty days, and consists of from 60 to 100 camels, conducted by Harb Bedouins. The more common route of intercourse, however, is by Yembo, to which goods are conveyed by sea. The caravans to Mecca set out almost every evening, and

perform the journey in two nights; the camels resting at a station midway during the day. In addition to these, a small caravan of asses lightly laden starts also every evening, and arrives regularly next morning. This conveyance is the usual mail for post-letters. The inhabitants evince in their appearance the extremes of wealth and indigence; there is a great deal of luxury in the costume and apartments of the rich; while among the lower orders many are almost naked, and in the greatest misery. Ali Bey remarked a prodigious number of dogs and cats in the streets, howling and roaming without owners, but says there are few flies, and no gnats or other insects.

Yembo serves as the port to Medina. Though the sheriffs of Mecca were in the habit of appointing their vizier as governor of the place, he had in most cases little authority beyond that of collecting the customs; the government being exercised by the great sheik of the Jeheine tribe, to which many of the inhabitants belonged. The town is built on the northern side of a deep spacious bay, which affords good anchorage; and is protected from the violence of the wind by an island at its entrance. A creek of the bay divides it into two parts, both of which are enclosed by a wall of considerable strength. The houses are low, built of a coarse white calcareous stone full of fossils, and have a mean and wretched appearance. The inhabitants are principally Arabs, no foreigners having settled here except two or three Indian shopkeepers, or a few Turks who occasionally take up a temporary residence. Yembo possesses about forty or fifty ships, which engage in all the branches of the Red Sea trade; but they are daring smugglers,—often eluding the heavy duties of the government by sending a considerable part of their cargoes ashore by stealth. The transport to Medina is chiefly in provisions, and occupies a great number of carriers. The Yemba-

wees are all armed with a dagger and spear, although they seldom appear so in public, and they usually carry a heavy bludgeon in their hand. The situation is healthy, and the markets cheap; but as a residence it must be extremely disagreeable, from the incredible quantity of flies that infest the coast. The inhabitants never walk out without a fan to drive off these troublesome vermin.

Taïf is under the government of a subordinate officer, with little authority, appointed by the sheriff. The town stands in the middle of a sandy circular plain, encompassed by low mountains, called Gebel Ghazoan. It is in the form of an irregular square, of about two miles in circumference, surrounded by a rampart and ditch, and defended by several towers. The castle occupies a rocky elevated site; but has no claim to the title of a fortress, except that it is larger than the other edifices, and has stronger walls. The houses in general are small, but well built, and supplied with two copious springs. Taïf is celebrated over all Arabia for its beautiful gardens, which are situated at the foot of the hills. In some of them are neat pavilions, where the inhabitants pass their festive hours, and to which the great merchants of Mecca occasionally retire in summer. Here the fruits of Syria bloom in the centre of the Arabian desert; and from this circumstance tradition has assigned to it the fabulous origin of having been detached from that country, either at the general deluge, or by virtue of the prayers of Abraham, who in this miraculous way obtained for the natives and pilgrims at Mecca that subsistence which their own barren hills refused them.

Taïf suffered much in the Wahabee war, and since that period it has remained in a state of comparative ruin. Every thing has the aspect of misery; the principal streets swarm with beggars; and the trade, which consists chiefly in drugs and perfumes, cannot support above fifty shops. For-

merly it was a flourishing commercial town, to which the Arabs from a great distance resorted to dispose of their caravans of wheat and barley, and to purchase articles of dress. Under the Pasha of Egypt it may perhaps recover from its present decay.* The indigenous inhabitants of the place are Arabs of the ancient tribe of Thakif, so famous in the wars of Mohammed; and in their possession are all the neighbouring gardens, and most of the provision-shops in the town. A few Meccawees are settled here; but the far greater part of the foreigners are Indians by extraction.

Mecca, the holy city of the Moslems, so long forbidden to the profane eyes of Christians, is now familiar to every reader of Arabian travels; and notwithstanding the growing indifference of the Mohammedans to their religion, it is still visited and revered by all orthodox followers of the Prophet. Among the natives it is dignified with many high-sounding titles,—The Mother of Towns,—The Noble,—The Region of the Faithful. The city lies in a narrow winding valley, the main direction of which is from north to south, and its breadth vary-

* Here Ali Pasha had his head-quarters in 1814 when visited by Burckhardt, with whom he held a long and interesting conversation respecting the affairs of Europe, of which he appeared to have a tolerable knowledge. He had already heard of the treaty of peace concluded at Paris, and the captivity of Bonaparte in Elba; and made some curious comments on the new arrangements, both colonial and continental, of the Allied Powers. That the English should be guided in their policy by the laws of honour, or a sense of the general good of Europe, he could not comprehend. "A great king," he exclaimed with much warmth, "knows nothing but his sword and his purse; he draws the one to fill the other; there is no honour among conquerors!" Of the British parliament he had some notion; and the name of Wellington was familiar to him. He admitted he was a great general; but doubted whether if his grace had commanded such bad soldiers as the Turkish troops, he would have been able to do what he himself had done in conquering Egypt and Hejaz.

ing from 100 to 700 yards. The buildings cover a space of about 1500 paces in length; but the suburbs, from one extreme to the other, extend to nearly 3500. The mountains, enclosing the valley and overhanging the town, rise from 200 to 500 feet in height, rugged, and completely barren. Mecca may be styled a handsome town; its streets are in general broader than those of Eastern cities; the houses lofty, and built of stone, which, being of a dark-gray colour, looks more agreeable than the glaring white that offends the eye at Jidda and Mocha. The numerous windows that face the streets give them a lively and European aspect; the greater number project from the wall, and have their framework elaborately carved, or painted with brilliant colours. In front hang blinds made of slight reeds, which exclude flies and gnats while they admit fresh air. The doors are generally approached by a few steps, and have small seats on each side.

The city is open on every side; though in former times its extremities were protected by three walls, ruins of which are still visible. Except four or five large palaces belonging to the sheriff, two colleges, and the great mosque, it cannot boast of any public edifices; and in this respect it is perhaps more deficient than any other oriental town of the same size. Nearly all the common houses are divided into small apartments, for the accommodation of lodgers during the pilgrimage. The terraces on the roof are concealed from view by slight parapet walls; for, throughout the East, it is reckoned discreditable for a man to appear where he might be accused of looking at the women, who pass the greater part of their time on the terraces, employed in hanging up linen, drying corn, and various domestic occupations. The streets, being sandy and unpaved, are disagreeable in summer, and equally so from mud in the rainy season, during which they are scarcely passable; and the lower parts of the town, where

the water does not run off, are converted into pools, and allowed to remain till they dry.

The police of the city is badly regulated: as there are no lamps, the streets are totally dark, and encumbered with the rubbish and sweepings cast from the houses. The inhabitants are but poorly supplied with water; the best is conveyed from the vicinity of Arafat, six or seven hours distant, by an aqueduct of vast labour and magnitude, first erected, according to the Arabian historians, by Zobeide, the wife of Haroun al Raschid, and frequently repaired at great expense by the Turkish sultans. In some quarters of the town there are handsome shops, for the sale of all sorts of provisions. The baths, three in number, are of an inferior order, and chiefly frequented by foreigners.

The only public edifice worthy of note is the Great Mosque or Temple, which the Moslem call *Beitullah* (the House of God), or *El Haram* (the Temple of Excellence). This celebrated structure has been so often ruined and repaired, that no traces of remote antiquity are to be found about it. From the days of Omar, who laid its first foundations, to the present century, various caliphs, emperors, sultans, and imams have signalized their piety by renewing, altering, or adding to its buildings. Almansor enlarged the north and south side to twice its former extent; Mahadi, Motassem, Motaded, and others of the Abbassides, expended immense sums in the erection of columns, new gates, and marble pavements. After its restoration from the disasters it experienced at the hands of the heretical Karmathians, no changes or additions were made for several centuries. The Sultan Solyman caused all the domes to be raised which cover the roof of the colonnades, and laid the pavement that is now round the Kaaba. From the year 1627, when it was rebuilt, after being partly destroyed by

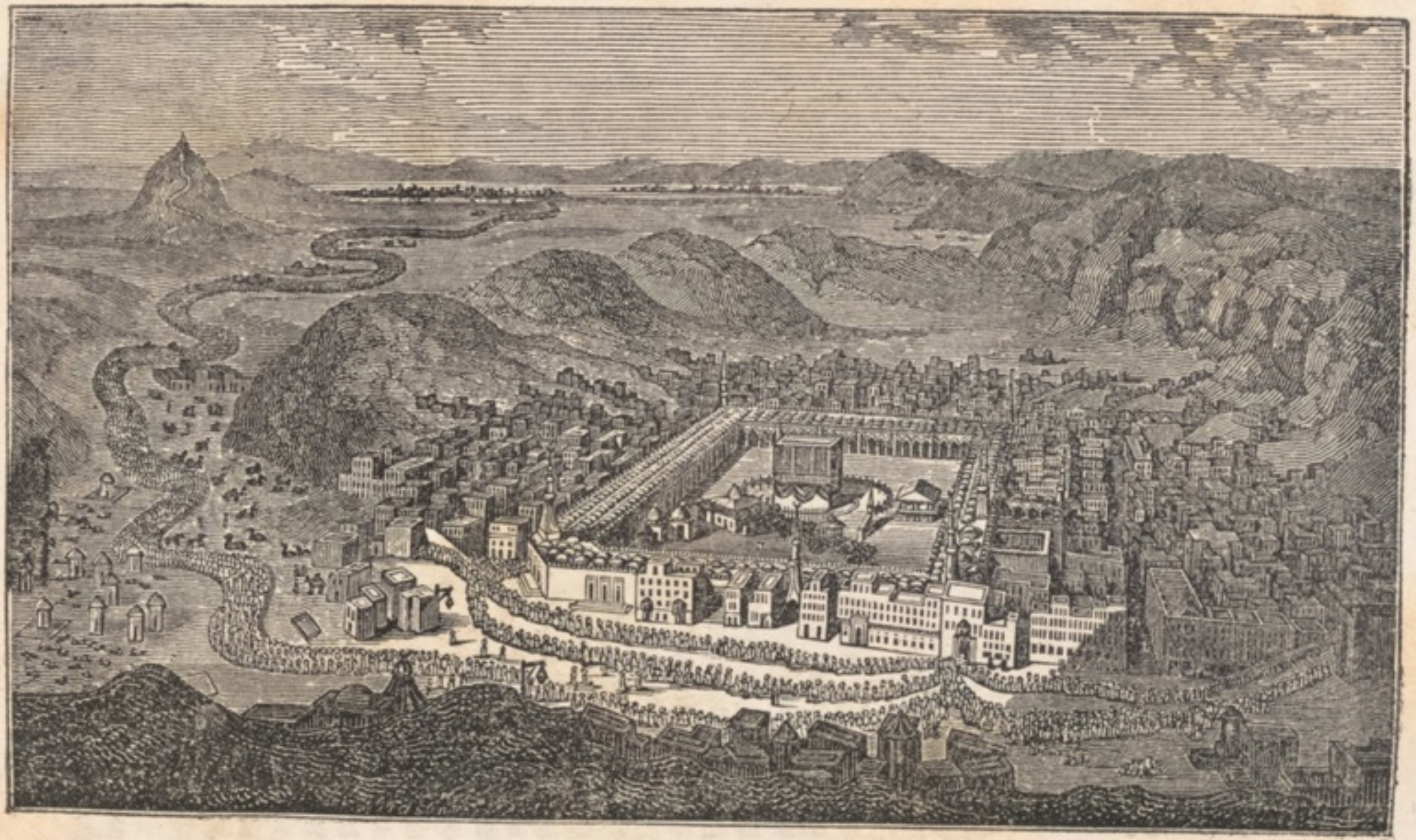
a torrent from the hills, no other material alterations or improvements took place till the eighteenth century; so that the building, as it now appears, may be almost wholly ascribed to the munificence of the last sultans of Egypt and the Turkish emperors. In the autumn of 1816, several artists and workmen sent from Constantinople were employed in repairing the damage done by the Wahabees.

The Temple stands near the middle of the city: it is a quadrilateral building, much resembling in form, according to Pitts,* that of the Royal Ex-

* Joseph Pitts of Exeter was the first Englishman we know of that visited either of the holy cities. The ship in which he sailed being captured in 1678 by a Moorish pirate, he was carried to Algiers, where he remained in slavery fifteen years. By cruel treatment he was compelled to become a Mussulman:—in that capacity he accompanied his master, an old Turkish bachelor, on his pilgrimage to Mecca, who gave him his liberty on their return. His narrative is homely, but surprisingly accurate. It is curious that Gibbon seems not to have seen or known of it. A much earlier traveller, and the first Christian in modern times that gave a tolerable account of Arabia, was Ludovico Barthema of Bologna, who, in 1503, &c. visited Egypt, Syria, Arabia, Persia, and India. At Damascus he contrived, in the guise of a Mamlouk soldier, to accompany one of the pilgrim caravans to Mecca and Medina, where he paid his devoirs at the tomb of Mohammed, and went through the whole ceremonies of the haj; after which he escaped to Jidda, and thence by way of Aden to Persia. The caravan, he says, consisted of 35,000 persons, and 40,000 camels. (See his travels in Ramusio's *Raccolta delle Navigat. et Viaggi*, tome i.) The Sheik Ibn Batuta, whose travels have been recently translated by Professor Lee of Cambridge, performed the pilgrimage in 1332; but they contain few facts concerning Arabia. His whole account of Mecca is "May God ennoble it!" He observes the same brevity regarding Sanaa, Aden, Muscat, and other towns which he visited. Seetzen was also at Mecca during the time of the pilgrimage, under the protection of a Moorish merchant; but his stay was short, and his description differs little from those of Ali Bey and Burckhardt. He went to Sanaa, which he represents as superior to most cities that he had seen in Palestine, Syria, or Arabia.

change in London, but nearly ten times larger. It has properly no external front, the walls being connected on the outside with the adjoining houses, some of which have windows that look into the interior. These tenements belonged originally to the mosque, but the greater part of them are now the property of individuals, who let out the different apartments to the richer haijis at very high prices. The gates of the mosque are nineteen in number, distributed without any order or symmetry. Most of them have high pointed arches, though some are round, or almost semicircular; and as each gate consists of two or three divisions, the whole number of these arches is thirty-nine. They are without any ornament except the inscriptions on the exterior, which commemorate the merits of the builder. There being no doors, the mosque is open at all hours, night and day.

The great inner court of the Temple forms a parallelogram or oblong of about 250 paces in length and 200 in breadth. Ali Bey's measurement is 536 feet 9 inches by 356. The whole square is surrounded by a colonnade or double piazza, the fronts of the two longer sides presenting thirty-six and the two shorter twenty-four arches, supported by columns of different proportions, and amounting in all to nearly 500. On the eastern side the row of pillars is four deep, and three deep on the others; they are above twenty feet in height, and generally from 1½ to 1¾ feet in diameter. Some of them are of white marble, granite, or porphyry; but the greater number consist of common stone from the neighbouring mountains. No regular order of architecture is observed, and no two capitals or bases are exactly alike. The former are of coarse Saracen workmanship, while, from the ignorance of the workmen, not a few of them have been placed upside down. Some of the shafts in the weaker



Mecca and the Grand Temple during the Pilgrimage,

parts are strengthened with broad iron hoops or bands, as in many other buildings in the East.*

The arches that front the great court are all crowned with small conical domes, plastered and whitened on the outside; beyond these is a second row of low spherical cupolas, amounting in all to 152; and above them rise seven minarets or steeples, from the summits of which a beautiful view is obtained of the busy crowd below. These are irregularly distributed, one being at each angle, and the rest at different parts of the mosque. Some parts of the walls and arches, as well as the minarets, are gaudily painted in stripes of yellow, red, or blue. Around the whole colonnade lamps are suspended from the arches, part of which are lighted every night. The floors of the piazza are paved with large stones, badly cemented. The area of the court is below the level of the street, and surrounded by a flight of stairs eight or ten steps in descent. From the colonnades seven paved footpaths lead towards the centre, elevated about nine inches above the ground, and of sufficient breadth to admit four or five persons to walk abreast. The intermediate spaces are covered with fine gravel or sand.

* The annexed engraving of Mecca and the Temple is from the splendid work of D'Ohsson (Tableau de l'Emp. Ottoman). The appearance of the town has altered materially since the ravages committed by the Wahabees in the present century; ut the view of the temple Burckhardt has pronounced to be tolerably accurate, only the Kaaba is somewhat large in proporion to the rest of the building. The view given in Niebuhr, copied from an ancient Arabic drawing, is less accurate than that by D'Ohsson. The ground-plan of the mosque in Ali Bey is perfectly correct; but his views in Mecca and the Hejaz are not faithful. The view of Medina (vol. i. p. 262) is also from D'Ohsson. That city has also been altered in its appearance by the fate of war. The suburbs are entirely omitted by the latter writer; and the mosque of the Prophet, being copied from an old Arabic drawing, differs in several particulars from the modern structure. It is to be regretted that Burckhardt was prevented by severe illness from giving a correct plan of it

Nearly in the middle of the court stands the Kaaba, the "navel of the world," as Ibn Haukal calls it, the most remarkable building about the mosque, and the only part which lays claim to high antiquity. It is an oblong massive structure, the sides and angles of which are unequal, so that its plan forms a trapezium; but the flat roof, the size of the edifice, and the black cloth covering, give it the appearance of a perfect cube. It is constructed of the gray Mecca stone, in large unpolished blocks of different sizes, and remains as it was when rebuilt in 1627. The length, according to Burckhardt, is eighteen paces, the breadth fourteen, and the height from thirty-five to forty feet. The only entrance is by a door on the north side, which is opened but two or three times in the year, and elevated about seven feet above the ground. In entering it a wooden staircase is used, mounted on six large rollers of bronze, with hand-railings on each side, and broad enough to admit four persons abreast. It consists of ten steps, and is moved to the wall when visiters ascend. The present door, which was sent from Constantinople in 1633, is wholly coated with silver, and fastened with an enormous padlock of the same metal. It has several gilt ornaments; and upon the threshold are placed every night various small lighted wax-candles, and perfuming-pans filled with musk, aloes-wood, and other aromatics.

On the western side projects the *myzab* or water-spout, through which the rain collected on the roof is discharged. It is about four feet in length, and reported to be of pure gold, but is more probably of gilt bronze. The water falls on two large slabs of fine verde antique, which are said to mark the spot where Ishmael and his mother Hagar were buried. This is enclosed by a semicircular wall (called *El Hatim*) about three or four feet from the side of the Kaaba. It is built of solid stone, five feet in height and four thick, cased all over with white

marble, and inscribed with prayers and invocations. The interior of the Kaaba consists only of a hall, the floor of which is paved with the finest marble; and the lower part of the walls is ornamented with inscriptions, arabesque in relief, and similar decorations. The ceiling is supported by two columns, and there is a door through which persons ascend to the roof. The hall is lighted by an infinite number of gold lamps, and almost entirely covered with cloth of a rose-coloured silk, lined with white, and sprinkled with flowers embroidered with silver.

Near the entrance, at the north-eastern corner, is the famous Black Stone, called by the Moslems *Hajra el Assouad*, or Heavenly Stone. It forms a part of the sharp angle of the building, and is inserted four or five feet above the ground. The shape is an irregular oval, about seven inches in diameter. Its colour is now a deep reddish brown, approaching to black; and it is surrounded by a border of nearly the same colour, resembling a cement of pitch and gravel, and from two to three inches in breadth. Both the border and the stone itself are encircled by a silver band, swelling to a considerable breadth below, where it is studded with nails of the same metal. The surface is undulated, and seems composed of about a dozen smaller stones of different sizes and shapes, but perfectly smooth, and well joined with a small quantity of cement. It looks as if the whole had been dashed into many pieces by a severe concussion, and then reunited;—an appearance that may perhaps be explained by the various disasters to which it has been exposed. During the fire that occurred in the time of Yezzid I. (A.D. 682), the violent heat split it into three pieces; and when the fragments were replaced, it was necessary to surround them with a rim of silver, which is said to have been renewed by Haroun al Raschid. It was in two pieces when the Karmathians carried it away, having been broken by a blow from a soldier

during the plunder of Mecca. Hakem, a mad sultan of Egypt, in the eleventh century, endeavoured, while on the pilgrimage, to destroy it with an iron club which he had concealed under his clothes; but was prevented and slain by the populace. Since that accident it remained unmolested until 1674, when it was found one morning besmeared with dirt, so that every one who kissed it returned with a sullied face. Though suspicion fell on certain Persians, the authors of this sacrilegious joke were never discovered. As for the quality of the stone, it does not seem to be accurately determined. Burckhardt says it appeared to him like a lava, containing several small extraneous particles of a whitish and a yellowish substance. Ali Bey calls it a fragment of volcanic basalt, sprinkled with small-pointed coloured crystals, and varied with red feldspar upon a dark black ground like coal, except one of its protuberances, which is a little reddish. The millions of kisses and touches impressed by the faithful have worn the surface uneven, and to a considerable depth. This miraculous block all orthodox Mussulmans believe to have been originally a transparent hyacinth, brought from heaven to Abraham by the angel Gabriel; but its substance, as well as its colour, have long been changed by coming in contact with the impurities of the human race.

The four sides of the Kaaba are covered with a black silk stuff called the *kesoua*, and the *tob* or shirt, which is brought from Cairo, and put on every year at the time of the pilgrimage. The roof is left bare, and during the first days the new kesoua is tucked up by means of cords, so as to leave the lower part of the building exposed; but in course of a short time it is let down so as to cover the whole structure, and is then fastened to strong brass rings below. On this curtain various prayers and passages of the Koran are interwoven; and a little above the middle is a line or band of similar inscriptions (called

El Hazem, or the belt) worked in gold thread, and running round the entire edifice. An opening is made for the black stone; but the part of the kesoua which covers the door is richly embroidered with silver.

In the first centuries of Islam the tob was never taken away,—the new one being always put over the old; but this custom was at length abolished,—the Meccawees fearing that the Kaaba might sink under such an accumulation of clothing. The removal of the old kesoua was performed in a very indecorous manner;—a contest always ensued among the pilgrims and the people for the shreds or rags. Even the dust that adhered to the wall under it was collected and sold as sacred relics. The curtain and belt belong to the sheriff, who cuts them up and disposes of them at five francs a cubit. Pitts says that a piece the size of a sheet of paper cost nine or ten shillings: it is esteemed an excellent amulet, and many have it laid on their breast when dying.

The clothing of the Kaaba was a practice of the pagan Arabs, who used two coverings,—one for winter and the other for summer. It appears to have always been considered as an emblem of sovereignty over the Hejaz; and has in consequence been furnished by the princes of Bagdad, Egypt, or Yemen, according as their influence prevailed at Mecca. It is now supplied at the expense of the grand seignior; and such a sacredness attaches to it, that the camel which transports it to Mecca is ever after exempted from labour. The black colour of the vestment, and the size of the building, give it at first sight a very singular and imposing appearance. Seventy thousand angels have this edifice in their holy care, and are ordered to transport it to paradise when the trumpet of the last judgment shall be sounded. The colour of the tob was not always black; in ancient times it was white, and sometimes

red, consisting of the richest brocade. The Wahabees covered it with a red camlet stuff, of which the fine Arabian abbas are made. The new kesoua is put up fifteen days after the old one has been removed, during which interval the Kaaba continues without a cover. At the moment when the building is clothed, crowds of women surround it, rejoicing with shouts or cries, called *walwalou*.

The ground for about forty feet round the Kaaba is paved with fine marble, variously coloured, and forming a very handsome specimen of Mosaic. This space, on which the pilgrims perform the *towaf* or circuit, is of an elliptical figure, and surrounded with a sort of railing or enclosure of thirty-two slender gilt pillars, about seven feet and a half in height; between every two of which are suspended seven lamps of thick green glass of a globular shape, which are always lighted after sunset.

Opposite the four sides of the Kaaba, and in the circular line of the pillars, stand four other small buildings, called *makams*, where the imams of the four orthodox sects, namely, the Hanifees, Shafees, Hanbalees, and Malekees, take their station, and guide the congregation in their prayers. The Makam Ibrahim, or Place of Abraham, faces the door of the Kaaba, and is supported by six pillars. Near this structure stands the *mambar*, or pulpit of the mosque, which is of fine white marble, with many sculptured ornaments. A straight narrow staircase leads up to the post of the *khatib* or preacher, who officiates, wrapped up in a white cloak, which covers his head and body; two green flags are placed on each side of him, and in his hand he holds a stick;—a practice also observed in Egypt and Syria in memory of the first ages of Islam, when the preacher found it necessary to be armed for fear of being surprised. Here sermon is delivered every Friday, and on certain festivals. It is near the mambar that visiters on entering deposite their shoes; none

being permitted to walk round the Kaaba with covered feet.

The only other building within the court worthy of notice is the *Bir Zemzem* or Zemzem Well. This building, which was erected about the end of the seventeenth century, is a square of massive construction, with an entrance opening into the apartment which contains the spring. The room is tastefully ornamented with marbles of various colours: it is rather more than seventeen feet square, and lighted by eight windows. The depth of the well is said to be fifty-six feet to the surface of the water; its mouth is surrounded by a brim of fine white marble, five feet high, and about ten in diameter. Upon this the persons stand who draw the water in leathern buckets attached to pulleys;—an iron railing being so placed as to prevent their falling in. The chief of the well has the somewhat alarming title of the Poisoner; but Ali Bey assures us, he was a very handsome person, of the most winning and graceful manners. The number of pitchers is immense; they are of unglazed earth, so porous that the liquid filters through. Their form is long and cylindrical, terminating in a point at the bottom, so that they cannot stand unless placed against the wall. The Turks consider it a miracle that the supply never diminishes, notwithstanding the continual demand; for it serves the whole town, and there is scarcely a family that does not daily use it for drinking or for ablution; but it is deemed impious to employ it in culinary or common occasions. This phenomenon, however, is explained by Burckhardt, who discovered that the water was supplied by a subterraneous rivulet. When first drawn up it is slightly tepid, resembling in this respect many other fountains in Hejaz. It is heavy to the taste, and sometimes of a colour resembling milk; but it is wholesome and perfectly sweet, dif-

fering in this respect from the brackish wells in the town.

On the north side of the Zemzem stand two small ugly buildings, one behind the other, called *kobbetein*, in which are kept water-jars, lamps, carpets, brooms, mats, and other articles. They are covered with painted domes; but are not considered as forming any part of the mosque, no religious importance being attached to them. The gravel-ground, from the circular pavement to the colonnade, is covered at the time of evening prayer with carpets of Egyptian manufacture, from sixty to eighty feet in length and four in breadth, which are rolled up after the devotions are over. It is only, however, during the time of prayer, that the sanctity of the mosque is regarded. Every hour of the day persons may be seen under the colonnades reading the Koran, or hearing lectures delivered by the ulemas on religious subjects. There many poor Indians and negroes spread their mats, where they are allowed to eat and sleep; and at noon loiterers come to repose under the cool shade of the piazza. In other parts of it are public schools, where the stick of the pedagogue is in constant action among noisy groups of children. Winding-sheets and other linens washed in the Zemzem water, are constantly seen hanging to dry between the pillars; for many pilgrims purchase their shrouds (*keffen*) at Mecca, believing that if their corpse be wrapped in linen which has been wetted in holy water, the peace of the soul after death will be more effectually secured. The square is used as a play-ground for boys; and servants carry luggage across it, to pass by the nearest route from one quarter of the city to another. Here, too, men of business meet and converse on their affairs; and sometimes the precincts are so full of mendicants and diseased people lying about in the midst of their tattered baggage, as to make the

place resemble an hospital rather than a temple;—even the Kaaba itself is rendered the scene of such indecencies as cannot be particularly described, and which are practised not only with impunity, but it may be almost said without concealment.

Near the gate of Bab es Salem, a few Arab sheiks daily take their seat, with their paper and inkstands, ready to write for any applicant, letters, accounts, contracts, amulets, billet-doux, or any similar documents. They are principally employed by the Bedouins, and demand an exorbitant remuneration. One species of inviolable property belonging to the mosque are the flocks of wild pigeons with which Mecca abounds, and which nobody dares venture to kill. Several small stone basins are regularly filled with water for their use; and as it is considered an act of piety to feed them, there are women who expose corn and dhourra for sale on small straw mats, and who occasionally embrace the opportunity of intriguing with the pilgrims, under the pretence of selling them corn for the sacred pigeons.

The service of the temple employs a vast number of people, consisting of khatibs, imams, muftis, muezzins, ulemas, eunuchs, lamp-lighters, metowafs, or guides, with a host of other menial servants, all of whom receive regular pay from the mosque, besides their share of the presents made to it by the hajjis. The first officer is the Naib el Haram, or guardian, who keeps the keys of the Kaaba, and superintends the repairs of the building. Burckhardt says he was one of the heads of the three only families descended from the ancient Koreish, then resident in Mecca. Next to him is the aga or chief of the eunuchs, who performs the duty of police-officer in the temple. His attendants prevent disorders, and daily wash and sweep the pavement round the Kaaba. Their dress is the Turkish kaouk, and they carry a long stick in their hand, with which they

lay freely about them in cases of quarrels or riots. Their number exceeds forty, and most of them are negroes or copper-coloured Indians. The aga is a personage of great importance, entitled to sit in the presence of the pasha and the sheriff.

The revenue of the mosque is considerable, although it has been deprived of the best branches of its income. There are few towns or districts in the Turkish empire in which it does not possess property in land or houses; but the annual amount is often withheld by the provincial governors, or diminished by the number of hands through which it passes. Formerly the sultans of Egypt and Constantinople sent it large sums every year; but at present it is reduced to a state of comparative poverty. Notwithstanding the stories about its riches, it possesses no treasures except a few golden lamps. The history of the Beitullah has occupied the pens of many learned Arabs; but in its construction it differs little from many other buildings of the same kind in Asia. Those of Aleppo, Damascus, and Cairo are exactly on the same plan, with an arched colonnade round an open square.

The inhabitants of Mecca may all be called foreigners or the offspring of foreigners, except a few Hejaz Bedouins or their descendants, who have settled there. Though a mixed population, they have nearly the same manners, and wear the same dress; so little tenacious are they of their national customs. There are few families in moderate circumstances that do not keep slaves; the male and female servants are negroes; and most of the wealthier inhabitants, in addition to their lawful wives, keep Abyssinian mistresses. It is considered disgraceful to sell a concubine: if she bears a child, and the master has not already four legally-married wives, he takes her in matrimony; if not, she remains in his house for life; and in some instances the number of concubines, old and young, is increased to

several dozens. The middling and lower classes make a lucrative traffic in young Abyssinians, whom they bring up on speculation, and sell to strangers.

The Meccawees are very expensive in their houses; the rooms being embellished with fine carpets, and abundance of cushions and sofas covered with brocade. Their furniture is costly—their tables well supplied—and in receiving visits, which are frequent, every mistress makes it her endeavour to surpass her acquaintances in show and magnificence. The great merchants, most of whom have country-residences at Jidda or Taif, live very splendidly, maintaining an establishment of fifty or sixty persons. Every native delicacy is to be found at their tables; the china and glass ware in which the viands are served up are of the best quality; rose-water is sprinkled on the beards of the guests after dinner; and the room is filled with the odours of aloes-wood. The usual custom is two meals daily, —one before midday, the other after sunset. Their mutton is of inferior quality; they hardly know the existence of fish; and their pot-herbs are brought from Taïf and other neighbouring places.

In personal appearance the Meccawees are thin rather than robust; their features are expressive, particularly in the vivacity and brilliancy of the eyes; their colour is a yellowish sickly brown, lighter or darker according to the origin of the mother, who in many cases is an Abyssinian slave. The lower classes are stout and muscular; but the numerous retainers of the temple appear to be the most meager and emaciated beings imaginable. Ali Bey represents them as absolutely walking skeletons, clothed with a parchment to cover their bones. From their lean and scraggy frame, their hollow cheeks, large sunken eyes, shrivelled legs and arms, they might be mistaken for true anatomical models;

and but for the prospective felicities of paradise, their existence on earth would seem intolerable.

One singular practice has been remarked by travellers, that all the male natives both of Mecca and Jidda, except Bedouins, are tattooed in a particular way, which is performed by their parents when they are forty days old. It is called *meshalé*, and consists of three long incisions down both cheeks, and two on the right temple, the scars of which remain through life. Instead of a deformity, this is reckoned a beauty; and they pride themselves on a local distinction, which precludes the other inhabitants of Hejaz from claiming in foreign countries the honour of being born in the holy cities. This tattooing is very seldom inflicted on female children.

In disposition, the Meccawees are lively; in the streets, bazars, and even in the mosque itself, they love to laugh and joke. In talking or dealing with each other they often introduce proverbs, puns, and witty allusions; and as they possess, with all this vivacity of temper, much intellect, sagacity, and suavity of manners, their conversation is very agreeable; so that whoever cultivates even a merely superficial acquaintance with them seldom fails to be delighted with their character. They have a natural politeness, which they display not only to strangers, but in their daily intercourse with each other. In exchanging civilities on the streets, the young man kisses the hand of the elder, and the inferior that of his superior in rank; while the latter returns the compliment by a salute on the forehead. Individuals of equal rank and age in the middle classes mutually kiss each other's hand In the ceremony of shaking hands, they lay hold of the thumb with the whole hand, pressing it, and again opening the hand three or four times: this is said to have been the practice of Mohammed.

The vices of pilfering and theft are not prevalent at Mecca; robberies are seldom heard of; although rogues avail themselves of such opportunities during the pilgrimage, and are tempted by the negligence of the inhabitants in not using locks or bars. The streets abound with beggars, who are entirely supported by the charity of strangers. Many adopt mendicity as a profession, and have a ready stock of pious sentences, which they address to all passengers. Some of them are extremely importunate, and demand alms in a tone of authority little accordant with their condition. Mecca is called the paradise of beggars, and this may account both for the number and the insolence of that class. The Meccawees are proud of being natives of the Holy City and countrymen of their Prophet. In this respect they consider themselves favoured beyond all other nations, and under the special care of Providence. The consequence is, that they are haughty and intolerant towards Christians and Jews, who profess a different creed; and though they do not openly persecute them, their name is always coupled with some opprobrious and contemptuous epithet. The sincerity of their own profession, however, does not correspond with their outward zeal. Such of them as have no particular interest in assuming the appearance of extreme strictness are very negligent in observing both the forms and precepts of their religion, thinking it enough to utter pious ejaculations in public, or comply in trivial matters. In imitation of the Prophet, their mustachios are cut short, and their beard kept regularly under the scissors; in like manner they allow the ends of the turban to fall loosely over the cap: they put antimony on their eyelids, and have always a *messouak*, or toothbrush, in their hands, because such was the custom of Mohammed. They know by heart many passages of the Koran and the sacred traditions, and quote or allude to them every moment; but they

forget that these precepts were given for rules of conduct, and not for mere repetition. They excuse themselves from the duty of almsgiving, by saying that Providence ordained them to receive charity, not to bestow it; and instead of attending the Friday's prayers, as every Moslem is bound to do, the mosque is filled chiefly with strangers, while the inhabitants are seen smoking in their shops. The law prohibiting wine is evaded, so as to become almost a dead letter. Intoxicating liquors are sold at the very gates of the temple; neither the sanctity of the place nor the solemn injunctions of the Koran can deter them from indulging in all the excesses which are the usual consequences of drunkenness. The Indian fleet imports large quantities of *raki* in barrels; and when mixed with sugar and an extract of cinnamon, it is sold under the name of cinnamon-water. The rich merchants, ulemas, and grandees are in the habit of drinking this liquor, which they persuade themselves is neither wine nor brandy, and therefore not prohibited by the law. The less wealthy inhabitants, who cannot purchase so dear a commodity, use a fermented liquor made of raisins, while the lower classes drink *bouza*. Tobacco, hashish, and other intoxicating substances are openly smoked, and cards played in almost every coffee-house.

The inhabitants of Mecca have but two kinds of employment—trade and the service of the Beitullah. Many of the latter calling, which may be said to include one-half of the population, engage privately in commercial affairs; but the greater proportion have no other support than their wages, or what they can extort from the charity of pilgrims. The most impudent, idle, and worthless individuals adopt the profession of guides; and as there is no want of these qualities, nor of a sufficient demand for their services, this class of rogues is very numerous. They besiege strangers with their importunities

from morn to night; invite themselves to eat and drink at their expense; and generally contrive in a month to wheedle from the simplicity or piety of their employers as much as will suffice for the expense of their families during the remainder of the year. The position of Mecca, as it is not situated in the direct route to any country of consequence, and surrounded with perpetual sterility, is unfavourable to commerce; and but for its being the centre of the religious enthusiasm of the Moslem world, it must have long ago sunk into poverty and insignificance. In ordinary times there is a considerable trade with the Bedouins and inhabitants of Nejed, who are in want of India goods, drugs, and articles of dress. The less opulent merchants usually employ their capital in the traffic of corn and provisions; and, though the Pasha of Egypt has made these articles a strict monopoly of his own, the grain-dealers, after paying freight, have usually a profit of fifteen or twenty per cent. The consumption of this species of commodity, it may be observed, is much greater in Arabia than in any of the surrounding countries; the great mass of the people living almost entirely on wheat, barley, lentils, or rice; using few vegetables, but a great deal of butter and spicery.

The natural disadvantages of the place are counterbalanced by a source of opulence possessed by no other city in the world. During the pilgrimage, and for some months preceding it, the magazines of foreign commerce are opened, as it were, by thousands of wealthy hajjis, who bring the productions of every Moslem country to Jidda, either by sea or across the desert, exchanging them with one another, or receiving from the native merchants the goods of India and Arabia, which the latter have accumulated the whole year in their warehouses. At this period Mecca becomes one of the largest fairs in the East, and certainly the most interesting,

from the variety of nations that frequent it. The value of the exports is, however, greatly superior to that of the imports, and requires a considerable balance in dollars and sequins, part of which find their way to Yemen and India, and about one-fourth remains in the hands of the Meccawees. So profitable is this trade, that goods brought from Jidda yield a clear gain, varying from thirty to fifty per cent.

Much profit is also fraudulently made; great numbers of pilgrims are ignorant of the Arabic language, and are in consequence placed at the mercy of brokers or interpreters, who are generally Indians, and never fail to make them pay dearly for their services. It is a practice with dealers, when they wish to conceal their business from others, to join their right hands under the corner of the gown or wide sleeve; where, by touching the different joints of the fingers, they note the numerals, and thus silently conclude the bargain. The wealth that annually flows into Mecca might render it one of the richest cities in the East, were it not for the prodigal and dissipated habits of the people, especially of the lower orders, who are loose and disorderly spendthrifts, squandering away their gains in dress, gluttony, and the grossest gratifications. Marriage and circumcision feasts are celebrated in a very splendid style; so that a poor man will sometimes in one day throw away the expenditure of half a year.

It is owing to their dependence on foreign commerce that the arts and sciences are so little cultivated at Mecca. Travellers have remarked how few artisans inhabit its streets—such as masons, carpenters, tailors, or shoemakers; and these are inferior in skill to the same class in other parts of the country. With the exception of a few potteries and die-houses, there is not a single manufactory. There are braziers for working in copper, and tin-

smiths, who make small vessels for the hajjis to carry away some of the Zemzem water; but not a man is to be found capable of engraving an inscription, or fabricating a lock and key. All the doors are fastened with large wooden bolts; and the skill of the cutler is only adequate to the manufacture of matchlocks, lances, and halberds, which are forged in the rudest manner; a hole in the ground serving for a furnace, and one or two goat-skins, waved before the fire, supplying the place of bellows. The swords, watches, and other hardware to be found in the bazars are imported from Europe. In different shops are sold strings of coral and false pearls, rosaries made of aloe, sandal, or kalambar wood, brilliant necklaces of cut carnelions, seals, rings, and similar jewelry; but all these are kept by Indian merchants. Here, too, are to be seen grocers, druggists, tobacconists, haberdashers, sandal-makers, and a great many dealers in old clothes. There are a few large flour-mills worked by horses; but the common practice is to use hand-mills, which are usually turned by women or the slaves of the family.

It cannot be expected that learning can flourish in a place where every mind is occupied in the search of gain or of paradise; and in this respect Mecca is perhaps inferior to any city of equal population in the East. The whole knowledge of the inhabitants is confined to reading the Koran, and writing but indifferently. There are no public libraries, and not a single school or seminary; the mosque being the only place where boys are taught the elementary parts of education. Children from their infancy learn to repeat prayers and ceremonies; but this is merely to make money by officiating as guides to the pilgrims. The crafts of bookselling and bookbinding are of course unknown. The language of the Meccawees, however, is still more pure and elegant, both in phraseology and pronunciation, than

that of any other town where Arabic is spoken. It approaches nearest to the old written Arabic, and is free from those affectations and perversions of the original sense which abound in other provinces. As the sciences form no lucrative profession, they are in consequence totally neglected. The astronomer of the mosque learns to know the exact time of the sun's passing the meridian, to regulate the hours of prayer; and the few druggists, or venders of medicine, deal in nothing but miraculous balsams and infallible elixirs; their potions are all sweet and agreeable, while the musk or aloes-wood, which they burn in their shops, diffuses a delicious odour that tends to establish their reputation.

As for the number of inhabitants in Mecca, travellers have found it very difficult to calculate with any degree of certainty; registers are never kept, and even the amount of houses is not ascertained. In former times it is said to have contained more than 100,000 souls; and when sacked by the Karmathian chief in 936, his ferocious soldiers are supposed to have put more than 30,000 to the sword. Ali Bey reckoned that it did not shelter more than from 16,000 to 18,000; Burckhardt, a later authority, gives as the result of his inquiries, for the population of the city and suburbs between 25,000 and 30,000 stationary inhabitants, besides from 2000 to 4000 Abyssinians and black slaves. The dwellings, however, are capable of containing three times that number, some quarters of the suburbs being entirely deserted and in ruins; so that, unless the zeal of the hajjis revive, the capital of Islam must gradually sink into decay.

CHAPTER VI.

THE MOHAMMEDAN PILGRIMAGE.

The Pilgrim-caravans—Their different Routes—Description and Number of Pilgrims—The Mahmal—The Ihram—Duties of the Pilgrims on arriving at Mecca—Walk to Safra and Omra—Journey to Arafat—Sermon of the Cadi—Curious Appearance of the Scene—Stoning of the Devil—The Feast of Sacrifice—Return of the Procession to Mecca—Visit to the Interior of the Kaaba—Departure of the Caravans—Altered Appearance of the City—Holy Places round Mecca—Pilgrimage to Medina—Description of the City—Its Inhabitants—Their Character and Occupation—The Mosque of the Prophet—The famous Tomb of Mohammed—Ceremonies required of the Hajjis—Servants and Revenues of the Mosque—Sacred Places near Medina—Return of the Pilgrims—Bedr—Suez—Convent of St. Catherine—Regulations and Hospitality of the Monks—Places of Superstitious Resort about Mount Sinai—The Cave of Elijah—The Rock of Meribah—Gebel Mokkateb or the Written Mountains—The Convent near Tor—Gebel Narkous or Mountain of the Bell.

The law of the Koran, as is well known, enjoins on every Mussulman, who has the means, to perform a pilgrimage to Mecca once at least in his life. Dulhajja, as the name imports, is the month peculiarly set apart for the performance of this solemnity. To those whom indispensable occupations confine at home, the law permits a substitution of prayers; but even this is often evaded, and the duty executed by commission at the expense of a few dollars. Formerly, when devotional zeal was more ardent, the difficulties of the journey were held to increase the merit of the act; but at present many, instead of encountering the perils of deserts and robbers by land, adopt the more cheap and easy mode of travelling by sea. The regular haj-

caravans are six or seven in number, though they do not always make their appearance together, nor even perform the visit annually. That from Syria, which used to be accompanied by the caliphs in person, sets out from Constantinople, and collects the pilgrims from Northern Asia until it reaches Damascus. During the whole route, for the sake of safety and convenience, it is attended from town to town by the armed force of the district. From Damascus to Medina it moves with great pomp across the desert,—a journey of thirty days; and here a change of camels, for which the Bedouins contract, is necessary; the Anatolian breed being unable to bear the fatigues of such an expedition. The Pasha of Damascus, or one of his principal officers, always attends it, and gives the signal for encamping and departing by firing a musket. The different classes of hajjis know their exact stations, and always place their tents according to their town or province. At every stage is a castle or storehouse for provisions, with a small garrison, and a large tank at which the camels water. These stations are seldom farther distant from each other than a march of eleven or twelve hours. The usual time of travelling is from three o'clock in the afternoon to an hour or two after sunrise next day, torches being lighted during the night. The Egyptian caravan, which starts from Cairo, is under the same regulations as the Syrian. Its route is more dangerous and fatiguing, lying by Suez and Akaba, along the shore of the Red Sea, through the territories of wild and warlike tribes, who frequently attack it by open force. The Persian haj departs from Bagdad, and traverses Nejed by Deraiah. As the Persians are reckoned notorious heretics, and are generally persons of property, they are subjected to severe impositions, and have occasionally been prohibited from entering the Holy City. The Moggrebin caravan brings the pilgrims from Barbary and Morocco.

It is usually accompanied by a relative of the king, and proceeds from his capital by slow marches towards Tunis and Tripoli, thence along the Mediterranean shores to Alexandria or Cairo, collecting the hajjis in every district through which it passes. Yemen sent two caravans; one from Saade, which took its course along the mountains to Taïf, and the other travelled by the coast, taking up such of the Persians and Indians as had arrived in the harbours of the country. A caravan of Indian pilgrims is said to have started from Muscat and travelled through Nejed; but this route, it appears, has been long discontinued. Of late the greater portion of the hajjis do not travel with the regular caravans, but arrive by sea at Jidda. Those from the north, including Turks, Tartars, Syrians, Moors, and Africans, embark at Suez or Cosseir; but the wretched and crowded state of the vessels renders the passage disagreeable and often dangerous. Crowds of devotees arrive in the opposite direction from Yemen, the borders of Persia, Java, Sumatra, and the distant realms watered by the Indus: these comprise Hindoos and Malays—people from Cashmere and Guzerat—Arabs from Bussora, Oman, and Hadramaut—natives of Nubia and Upper Egypt—and those from the coasts of Melinda and Mombaza. All Moslems dwelling near the ocean are certain of finding, towards the period of the haj, ships departing from some neighbouring harbour to the Red Sea; but the greater number come with the regular Indian fleet. From all these regions swarms of beggars flock to Mecca; they get a free passage from charitable individuals among their own countrymen, or their expense is defrayed by those who employ them as proxies in performing the indispensable duties of the pilgrimage. But on landing they are thrown entirely on the benevolence of the hajjis, and the alms they collect must serve to carry them back to their homes. All the poorer class of Indians turn mendi-

cants; and their wretched appearance would make them worthy objects of commiseration, were it not known that they assume a tone and character of outward misery, because it ensures them a subsistence without labour.

None of these paupers bear a more respectable character for industry than the negroes of *Tekrouris*, as they are called, who employ themselves as porters for carrying goods, cleaning the court-yards, or fetching firewood from the neighbouring mountains. Some of them manufacture small baskets and mats of date-leaves, or little hearths of clay painted yellow and red, which they sell to the hajjis, who boil their coffeepots upon them. Others serve as water-carriers, or prepare bouza, or occupy themselves in any species of manual labour.

Among the pilgrims are to be found dervises of every sect and order in the Turkish empire; many of them are madmen, or at least assuming the appearance of insanity; and as the Mohammedans regard them as saints or inspired beings, sent as a blessing to them from Heaven, they are much respected by the devotees, who scruple not to fill their pockets with money. The behaviour of some of them is indecent, and so violent, that many willingly give them a trifle to escape from their importunities. Most of the pilgrims that arrive in detachments and before the caravans, are professed merchants, who occupy the interval very pleasantly in disposing of their wares, praying, smoking, reading the Koran, enjoying the gratifications of sense, and anticipating the happiness of futurity. Except mendicants, almost every hajji combines with his religious duties some little mercantile adventure, with a view to lessen his expenses. The Moggrebins, for example, bring their red bonnets and woollen cloaks; the Western Turks, shoes and slippers, hardware, embroidered stuffs, sweetmeats, amber, trinkets of European manufacture, knit silk purses,

and other small wares; the Anatolians bring carpets, silks, and Angora shawls; the Persians, Cashmere shawls and large silk handkerchiefs; the Afghans, toothbrushes made of the spongy boughs of a tree in Bokhara, yellow beads, and plain coarse shawls of their own manufacture; the Indians import the numerous productions of their rich and extensive regions; and the people of Yemen bring snakes for the Persian pipes, sandals, and various articles in leather.

In general, the regular caravans have fixed periods for their arrival. Those from Syria and Egypt unite their routes at Bedr, whence they proceed to Mecca at a short distance from each other. The approach of the foremost is announced by a horseman, who comes galloping through the town to the governor's house; a prize being always awarded to him who brings the first tidings of its safety.

The pomp and magnificence of this moving solemnity are still considerable, though much diminished since the time of the caliphs, both in point of splendour and attendance. When Solyman performed the pilgrimage (A. D. 716), 900 camels were employed in transporting his wardrobe alone. Mahadi, besides the vast sums he expended in presents, built fine houses at every station between Bagdad and Mecca, and caused them to be splendidly furnished. He was the first caliph that carried snow-water with him to cool his sherbet on the road; a luxury in which he was imitated by many of his successors. Haroun al Raschid, who performed the haj nine times, spent in one of his visits nearly a million and a half of gold dinars (693,750*l.*) in presents; in another, he and his wife Zobeide accomplished the journey from Bagdad (nearly 1000 miles) on foot; but the merit must have been lessened, as the whole road was covered daily with fine carpets on which they walked. The retinue of the mother of Mostasem, who visited Mecca in 1231,

was composed of 120,000 camels. On a similar occasion the equipage of the Sultan of Egypt consisted of 500 of these animals for the transport solely of sweetmeats and confectionary; 280 for pomegranates, almonds, and other fruits; besides having his travelling-larder provided with 1000 geese and 3000 fowls.

In 1814, the Syrian caravan, which was reckoned small, amounted only to 4000 or 5000 persons, and was attended by 15,000 camels. The Barbary caravan sometimes contained 40,000 men; but it has not of late exceeded 6000 or 8000. That from Egypt used to be extremely numerous: Barthema states that when he was at Mecca it had 64,000 camels. In 1814, it consisted principally of Mohammed Ali's troops, with very few pilgrims; but in 1816, a single grandee of Cairo joined the haj with 110 camels for the transport of his baggage and retinue; and his travelling expenses alone, Burckhardt supposes, could not have been less than 10,000*l*. The wife of Ali had a truly royal equipage, comprehending 500 beasts of burden. The tents of the public women and dancing-girls were among the most splendid in this caravan. Females are not excluded from performing the pilgrimage; but the law prescribes that they shall be married women, and accompanied by their husbands or some very near relation. Rich old widows, and such as lose their husbands by the way, are provided with *delils* or guides, who facilitate their progress through the sacred territory, and act also in a matrimonial capacity; but these unions are only temporary, and at the conclusion of their devotions the man must divorce his companion, otherwise the marriage would be considered binding.

There is one distinction formerly common to all large caravans, but now used only by the Syrian and Egyptian; each of these has its holy camel, carrying on its back the *mahmal* with presents for the Kaaba, and which also serves the purpose of a sign

or banner to their respective companies. This appendage is minutely described by Maundrell and D'Ohsson as a high hollow wooden frame, in the shape of a cone, having a pyramidal top covered with fine silk brocade, and adorned with ostrich-feathers. A small book of prayers and charms is placed in the middle, wrapped up in a piece of silk. It was not used by the caliphs, having been first introduced (A. D. 1274) by the Sultan of Egypt. Since that time the different Mussulman sovereigns have considered the mahmal as a privilege, and a badge of their own royalty.* On the return of the caravans, the sacred camel, which is never after employed in labour, and the book of prayers, are objects of great veneration among the lower class, or such as have not been at Mecca; men and women flock in crowds to kiss it, and obtain a blessing by rubbing their foreheads upon it.

The awful sanctity of Mecca and its territory renders it necessary that every traveller, whether on a religious visit or not, shall undergo a certain transformation in dress the moment he enters the *Belled el Haram*, or Holy Land of Islam.† From

* "The mahmal (of Damascus) is a large pavilion of black silk, pitched upon the back of a very great camel, and spreading its curtains all round about the beast down to the ground. This camel wants not also his ornaments of large ropes of beads, fish-shells, fox-tails, and other such fantastic finery, hanged upon his head, neck, and legs. All this is designed for the Alcoran, which thus rides in state both to and from Mecca, and is accompanied with a rich new carpet sent every year by the grand seignior for the covering of Mahomet's tomb,—having the old one brought back in return for it, which is esteemed of an inestimable value, after having been so long next neighbour to the Prophet's rotten bones."—*Maundrell's Travels.*

† The Belled el Haram is properly the sacred district round Mecca, which has the privileges of a sanctuary or asylum,—the law having forbidden the shedding of blood, killing of game, or cutting of trees within it. This sanctity, however, is but little regarded; criminals are slain without scruple,—persons have been assassinated even under the walls of the Kaaba, —and bat

whatever quarter the hajjis arrive, they are instantly required to strip themselves naked, throw away their garments, and put on the ihram or pilgrim's cloak, which consists of two pieces of linen, woollen, or cotton cloth; one of which is wrapped round the loins, and the other thrown over the neck and shoulders, so as to leave part of the right arm uncovered. The law ordains that there shall be no seam in it, no silk, nor ornament of any kind. White Indian cambric, that being considered the preferable colour, is generally employed for the purpose; but rich hajjis use Cashmere shawls without flowered borders. In assuming it, certain ceremonies are observed; such as making a general ablution, saying a prayer while naked, taking a few steps in the direction of Mecca, and uttering pious invocations, called *telbi*.

The ihram, whether taken in summer or in winter, is equally inconvenient and prejudicial to health. The head remains totally unprotected, and exposed to the sun's rays: the instep of the foot must likewise be uncovered; so that those who wear shoes instead of sandals cut a piece out of the upper leather. The northern Moslem, accustomed to thick woollen clothes, find it a severe experiment on their religious zeal to remain sometimes for months, night and day, with no other vestment than this thin garb. The ihram of the women consists of a cloak, so close that not even their eyes can be seen. Old age and disease are excuses for keeping the head cov-

tles, both with infantry and cavalry, fought within the enclosure of the Temple. The limits of this sacred territory are differently represented. At present it is generally supposed to be bounded within those positions where the ihram is assumed in approaching Mecca, viz. *Hadda*, on the west; *Asfan*, on the north; *Wady Mohrem*, on the east; and *Zat Ork*, on the south. Ali Bey mistakes when he considered this district a particular province. Medina has the same privileges, but they are held in as little veneration.

ered; but this indulgence must be purchased by giving alms to the poor. Umbrellas are not forbidden, and are used by most of the visiters from colder climates; but the natives of the south either brave the sun's rays, or screen themselves by means of a rag tied to a stick. Though many have died in consequence of this exposure, nobody utters a complaint. There are no restrictions now as to particular diet; but the *mohrem*, as the vested pilgrim is called, is enjoined to behave decently, not to curse or quarrel, nor to kill any animal, not even the vermin that may infest his own person; although, according to Pitts, "if they cannot well be endured any longer, it is lawful to remove them from one part of the body to another." The laxity of modern times occasionally dispenses altogether with the ceremony of the *maharmo*, especially among the servants and camel-drivers.

All the caravans, as they arrive, pass through the town in procession, accompanied by their guards of soldiers, with martial music. The equipage of the emirs is very splendid. They are mounted in palanquins or *taktrouans*,—a kind of close litter or cage, carried by two camels, one before and the other behind. The heads of the camels are decorated with feathers, tassels, and bells; the streets are lined with people, who as they move along greet them with loud acclamations.

On entering Mecca, the first duty of the pilgrim is to visit the mosque immediately; and this injunction applies to all strangers whatever. The prescribed ceremonies are, first to repeat certain prayers in different parts of the Temple; namely, at the entrance under the colonnade, two rikats and four prostrations are addressed to the Deity in thankfulness for having reached the holy spot, and in salutation of the mosque itself: then, advancing into the court, certain ejaculations are uttered while passing under the insulated arch in front of the Kaaba, and

two rikats are pronounced opposite the black stone; at the conclusion of which it is touched with the right hand, or kissed, if the pressure of the crowd will admit. The devotee then performs the towaf, keeping the Kaaba on his left-hand; this ceremony, which was done by the Pagan Arabs in a state of nudity, is repeated seven times, the three first in a quick pace, in imitation of the Prophet; each circuit is accompanied with prescribed prayers and a salutation of the black stone. This done, after a few more rikats, he proceeds to the Zemzen Well, in honour of which he addresses some pious ejaculations, and then drinks as much water as he wishes or can get. Some have it poured over them in bucketfuls, "and then," says Barthema, "the fools think their sins are washed into the well." Others swallow it so unreasonably, that they lie for hours extended on the pavement, while their flesh breaks out into pimples: and this, as Pitts wittily remarks, they call "the purging of their spiritual corruptions." These are the different ceremonies observed within the Temple, which the pilgrims repeat after their guides.

The next ceremony that the hajji has to perform is the *sai*, or holy walk between Safa and Meroua; which is done along a level street about six hundred paces in length, and terminated at each end by a stone platform covered with open arches, and ascended by a flight of steps. This perambulation, which for a short space must be run, is to be repeated seven times; prayers are incessantly recited in a loud voice; and on the two platforms the face must be turned to the mosque. A third ceremony is that of shaving the head; and the barbers, whose shops abound in the vicinity of Meroua, during the operation utter a particular prayer, which the hajjis repeat after them. This religious tonsure is followed by the walk to Omra, a place about an hour and a half's distance from Mecca, where the pilgrim prays two

rikats in a small chapel; and must chant the *telbi* or pious ejaculations all the way. After this the towaf and sai must be again performed, which closes the preliminary ceremonies. Some have only part of the head shaven before the visit to Omra, and the rest completed immediately afterward. The walk round the Kaaba may be repeated as often as the pilgrim thinks fit: and the more frequently the more meritorious. Most foreigners do it twice daily,—in the evening and before daybreak.

When all the necessary rites have been gone through at Mecca, the whole concourse of visiters repair in a body to Mount Arafat, which is the grand day of the pilgrimage. This mountain is a principal object of Moslem veneration; and some even assert, that a pilgrimage to it would be equally meritorious, though the Kaaba ceased to exist. Tradition says it was here that the common father of mankind met Eve after the long separation of 200 years consequent on the Fall; that he built the chapel on its summit before he retired with his wife to the island of Ceylon: and was there instructed by the angel Gabriel how to adore his Creator: the spot still bears the name of *Modaa Seidna Adam*, or Place of Prayer of our Lord Adam. It was here, too, that Mohammed is said to have addressed his followers, —a practice in which he was imitated by the caliphs, who preached on the same spot when they performed the haj. This hill, or rather granite rock, which is about 200 feet high, stands about six hours' journey to the eastward of Mecca, at the foot of a higher mountain, in a sandy plain about three quarters of a league in diameter. On the eastern side broad stone steps lead to the top, and these are covered with innumerable handkerchiefs for receiving the pious gifts which are claimed by the families of the Koreish, in whose territory this sacred eminence stands.

On the Day of Arafat, or Feast of Sacrifice as it is

called, and which can only be performed at a certain time, the pilgrims take their journey, some on camels, others on mules or asses; but the greater number walk barefooted, which is esteemed the most pious mode of travelling. The crowd is so vast, that several hours elapse before they can clear the narrow outskirts of Mecca. Beyond the town a few miles the road widens, in passing through the valley of Muna, where the law enjoins certain prayers and ceremonies (paring the nails, and cutting the hair) to be observed. This march is necessarily attended with great confusion. "Of the half-naked hajjis," says Burckhardt, "all dressed in the white ihram, some sat reading the Koran upon their camels; some ejaculating loud prayers; while others cursed their drivers, and quarrelled with those near them who choked up the passage."

Leaving Muna, the plain of Arafat opens through a rocky defile in the mountains; on reaching which the caravans and numerous detachments of pilgrims disperse in quest of their respective places of encampment. It was about three hours after sunset when Burckhardt arrived; but stragglers continued to pour in till midnight. Numberless fires were now seen lighted up over an extent of ground three or four miles in length; while high and brilliant clusters of lamps marked the different places where Mohammed Ali, Solyman Pasha, and other emirs of the haj, had pitched their tents. Pilgrims were seen wandering in every direction from camp to camp, in search of their companions whom they had lost on the road; and it was several hours before the noise and clamour had subsided. Few persons slept; the devotees sat up praying and uttering their loud chants; the merry Meccawees formed themselves into parties, singing the jovial songs called *jok*, accompanied by clapping of hands; while the coffee-tents were crowded the whole night with customers.

The dawn was announced by a discharge of musketry, which summoned the faithful to make ready for their morning prayers. After sunrise Burckhardt ascended the summit of the mount, which presented a very extensive and singular prospect. Long streets of tents, fitted up as bazars, furnished the busy crowds with all kinds of provisions. The Syrian and Egyptian cavalry were exercised by their chiefs; while thousands of camels were feeding on the dry shrubs all around the camps. About 3000 tents were dispersed over the plain; though the greater number of the assembled multitudes had no such accommodation. The caravans were placed without order; and many of them in the form of large circles or *dowars*, in the inside of which their camels reposed.

Of these encampments the most rich and magnificent were those of Yahia, the sheriff of Mecca, the pasha of Damascus, the viceroy of Egypt, and more particularly his wife, who had lately arrived from Cairo. Her equipage included a dozen tents of different sizes, inhabited by her women: the whole was surrounded with a wall of linen cloth 800 paces in circuit, the sole entrance to which was guarded by eunuchs in splendid dresses. Around this enclosure were pitched the tents of the men who formed her numerous suite. The beautiful embroidery on the exterior of this linen palace, with the various colours displayed in every part of it, must have reminded the spectator of the gorgeous descriptions in the Tales of the Thousand and One Nights. Some of the Mecca merchants, especially the family of Jelani, had very elegant tents; this being almost the only occasion when the Arabian grandees ever venture to display their wealth in the presence of a pasha.

Burckhardt estimated the whole persons assembled on the plain at about 70,000; and the number of camels from 20,000 to 25,000 This seems a

favourite number with the Mohammedans; but it is deserving of remark, that he is the third traveller who has made the same calculation. Pitts and Ali Bey mention this as being the smallest number that must necessarily attend at any pilgrimage on Mount Arafat; and, in every case where there are fewer, angels are sent down from heaven to make up the deficiency. Burckhardt's 70,000 appears a tolerable assemblage, even without the addition of celestial recruits; yet he says that two only of the five or six regular caravans had made their appearance that year. When the Spanish Mussulman performed this ceremony, he reckoned the number of hajjis at 80,000 men, 2000 women, and 1000 children; who must have presented a curious spectacle, with their 60,000 or 70,000 camels, asses, and horses, marching through the narrow valley in a cloud of dust, carrying a forest of lances, guns, swivels, and other arms, and forcing their passage along as they best could.

The law ordains that the true position of the haj should be on Arafat; but it wisely provides against any possibility arising from its scanty dimensions, by declaring that the mountain includes the plain in the immediate neighbourhood. A similar provision is made with regard to the great mosque, which can accommodate at prayers about 35,000 persons. There is, however, an opinion prevalent at Mecca, founded on a holy tradition, that it is capable of containing any number of the faithful—even the whole Mohammedan community, who might all enter at once, and find ample room. The guardian angels are gifted with the power of invisibly extending the limits of the building, or diminishing the size of the worshipper; but in modern times there is no occasion for this miracle, as the temple is never half filled, and seldom visited, even during the haj, by more than 10,000 individuals at once.

About three o'clock the chief ceremony of the day takes place, that of the *khoteb* or sermon, which is

usually preached by the Cadi of Mecca. The whole multitude now unpitch their tents, press forward towards the mountain, and cover its sides from top to bottom. The orator takes his stand on the stone-platform near the top, whence he addresses the crowd. The discourse lasts till sunset, and no pilgrim, although he may have visited all the holy places of Mecca, is entitled to the name of hajji unless he has been present on this occasion.

The cadi, whom Burckhardt describes as mounted on a richly-caparisoned camel, read his sermon from a book in Arabic, which he held in his hand; at intervals of every four or five minutes he paused, and stretched forth his arms to implore blessings on his hearers; while the congregation around and before him waved the skirts of their ihrams over their heads, and rent the air with shouts of "Lebeik, Allahuma, lebeik!" (Here we are at thy commands, O God!) During the wavings of the white garments by the dense crowd, the side of the mountain had the appearance of a cataract of water, and the green umbrellas of the myriads of hajjis sitting on their camels below bore some resemblance to a verdant lawn. The sermon lasted nearly three hours, during which the cadi was constantly wiping his eyes; for the law enjoins the preacher to be moved with feelings of compunction, and to consider tears as evidence that he is divinely illuminated, and that his prayers are acceptable.

The effect of this scene upon the audience was extremely various. Some of the pilgrims were crying loudly, weeping, and beating their breasts for their sins; others stood in silent reflection, with tears of adoration in their eyes. But these penitents were mostly foreigners. The natives of Hejaz, and the Turkish soldiers, spent the time in conversing and joking, and imitating the waving of the ihrams by violent gestures as if in mockery. Parties of Arabs were quietly smoking their nargiles;

while the frequenters of the cafés, some of which were kept by public women, by their loud laughter and riotous conduct, gave great annoyance to the devotees in their neighbourhood.

To every stranger, whether Mohammedan, Jew, or Christian, such an assemblage must furnish a curious and impressive spectacle. "It was a sight," says Pitts, "enough to pierce one's heart, to behold so many in their garments of humility and mortification, with their naked heads, and cheeks watered with tears; and to hear their grievous sighs and sobs, begging earnestly for the remission of their sins." Many of the poor pilgrims are in an ecstasy, and believe themselves in actual possession of paradise. "It is here," observes Ali Bey, "that the grand spectacle of the Mussulman pilgrimage must be seen. An innumerable crowd of men from all nations, and of all colours, coming from the extremities of the earth, through a thousand dangers, and encountering fatigues of every description, to adore together the same Deity! The native of Circassia presents his hand in a friendly manner to the Ethiopian, or the negro of Guinea; the Indian and the Persian embrace the inhabitants of Barbary and Morocco; all looking upon each other as brothers, or individuals of the same family united by the bonds of religion, and the greater part speaking or understanding more or less the same language. What a curb to sin," adds this zealous Mussulman, "what an encouragement to virtue! but what a misfortune, that with all these advantages we should not be better than the Calvinists!"

By the time the cadi had finished his discourse, the greater part of the audience seemed to be wearied. The sun was descending behind the western mountains as he shut the book and pronounced the last greeting of "Lebeik." Instantly the crowds prepared to quit Arafat on their return; those behind hurrying and pressing on those before; so that with

many it is a trial of strength and speed. Formerly, bloody affrays took place almost every year; each party endeavouring to outrun and carry its mahmal in advance of the other. Two hundred lives have on some occasions been lost in supporting what was thought the honour of their respective caravans.

The cause of this precipitation is, that the ritual orders the *mogreb* or prayer of the setting sun, to be said at Mezdelifa, a mosque or oratory two hours distant. The departure and march is a scene of splendid confusion; many pilgrims had lost their companions, others their camels, who were heard calling loudly for their drivers, or searching for them over the plain. As it was dark, innumerable torches were lighted, emitting sparks of fire; there were continual volleys of artillery; sky-rockets were let off; and bands of martial music played till they arrived at the mosque. Here another sermon is preached by torchlight, commencing with the first dawn, and continuing till the sun rises above the horizon, when the pilgrims move onward to Wady Muna, a distance of three miles.

This narrow valley, enclosed on both sides by steep barren cliffs of granite, contains a single street of houses, built of stone, some of which are inhabited, but the greater part in ruins. It abounds with sacred relics. Here is the mosque of *Meshed el Kheif*, in which the Arabs assert that Adam was buried; here Abraham intended to sacrifice his son, and a granite block is shown, alleged to have been cleft in two by the stroke of his knife; here Mohammed was favoured with many of his revelations; and here the devil had the malice to whisper Ishmael in the ear that he was about to be slain;—other traditions say, he attempted to obstruct his father in his passage at three different places, which are marked by as many stone pillars. The first duty of the pilgrim is to provide himself with twenty-one small pebbles of the size of a horse-bean: these he must throw at the

proper times and places, seven at each pillar, exclaiming, "Bismillah! God is great! this we do to secure ourselves from the devil and his troops!" This ceremony, as may easily be imagined, is attended occasionally by accidents. Ali Bey tells us, he came off with two wounds in his left leg. It appears also to be the subject of jocularity; for a facetious hajji observed to Pitts, "You may save your labour at present, if you please, for I have hit out the devil's eyes already."

After the "stoning," which is repeated three days, and without which the pilgrimage is imperfect, comes the grand sacrifice of animals,—a rite that all Mussulmans are bound at this time (the 10th day of the month) to perform. In the space of a quarter of an hour, thousands of sheep and goats are slaughtered in the valley; some of which are brought by the hajjis, others purchased from the Bedouins, who demand high prices for them. The law requires that the throats of the animals be cut in the name of the most merciful God, with their faces towards the Kaaba. The number of victims has sometimes been very great. The Caliph Moktader sacrificed 50,000 sheep, besides 40,000 camels and cows. Barthema speaks of 30,000 oxen being slain, and their carcasses given to the poor, who seemed "more anxious to have their bellies filled than their sins remitted." We are apt to wonder how so many myriads of animals can subsist in so desolate a region, or how they can be contained in so contracted a space as Wady Muna; but the Moslems explain it, by pretending that the valley can expand its dimensions; and that on the Day of Sacrifice, neither vultures nor flies molest the votaries by carrying off the lambs or tainting the raw flesh, vast quantities of which remain unconsumed.

On the completion of the sacrifice, the pilgrims throw off the ihram, and resume their ordinary attire; many of them putting on their best dresses to

celebrate the day of the feast or *beiram.* The long street of Muna is converted into a fair; sheds, booths, and tents being fitted up as shops for provisions and merchandise of all kinds. The Syrian bargains for the goods of India; the stranger from Borneo and Timbuctoo exhibits his wares to the natives of Georgia and Samarcand; while the poor hajjis cry their small stock, which they carry on their heads. The mixture of nations and tongues, costumes and commodities, is more striking here than at Mecca. At night the valley blazes with illuminations, fireworks, discharges of artillery, and bonfires on the hills. The second day of the feast ends the pilgrimage to Arafat; when the devotees return to Mecca, testifying their delight by songs, loud talking, and laughter. Many of the indigent pilgrims remain behind to feast on the offals and putrefying carcasses of the victims that strew the valley. The starved Indians cut the meat into slices for their travelling-provisions, which they dry in the sun, or in the mosque, where they are spread on the pavement, or suspended on cords between the columns.

On arriving at Mecca, a repetition of the previous ceremonies takes place. The pilgrims must visit the Kaaba, which, in the mean time, has been covered with the new black clothing. The visit to the interior of this building is performed by immense crowds, though it forms no part of the religious duty of the hajjis. On opening the door, which takes place an hour after sunrise, a rush is made up the steps, and sometimes over the heads of the people, in spite of the eunuchs, who endeavour to keep order with their sticks, which fall particularly heavy on such as omit to drop a fee into their hands; for all the officers, from the sheriff who holds the silver key to be kissed at the entrance, to the lowest menial, expect to be paid. The hall is immediately filled, when every visiter must pray eight rikats, and perform sixteen prostrations. Nothing but sighing and moaning is

heard,—the effect of pressure, perhaps of sincere repentance; but it is easy to imagine how these devotions are performed, for while one is bowing down another walks over his back; some are unmercifully crushed, and many are carried out with difficulty quite senseless from heat and suffocation.

On the first and second days the men and women enter alternately; on the third, the sheriff, the sheiks, and illustrious hajjis, perform the holy ceremony of sweeping and washing the floor. All the water-carriers in Mecca advance with pitchers and besoms, which are passed from hand to hand until they reach the guards at the entrance. The negroes then throw the water on the pavement, while the devotees sweep and scrub with both hands, until the floor appears polished like glass. The water flows out by a hole under the door; and foul as it is, it is eagerly drunk by the Faithful; while those who are at a distance have quantities of it thrown over them by the eunuchs. It must require no common pitch of fanaticism to reconcile the stomach of the worshipper to this practice; but the Moslem excuse it by alleging, that although the liquid is very dirty, it has the benediction of God, and is besides much perfumed with the essence of roses. The brooms of palm-leaves, as well as the shreds of the cloth that surrounds the door and bottom of the hall, are divided among the pilgrims, and treasured up as relics. Pieces both of the exterior and interior coverings are constantly on sale at a shop before the Bab es Salaam; the latter are most esteemed, and waistcoats are made of it, which the Believers reckon the safest armour they can wear.

During the Ramadan, and especially on the last day, the mosque is particularly brilliant. At the celebration of the evening orisons, the whole square and colonnades are illuminated by thousands of lamps; and in addition to these, most of the hajjis have each his own lantern standing before him. The

agreeable coolness of the place induces them to walk about or sit conversing till after midnight. As the legal period of abstinence now terminates, every one brings in his handkerchief a few dates or grapes, with bread and cheese, waiting in suspense until the imam from the top of the Zemzen proclaims, "Allah Akbar," when they hasten to break their fast (the lesser *beiram*) and drink a jar of the holy water. The whole scene presents a curious mixture of the gay and the grave. The mind is struck with some degree of awe to witness so many thousands performing the towaf, or prostrating themselves on their carpets; while the mingled voices of the metowafs, intent on making themselves heard by those to whom they recite their prayers,—the loud conversation of idle spectators,—and the running and laughing of boys, some of whom are diverting themselves with swinging machines, or the feats of jugglers in the streets, make the Temple more like a place of public amusement than a sanctuary of religion.

Before the caravans take their final departure, the pilgrims, from the highest to the lowest, are occupied with commercial transactions, either buying provisions for their journey or engrossed in the pursuits of gain. The termination of the haj changes the entire aspect both of the town and the Temple. Of the brilliant shops lately filled with the productions and manufactures of every climate in the world, Burckhardt remarks, that not more than a fourth part remained. The streets were deserted, covered with rubbish and filth, which nobody seemed disposed to remove, and swarming with beggars, who raised their plaintive voices towards the windows of the houses they supposed to be still inhabited.*

* The streets and mosques of Mecca resound with the cries of beggars:—"O Brethren! O Faithful! hear me! I ask twenty dollars from God to pay for my passage home; twenty dollars only! God is all bountiful, and may send me a hundred dollars: but

The suburbs were crowded with the carcasses of dead camels, of which above 10,000 are supposed to perish annually; the smell rendering the air offensive, and spreading pestilence among the inhabitants.

The mosque itself is not free from these pollutions. Poor hajjis, worn out with disease and hunger, are seen dragging their emaciated bodies along the colonnades; and when no longer able to stretch forth their hand to ask the passengers for charity, they place a bowl to receive alms near the mat on which they lie. All the sick, when they feel their last moments approach, are carried to the Temple, that they may either be cured by a sight of the Kaaba, or have the satisfaction of expiring within the sacred enclosure. The friendless stranger thinks paradise secure if he can obtain a sprinkling of the Zemzen water, and breathe his latest sigh "in the arms of the Prophet and the guardian angels." For a month subsequent to the conclusion of the haj, dead bodies are carried forth almost every morning, and buried by persons in the service of the mosque.

Before bidding adieu to the capital of Islam, there are several holy spots in the town and suburbs which the pilgrims visit. Among these are the *mouleds*, or birthplaces of Mohammed, Fatima, Ali, Abu Beker, and Abu Taleb who is the great patron of the city, and whose name is held most sacred.

it is twenty dollars only that I ask! Remember that charity is the sure road to paradise!" Burckhardt mentions a Yemen beggar at Jidda who mounted the minaret daily after noon prayer, and exclaimed, loud enough to be heard through the whole bazaar, "I ask from God fifty dollars, a suit of clothes, and a copy of the Koran. O Faithful, hear me! I ask of you fifty dollars," &c. This he repeated for several weeks, when a Turkish pilgrim offered him thirty dollars to discontinue his cries:—"No," said the beggar, "I will not take them, because I am convinced God will send me the whole." At length the same hajji gave him his full demand without being thanked for it—"Pull my beard," the needy suppliant will say to the scrupulous pilgrim, "if God does not send you ten times more than what I ask!"

The tombs of Kadijah and Amina the Prophet's mother are also objects of veneration. The guardianship of these places is shared by several families, principally sheriffs, who attend by turns with a train of servants, and generally expect a contribution from the purse of the visiters. Most of the hills in the vicinity are held as consecrated ground, from being the scene of the miracles or revelations of the Apostle. On the top of Gebel Kobeis, the hajjis are shown the place were the moon was split; at Gebel Tor, the cavern where the fugitive Prophet and his companions took shelter in their flight to Medina; and at Hira, now called Gebel Nour, or the Mountain of Light, the small grotto is pointed out in the red granite rock, where several passages of the Koran were revealed by the angel Gabriel. But the tales applied to these places are not supported by any authentic traditions; and a journey to them is enjoined, less out of any feeling of reverence than from a desire to extort money.

A more attractive object of devotion is the tomb of Mohammed at Medina; and such of the hajjis as do not immediately disperse to their homes, usually join the Syrian caravan, or form themselves into small detachments, who are supplied with camels by the Bedouins. Their mode of travelling is not the most convenient; some being mounted on the back of the loaded animal, and others sitting, one on each side, in panniers or machines (*shekdafs*), which must be balanced with great care. According to the usual practice in Hejaz, the camels walk in a single row, those behind being tied to the tails of those that precede them; so that a mistake committed by the foremost leads the whole astray. A journey of ten or eleven days (about 270 miles), through sandy plains, irregular ridges of mountains, and cultivated valleys, brings the pilgrims to the city of the Prophet. On the whole of this route there is not a public khan; nor is any provision

made for the accommodation of travellers, except the watering-places, which are kept in tolerable repair. Although reckoned sufficiently safe for large bodies, yet daring robberies are occasionally committed by the Arabs.

The sacred city of Medina lies on the edge of the Great Arabian Desert. According to the strict precept of Mohammed, a circle of twelve miles round the place should be considered as holy territory; but this injunction is completely set aside. The town itself is well built: the houses are generally two stories high, entirely of stone; and not being whitewashed, they have for the most part a gloomy aspect. The main streets are paved; the rest are narrow, often only two or three paces across. The wall, which completely surrounds the city, forms a kind of oval of about 2800 paces in circumference, ending in a point or small rocky elevation, on which stands the castle. This latter is enclosed by a thick stone rampart, between thirty-five and forty feet high, flanked by about thirty towers, and defended by a ditch. It contains sufficient space for 600 or 800 men, has many arched rooms bomb proof, and is supplied with excellent water.

The suburbs extend on the west and south, and cover more ground than the town itself, from which they are separated by an open space occupied with huts, coffee-shops, markets, and gardens. There are very few fine edifices or public buildings, and those here, as well as at Mecca, are the works of the sultans of Egypt and Constantinople. There is an abundant supply of water by means of subterraneous canals and wells, which are scattered over the town. The number of inhabitants Burckhardt supposed might be between 16,000 and 20,000; the greater part of whom are of foreign origin, and present as motley a race as those of Mecca. No year passes without an influx of new settlers, attracted by the hope of making gain in their religious traffic

with the pilgrims. Few descendants of the original Arabs who lived here in the time of Mohammed now remain. Of the Ansars not more than ten families can establish their pedigree; and these are of the humbler class, living as peasants in the suburbs and gardens. The number of sheriffs descended from Hussein and Hossein were formerly considerable: the latter are reduced to about a dozen families, who live apart by themselves, and still rank among the grandees of the town. A few individuals claiming the honour of descent from the Abbassides still reside at Medina in a state of poverty, and are known by the appellation of Caliphi, implying the illustrious source whence they are sprung.

The mixed race, of which the greater portion of the inhabitants are composed, all become Arabs as to features and character in course of the second or third generation. In their disposition they are less lively and cheerful than the Meccawees; but, though they appear outwardly more religious, and display more gravity and circumspection in their manners, their moral character is not better, nor are their vices fewer than those of their neighbours. Their style of living is poor; though their houses are well furnished, and their expense in dress and entertainments is very considerable. As many of them are descended from northern Turks, they retain much of the costume as well as the habits of that nation. Everybody, from the highest to the lowest, carries in his hand a bludgeon or long heavy stick. The rich have theirs headed with silver; others fix iron spikes to them, and thus make a formidable weapon, which the Arabs handle with great dexterity in their frequent bloody affrays.

No great or wealthy merchants are settled here; the trade is merely retail, and those who possess capital generally invest it in goods; their not being any public institution like banks, or commercial companies, or national funds, from which the capi-

talist might derive interest for his money. As the law rigorously prohibits usury, this source of gain is left wholly in the hands of Jews and Christians, the outcasts of Europe. The produce of the lands around the town is said to be barely sufficient for four month's consumption, which is estimated at the rate of twenty-five or thirty-five camel-loads per day. The rents of fields and gardens, if the crop be good, is very considerable; the proprietor in ordinary years being able to sell at such a rate as to leave a profit of from twelve to sixteen, and sometimes even forty per cent. upon his capital, after giving up, as is generally done, half the produce to the actual cultivators. The middling classes, who have small funds, require exorbitant returns,—none of them are content with less than fifty per cent. annually; and in general they contrive, by cheating foreigners, to double their fortune in the course of a single pilgrimage. Most of the merchants have trifling capitals of 400*l.* or 500*l.*: there are only two or three families that can be considered wealthy, and these are reported to be worth 10,000*l.* or 12,000*l.* sterling, half of which perhaps is vested in land, and the rest in trade.

The principal support of the place is drawn from the mosque and the hajjis. The former, from containing the tomb of Mohammed, is reckoned the precious jewel of Medina; which on this account is esteemed equal, and even preferred by some writers and sects of the Arabs, to Mecca itself. This venerated edifice is situated towards the eastern extremity of the town. It is built much on the same plan with the Temple at Mecca, forming an open square, which is divided by a partition into two separate compartments, and surrounded on all sides by covered arcades; but its dimensions are much smaller, being 165 paces in length and 130 in breadth. The colonnades are less regular, being composed of ten rows of pillars behind each other on the south

side; four rows on the west; and only three on the north and part of the east side. The columns are of stone, of different sizes, and all plastered white. The small domes on the roof are whitewashed, as are the interior walls, except that on the south side, which is cased with slabs of marble nearly up to the top, and adorned with several rows of inscriptions, one above another, in large gilt letters, which have a very brilliant effect. Spacious windows with glass panes, some of which are finely painted, admit the light through this wall: the floor of the colonnade is here formed of marble, one of the best specimens of Mosaic to be seen in the East; the other parts, as well as the open court, are laid out with a coarse pavement, or merely covered with sand.

The history of this mosque resembles that of the Beitullah. It received many donations and improvements from the caliphs; and was repeatedly plundered, destroyed, and repaired. In 1250 A. D., a few months after the eruption of a volcano near the town, it caught fire, and was burned to the ground,—an accident which was ascribed to the heterodox Sheahs, who were then the guardians of the tomb. More than 200 years afterward it was again reduced to ashes by a conflagration occasioned by lightning. All the walls, the roof, and 120 columns, fell; the books were consumed, and the only part that escaped was the interior of the tomb. Its restoration was undertaken by the Sultan of Egypt, to whom Hejaz owed a number of public works. The whole mosque then assumed its present form, and since that period (A. D. 1487) only a few immaterial improvements have been made by the Turks.

The approach to the temple is choked up on all sides by private buildings, some of which are separated from it only by a narrow street, while others are close upon the walls. There are five minarets and four gates; the principal one, by which the hajjis are obliged to enter on their first visit, is ex-

tremely handsome,—its sides being inlaid with marble and glazed tiles of various colours, which give it a very dazzling appearance. Immediately before it is a small fountain, where it is usual for the devotees to perform their ablutions. There are a few steps of ascent at all the entrances,—the area of the court being on a higher level than the streets. In the centre of the northern division of the square stands a small building with a vaulted roof, where the lamps of the mosque are kept. Near it is an enclosure of low wooden railings, which contain some palm-trees held sacred by the Moslem, because they are believed to have been planted by Fatima. There are no sacred pigeons as at Mecca; but the quantity of woollen carpets spread on different parts, where the most dirty Arabs and the best-dressed strangers kneel side by side, have rendered this "inviolable Haram" the favourite abode of millions of other animals less harmless than turtle-doves, and a great pest to all visiters, who transfer them from their persons to their private lodgings, which in consequence swarm with vermin.

It is in the south-east corner of this division that the famous sepulchre of Mohammed is placed, so detached from the walls as to leave a space of about twenty-five feet on the one side and fifteen on the other. To defend its hallowed contents from the approach of the impure, or the superstitious adoration of the visiter, it is surrounded by an enclosure called *El Hejra*, in the form of an irregular square of nearly twenty paces, arched overhead and supported by columns. This space is encircled by an iron railing about thirty feet high, of good workmanship, painted green, which fills up the intervals between the pillars, and rises to about two-thirds of their height, leaving the upper part entirely open. The railing is in imitation of filagree, interwoven with inscriptions of yellow bronze, supposed by the vulgar to be of gold, and of so close a texture that

no view can be gained into the interior, except through several very small windows, which are placed on each of the four sides, about five feet above the ground. The two principal windows, before which visiters stand when they pray, are on the south side, where the iron fence is thinly plated over with silver, having the often-repeated inscription of "La Illha" carried across it in silver letters.

Four gates lead into this cage-like enclosure, three of which are kept continually shut,—one only being open night and morning to admit the eunuchs, whose office it is to clean the floor and light the lamps. What appears of the interior is merely a curtain carried round on all sides, resembling a bed, which is of the same height as the railing, and fills nearly the whole space, leaving only an open walk between of a few paces in breadth. This veil is a rich silk brocade, of various colours, interwoven with silver flowers and arabesques; with a band of inscriptions in gold characters running across the middle, like that on the covering of the Kaaba. Within its holy precincts no person is allowed to enter except the chief eunuchs, who take care of it, and whose business it is to put on during the night the fresh curtain, which is sent from Constantinople whenever the old one is decayed, or when a new sultan ascends the throne. The venerable remnants of this sacred brocade are sent back to the Turkish capital, and serve to cover the tombs of the sovereigns and princes of the empire.

It is within this double frame of silk and rails that the ashes of the Prophet repose, along with the remains of his two earliest friends and immediate successors, Abu Beker and Omar. Authors differ as to the respective position of the three tombs; but they are said to be of plain masonwork, in the form of a chest, and covered with precious stuffs.*

* The vulgar story long prevalent in Christendom, which suspended the Prophet's coffin in the air at *Mecca* by the action of

The historian of Medina, Samhoudi, says, that the coffin which contains the dust of Mohammed is cased with silver and overlaid with a marble slab, inscribed, *Bismillai Allahuma Salli alei* (In the name of God bestow thy mercy upon him). Glass lamps are suspended all round the curtain, which are kept burning every night: the floor of this part of the mosque is paved with various-coloured marbles in Mosaic. The whole of this enclosure is surmounted by a fine lofty cupola, rising far above the domes on the roof of the colonnades, and visible at a great distance from the town; it is covered with lead, and has on the top a globe of considerable size and a crescent, both glittering with gold.

In the immediate neighbourhood are the tombs of Fatima and other Mohammedan saints. Tradition even alleges, that, when the last trumpet shall sound, the Saviour of the Christians, after having announced the great day of judgment, will die, and be buried by the side of the Arabian apostle; and that, when the dead are raised from their graves, they shall both ascend to heaven together. These and other fables have been invented merely to confer an ideal importance on the city and tomb of the Prophet. The same may be said of the exaggerated accounts of its wonders and riches, which have been long propagated among strangers. It was in this sanctuary,

two powerful magnets, was a ridiculous invention of the Greeks and Latins, and is unknown in Arabia. The Moslem of the present day smile at the credulity of foreigners who talk of these marvels. The fable may easily be explained without the aid of philosophy, and seems to have originated, as Niebuhr supposes, from the rude drawing sold to strangers, in which the figures of three golden coffins were represented, not as lying horizontally, but placed one above the other, to mark their position within the railing in the annexed order. Chalcondyles (De Reb. Turc., lib. iii. p. 66); Bayle (Dict. Art. Mahomet); Reland (De Relig. Mah. lib. ii. c. 19); Gagnier (Vie, lib. vi. c. 20); and Pococke (Specimen, p. 180), will satisfy the curious student of the iron tomb.

indeed, that the treasures of Hejaz were formerly kept, either suspended on silken ropes drawn across the interior of the building, or placed in large chests on the ground. The whole must have formed a collection of considerable value, though far from being to that immense extent which many have pretended. Next to the hejra, the most holy place in the mosque is the *rodha*, where the pulpit is placed, and the two mehrabs. On the sides of the former and of both the mehrabs huge wax-candles are fixed, twelve feet high and as thick as a man's body, which are lighted every evening with the aid of a ladder kept for the purpose.

The ceremonies required of the hajjis are here much easier and shorter than at Mecca. On entering the mosque he must pass his right foot first over the threshold; while reciting certain supplications he steps forward into the rodha, where he is enjoined to repeat two short chapters of the Koran, and a brief prayer, with four prostrations. His next process is to advance slowly towards the railing of the hejra, before the window of which, on the south side, he takes his stand. With arms half raised he addresses his invocations to the Prophet, repeating the words of the Moslem creed, besides about twenty of the different surnames or honourable titles of Mohammed. Then follows a prayer soliciting the apostle's intercession in heaven, in which he includes such of his friends and relations as he pleases; and if he is delegated in the pilgrimage for another, he is bound here to mention the name of his principal. This done, the visiter must remain a few minutes with his head pressed close against the window in silent adoration; after which he goes through the same entreaties and humble attitudes at the other windows opposite the tombs of Abu Beker and Omar. A prayer and four prostrations is also addressed before the tomb of the "bright blooming Fatima," as she is always called; and this, with a salutation

to the Deity on returning to the rodha before leaving the mosque, completes the ceremony of the *ziara* or visit, the performance of which occupies at most about twenty minutes.

Certain gifts and gratuities are exacted of every pilgrim; the eunuchs and porters expect their fees as a matter of right; privileged persons sit at different stations to receive his donations; and beggars beset him at the gate imploring his charity. The whole visit cost Burckhardt fifteen piasters; though he states that he might have accomplished it for half the expense. An additional sum is paid by those who enter within the railing of the hejra: admission is granted free to pashas, amirs, and persons of rank; but others must purchase this favour of the eunuchs at the price of twelve or fifteen dollars. Few, however, avail themselves of this indulgence, because there is little to gratify the prying eye of curiosity beyond what falls under their external observation. "All the privileges the hajjis have," says Pitts, "is only to thrust in their heads at the windows between the brass grates, and to petition the dead *juggler*, which they do with a wonderful deal of reverence, affection, and zeal." Though the visit to the mosque and tomb are not obligatory on the faithful, it is thought to be an act highly acceptable to the Deity, and to expiate many sins. while it entitles the visiter at the same time to the patronage of the Prophet in heaven. The Moslem divines affirm, that a prayer said in sight of the hejra is as efficacious as a thousand said in any other place except Mecca, and that whoever recites forty prayers in this mosque will be delivered from the torments of hell-fire after death. These reputed virtues attract swarms of pilgrims almost every month in the year, and from all parts of the Mohammedan world.

The entire superintendence of watching, cleaning, and lighting is intrusted to the care of forty or fifty eunuchs, who have an establishment of khatibs,

muezzins, or *mezowars* and guides, similar to that of their brethren of the Beitullah. They are persons of far higher importance, and are more richly dressed, though in the same costume. Their usual title is aga; the chief, or Sheik el Haram, is styled Highness, and considered the principal person in the town. They have large stipends sent yearly from Constantinople, besides a share of the fees and donations of the hajjis. Their number is fixed at 500, and they have correspondents dispersed over the whole Turkish empire. Besides their share of the income of the mosque, they have their *surra* or annuity, which is transmitted from Constantinople and Cairo; many of their families receiving as much as 100*l.* or 200*l.* sterling per annum, without performing any duty whatever. It is from this source chiefly that the city, with its public and pious foundations, is supported, though the greater portion of these annuities is often misapplied, and only serves to pamper a swarm of idle hypocrites.

Notwithstanding some valuable presents, its reputation for wealth, and its splendid exterior, the mosque of the Prophet ranks only as a poor establishment. The gaudy colours displayed on every side, the glazed columns, fine pavements, and gilt inscriptions, dazzle the sight at first; but after a short pause it becomes evident to the spectator that this is an exhibition of tinsel decoration, and not of real riches. "It will bear no comparison," says Burckhardt, "with the shrine of the most insignificant Catholic saint in Europe, and may serve as a convincing proof that, whatever may be their superstition and fanaticism, the Moslem are not disposed to make the same pecuniary sacrifices to their religious foundations, as the Popish or even the Protestant Christians do for theirs."

There are several other places in the neighbourhood which are also included in these pious visitations, among which are the sepulchres of the son

daughters, wives, aunts, uncles, relations, and immediate successors of the Prophet. So rich indeed is Medina in the remains of great saints, that they have almost lost their individual importance, although the relics of any one of the persons just mentioned would be sufficient to immortalize any other Moslem town. A visit is made to Gebel Ohud to pray at the tombs of Hamza and the seventy martyrs who fell there in battle. A small cupola marks the spot where Mohammed was struck by the stone which knocked out four of his front teeth. Koba, the village where he first alighted on his flight from Mecca, and the place where he changed the kebla from Jerusalem to the Kaaba, are the only other spots that the pilgrims are enjoined to visit.

As to the government of Medina, it has always been considered since the commencement of Islam as forming a separate principality. Under the caliphs it was ruled by persons appointed by them, and independent of the sheriffs of Mecca. When the power of the Abbassides declined, these deputies threw off their allegiance, and exercised the same influence in the northern Hejaz that the governors of Mecca did in the southern. The sheriffs, however, often succeeded in extending a temporary authority over Medina, and when Selim I. mounted the throne, he planted here a garrison of Turkish soldiers, under the command of an aga, who was to be the military chief of the city; while the civil jurisdiction was placed in the hands of the Sheik el Haram, or Prefect of the Temple, who was to correspond regularly with the capital, and to have the rank of a pasha. This mode of government, with the exception of a short period when the whole territory fell under the power of Mecca, continued till the time of the Wahabee invasion, about thirty years ago. After the subjugation of that sect, Medina was again placed under the authority of a Turkish commander. The Aga el Haram takes the management of the

pecuniary business of the mosque, and of all ecclesiastical affairs. Next to him in importance is the cadi, though many of the native sheiks still enjoy great respect and consideration.

After a stay of three days at the City of the Prophet, the caravans take their departure—the Syrian returns to Damascus, and the Egyptian to Cairo, by way of Bedr, Akaba, and across the desert to Suez. The entire route of the former from Mecca occupies forty days, that of the latter thirty-seven: the caravan to Sanaa requires forty-three days. Bedr, famous for the battle fought by Mohammed in the second year of the Hejira, contains upwards of five hundred houses, and still boasts many relics of that miraculous engagement. The celebrated field which laid the foundation of the Moslem empire lies south of the town about a mile distant, at the foot of the hills.

Suez, about seventy miles from Cairo, and once a city of considerable wealth and splendour, is now reduced to a paltry half-ruined village—a state of desolation chiefly owing to the ravages committed by the French, who thus avenged the opposition they experienced from the beys of Egypt. The walls and fortifications, which never were of much strength, are rapidly falling into decay. The harbour is spacious and safe, and near the shore are some well-built khans. The water is brackish and the air bad, occasioned by the extensive salt-marshes, which are filled with stagnant waters.* The influence of this malaria the inhabitants endeavour to counteract by drinking brandy; but the mortality is

* A well was discovered in 1831, near Suez, by two English engineers, who made several experimental borings before they succeeded. A reservoir containing 1200 cubic feet of good water is now resorted to by the Bedouin and the pilgrim. By the application of science, the deserts of Arabia might perhaps be rendered habitable.—*Transact. of the Royal Asiat. Soc. Capt. Head's Journey*, p. 44.

not diminished, and fevers of a malignant kind prevail during the spring and summer. It is very thinly peopled, containing a mixture of Greeks, Copts, and Arabs. At the time of the pilgrimage and the departure of the fleet there is an influx of strangers; but nobody will reside permanently except from the temptation of gain. There are neither merchants nor artisans, except a few Greek shipwrights,—this harbour being one of the few in the Gulf where vessels can be repaired. In ancient times the navigable canal (the bed of which, 115 feet wide, is still visible) that connected it with the fertile banks of the Nile made it an emporium of considerable celebrity; but the disadvantages under which it labours from its situation at the extremity of a narrow sea, down which the winds blow with great force nine months in the year, render it unfit for the purposes of extensive trade. The government was formerly intrusted to a bey from Cairo, who kept a numerous household, though the Bedouins might be called complete masters of the place. Since the power of Ali Pasha has been established in Egypt, the authority of the native sheiks has ceased, and a dowlah nominated by the Turkish sultan is now the resident governor.

In travelling from Akaba to Suez, the hajjis often turn aside from the great route to visit the shrine of St. Catherine and the pious monuments about Mount Sinai. The convent, though bearing the name of that saint as its vice-patroness, is dedicated to the Transfiguration. According to the accredited tradition of the place, it dates its origin from the fourth century. Helena, the mother of Constantine the first Christian emperor, is said to have erected here a small church to commemorate the spot where the Lord appeared to Moses in the burning bush; and in the garden of the convent a small tower or chapel is still shown, the foundation of which is said to have been laid by her. The piety of the

empress was imitated by others, and in course of the next century similar buildings were erected in different parts of the neighbourhood; but the ill treatment which the monks and hermits suffered from the Bedouins induced them to apply to Justinian; and in compliance with their request, he built a fortified convent, capable of protecting them against their oppressors. Monastic establishments had then become prevalent; and the generous emperor is said to have assigned the whole peninsula in property to the monks.

It was not till some years afterward that it got possession of the corpse and obtained the name of St. Catherine, who had suffered martyrdom at Alexandria, and was transported thence by angels to the highest peak of the adjacent mountains. Of this miracle one of the friars was informed in a vision; and search being made, the body was found and entombed in the church, which thus acquired an additional claim to the veneration of the Greek Christians.

At the time of the Saracen conquests the number of priests and hermits belonging to this and other neighbouring establishments is said to have amounted to 6000 or 7000. Notwithstanding the continued danger to which they must have been exposed from these bigoted zealots, they contrived to defend their possessions against the attacks of the hostile tribes, not by any military array, but by the more successful arms of patience, meekness, and money. Under the sultans of Egypt, they were charged with the protection of the haj-caravans to Mecca, on that part of the route which lay along the northern frontier of their territory. The increasing power of the Bedouins gradually impaired their influence and encroached on their possessions, until they were at length confined to the walls of their monastery.

The situation of the convent is wild and pic-

turesque. It stands at the southern extremity of a green valley, in a narrow recess which is terminated by steep impending rocks. Its form is an irregular quadrangle of about 130 paces, having the appearance of a fortress, enclosed with high and solid walls of granite, and defended by several small towers. When the French were in Egypt, a part of the eastern wall, which had fallen down, was rebuilt by order of General Kleber. Within there are eight or ten small court-yards, some of which are neatly laid out in beds of flowers and vegetables; a few date-trees and cypresses also grow there, besides a quantity of vines. The distribution of the interior apartments is very irregular. There is a great number of small rooms in the lower and upper stories, most of which are at present unoccupied. The principal edifice is the church, which was built by Justinian, though it has since undergone frequent repairs. It forms an oblong square; the roof is supported by a double row of fine granite pillars, coated with white plaster; and the floor is paved with beautiful slabs of marble. An abundance of silver lamps, paintings, and portraits of saints adorn the walls round the altar; among the latter is a large picture of the Transfiguration, portraits of Justinian, Theodora, and St. Catherine, and a St. Christopher, with a dog's head. The silver lid of a sarcophagus likewise attracts attention; upon which is represented at full length the figure of the Empress Anne of Russia, who entertained the idea of being interred here, although the monks were disappointed of that honour. There are twenty-seven smaller churches or chapels dispersed over the convent, in many of which daily masses are read, and in all of them one at least every Sabbath. None of them have steeples; and as there is but one bell, which is rung only on Sundays, it is customary to summon the monks to daily prayers by striking with a stick on a long piece of granite suspended from ropes, the sound of which is heard all over the

premises. The call to vespers is made by striking a piece of dry wood in the same manner.

In former times, every principal Christian sect, except Lutherans and Calvinists, had its chapel in the convent of Sinai; but most of these have long been abandoned by their owners. What may be considered more remarkable is, that close by the great church stands a Mohammedan mosque, spacious enough to contain two hundred people at prayers. It is said to have been built in the fifteenth or sixteenth century, to prevent the destruction of the monastery, and is sometimes visited by straggling pilgrims. The greatest number of these is perhaps from sixty to eighty annually; but so late as the last century, regular haj-caravans used to come from Cairo as well as from Jerusalem; 800 Armenians are stated to have arrived in one day, and 500 Copts on another occasion. Adjoining the convent is a pleasant well-stocked garden, which is entered by a subterraneous passage. It produces fruits and vegetables of various kinds, and of the finest quality.

The number of monks, most of whom are natives of the Greek islands, does not now exceed twenty or thirty. They have a president or prior; but the *economos* or steward is the true head of the community, and manages all its affairs. The superior of the whole order is the archbishop or *reis*, who is chosen by a council of delegates, and formally confirmed by the Greek patriarch of Jerusalem. In ancient times he resided in the convent; but since its affairs have been on the decline, it has been found expedient that he should live abroad; the Bedouins considering his presence as entitling them to exact very high fees, especially on his entering the establishment. On this occasion 10,000 dollars (2156*l.*) were sometimes demanded; hence the monks, rather than purchase this honour so dearly, shut up the gate, and have dispensed with the archbishop's pres-

ence since the middle of the last century. Their discipline with regard to food and prayer is very severe. They all employ themselves in some profession; and their little fraternity can boast of a cook, a distiller, a baker, a shoemaker, a tailor, a carpenter, a candle-maker, a mason, and other handicrafts, each of whom has his workshop, with a stock of rusty utensils, which still indicate traces of the former industry of the establishment. Brandy made from dates is the chief solace these recluses enjoy; and they are permitted, even during their fasts, to indulge in this domestic beverage. They have a library, which contains about 1500 Greek volumes and 700 Arabic manuscripts; but of this they make little use, as they can read or write no language except their vernacular tongue. Notwithstanding their ignorance, they are fond of seeing strangers in their wilderness, and always receive them with hospitality and kindness. As the gate has been long walled up, visiters and provisions are hoisted up by a windlass with a rope and a noose; a stick being fixed transversely to the lower end, which is let down from a window about forty feet from the ground.

The only habitual frequenters of the convent are the Bedouins. They are never indeed admitted within the walls; but they have established the custom, that whoever among them, whether man, woman, or child, comes here, must be supplied with bread for breakfast and supper, which is lowered down in a basket. Scarcely a day passes that the inmates have not to feed thirty or forty persons; and during the last century the demand was still heavier, as the Arabs had a privilege to call for a dish of cooked meat in addition to their allowance of bread. In consequence of this practice disputes continually happen: if the Bedouins are not satisfied with the distribution of food or fuel, they assail the monks, lay waste the garden, and throw stones, or

even fire their muskets from the surrounding heights into the convent. The priests in their turn are sometimes obliged to retaliate, for they have a well-furnished armoury and two small cannon; but they take great care never to kill any of their assailants.

Notwithstanding the daily claims on their charity, the expenses of the monastery are supposed to be very moderate. The yearly consumption of corn Burckhardt estimates at 2500 bushels, and their annual expenditure at 1000*l.* sterling. A considerable revenue must arise from their possessions abroad; for besides the convent at Cairo, which contains a prior and about fifty monks, they have establishments and landed property in many other parts of the East, especially in the Archipelago and at Candia. They have also a small church at Calcutta, and another at Surat.

The mountains and deserts in the neighbourhood, being the scenery of many events in Scripture history, are pointed out by the hermits to the attention of their visiters. On Gebel Mousa is shown a small church dedicated to the Virgin; a convent which bears the name of St. Elias, erected on the spot where Elijah was fed by the ravens; and a poor mosque without any ornaments, where the Bedouins slaughter sheep in honour of Moses, making vows to him, and entreating his intercession with Heaven in their favour. At a small distance, a place is shown in the rock, somewhat resembling the print of the forepart of the foot, which is said to be that of the Prophet, and is devoutly kissed by all the Moslem. The head of the golden calf which the Israelites worshipped, now changed into stone; the place where the brazen serpent was erected; the burial-place of Moses and Aaron; the grotto where St. Athanasius lived; the spot touched by the foot of Mohammed's camel on its way to heaven; the pulpit and petrified pot or kettle of Moses; and the

granite rock, resembling a chair, on which he sat and beheld the fight between Joshua and the Amalekites,—are among the sacred spots pointed out to the credulity of pilgrims, and identified by the brotherhood, who find it their interest to multiply objects of curiosity and veneration.

On the very summit of Gebel Mousa stands a church, which, though now much dilapidated, is an object of great attraction. The Arabs believe that the original tables of the commandments are buried under the pavement; and they have made excavations on every side in the hope of finding them. They more particularly revere this spot from a belief that the rains which fall on the peninsula are under the immediate control of Moses; and they are persuaded that the monks of St. Catherine are in possession of the *taourat*, or book which he sent down from heaven; upon the opening and shutting of which depends the state of the weather. The reputation which the holy men have thus obtained of having the dispensation of rain in their hands sometimes becomes rather troublesome to them, especially as they have encouraged that superstitious belief with a view to enhance their own credit. By a natural inference the Bedouins have concluded, that if they can bring rain, they have it likewise in their power to withhold it; and, in consequence, whenever a dearth happens, they accuse them of malevolence, and often tumultuously assemble to compel their prayers. The same imputation they lay to their charge when violent floods happen to burst down the hills and destroy their cattle or date-trees. A peasant some years since, whose sheep and camels had been swept off by the torrent, went in a fury to the convent and fired his musket at it, exclaiming, "You have opened the book so much that we are all drowned!" The monks pacified him with presents; but, on departing, he begged that in

future they would only open half the taourat, in order that the rains might be more moderate.

In a valley between Mount Moses and Mount Catherine stands the convent of the Forty Martyrs, with a good garden and an orchard of olive-trees. Near it is the Fountain of the Partridge (*Bir Shomar*), so named from having been revealed by one of these birds to the priests when they were removing the body of their patroness, and fainting with thirst. In the same valley a block of granite is shown as being the Rock of Meribah, out of which water issued when struck by the rod of Moses. It lies quite insulated by the side of the path, and seems to have formerly belonged to Mount Sinai, which hangs in a variety of precipices all over the valley. Burckhardt says the block is about twelve feet in height, of an irregular shape, approaching to a cube. There are about twenty apertures on its surface, lying nearly in a straight line round its three sides, through which the water is said to have burst out. These fissures are, for the most part, ten or twelve inches long, two or three broad, and about the same in depth; some of them appearing to be incrusted all over like the inside of a teakettle.

This stone is greatly venerated by the Bedouins, who put grass into the crevices as offerings to the memory of Moses, in the same manner as they place it upon the tombs of their saints; this vegetable being to them the most precious gift of nature, and that upon which their existence depends. Shaw, Pococke, and the earlier travellers, in describing this rock, seem credulously to have adopted the extravagant legends of the monks. The former regards the incrusted apertures as the lively and demonstrative tokens of their having been anciently so many fountains; and is of opinion that art or chance could by no means be concerned in the contrivance, —evidently afraid to injure the reputation of the Scripture miracle. More recent visiters have ven-

tured, without impugning the truth of Sacred History, to question the antiquity and identity of this surprising block, and consider it one of the deceptions invented by the brothers of the convent, who have a personal interest in encouraging this superstition. Every observer, Burckhardt has remarked, must be convinced, on the slightest examination, that most of the crevices are the work of art,—three or four of them perhaps are natural,—and these may have given rise to the tradition. That the incrustation is the effect of moisture may be quite true; for the adjoining rocks, where water is still dripping, are marked in the same manner; so that if a fragment of the cliff were to fall down, it might be difficult in a few years to make a distinction between the two. What renders the locality of this venerated stone more suspicious, is the fact that this part of the desert abounds with perennial springs, which seems to prove decidedly that it cannot be the parched vale of Rephidim, "where there was no water for the people to drink." While, therefore, the miracle of Moses remains untouched, we may be permitted to doubt the accuracy of the monks and Bedouins, who are naturally pleased to see strangers struck with religious surprise at the same objects which they themselves revere, perhaps with all the sincerity of a conscientious belief.

Not far from Sinai a valley was discovered about the beginning of the eighteenth century, which created a considerable sensation in Europe from the rocks being covered with inscriptions in unknown characters and uncouth figures; this was the famous *Gebel Mokkateb*, or Written Mountain. Learned societies and several governments encouraged travellers to examine them; and Mr. Clayton, bishop of Clogher, offered 500*l.* to defray the expenses of the journey, provided any man of letters would undertake to copy them. Expectations were entertained that these inscriptions might furnish some testimony

concerning the passage of the Israelites through the Desert, or their residence in that country. But on nearer inspection these sanguine hopes vanished. The carvings were found by those who examined them to be for the most part little else than the names of travellers or pilgrims, ill-engraven in Greek, Jewish, and Arabic characters. Crosses were seen among these hieroglyphics, and a great many drawings of mountain-goats and camels, the latter sometimes laden, or with riders. The whole sandstone cliffs, occasionally to the height of twelve or fifteen feet, are thickly covered with such delineations, which are continued for several miles with only a few intervals.

Different opinions have been entertained as to the age and purport of these writings; the most probable is that which ascribes them to the hajjis in the sixth century, who were in the habit, during the pilgrimage, of visiting the holy places about Sinai, or rather Mount Serbal; which Burckhardt supposes to have been anciently the principal place of devotion, from the circumstance that, though similar inscriptions abound in other parts, none are to be found at Gebel Mousa or Gebel Katerin. Pococke, Montague, Niebuhr, and other travellers, copied them; but little success has been made in deciphering their meaning, though, from what is known, the general opinion is that they are of no great importance. The top of the Written Mountain is covered with large stones inscribed with hieroglyphics, some of them standing upright, while others are lying flat. They appear to be sepulchral monuments with epitaphs, and may either indicate that the ruins in the neighbourhood were once populous cities, or be attributed to the well-known propensity of the Arabs to bury their dead on high places. There are few of the Bedouin tribes who have not one or more tombs of sheiks or protecting saints on the top of the hills, in whose honour they still offer sacrifice.

A goat is piously slain at the sepulchre of Aaron on Mount Hor; and the tomb of Sheik Saleh, near Sinai, ranks next in veneration to the Mount of Moses. On its rude walls are suspended silk tassels, handkerchiefs, ostrich-eggs, halters, bridles, and similar articles, as votive gifts. Once a year all the tribes of the Towara Arabs in their best attire repair to the spot, and remain encamped three days; during which many sheep are sacrificed, camel-races run, and the nights spent in dancing and singing. Mercantile transactions are usually connected with these sepulchral pilgrimages; and fairs are annually held on the spots where the bones of the patriarchs and prophets are supposed to rest.

The only other place in this interesting peninsula, connected with the hermits of Sinai, is the small convent of El Bourg near Tor. Here they possess a spacious enclosure, stocked with date-trees, whence the fruit is conveyed to their monastery, where it is used for making brandy. A solitary monk inhabits the little fort built close to the garden-wall; and, notwithstanding his care in drawing up the ladder by which he ascends to his habitation, he is not unfrequently subjected to the visits of the Bedouins, who from time to time levy a contribution of bread and provisions as the price of their protection. Tor has been identified, on account of its springs and palm-groves, with the ancient Elim; but this seems to rest on no better authority than many other traditions. The town is described as a wretched assemblage of huts, in the occupation of a few families drawn together by its waters and fruit-trees. The fortress is said to have been built by the Portuguese, but is now in a state of decay. A few miles to the north, and within a short distance of the sea, lies the Gebel Narkous, or Mountain of the Bell, which is said to emit a sound "sometimes resembling musical glasses, sometimes like one piece of metal struck against another." This phe-

Convent of El Bourg near Tor.

nomenon is variously explained by travellers. The Arabs believe that the bell belongs to a convent buried under the sand. The Greeks have their legends about saints, demons, and genii, who celebrate their respective mysteries under this incomprehensible precipice. Mr. Fazakerley says the sound was louder or softer, according as the sand was more or less pressed; and that at the same time a quivering or vibration was very sensibly felt. Burckhardt observed nothing that could throw any light on it; nor did he discover the slightest mark of volcanic action, to which he supposed the thundering noise might be attributable. Perhaps the miracle may be explained by the existence of a cavity underneath, in which steam or rarefied air is generated; or by the moving of the fine white sand, of which the bank is composed, over the moister and harder sand beneath.*

* Similar sounds are not uncommon in other parts of the world. (See Family Library, No. LIV.) In a paper lately read before the Geological Society in London, Sir John Herschel suggests as the only probable explanation which occurred to him of the sounds at Narkous, that they are caused by the generation and condensation of subterraneous steam; and belong to the same class of phenomena as the combustion of a jet of hydrogen gas in glass tubes. He makes the general remark, that wherever extensive subterraneous caverns exist, communicating with each other or with the atmosphere by means of small orifices, considerable difference of temperature may occasion currents of air to pass through those apertures with sufficient velocity for producing sonorous vibrations. The sounds described by Humboldt, as heard at sunrise by those who sleep on certain granitic rocks on the banks of the Orinoco, may be explained on this principle.

CHAPTER VII.

HISTORY OF THE WAHABEES.

Origin of the Wahabees—Their Founder, Abdel Wahab—Account of their Doctrines—Success of Ibn Saoud and Abdelazeez in Nejed—Siege and Plunder of Kerbela—Submission of Mecca and Medina—Destruction of religious Monuments—Murder of Abdelazeez—Accession of Saoud—His Character—Government—Revenues—Military Tactics—Revival of the pilgrimage—Predatory Incursions of the Wahabees—Attempts of the Turkish Government to suppress them—Expedition from Egypt lands at Yembo—Defeat of Toussoun Bey at Jedeidn—Recapture of Medina by the Turks—Thomas Keith, a Native of Edinburgh, made Governor of the City—Recovery of Mecca and Hejaz—Mohammed Ali takes the Command in Person—Arrest and Death of Ghaleb—Repulse of the Turks at Taraba—Capture of Gonfode—Death of Saoud—Accession of Abdallah—Strength of the Turkish Army—Defeat of the Wahabees at Bissel—Surrender of Taraba and Beishe—Cruelties of Ali—His Return to Egypt—Campaign of Toussoun in Nejed—Treaty of Peace with Abdallah—Treachery of Ali and Renewal of Hostilities—Expedition under Ibrahim Pasha—His success in Nejed—Siege and Surrender of Deraiah—Death of Abdallah—Suppression of the Wahabees and Destruction of their Capital—Reflections on the Character of their Government and Religion.

One of the most remarkable revolutions which Arabia has witnessed since the days of Mohammed, was that effected by the Wahabees, a religious sect, who evinced in their military enthusiasm all the ardour and intolerance of the early Saracens. Their founder, from whom they took their name, was Abdel Wahab, of the pastoral tribe of Temin, in Nejed, and of the clan called El Wahabe, of which his father was sheik. He was born in 1691 at the village of El Ayeneh, in the province of El Ared. In his youth he had visited Mecca, Medina, Bussora,

Bagdad, and various other schools of the principal cities in the East; and being convinced, by what he had observed during his travels, that the primitive faith of Islam had become totally corrupted in practice, and that by far the greater part of Turks and Persians were heretics, he determined to assume the character of a reformer. His manners were naturally grave and austere; while his talents and learning secured for him the respect of his countrymen, among whom he made several converts by means of his writings and his reputation for wisdom.

The religion and government of this sect may be very briefly defined, as a Mohammedan puritanism joined to a Bedouin phylarchy, in which the great chief is both the political and religious leader of the nation. In their creed they are perfectly orthodox. The unity of God is the fundamental principle of their faith. They believe in the Prophet, but regard him as a man essentially mortal, though gifted with a divine mission. They reject the fables and false glosses of the Koran, acknowledging only the traditions of the Sonnees. As they consider all men equal in the sight of God, they hold it sinful to invoke the intercession of departed saints, or to honour their mortal remains more than those of any other person. Hence chapels, cupolas, and monuments, where reverence was paid to their memory, they condemned as an abomination, and forbade them to be visited. To swear by Mohammed is criminal; and they accuse the Turks of idolatry when they give him the title of lord in their prayers, or revere him in a manner which approaches adoration.

In morals they were pure and rigid; they reprobated the use of spirituous liquors and other exhilarating substitutes; they condemned all sensual indulgences, the neglect of justice and almsgiving, the common practice of fraud and treachery, usury, games of chance, and the other vices with which even the sacred cities were polluted. In the true

spirit of fanaticism, they were as zealous about the inferior as the weightier matters of the law. Next to the war which they declared against saints and sepulchres, their indignation was principally turned against dress and luxury: they strictly forbade the wearing of silk and the smoking of tobacco; and cut from their heads the only tuft of hair which their early Moslem discipline had left them. Among other unwarrantable acts which they abolished, was that of praying over the rosary, and lamenting the dead, thinking it impious to mourn for the soul of a brother in heaven. They did not, however, so far strip themselves of all superstition as to abolish the ceremonies of ablution and the Meccan pilgrimage, or even those of kissing the black stone and throwing pebbles at the devil.

The doctrines of Abdel Wahab, it will be seen, were not those of a new religion; though they were so represented by his enemies, and have been described as such by several European travellers.* His sole guide was the Koran and the orthodox traditions; and his efforts were entirely directed to remove corruptions and abuses, and restore the faith of Islam to its original purity. Whether this great reformer, when he preached to his countrymen in the villages of Nejed, had any idea of establishing a new dynasty to reign over the proselytes of Arabia, is much to be doubted. Neither his birth, nor the strength of his tribe, could authorize him in entertaining such a design. But it cannot be denied that his doctrines had a favourable effect on the people, by suppressing the infidel indifference which universally prevailed, aud which has generally a more

* The tenets of the Wahabees were erroneously stated by Rousseau (1808) in his "Description of the Pashalic of Bagdad;" and in a Memoir of this Sect in the "Mines de l'Orient." What is said of them in Niebuhr and Valentia is not very correct. The best and fullest account of them is given by Burckhardt, Mons. Corancez, and Mengin (Append. tome ii).

baneful effect on the morals of a nation than the decided acknowledgment even of a false religion.

To trace the history of this sect, from its origin to the vast ascendency which it gained in Arabia, were merely to record events similar to those which daily occur in the feudal wars of the desert. It was about the year 1746, when Abdel Wahab was compelled, by order of the governor of El Hassa, to quit his native village, where for eight years, in the capacity of sheik, he had peaceably disseminated his opinions, and made converts of several neighbouring chiefs. Having escaped the poniard of an assassin, he repaired to Deraiah, and obtained a friendly asylum from Mohammed ibn Saoud, sheik of the Beni Mokren, a branch of the Wold Ali belonging to the Aeneze tribe. Here he continued to inculcate his doctrines, which soon gained credit enough to encourage the extension of his project, and enable him to employ force to subdue the refractory. Of the numerous hordes scattered over the central wastes, some offered their voluntary submission, while others combined against him, and refused to acknowledge either his temporal or spiritual authority. To increase the activity of the new missionaries, they were diligently instructed in regard to the merit of using arms to convince heretics and infidels. The temptations of plunder were added to the stimulants of religious zeal; and a share of the booty taken in battle was always distributed among the conquerors, according to the strict law of the Koran.

It does not appear that the great founder of the sect himself assumed any other character than that of their apostle or ecclesiastical ruler. His constant residence was at Deraiah until his death in 1787, when he had reached the advanced age of 95. He possessed in a high degree the art of persuasion, and is said to have captivated all hearts by his eloquence. Equally distinguished as an able politician and an intrepid warrior, he maintained to the last

the influence which he had gained by his sword over the destinies of Arabia. He had all the uxorious propensities of Mohammed, and his twenty wives produced him eighteen children.

The first military champion of the new doctrines, and the political founder of the Wahabee government, was Mohammed ibn Saoud, who had married the daughter of Abdel Wahab. When he commenced his missionary exploits under the title of emir, accompanied by his eldest son Abdelazeez, his force was so small, that in his first skirmish with the enemy he had with him only seven camel-riders. While the venerable apostle contented himself with making proselytes at Deraiah, the two warriors successively conquered Nejed, and most of the great Bedouin tribes who annually visited that territory in quest of pasturage. The earliest and most formidable of their opponents was Erar, sheik of El Hassa. The first army which he sent against them, in 1757, was defeated. Again he made his appearance in person, at the head of 4000 men, with four pieces of artillery, and laid siege to Deraiah; but he was again repulsed, and compelled to retreat in great disorder. The death of Ibn Saoud, in 1765, left Abdelazeez sole commander of the sectarian army; and by his bravery and indefatigable efforts their victories were pushed to the remotest provinces of Arabia. Mekrami, sheik of Nejeran, from being an enemy, became a devoted follower; the sheriff of Abu-Arish was also reduced to obedience, and by their means the new doctrines were spread from the coast of Bahrein to the confines of Mocha and Aden. As the cattle and spoils of the unconverted were unceremoniously seized by the Wahabees, a title by which they now became known, numbers turned proselytes to save their property, and testified the sincerity of their faith by attacking and plundering their neighbours.

After many hard struggles the whole of the Nejed

had embraced the reformed doctrines. It had also assumed a new political condition; and instead of being divided as formerly into a number of small independent territories or clanships, perpetually at war with each other, it became the seat of a formidable power, under a chief whose authority, like that of the first caliphs, was supreme both in civil and spiritual affairs. Yet hostilities had not been declared; nor did the Wahabees encroach upon the rights of the two governments nearest to them,—Bagdad and Hejaz. The pilgrim-caravans passed through their land without molestation. They were even on friendly terms with Serour, sheriff of Mecca, and, in 1781, obtained leave to perform their devotions at the Kaaba. Their increase of power seems at first to have excited the jealousy of Sheriff Ghaleb; and within a few years after his accession to the government he had declared open war against them, which was carried on in the Bedouin style, interrupted only by a few shortlived truces. Being then in regular correspondence with the Porte, he left no means untried for prejudicing the Ottoman government against the sectarians. He represented them as infidels; and their treatment of the Turkish hajjis did not remove this unfavorable opinion. Similar accounts were given by the pashas of Bagdad, who had seen the neighbouring country assailed almost annually by these invaders, who exacted a capitation-tax from all Persian devotees that crossed the desert.

No place on the eastern border seemed better adapted than Bagdad for pushing the war into the heart of the enemy's territory; and, in 1797, Solyman Pasha despatched an expedition to attack Deraiah, consisting of 4000 or 5000 Turkish troops, and twice that number of allied Arabs, under the command of his lieutenant-governor. Instead of advancing directly to the capital, they laid siege to the fortified citadel of Hassa, which resisted their

efforts above a month, until the arrival of a strong force under Saoud, the son of Abdelazeez, determined them to retreat. The Wahabee chief anticipated this measure, and endeavoured to intercept their return, by throwing camel-loads of salt, which he had brought for the purpose, into the wells on their line of march. The soldiers of Bagdad were thus compelled to halt; and for three days the two armies continued within sight of each other, but without venturing on an attack. A truce for six years was at length concluded, and both parties quietly dispersed to their homes.

The failure of this expedition was fatal to the success of the Turks, as the Wahabees had now learned to despise them. The peace was soon broken; and, in 1801, Saoud at the head of 20,000 men attacked Kerbela, so famed for the magnificent tomb or mosque of Hossein, which had long attracted the devotion of the Moslem. The town was entered, after a very slight resistance, by means of palm-trunks placed against the wall, and five thousand persons were massacred. While executing this horrible butchery, a fanatical doctor cried from the top of a tower, "Kill, strangle all infidels who give companions to God!" In their fury they spared none but old men, women, and children. Their indignation was specially directed against the sepulchre, which was filled with the riches of Turkey and Persia. The cupola, with its golden ornaments, was thrown down; and in this act the spoilers were heard to exclaim, "God have mercy upon those who destroyed, and none upon those who built them!" Treasures were found to a vast amount, which had accumulated in proportion to the excessive veneration of the pilgrims. Over the tomb was suspended a huge pearl; near it were deposited twenty sabres mounted with precious stones; these, together with vases, lamps, rubies, emeralds, diamonds, and articles of gold and silver, became the property of

Saoud. The houses were stript of their valuable furniture; 4000 Cashmere shawls, 2000 swords, and as many muskets, were piled in one heap for distribution when the troops evacuated the place, which in five days they had reduced to a mass of smoking ruins.

While the Wahabees were occupied on the banks of the Euphrates, Ghaleb penetrated into Nejed and took possession of Shara, a small town in the province of Kasym. In his campaigns he had hitherto been alternately victor and vanquished; but Abdélazeez, extending his views with his conquests, now began to invade Hejaz with more zeal and perseverance than he had ever before manifested. Already Saoud had carried the arms and the faith of his father among the mountain-tribes on the confines of Yemen, where Abu Nocta, the sheik of Azir, was left in charge of the new proselytes. The tribes eastward of Mecca were obliged to yield; and the country was intrusted to the command of Othman el Medaife, brother-in-law to Ghaleb, but who had for some years been at enmity with his kinsman. In 1802, he besieged Taïf, which was taken after a vigorous resistance, and condemned to share the fate of Kerbela;—with this difference, that the soldiers had orders to spare neither old age nor infancy. Eight hundred males were put to the sword; but the harems were respected. Many houses were burnt, and the whole were plundered. All the holy tombs were destroyed; among others that of Al Abbas, the uncle of Mohammed, celebrated throughout Arabia for its beauty and its sanctity. The palace and fine gardens of the sheriff were desolated; but his treasures had been carried to Mecca. These successes emboldened the Wahabees, and for the first time they interdicted the pilgrim-caravans.

In the following year, they effected the total conquest of Hejaz. Saoud and Othman, after several battles with Ghaleb, approached Mecca, and pitched

their camp within an hour and a half's distance of the city. The eastern suburb was attacked and taken possession of, and from that point frequent sallies were made into the town. The governor, undismayed, defended himself with great bravery. He laid a mine near his palace, which obliged the assailants to make a temporary retreat. But the supply of water was cut off by diverting the canal of Arafat; and the inhabitants, after a siege of two or three months, were reduced to extreme necessity for want of provisions. Dogs and cats were eagerly devoured; the only stores were at the disposal of the sheriff and his warriors; and when these were consumed he retired towards Jidda, carrying off the whole of his family and baggage, having previously set fire to his palace to destroy such furniture as was not easily portable. The city was now abandoned to its fate. On the next morning, the chief inhabitants went out to capitulate, or rather to surrender at discretion; and on the same day (April 27) Saoud made his entrance. Not the slightest excess was committed; and the Meccawees still remember with gratitude the excellent discipline observed by the wild Bedouin soldiers. All the shops were immediately opened by order of the victorious chief, and every article which his troops required was purchased with ready money. This forbearance was doubtless the effect of policy; but the artful conqueror ascribed it to a miracle. He told the ulemas, in full council, that he had seen Mohammed in a dream, who threatened him that he should not survive three days if a single grain of corn were forcibly taken from the holy city. But the displeasure of the Prophet did not extend to those objects of idolatry which offended the religious prejudices of the Wahabees. Above eighty splendid tombs, which covered the remains of the descendants of the Apostle, and formed the great ornaments of Mecca, were levelled with the ground; nor was

the monument of the favourite and venerable Kadijah saved. The coffee-houses, or rather shops for spirituous liquors, next felt the desolating zeal of the reformers. Piles of hookahs and Persian pipes were collected from these haunts and burnt in the presence of Saoud. The use of brandy and tobacco were prohibited under severe penalties; and the inhabitants were obliged to conform, outwardly at least, to the new creed, by abandoning their luxuries and rich dresses, and being more punctual in their devotions. Prayers for the sultan in the grand mosque were ordered to be abolished; the government was placed in the hands of Abdel Main, the brother of Ghaleb; and in the following epistle this memorable conquest was communicated to the Ottoman Porte:—

"SAOUD TO SELIM.—I entered Mecca on the 4th day of Moharram, in the 1218th year of the Hejira. I kept peace towards the inhabitants. I destroyed all the tombs that were idolatrously worshipped. I abolished the levying of all customs above two and a half per cent. I confirmed the cadi whom you had appointed to govern in the place, agreeably to the commands of Mohammed. I desire, that in the ensuing years you will give orders to the pashas of Sham (Damascus) and Mesr (Cairo) not to come accompanied with the mahmal, trumpets, and drums, into Mecca and Medina. For why? Religion is not profited by these things. Peace be between us; and may the blessing of God be unto you!—Dated on the 10th day of Moharram." (May 3, 1803.)

From Mecca the reformer turned his arms against Jidda; but the interval had allowed Ghaleb time to prepare for his reception by mounting the walls with cannon from the vessels in the harbour. For eleven days the town was besieged; the supplies of water were cut off, in consequence of which numbers perished of thirst. But the inhabitants fought bravely, and the Wahabee chief, despairing

of victory, was obliged to retreat; though some allege this forbearance was purchased with a bribe of 30,000 dollars (6496*l.* 15*s.*). While Saoud directed his march towards the northern desert, the other issued from his stronghold, and resumed the government of Mecca. Knowing that he could not defend the place for any length of time, he compromised matters with the invader; and in consideration of his influence and high station, he obtained more favourable terms than were usually granted to other proselyte chiefs. The capture of this city was the signal for other advantages in Hejaz. The powerful tribe of Harb were compelled to yield, but not without a severe contest; and their submission was followed by the surrender of Yembo.

Early in the spring of 1804, Medina was added to the Wahabee conquests. The inhabitants, being more attached to the Turkish interest than the Meccawees, were not so leniently treated. The usual tribute was required, but private property was not injured. Saoud's first care was to demolish the tombs and strip them of all their valuable ornaments. During the siege, a considerable part of the treasures of the great mosque, more especially the golden vessels, had been seized by the governor of the town, Hassan el Khalaji, ostensibly for the purpose of relieving the general distress; but they were finally distributed among his own friends. The remainder fell a prey to the Wahabee general, who entered the sacred hejra himself, and penetrated behind the curtain of the Prophet's tomb, where he laid his sacrilegious hands on every thing valuable that could be found. Among these hoarded treasures the most remarkable is said to have been a brilliant star set in diamonds and pearls, which was suspended directly over the coffin. Around it were deposited many costly vessels set with jewels, earrings, bracelets, necklaces, and other ornaments, sent as presents from all parts of the empire, but

principally brought by the great hajjis who passed through the city. Of this collection he sold part to the sheriff of Mecca, and carried the remainder with him to Deraiah, which is said to have consisted chiefly of pearls and corals. The total value of the booty was estimated at more than 300,000 dollars (64,687*l.* 10*s.*); though there is good reason for supposing that the donations of the Faithful, accumulated there for ages, must have amounted to a much greater sum, had not the governors of the town or the guardians of the sepulchre occasionally relieved their necessities by large drafts from this religious exchequer. Allured by its glittering appearance, the Wahabees attempted to destroy the lofty dome, and throw down the gilded globe and crescent which surmount it; but the solid structure and the leaden covering rendered this a difficult undertaking; and as two of the workmen slipped from the roof and were precipitated to the ground, the work of destruction was abandoned;—a circumstance ascribed to a visible miracle wrought by the Prophet in favour of his monument. The tomb itself was left uninjured; but Saoud prohibited as idolatrous all visits, prayers, or adorations addressed to it; no other mark of devotion being allowed but the regular pilgrimage. Here, as at Mecca, the due observance of prayer, and the negation of silk and tobacco, were imposed with great strictness. At the appointed hours a body of Arabs, armed with large sticks, had orders to patrol the streets and drive the inhabitants to the common place of worship. The names of all the adult males were called over in the mosque after morning, noonday, and evening prayers, and such as did not answer to the roll were punished. A respectable woman, accused of having smoked a hookah, was paraded through the streets on a jackass, with the pipe suspended from her neck, round which was twisted the long flexible tube.

Between the capture of Mecca and that of Me-

dina happened the death of Abdelazeez, who was assassinated, in October, 1803, by a Persian whose relations the Wahabees had murdered. His eldest son Saoud was unanimously elected his successor; and in the necessary qualities of a religious leader he far surpassed his father. He had been trained to war from his youth, having carried arms in battle when only at the age of twelve. For many years he had conducted all the wars; and to him may be ascribed the conquest of Hejaz. From the time, however, that his reign began, it was remarked that he never fought personally in any engagement, but always directed his army from a position at some distance in the rear. In person, he is said to have been remarkably handsome; he had a fine countenance, and wore a longer beard than is generally seen among the Bedouins;—a peculiarity which obtained him the name of *Abu Shouareb*, or Father of Mustachios. All the Arabs, even his enemies, praised him for his wisdom and moderation, his love of justice and skill in deciding litigations.

For several years after his father's death he wore a coat-of-mail under his shirt, and never went abroad except with a chosen guard around him. His dominions he divided into several districts or provinces, over which he placed the great Bedouin sheiks, with the honorary title of emirs; whose principal duty it was to execute public justice, to assist the tax-gatherers, and recruit troops for the army. The vigilant and rigid policy which they were compelled to maintain tended to secure the country against robbers, and to check the sanguinary feuds of hostile parties; but the new system was not popular, and the frequent revolts of the Bedouins proved how impatient they were of restraints so directly opposed to their habits of wild and lawless independence. The several tribes were made responsible for every depredation committed within their territory, should the perpetrator be unknown; and if

they had neglected to repel or resist the aggression, they were amerced in a fine equivalent to the amount of the cattle or other property that had been carried off.

The revenues of the Wahabees had been established on a plan similar to that prescribed by Mohammed. On fields watered solely by rain Saoud levied a tithe of the crops; but he was content with only a twentieth part from grounds where the labour and expense of artificial irrigation were necessary. Merchants paid yearly two and a half per cent. on their capital, though they seldom returned an account of more than one-fourth of their property. The most considerable portion of his revenue was drawn from his own domains. As he made it a rule, whenever any of the conquered cities or districts rebelled, to plunder them for the first offence, and confiscate for the second, most of the landed property in Nejed had accrued to the public treasury (*Beit el Mal*), and was let out to farmers, who were obliged to pay a third, or a half, of the produce, according to circumstances. Many villages of Hejaz, the pastures near the Syrian Desert, and the mountains towards Yemen, were thus attached to the exchequer at Deraiah. The sheiks were not allowed any concern in the taxes; but they met the collectors at the spots appointed for payment, which were generally watering-places, where the people were directed to repair.

The income of Saoud was much more than sufficient to defray the public expenditure, though it was by no means so great as was generally reported. The largest amount, according to Burckhardt's information, in one year was 2,000,000 of dollars (431,250*l.*); but on an average it did not exceed 1,000,000 annually. The outlay for military purposes must have been trifling, as there was no standing army and no regular pay. The costliest part of the establishment were his guests and his horses.

Of the latter he had no fewer than 2000 as his own property; for some of which he gave the extravagant price of 500*l.* or 600*l.* When an expedition was meditated against the enemy, the sheiks levied soldiers by a kind of conscription, from every village, camp, or family, under their control, according to its population; and the corps was again dissolved as soon as the campaign was over. All from the age of eighteen to sixty, whether married or unmarried, were required to attend. On pressing emergencies no numbers were mentioned; the chief merely said, "We shall not count those who join the army, but those who stay behind;" a summons which was understood to include every man capable of bearing arms.

The necessary provisions for a soldier during one campaign were reckoned to be 100 lbs. of flour, 50 lbs. or 60 lbs. of dates, 20 lbs. of butter, a water-skin, and a sack of wheat or barley for the camel.

Stratagems and sudden invasions being most favourable for their purpose, no other mode of warfare was practised. When Saoud planned an incursion, the object of it was known to himself alone. He assembled the emirs at a certain point, generally a watering-station, which was always selected so as to deceive the enemy. If the march was intended for the northward, the place of rendezvous was appointed several days' journey to the south; the foe was then taken completely by surprise; and such were the caution and celerity with which these attacks were executed, that they seldom failed of success. They were made at all seasons of the year, even in the sacred month of Ramadan. The army was always preceded by a vanguard of 30 or 40 horsemen; and if they were obliged to advance under night, the chief and all the principal sheiks had torches carried before them. In coming to close action, the troops were divided into three or four squadrons, one behind another; the first com-

posed of horsemen, and the second of camel-riders, these being reckoned the main strength of the army. The bravest and most renowned of Saoud's warriors were his body-guard, about 300 in number, who were constantly kept as a corps of reserve. They usually fought in complete armour, and had their horses covered with a quilted woollen stuff called *lebs*, impenetrable to lances or swords. To all who fell in battle he ensured the enjoyment of paradise; and when the mare of a slain sheik galloped back to the ranks with an empty saddle, it was hailed as the happy tidings that a true believer had exchanged his cotton keffie for a crown of martyrdom.

At the time of his accession nearly the whole extent of Arabia had been reduced to submission. It was seldom thought advisable to garrison any district that he had subdued, the influence of the sheik whom he placed over it, and the terror of his own name, being generally sufficient to keep the vanquished in subjection. When some of the more powerful tribes relaxed in their allegiance, or became irregular in the payment of tribute, three or four flying expeditions were sent against them, which soon brought them back to obedience. The dread of losing their crops and their cattle overcame the scruples of the most refractory; and Saoud was often heard to say, "That no Arabs had ever been stanch Wahabees until they had suffered two or three times from the plundering of his troops." Medina was the only instance where it was found necessary to keep a constant military force, the inhabitants being naturally hostile to his religion and his government. In Mecca, the power of Ghaleb was still considerable, and at Jidda his authority remained in full force; but his great talents for intrigue, his venerable office, and his personal influence over several Bedouin tribes, induced his rival to keep on amicable terms with him.

Since the conquest of Hejaz most of the regular

pilgrim-caravans had ceased, rather than submit to the conditions which the reformers exacted. Only a few succeeded in making their way, and these were chiefly Moggrebins, Abyssinians, and Indians, who showed more humility than the other Moslem. For several years this state of matters continued; but the pilgrimage, so far from being abolished, as some travellers have alleged, might have continued without interruption, had the terms and safe-conduct of the Wahabees been accepted. Saoud was punctual in his annual visits to Mecca, and was always accompanied with numbers of his followers, whose enthusiasm, as described by an eyewitness (Ali Bey), must have put laxer Mussulmans to the blush. Columns of half-naked men, with matchlocks on their shoulders and khunjers in their belts, pressed towards the Temple to perform the towaf and kiss the black stone. Impatient of delay, they precipitated themselves upon the spot, some of them opening their way with sticks in their hands. Confusion was soon at its height; and in the tumult the devotees were prevented from hearing the voices of their guides or the commands of their chiefs.

In making the seven circuits, their movements were accelerated by mutual impulse, until they resembled a swarm of bees flitting in rapid disorder round the Kaaba; and by their tumultuous pressure breaking all the lamps near it with the muskets which they carried on their shoulders. These ceremonies done, they rushed to the Zemzem Well, but in such crowds, and with such precipitation, that in a few moments, ropes, buckets, and pulleys, were laid in ruins. The servants abandoned their posts; and in this emergency the Wahabees contrived to obtain the miraculous liquid, by forming a chain of each other's hands, which enabled them to descend to the water. Unfortunately for the numerous charities of the mosque the reformers had brought no

money with them. The well required alms, and the officers of the Temple expected their gratuities; and these pious debts the Bedouins discharged by giving them twenty or thirty grains of very coarse gunpowder, small bits of lead, or a few grains of coffee. The guides that repeated their prayers, and the barbers who shaved their heads, were paid in the same coin. On these occasions Saoud, perhaps dreading the fate of his father, always kept himself surrounded with his chosen guard, even while making his turns round the Kaaba; and, instead of seating himself during his devotions in the usual place, he mounted on the roof of the well, as being a more safe position.

While Hejaz thus remained tranquil, the Wahabees chiefly directed their expeditions against their neighbours in the east and the north. The district about Bussora being rich in cattle and dates, the banks of the Shat el Arab and of the Euphrates up to Anah, were the scenes of their annual attacks. A negro slave of Saoud's, called Hark, at the head of a strong detachment, made various incursions into the Syrian Desert, and frightened the Arab tribes in the vicinity of Aleppo. In 1810, the plains of Houran were invaded by the commander in person; and so rapid and unexpected were his movements that, although it required more than a month to arrive at the point of attack, thirty-five villages were sacked and laid in ashes by his soldiers before the Pasha of Damascus, who had only two day's notice of his approach, could make any demonstrations of defence. Towards the south the Wahabees were not idle in extending the influence of their arms over some of the still unconquered provinces. Abu Nokta, near the close of 1804, descended with a numerous body of Arabs from the mountains, and spread dismay over the country. The towns of Loheia and Hodeida were plundered; after which he retired to the hills, where he kept the whole frontier of Yemen in

check till his death in 1809. Sanaa, however, does not seem to have been made the object of attack. Saoud had repeatedly offered the plunder of that rich city to Hamoud and Abu Nokta, by way of attaching them to his interest; but he never actually ordered either of them to undertake the conquest of it, probably from a wish to reserve that enterprise for himself. The extensive districts of Hadramaut and Oman offered a tempting booty, and were harassed by frequent plundering incursions. The sovereigns of these principalities had tendered their homage to the Wahabee chief, and agreed to pay an annual tribute; but in a single year they threw off their submission to him, and his arms were then too much occupied in another quarter to effect their reduction. The isles of Bahrein and the Joassamee pirates had embraced the new doctrines, and carried them into profitable operation by harassing the commerce on the Gulf; but the power of Saoud on that coast sustained an irreparable loss in the destruction of Ras el Khyma, by the English expedition from Bombay.

Although the Wahabees had come to open hostilities with the Turkish government since they had interrupted the haj-caravans, and forbidden the people to pray in their mosques for the welfare of the sultan, yet the Porte had hitherto remained almost inactive. Yussuf, pasha of Damascus, in 1809, made indeed some faint preparations for attacking the district of Jof. But this was merely a vain demonstration of his zeal, as the expedition never took place. The immense deserts that extended between the Syrian and Arabian capitals rendered it impossible to transport sufficient provisions and ammunition for a regular campaign; and made it obvious that, if ever the Turkish influence was to be restored over the holy cities, the effort for dispossessing the Wahabees must proceed from Egypt, on which the Hejazees almost exclusively depended for the com-

mon necessaries of life. The turbulent state of that country, and the insubordination of the Mamlouk beys, for some time prevented Mohammed Ali, who had been appointed pasha by the Porte in 1804, from adopting any warlike measures against a foreign enemy. Much might have been done, however, towards the reduction of Hejaz, by merely shutting the ports of Suez and Cosseir against the Arabian shipping; but the viceroy, notwithstanding the firmans from Constantinople, had too deep an interest in the traffic of the Red Sea to sanction a prohibitory system, which would have cut off the gains that flowed into his coffers from that channel.

Ambition at length overruled the passion of avarice in the breast of Ali. The deliverance of the sepulchres was likely to add a celebrity to his name that would exalt him far above all the pashas in the Turkish empire. To stimulate his exertions the sultan promised him the pashalic of Damascus for one of his sons as soon as he should obtain possession of Mecca and Medina. As it was essential to have a sufficient flotilla at his command for the conveyance of troops and provisions, he caused 28 large and small vessels (from 100 to 250 tons burden) to be built at Suez, which kept about 1000 workmen for three years in constant employment.

In August, 1811, this armada was ready for departure. Toussoun Bey, the second son of the pasha, a youth of eighteen, who had given proofs of extraordinary courage in the Mamlouk war, was placed in command. The expedition consisted of two parts, cavalry and infantry; the former amounting to a body of about 800 men, Turks and Bedouins; and the latter, composed principally of Arnaout soldiers, to the number of 1500 or 2000, under the direction of Saleh Aga and Omar Aga. In October, the fleet reached Yembo, which capitulated after a feeble resistance of two days. The town was not garrisoned by Wahabees, but by some troops belonging

to the sheriff, who had declared himself a proselyte and an ally of Saoud.

Several months were consumed in negotiations; for Ghaleb, when he heard of the formidable armament of Ali Pasha, had thought it advisable to enter into a secret correspondence with him, in which he communicated much information as to the actual state and force of the enemy; and promised to throw off his allegiance to them on the first appearance of a respectable Turkish army in Hejaz. Toussoun, however, soon discovered that the state of the country was by no means such as he had expected from the representations of the sheriff, who was evidently not sincere in his offers of friendship, and only waiting to join the stronger party. The inhabitants were too much overawed by the vigilance and power of Saoud to stir without some more decided prospect of ultimate success. A few of the Bedouins in the neighbourhood of Yembo were all he was able to detach from the Wahabees.

To put an end to this state of fruitless inactivity, Toussoun resolved to attack Medina, wisely judging this step more prudent than marching towards Jidda or Mecca, where the stratagems of the sheriff might have been as fatal to him as the arms of Saoud. Leaving a garrison at Yembo, he set out on his expedition in January, 1812. The towns of Bedr and Safra were taken after a slight skirmish. At the village of Jedeida the road leads through a narrow passage between steep and rugged mountains. In this defile, which extends in length about one hour and a half, the Turkish army was at once assailed by the united force of the Harbs and Wahabees, who thickly covered the precipices on both sides, to the number of 20,000 infantry, and from 600 to 800 horsemen, commanded by Abdallah and Faisal, two of the sons of Saoud Instead of retreating to the village, where they might have defended themselves, the invaders, on the first cry of alarm, took to flight;

while their nimble enemies pressing from behind, and outrunning them along the hills, poured incessant volleys upon their disordered ranks. About 1200 were killed; and the whole body might have been annihilated had the Wahabees instantly pushed over the mountains, instead of contenting themselves with seizing the baggage and artillery.

Under such disastrous circumstances Toussoun did not forfeit his reputation for bravery. With tears gushing from his eyes, he was heard to exclaim to his flying squadrons, "Will none of you stand by me?" and after vainly endeavouring to rally his troops, he hastened to the rear with only two horsemen of his own suite, and plunged into the midst of the enemy, to make them desist from the pursuit. Having set fire to his camp at Bedr, and left his military chest, which he had not the means to remove, he embarked at the nearest port, where some of his ships lay at anchor, and proceeded to Yembo, where in a few days he was joined by the wreck of his army. These losses completely disheartened the troops; the Bedouins deserted, Saleh Aga and Omar Aga declared they would no longer fight in Hejaz, and were sent back to Cairo. The Wahabees scoured the country to the shores of the Red Sea, being joined by the Sheriff Ghaleb in person.

When the intelligence of this failure was known to Ali Pasha, he lost no time in preparing for a new expedition. Fresh reinforcements of men and ammunition daily arrived; while large sums of money were sent for distribution among the Bedouin sheiks; by which means a considerable number of them were detached from the interest of Saoud. In October, 1812, Toussoun thought himself sufficiently strong to make a second attempt upon Medina. The gold of Egypt had opened the dangerous pass of Jedeida, and the Turkish army arrived without opposition under the walls of the city of the Prophet. The town and castle were occupied by a Wahabee gar-

rison, well supplied with provisions for a long siege; but the chief and his soldiers were so elated with their former success, and so confident in the strength of their fortress, that they seemed to have abandoned themselves to a state of the most culpable inactivity. Ahmed Aga, an officer of acknowledged bravery, but whose idle boasting had procured him the surname of Bonaparte, entered the suburbs with little resistance, and drove the enemy into the inner town. As the Turks had nothing but light field-pieces to batter the wall, the siege was protracted to fourteen or fifteen days. At length a mine was laid, and while the inhabitants were engaged in their mid-day prayers part of the fortifications was blown up, and the Arnaouts marched into the city. The Wahabees fled in surprise towards the castle: above 1000 of them were butchered in the streets, and about 1500 sought refuge in the citadel, which, from its situation, might have set the Egyptian artillery at defiance. The place was instantly plundered; and after standing out for three weeks, the garrison, finding their provisions exhausted, were forced to capitulate,—Ahmed Bonaparte having promised to grant them a safe conduct, and provide camels for carrying the baggage of such as wished to return to Nejed. These stipulations, however, were shamefully violated. Only fifty camels instead of 300 were procured, which obliged the emigrants to leave behind them the greater part of their effects; and no sooner had they quitted the precincts of the town, than the Turkish soldiers pursued, stopped, and slaughtered as many of them as they could overtake. In the true style of Tartar barbarity, Ahmed collected the sculls of all the Wahabees killed at Medina, and constructed them into a kind of tower on the high road to Yembo.

Among the soldiers in the pasha's army who signalized their bravery at the siege of Medina was a young Scotchman, about twenty years of age, a

native of Edinburgh, named Thomas Keith. He had served as a gunsmith in the 92d Highlanders, during the English expedition into Egypt, where he was taken prisoner, and purchased from a common soldier by Ahmed Bonaparte, in whose service he changed his religion and became a Mussulman. A favourite Sicilian Mamlouk of his master having offered him some insult, the indignant Scotchman drew his sword; blows ensued, and the aggressor fell. To escape the consequences, Keith, who now bore the name of Ibrahim Aga, implored the protection of Mohammed Ali's lady, who befriended him, and recommended him to her son, Toussoun Bey. Here again, on account of some trifling neglect of duty, he incurred the displeasure of his master, who gave orders that he should be put to death. His room was beset with slaves, ready to execute the capricious mandate of the prince; but the brave fellow defended the entrance with his sword for half an hour against the assailants, and then threw himself out of the window, and escaped to his kind protectress. Toussoun was soon reconciled; and being sensible of Ibrahim's merit and approved courage, he made him chief of his Mamlouks. Keith was one of the two horsemen that stood by the young prince at the pass of Jedeida, on which occasion he was promoted to the office of treasurer,—the second in rank at the court of a pasha. At Medina he fought with equal courage, being the first man that mounted the breach, and after distinguishing himself on several other occasions, he was made governor of that city in April, 1815.

The success of the expedition in northern Hejaz encouraged Ali Pasha to despatch another of 1000 horse and 500 foot against Jidda and Mecca, under the command of his brother-in-law Mustapha Bey. The Sheriff Ghaleb, intimidated by the fall of Medina, had renewed his offers to the Turks, and sent messengers inviting their chief to enter the town

under his charge. Thus deserted by his relation, Medaifa, who commanded the Wahabee forces in that district, found himself too weak to hazard a battle, and retired towards Taïf. Jidda was seized by a detachment of a few hundred men, while Mustapha, with the principal corps, entered Mecca in January, 1813. The property of the citizens was respected, as it had formerly been by the soldiers of Saoud; while 1000 Arabs and black slaves, with the sheriff at their head, were added to the ranks of the Egyptian army. Taïf immediately fell, and its brave defender, Medaifa, was soon after seized by the partisans of Ghaleb, and despatched to Constantinople, where the youngest son of Mohammed Ali presented him to his sovereign, with the keys of the holy cities, together with many valuable offerings. The noble captive was immediately beheaded; and thus the reformers lost their most active and intrepid ally in Hejaz.

The recovery of this province opened a free passage for the haj-caravans, which had been interrupted for several years; but it had not broken the power of the Wahabees. All the tribes eastward of the mountains that bound the great desert parallel with the sea still acknowledged the supremacy of Saoud. The Turks never encountered them in the open country without being defeated; and as the conduct of Ghaleb was by no means such as to inspire his new allies with confidence, Mohammed Ali thought it necessary to visit in person the scene of action, that he might establish his authority on a more secure and permanent footing. Egypt had long been in a state of complete subjection; so that he could allege no excuse to the Porte for disobedience to its peremptory commands. He embarked at Suez with 2000 infantry, while an equal number of cavalry, accompanied by a train of 8000 camels, proceeded by land. Of the latter only five hundred survived, the rest having perished on the road,

owing to the scarcity of herbage. On his arrival at Mecca he ingratiated himself with the inhabitants, by distributing presents, and ordering the mosques to be repaired. His first interviews with Ghaleb were on friendly terms, but he soon became cool in his demonstrations of amity. Although both had sworn on the Koran never to attempt any thing contrary to the interest, safety, or life of each other, these vows were not considered binding longer than it was convenient to keep them. Both were equally suspicious, and accused each other of insidious machinations. It now became the principal object of the Egyptian pasha to arrest and imprison his rival;—an enterprise of no small difficulty, considering the sheriff's influence over the neighbouring Arabs, and the strength of the castle where he resided, which was well supplied with provisions, and defended by a garrison of 800 men. This feat was at length accomplished by a stratagem; Ghaleb was seized, while paying a visit of ceremony to Toussoun, by a detachment of soldiers, who lay concealed in the apartments adjoining the court-yard of the house which he had just entered. After a short captivity at Mecca, he was conveyed by way of Cosseir to Cairo, where he was joined by his wives and a retinue of eunuchs and slaves; but he died of the plague in the summer of 1816 at Salonica, the place which the Porte had assigned for his residence. The fate of this chief spread terror among all his partisans, and caused a revolution in the whole political affairs of the country. Yahia, a distant relation of his, and formerly an antagonist, was appointed governor of the city, with a monthly stipend from the pasha.

Among the hostile tribes near Mecca, none had displayed a more resolute opposition than the Begoum Arabs who inhabited Taraba, where most of Ghaleb's troops had taken refuge; and which thus became a point of union for all the southern Waha-

bees, as Deraiah was of the northern. Their leader at this time was a widow, named Ghalia, whose husband had been one of the principal men of the place. She was possessed of great wealth, which was distributed liberally among all the poor of the tribe who were willing to fight against the Turks. The Egyptian soldiers entertained the most absurd notion of her powers as a sorceress, and believed that she had the faculty, by means of certain personal favours, of rendering the Wahabee chiefs invincible.

In the beginning of November, 1813, Toussoun was despatched from Taïf with 2000 men, and on his reaching Taraba the troops were immediately ordered to attack the place. The Arabs defended their walls with great spirit, being animated by the presence and exhortations of the heroic widow. The assailants were easily repulsed; and next day they commenced their retreat, closely pressed by the Bedouins, who harassed them so severely that they were obliged to abandon their baggage, tents, arms, and provisions. Upwards of 700 men were slaughtered in the flight; many more died of hunger and thirst; and the whole must have been annihilated but for the intrepidity of the celebrated Thomas Keith, who with a handful of horsemen retook a piece of artillery, which he pointed so well that he gave the fugitives time to cross the defile before the enemy could advance. After a variety of hardships and hairbreadth escapes, Toussoun arrived at Taïf with the wreck of his army; and for eighteen months all hostile operations in the field were suspended.

As Ali had seen every expedition into the interior fail, except that against Medina, a naval armament, accompanied by 1500 soldiers and numerous transports with provisions, under the command of Hossein Aga and Zaim Oglu, was fitted out at Jidda, and directed to make an attack on Confode, which for five years had been in the possession of the Sheik Tami, chief

of the Azir Arabs and successor of Abu Nockta. The town, which was without a natural supply of water, and defended only by a small garrison, was taken in March, 1814; not, however, without a brave defence and a great expense of blood. The walls and bastions being composed of earth or unbaked bricks, yielded to the cannon-balls, which sunk into them without destroying them. From the smallness of the space, and the close contact of the parties, the scene of carnage within became dreadful in the extreme. Not only the swords and knives, but even the teeth and nails of the combatants were made use of in their fury; several of the besiegers were killed, or rather torn to pieces, in this horrid encounter; while not one who had been engaged on the other side was left alive. The brutal Zaim, exasperated at their obstinacy, published a reward of 200 piastres (3*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*) for every Arab head, or pair of ears, that should be brought to him by his troops. The Arnaout soldiers, naturally greedy, dispersed themselves in every direction to reap their bloody harvest, dragging their wretched victims from their lurking-holes, some of whom consented to save their lives at the expense of mutilation. The Turks, having got possession of the place, were ordered to maintain it as a military post. But their triumph was short. Early in May they were surprised by the descent of a corps of 8000 or 10,000 Wahabees, under the personal command of Tami. Their appearance spread general consternation; the Arnaout guard at the well were cut to pieces; and the panic-struck commander, with most of the troops, fled to the ships that lay in the harbour. The invaders entered the town, where they put all that could be found to the sword; and such was their eagerness in pursuit, that they swam after the fugitives, and actually killed numbers of them in the water under the guns of the vessels.

These repeated disasters greatly displeased, but

they did not discourage Ali Pasha, who had now established his head-quarters at Taïf. Zaim Oglu was appointed governor of Jidda; and Toussoun, who by his inconsiderate attack on Taraba had incurred his father's displeasure, remained stationed at Mecca. At this time the state of Turkish affairs in Hejaz did not by any means promise a favourable issue to the contest. The certain death that awaited all prisoners rendered the very name of Wahabee a terror among the pasha's troops. The arrears of pay for two or three months, and the extreme dearth of provisions, which had risen to such a height that a soldier could barely afford to purchase a subsistence of bread and onions (his only food), spread considerable discontent in the army.

Under these circumstances, Ali was perhaps the only individual of his own court or army that did not despair of ultimate success. Relying on the powerful auxiliaries of money and patience, he had, since his residence at Taïf, endeavoured to reopen a friendly intercourse with the Bedouins; and in this he partially succeeded. The profusion with which he scattered dollars around him was felt in the heart of the Wahabee host; and although the attachment thus procured was perhaps not very sincere, yet numbers affected to be so, and at least remained neuter, that they might partake of his bounty. His policy towards the inhabitants of Hejaz was equally conciliatory. He abolished or diminished the customs on various articles, particularly coffee; he gave liberal donations to the holy places; and even performed at the Kaaba the tedious and absurd ceremonies of the Moslem ritual.

At this important crisis an irreparable misfortune befell the Wahabees in the death of Saoud, who expired of a fever at Deraiah in April, 1814, at the age of sixty-eight. In him they lost an indefatigable leader, possessing all the talents necessary for the eminent situation which he held. Victory never

abandoned his colours while he was at the head of his troops; and to his loss may be attributed the disasters which soon after befell his nation. His last words, it is said, were addressed to his eldest son and successor, Abdallah, advising him never to engage the Turks in open plains—a principle which, if strictly followed, would have ensured in all probability the recovery of Hejaz.

Abdallah had been trained to arms from infancy; and it is recorded of him, that at the early age of five years he could gallop his mare. He was even more distinguished for courage than his father, as he made it a constant rule to fight everywhere in person. His mental qualities were considered to be of the first order—and so long as Saoud filled the throne, he occupied the second place in his dominions; none of his other brothers being allowed to exercise any influence in public affairs. With all his superior reputation for bravery and skill in war, however, he knew not so well as his predecessor how to manage the political interests of the tribes under his command, whose general strength was now weakened by the quarrels of the great sheiks; while the measures which he adopted in opposing Mohammed Ali seemed to prove that he by no means possessed the wisdom and sagacity of his father.

The prospects of the Turks began to assume a brighter aspect. Their army had been strengthened by various reinforcements: 20,000 men were now at the command of the viceroy, and distributed over different parts of the country. At Mecca 350 were stationed under Ibrahim Aga and the Sheriff Yahia; between 300 and 400 were at Medina, where Divan Effendi had the command; 300 formed the garrison of Yembo and Jidda. The remainder were either with Ali himself, or with Hassan Pasha and his brother Abdin Bey, acting as the advanced posts of the army to the southward of Taïf. Four hundred

Bedouin soldiers were placed under the charge of Sheriff Rajah, a relation of Ghaleb, and a distinguished leader of the Wahabees in Hejaz, who had been won over to the side of the enemy.

One obstacle alone retarded the immediate adoption of offensive measures. The campaign had proved most destructive to the Egyptian camels: hundreds of their dead bodies strewed the roads between Jidda and Taïf, and occasioned such a pestilential stench that the inhabitants were obliged to consume them to ashes with dry grass from the adjoining mountains. At a moderate calculation, during the three years of the war, 30,000 of these animals belonging to the army had perished in Hejaz. The arrival of the pilgrim-caravans in November brought a reinforcement of 6000 or 7000, chiefly of the Syrian breed, which were better adapted than the others for military purposes.

While these measures were in preparation, the Wahabees had made frequent incursions towards Taïf, and against the tribes which had espoused the cause of the pasha. To intercept the communication between Jidda and Mecca, they attacked the camp at Bahra, which they pillaged of its baggage, carrying off a small caravan, and massacring all the inhabitants they could find. The pride of the Turks was still farther humbled by another defeat. Abdin Bey, with his Arnaouts, who occupied certain districts in the province of Tehama, had laid desolate the country to the extent of forty miles, that by means of this artificial desert he might prevent the sudden incursions of the enemy. Notwithstanding these cruel precautions, the Sheik Bakrouj, at the head of his Arabs and a strong detachment from Tami, stole by surprise into the Turkish camp at Barush about daybreak, and fell upon the sleeping soldiers, of whom they slaughtered 800, besides 80 horsemen. Bakrouj pursued the fugitives during two days; and not an individual would have es-

caped destruction had not Hossein Bey, with a troop of cavalry, covered their retreat. Such of them as fell alive into the hands of the pursuers were cruelly mutilated, by having their arms and legs cut off, and then left to perish in that horrid condition.

The whole effective strength of the Egyptian army, reinforced by 800 horsemen of Libyan Bedouins from Cairo, was now collected near Taïf; and from the state of his storehouses and the number of his camps, Mohammed Ali considered his success no longer doubtful. He resolved to place himself at their head, and to take command in person of the next expedition, which was directed against Taraba, in revenge for the disgrace and losses that had been sustained there by his favourite son. A well-appointed artillery, consisting of twelve fieldpieces—500 axes for cutting down the palm-groves near the town—a company of masons and carpenters for the purpose of opening a mine to blow it up at once—encouraged the soldiers to believe that the walls of Taraba could not long remain standing. To crown the work of desolation, a load of watermelon seeds was brought from Wady Fatima, and paraded through the ranks, indicating his intention of sowing them on the spot which the devoted place still occupied. The Wahabees were nothing daunted at these pompous demonstrations. Confident in the strength of his position, Bakrouj wrote a sneering epistle to Ali, advising him to return to Egypt, or provide better troops if he meant to fight with him.

In January, 1815, the pasha, with all the forces and camels he could muster, left Mecca and proceeded towards Kolach, where Hassan Pasha, Achmed Bonaparte, Topouz Oglu, Sheriff Rajah, and other chiefs were already assembled; and where sufficient provisions had been collected for fifty or sixty days. While here, information was brought that the enemy had seized upon Bissel, a strong

position in their rear, which would enable them to interrupt the communication between Kolach and Taïf. Bissel is a level spot of ground, encircled by a natural rampart of hills, through which are several narrow passes or entrances. On these eminences the Wahabees were posted, while the area within contained their stores and ammunition, besides a great quantity of private property. Their whole force was reckoned at 25,000 infantry, accompanied by 5000 camels; but they had few cavalry, and were entirely destitute of artillery. Among the distinguished leaders of this army were Faisal, brother of Abdallah, the renowned heroine Ghalia, the Sheik Tami, with all the chiefs of the Yemen mountains, and some whose dwellings were as far eastward as the borders of Hadramaut.

When the pasha's cavalry approached they wisely remained on their hills, and repulsed with some loss an attack made on a valley where the Turks wished to plant one of their fieldpieces. A whole day was consumed in fruitless attempts; and such was the terror inflicted by the lances of the Wahabees, that numbers deserted the ranks and fled to Mecca, where they spread the alarming news of the pasha's death, and the total defeat of the expedition. Finding he could have no chance of success so long as the enemy kept the mountains, the policy of Ali was to decoy them into the plain. He sent during the night for reinforcements from Kolach, and early next morning renewed the assault; commanding the officers to advance with their columns closer to the enemy's position, and after the first fire, to retreat in seeming disorder. The stratagem had the desired effect. The Arabs, seeing their adversaries fly, thought they were panic-struck, and that the fortunate moment for completely crushing them had arrived. They imprudently abandoned the steeps and gave chase over the plain; and when they had advanced to a sufficient distance from their strong-

holds, the pasha wheeled round with his cavalry, outflanked the pursuers, and, after a hot engagement of five hours, gained a decisive victory.

In this action the pasha fought in person at the moment when he ordered his cavalry to wheel and repel their pursuers. In order to keep alive the spirit of resistance, he dismounted, commanded his carpet to be spread on a little level spot in presence of the whole line, and seating himself upon it, he called for his pipe, declaring that from that ground he would not move, but there await victory or death as fate might determine. A reward of six dollars was proclaimed to every soldier who should present him with the head of an enemy; and in a few hours 5000 of these ghastly trophies were piled up before him. Mere courage was all the Wahabees had to oppose to military skill and experience; and this noble quality did not forsake them to the last, for even in the most desperate condition they maintained the fight during a considerable time. The Turkish infantry at length turned their position; when Sheriff Rajah, who had just arrived with his corps, like another Blucher, fell upon their rear, and compelled them to fly in the utmost disorder. He beset the narrow valley through which they attempted to retreat, and here 1500 of them were surrounded and cut to pieces.

The slaughter was prodigious, the whole field being strewed over with headless bodies; for there were few of the mercenary Turks who did not claim and receive the recompense promised them by their commander-in-chief. About 300 were taken alive at the express desire of Ali, who ordered his troops to offer them quarter, as very few of the Arabs had condescended to beg for mercy. A body still remained on the heights with a view to guard the baggage; they stood their ground with desperate bravery, but their position was at length carried, and not a man left alive. Tami fled with only a

very few followers, as did also Faisal and Ghalia. The escape of this amazon was a disappointment to Ali, who was anxious to send her as a trophy to Constantinople; but no proposals could induce her to desert the Bedouins, or confide in the offers of the Turks. The whole camp of the Wahabees, —their provisions, ammunition, camels, women, and all that belonged to them,—became the prey of the victors. The tent of Faisal, which contained about 2000 dollars (437*l.*), was bestowed on Rajah, who had especially distinguished himself. Mounted on a famous mare, he had galloped far in advance of the lines through the enemy's ranks, and striking his lance into the ground immediately before the door of the tent, he defended himself with his sword until he was rescued by the approach of his friends. The loss of the Turks was reckoned only between 400 and 500 men, chiefly owing to the skilful dispositions of the pasha. Individual instances are recorded of the most romantic valour among the Arabs. Bakrouj killed two of the pasha's officers with his own hand; and when his mare was shot under him, he fought on foot among the Turkish cavalry until he found an opportunity of pulling a trooper from his horse, which he instantly mounted, and by this means escaped. Ibn Shokban, chief of Beishe, with a few hundred men, cut his way through the whole body of the enemy's infantry. Numerous parties of the Azir Arabs had sworn by the oath of divorce not to fly, but if possible to return to their families victorious. After the battle, whole ranks of them were found lying dead upon the hills, tied together by the legs with ropes. Having fought as long as their ammunition lasted, they had resolved to perish to the last man rather than disgrace their tribe by running away.

Tidings of this important victory were immediately despatched to Constantinople and Cairo. Elated with success, the Turks resumed their na-

tional fierceness and insolence, which had in some degree been checked. Ali stained his laurels with the most revolting cruelties. The 300 prisoners to whom he had promised quarter fell by the hand of the executioner. Fifty of them were impaled alive before the gates of Mecca; twelve suffered a like horrible death at the halting-places on the road to Jidda; and the rest under the walls of that town. Their carcasses were allowed to remain until the dogs and vultures devoured them.

Without suffering the ardour of his troops to cool, the pasha directed his march on Taraba, where he arrived within four days after the battle. Faisal fled at his approach; and the deserted inhabitants, who consisted chiefly of old men, women, and children, were glad to capitulate and beg for protection. A panic had seized the whole country, and the Turkish army met not the slightest opposition. As the strength of the enemy lay in the southern countries, Ali resolved to follow them into their own territories, and if possible to exterminate their party.

Several of the chiefs and fugitives who had made their escape from Bissel posted themselves at Beishe, a fertile country eastward of the Yemen mountains. Here they had assembled to a considerable number, and seemed determined to maintain a very obstinate resistance,—having defended themselves by a line of mud-fortifications, pierced everywhere with loopholes for the discharge of fire-arms. A cannonade was kept up without effect for two days, when a discharge of shells put an end to the contest. One of these having exploded, set fire to some combustibles, which communicating to all the dry woodwork and thatching of reed and palm-branches in the interior, had the effect of spreading almost immediately into one general blaze;—the heat and smoke of which became intolerable even to the assailants, and soon drove out the besieged to a precipitate flight, when they were instantly pursued by

the Turkish horsemen. Among those who escaped was the heroine Ghalia. Having no longer any secure place of retreat, she led her followers into the desert, and ultimately reached Deraiah. The castle of Ranniah, with several others, capitulated.

One formidable enemy yet remained in the field, the Sheik Tami, who was resolved to try a second battle, and had assembled a considerable army beyond the rugged mountains of Azir, twelve or fourteen days' journey westward from Beishe. Towards this district Mohammed Ali next directed his attempts. On the march, his army suffered the extremities of hunger and fatigue. A hundred horses sometimes died in one day, and out of more than 10,000 camels only 300 survived the expedition. The sinking spirits of the troops were kept up by the pasha, who promised them a glorious booty in plundering the towns of Yemen. Tami had collected a force of 8,000 or 10,000 men at a mountain-fortress called Tor, so strong as to be deemed by the Arabs impregnable. In two days the Turkish artillery forced the Wahabees to yield, though the combat was more vigorously maintained than at Bissel. In the castle were found considerable stores of provisions, which proved most seasonable to the invading army.

Tami fled; but he was the last to quit the field. Having taken refuge in the house of a friend, he was betrayed and delivered up in chains to Sheriff Rajah, who was roaming about the mountains in search of the fugitive. Bakrouj was at the same time defeated in Zohran, and being hemmed in between two fires, was taken prisoner. The two noble captives were sent to the pasha, and both suffered the death of traitors. Bakrouj was never forgiven the insulting letter which he wrote from Taraba. He maintained a sulky silence under his misfortunes. Once he made his escape on finding his guards asleep· but was retaken, after killing

two men and wounding another with a poniard which he had seized. His death was accomplished with a studied cruelty,—such as might at once gratify the revenge of Ali, and furnish a barbarous entertainment to his soldiers. The prisoner, with his hands bound, was placed in the midst; and they were directed with their sabres to cut him slightly, that he might die as it were by inches. His torments were severe and protracted; but he expired at last without having uttered one complaint.

The fate of Tami was equally tragical. This chief is represented as a man of strong natural powers; short in stature, with a long white beard, and eyes darting fire. His conduct inspired the whole army with respect. The pasha often conversed with him for amusement; but it was like the treachery of the tiger, who sports with his prey before he seizes it in his grasp. He promised to write to the sultan in his favour, and procure him permission to live in retirement in the mountains of Roumelia; but this solemn pledge was violated. The captive sheik was sent to Cairo, were he was paraded through the streets, seated on a camel, loaded with an immense chain about his neck, and the head of Bakrouj in a bag suspended from his shoulders. From this city he was conveyed to Constantinople, where he was immediately beheaded.

After vanquishing the most renowned chiefs of the southern Wahabees, it seemed to be the eager desire of Ali to riot in the far-famed wealth of Yemen; and with this view he opened a correspondence with the Imam of Sanaa. But the soldiers, worn out with disease and fatigue, and considering the object of the expedition as accomplished, openly declared their wish of returning to Mecca. Instead of advancing southward, Ali directed his march towards Gonfode, which surrendered without the slightest resistance. Thence he proceeded to Mecca, with a remnant of only 1500 men, moneyless and in rags,

being all that remained of an army of 4000. In April he visited Medina, where Toussoun was governor; probably with a design to obtain information respecting the affairs of the northern Hejaz, and to concert with him measures for their future proceedings. But the state of Egypt afforded a sufficient reason for his immediate departure. Apprehensions were entertained of an attack being made on Alexandria by the capitan-pasha of the grand seignior. An insurrection of the troops had also broken out at Cairo, originating in their dislike to the attempted introduction of the European system of discipline; and when the pasha reached his capital in June, 1815, after an absence of nearly two years, he found every thing in tumult and confusion.

The remainder of the Arabian war was now left in the hands of Toussoun Pasha, who, while his father was subduing the southern tribes, had conducted operations in the north against Abdallah ibn Saoud. When the news of Ali's success became known to the Arabs on the frontier of Nejed, many of their sheiks came to Medina, and made proposals to Toussoun to join him against the Wahabees, whose power they had felt more severely than others at a greater distance. With these assurances he conceived hopes of conquering the province of Nejed and emulating his father's fame. Setting out with a small expedition of 2500 men, infantry and cavalry, he resolved to try his fortune by making an attack on Kasym. After a march of ten or eleven days, he arrived at Rass, a considerable town defended by a wall. This, with several other large villages, gave in their submission. But here he found himself in a precarious situation; and discovered that, like most Turks, he had not sufficiently calculated his means. The light troops of the Wahabees were hovering around, and rendered his army wholly dependent on two or three villages for their daily subsistence. The road to Medina was occupied by the enemy; and it was on this occasion that the gallant Thomas

Keith, while hastening with 250 horsemen to the assistance of his commander, was surrounded by a superior force, and fell at the head of his troops, who were all cut to pieces. In this action the brave Scotchman killed four of the enemy with his own hand.

In the mean time, Abdallah had not neglected his duty, having likewise entered the province of Kasym with his army, and fixed his head-quarters at Shenana, only five hours distance from Khabara, where Toussoun was now encamped. In this dilemma the adventurous pasha wished to terminate all suspense by a battle; but his officers and soldiers declined,—deeming it more prudent for persons in their situation to compromise than to fight; the more so as Mohammed Ali had written to Abdallah before quitting Hejaz, exhorting him to submission, and offering terms of peace; at the same time authorizing his son to conclude the truce, if that could be done on favourable conditions. Abdallah on his part had reasons for bringing matters to a pacific termination. He foresaw that the destruction even of Toussoun's entire force would be of little real advantage to him so long as the Turks could repair their losses from the abundant resources of Egypt. He knew also that they possessed the means of bribery; and that some of his companions in arms were in their hearts the allies of his enemies.

Negotiations were speedily concluded; and in ratifying the treaty Abdallah renounced all claim to the holy cities; affected to style himself the dutiful subject of the sultan; and obtained a free passage for the Wahabees whenever they wished to perform the pilgrimage Toussoun restored those towns of Kasym which he held in his possession, and dismissed from his party all the sheiks of that country who had joined his standard.

The exchange of ratifications was conducted with considerable ceremony. The manifesto in which

the chief of the desert acknowledged his allegiance to the Porte ran in these words:—"To Toussoun.—I lie at the gate of your mercy, sire; I ask pardon of God and your highness; I desire to be received into the number of the faithful subjects of the sultan; and from this day hence we shall obey his orders, in making prayers for his august person every Friday in our mosques and on the mountain-tops. Finally, on our part there shall be no attempt at rebellion." On this being read to the Wahabee army, they shouted, with one voice, "Yes, we will obey!" and instantly the air was rent with prayers for the health of the sultan and the glory of his arms. The envoy of Toussoun then invested Abdallah with the emblems of his submission,—a pelisse, a sabre, and several horses richly caparisoned. "This," said he, in presenting him with the sword, "is the pledge of your fealty; it will be your protector so long as you are faithful to your promises; but if you disobey the orders of the sultan, our master, it will be his avenger." Again the whole camp resounded with shouts for the prosperity of the grand seignior, and promises to repeat his name in their Friday's prayers.

Toussoun quitted Arabia in the beginning of November. At Cairo he was welcomed with all the honours due to his rank and bravery. Salvos of artillery announced his approach, and crowds thronged the streets to behold the deliverer of the holy cities. By his father alone he was coldly received. His subsequent history is short: he was appointed to command a large body of troops encamped at Rosetta for the defence of the coast, and died there next year (September, 1816) of the plague.

Mohammed Ali was evidently not sincere in his offers of peace; and pretexts were easily found for renewing hostilities. His letters of acquiescence to Abdallah were extremely ambiguous. He demanded the restitution of the treasures which his

father had taken from the tomb of the Prophet; he required that Deraiah should submit to the jurisdiction of the governor of Medina; and he refused to confirm the treaty, unless the Wahabees would cede to him the province of Hassa. Deceit was one of the most prominent and reprehensible features in the character of Ali; and although his son, his equal in rank (both being pachas of three tails), had concluded a peace that was considered binding on his whole party, he represented matters under a different point of view at Constantinople. As he had pledged himself to annihilate the heretics by destroying their capital, he found it necessary to persuade the sultan that he had not yet abandoned that object; the treaty agreed to by Toussoun being only a temporary armistice.

It now became manifest to Abdallah, either that the young prince had deceived him, or that the father, by his extravagant demands, had given a fresh proof of the contempt in which he held all engagements. He summoned a council of his kinsmen and principal officers, and their opinion was, that they had no alternative but arms if they wished to preserve their religion and their independence. Defensive preparations were everywhere made; stores of provisions and ammunition were thrown into the cities and fortresses; the sheiks were obliged to renew their oaths of fidelity; the imams in the pulpits discoursed of war and the treachery of the Turks. Thirty thousand troops were raised, and the command assigned to officers whose talents and courage had been tried in the preceding campaigns. The rich sold their property to pay the army and purchase the necessary supplies. All were animated with the most patriotic enthusiasm: "God," said they, "will give us, who profess his unity, the victory over those who admit a plurality." Abdallah visited the provinces in person, and obtained reinforcements from Bahrein and Hassa; some tribes

from Oman joined his standard, and the Arabs of Yemen sent him 2000 combatants.

The pasha on his side had displayed equal activity. When the alarm of invasion and revolt in Egypt had subsided, he ordered a powerful expedition to be fitted out for Hejaz, which he intrusted to the command of his adopted son Ibrahim, a prince of eminent bravery, and who had already distinguished himself in suppressing the mutinous Mamlouks. Six months were devoted to the transport of military stores. In September, 1816, the general left Cairo. He was accompanied by about 2000 infantry, who went by Cossier to Yembo, and 1500 Libyan Bedouin hersemen, who proceeded by land. In his train were some French officers, and the Arab hero Sheik Rajah, who had been sent to Egypt in chains, but was now released, as his services might prove useful to the expedition. His orders were to attack Deraiah, by way of Medina and Kasym. In ten days after his landing he reached the city of the Prophet. Here he took a vow never to sheath his sword, nor to drink wine or other forbidden liquor, until he had entirely extirpated the enemies of his religion. Following the route of Toussoun, he took up his position at Henakiah, where several weeks were spent in skirmishing and plundering. Some of the neighbouring chiefs joined his ranks, among whom was Ghanem, sheik of the Harbs, who brought over 500 of his tribe. Nothing could have been more seasonable than such reinforcements, as his troops were suffering from epidemic diseases and the harassing warfare of the desert; for the Arabs found means to steal at night into the Turkish camp, where they killed or cut the legs of their horses and camels.

Abdallah was encamped in the vicinity of Aenezeh. He had conceived the bold project of marching directly on Medina, at the head of 30,000 men; while his brother Faisal should make a descent on Mecca,

Jidda, and Yembo, and thus intercept the convoys of troops and provisions from Egypt. From this enterprise he was diverted by the revolt of some of his allies, and the defeat of a body of 10,000 troops, which he commanded in person. The town of Rass was the first that offered any serious obstacle to the advance of Ibrahim. It was strongly fortified, and the inhabitants exerted themselves with signal courage. The women in the garrison assisted their brave defenders, and the besiegers were repulsed at all points. Already 3000 Turks had fallen, and the mortality daily increased. Hundreds of the heads of the slaughtered Wahabees were exposed to the view of the inhabitants, in the hope that this hideous spectacle might terrify them into a surrender; but it only increased their desire of revenge.

In this perilous situation, and reduced to extreme distress, Ibrahim was compelled to raise the siege, after wasting three months and seventeen days in useless efforts. This, however, was the only reverse which he experienced. As if the fortunes of his father had suddenly returned, he advanced from victory to victory, and in the blood of the heretics speedily washed out the affront which his arms had received under the walls of Rass. Khabara surrendered after a cannonade of a few hours. Aenezeh followed the example; the greater part of the troops having fled, without waiting to obtain articles of capitulation. All the towns and tribes of Kasym had now submitted to the Turks; Abdallah retired from place to place before the invaders, and saw all his strongholds fall into their hands. Boureidah, Shakara, and Dorama, were successively invested, taken possession of, and demolished by the enemy. Shakara was a handsome commercial town, and reckoned the strongest fortress in the country. The obstinacy which the Turks had experienced at Dorama led to a cruel retaliation. All the inhabitants were put to the sword; the soldiers had orders

to fire upon them in their houses; and in two hours the work of indiscriminate carnage was completed.

Nothing now remained to consummate the triumph of Ibrahim but the capture of Deraiah. With a force nearly 6000 strong he directed his march towards that capital, which he reached on the 6th of April. The place was immediately invested, redoubts were constructed, intrenchments thrown up, and every preparation made for a resolute siege. This city, famous as the metropolis of Nejed and the seat of the power and government of the Wahabees, lies about 400 miles eastward of Medina, in a fertile valley called Wady Hanifa, rich in fruits and grain, and watered by a stream (El Baten) which, though dry in summer, in the rainy season runs a course of considerable extent. Its position is naturally strong, the mountains enclosing it on either hand; and the only entrances to the valley being through two inlets, of which that on the west side is so narrow as to admit but of one camel at a time, and might easily be defended against any number of assailants. Though formerly a place of some note, its true situation and importance were now for the first time known to Europeans. The town was composed of five small villages or quarters, each surrounded by a wall fortified with bastions. The suburbs were unprotected, and covered with gardens and fruit-trees. The houses were chiefly of stone or brick, and the bazars consisted of shops made of reeds, which could easily be transported from one place to another. There were twenty-eight mosques in it and thirty colleges, but no baths, khans, or public inns. The inhabtants, proverbial for their hospitality, were estimated at 13,000.

Five months were consumed in the siege of this important capital; both parties maintaining the contest with undaunted resolution, and with alternate advantages. Abdallah did his utmost by word and action to animate his troops; money and presents

were lavishly distributed; and the women braved the fire of the besiegers to fetch water to the wounded. Ibrahim meanwhile made little progress, and the accidental explosion of a magazine threatened to defeat entirely the object of the expedition. More than 200 barrels of gunpowder, and as many loaded shells, blew up in the midst of his camp; thus leaving him almost destitute of ammunition, and surrounded with enemies in the heart of a desert 500 leagues from Egypt. No resource remained for the Turks but their courage and their sabres until fresh supplies were obtained from Medina and the neighbouring garrisons. The governors of Bagdad and Bussora sent large caravans with provisions, while recruits with ammunition and artillery-stores arrived in successive detachments from Cairo. The combat was renewed; and to inspirit the languid soldier, fifty piastres were promised for every head or pair of ears he should bring to his commander.

Abdallah now found that his capital could no longer be defended. All his sorties had been attended with loss; two of his sons were taken prisoners, and one of them put to death. The fortresses on the adjoining heights, in the gardens, and on the banks of the dry bed of the river, had fallen into the hands of the assailants. Three of the five quarters of the city made a conditional surrender, and the rest were cut off from communicating with the villages that supplied them with provisions. In this forlorn position, Abdallah, with his guard of 400 black slaves, still maintained a brave resistance in his palace, determined to sacrifice his life on the ruins of his expiring country; but he was at length compelled, by the impatient clamours of the citizens, to hoist a flag of truce and demand a conference, which was immediately granted. With a retinue of 200 men, he repaired to the tent of Ibrahim, and offered terms of surrender, which the pasha consented to accept; at the same time acquainting him, that in compliance

with the order of his father, the Wahabee chief must immediately take his departure for Egypt. The condition was alarming; but it seemed to be the only means of averting a more tragical catastrophe, and the generous Abdallah accepted it.

Trusting to the hopes of security expressed by the conqueror, and that his family and capital would be saved from destruction, in token of which he had received a white handkerchief, the emblem of peace, he quitted his palace amid the tears and regrets of his friends, crossed the desert with a small train of attendants, and was received at Cairo by the viceroy with every outward demonstration of respect. After a short conference he was despatched to Constantinople under an escort of Tartars. The partisans of Ali give him the credit of interposing with the sultan to pardon the obnoxious captive; for such was now the situation of the too credulous Abdallah. But the Ottoman divan were implacable. Mercy is no attribute either of the religion or the policy of the Turks; and, after being paraded over the city for three days, the unhappy chief, with his two companions in misfortune, his secretary and treasurer, were beheaded (December 19, 1818) in the public square of St. Sophia. The pasha and his son were complimented on their victories by the Sublime Porte, and honoured with several costly presents.

The fall of the Wahabee capital may be said to have completed the conquest of Nejed. The province of Haryk was reduced after a slight resistance. Other districts sent deputies offering voluntary submission. The want of sufficient provisions, rendered more severe by the destructive operations of the siege, occasioned a very general mutiny in the Turkish army. The soldiers committed all sorts of excess, plundering the houses and pillaging the country. Ibrahim himself narrowly escaped assassination; but his well-timed intrepidity, and the

Abdallah ibn Saoud, Chief of the Wahabees.

decapitation of some of the insurgent chiefs, had the effect of restoring order. One of the Arab sheiks was punished by having his teeth drawn, and another was blown from the mouth of a cannon.

The news of Abdallah's death spread universal grief among the inhabitants of Deraiah: and their consternation was increased when the orders of Ali were communicated, that the place must be razed to the ground, and the whole family of their chief sent captives to Egypt. A group of 500 exiles, including several of the brothers, uncles, and sons of Abdallah, were transported to Cairo, where small pensions were assigned them. As it became desirable to evacuate the place, an epidemic, the consequence of fatigues and privations of all kinds, having begun to commit the most frightful ravages, the work of demolition was enjoined without delay. The date-trees in the gardens and suburbs were cut down; and the soldiers set fire to the houses the moment the inmates had made their escape, many of whom clung affectionately to their homes until they were nearly buried in the ruins. As the season of the year was at the hottest, and disease and devastation doing their work at the same time, the spectacle was truly afflicting. In the space of twenty days Deraiah was completely unpeopled, and not one stone left upon another.

Before quitting the scene of devastation, Ibrahim traversed the country to ascertain that the exterminatory decree had been executed against all the fortresses that might serve as future strongholds or rallying-points for the heretics. This done, he repaired to Medina, having already despatched the artillery and part of the troops to that place. Here and at Mecca he returned thanks to the prophet for this signal triumph over his enemies; after which he departed with the sickly and exhausted remains of his army for Egypt.

The disturbances which had broken out in the

south of Hejaz were suppressed by Halil Pasha, who had been sent with a reinforcement to Deraiah; but on finding that the place had surrendered he directed his march on Abu-Arish, of which he took possession; and in reward for his services was made governor of Mecca. It was at this time that the British authorities in India, in consequence of the depredations committed by the Wahabees on the commerce of the Persian Gulf, made proposals to Ibrahim, through Captain Sadlier, to co-operate with the Egyptian army by sending an expedition against El Katif, which might produce a diversion in favour of the Turks; but, as the campaign had already been brought to a favourable conclusion, the aid of an English fleet was declined as unnecessary.

It may appear surprising that a power so widely extended and so firmly established as that of the Wahabees should have been so rapidly overthrown. Saoud had not only laid the foundation, but organized the political system of a great empire. He would have made himself master of all Arabia had not death arrested him in the midst of his conquests. Bagdad and Bussora would have opened their gates to him; Syria and Egypt, torn by jarring factions and weakened by revolution, might again have fallen an easy prey to the hordes of the desert.

Such was the splendid legacy which he bequeathed to his successor; and never, perhaps, had any prince greater facilities for securing the independence of his nation than Abdallah. But, unfortunately, he inherited not the qualities necessary for following up the brilliant career which his father had pointed out to him. He was brave; but courage is not the only virtue essential to a sovereign. His inflexible severity alienated the affections of his people; and his want of military tact was evinced in the numerous errors he committed in the progress of the war. Had he known to profit by his advantages, he might have annihilated the Ottoman army, exhausted with

disease and fatigue in the midst of burning sands, instead of being compelled to sue for a dishonourable and fatal peace. The desertion of the Bedouins no doubt weakened his power, which may be said to have yielded to the gold of Ali rather than to the valour of his troops. But the influence of a popular chief could have prevented or counteracted these seductions; and had the hardy tribes of the desert found such a prince in Abdallah, the carcasses of the Turks might have fed the eagles, and the fate of Arabia been entirely changed.

Some writers lament the suppression of the Wahabees, from a belief that the downfall of Islam was to follow the propagation of their doctrines, and that a purer religion would be established in its stead. These regrets appear to be inspired by erroneous conceptions of the principles of this sect, which are nothing else than the gross and primitive superstitions of the Koran enforced with greater rigour. Their creed was even more sanguinary and intolerant than that which the first followers of Mohammed offered to the nations on the points of their swords. Their reform extended only to a few absurd or scandalous practices, and the more strict injunction of certain moral precepts; but they left untouched all the impious and heretical dogmas of the Moslem faith. Their chief merit consisted, not in their teaching their countrymen a more refined and rational theology, but in suppressing their infidel indifference to all religion; in improving their political condition; and in subjecting their wild passions to the restraint of law and justice.*

* It was the opinion of Burckhardt that the suppression of the Wahabees and the conquest of Nejed are merely temporary; and that these warlike fanatics, who are dispersed rather than subdued, will take the earliest opportunity to effect the restoration of their empire. This of course must greatly depend on the character of the future pashas of Egypt; but it is not likely to happen in the reign of Mohammed Ali or his son, to whom

CHAPTER VIII.

SOCIAL STATE OF THE ARABS.

National Character of the Arabs—Their Family Pride—Orders of Nobility—Their Domestic Life—Their Tents—Furniture—Mode of Encamping—Dress—Personal Appearance—Acuteness of their Senses—Sagacity in tracing Footsteps—Their Arms—Food and Cookery—Manner of Eating—Diseases—Wealth and Industry—Marriage—Divorce—Education of their Children—Funerals—Modes of Salutation—Hospitality Warfare—Robbery and Theft—The Blood-revenge—Amusements—Poetry and Music—Learning—Medicine—Superstitions—Language—Arts—Commerce—Proposed Steam Route by the Euphrates and the Red Sea—Population—Concluding Reflections.

CLIMATE, government, and education are in every country the great agents that form and modify the character of nations. Nowhere are their effects more strikingly exemplified than in Arabia. To the

the Porte has ceded by a recent treaty (May, 1833) the whole of Syria, including Tripoli, Aleppo, Damascus, and Jerusalem; besides the command of the harbours in the Red Sea, and the sacred privilege of conducting the pilgrim-caravans. Ibrahim, by pushing his victories in the late Syrian campaigns almost to the gates of Constantinople, has acquired fresh laurels as a conqueror, and a new title to be Sheik el Haram of Mecca. Under these circumstances the Bedouins, of whom not fewer than 5370 are now serving in the armies of the pasha, can have no immediate prospects of reasserting their independence. The successes of Ibrahim led to a serious conflict, in the month of June, 1832, between the Turkish and Arab regiments stationed at Mecca. Of the former 1400 were sabred in the streets. The battery that overlooks the city was made to play upon the mosque, where the mutinous Turks had taken refuge, and with such effect, that the walls were pierced, one of the pillars broken down, and several persons killed.

first of these causes may be ascribed many of the social virtues for which the natives have been always distinguished; while most of the crimes, vices, and prejudices by which they are degraded are the natural fruits of the two latter. On the seacoasts and in the towns, their manners have been corrupted by commerce and a free intercourse with foreigners. Travellers, who have formed their opinions from mixing exclusively with those classes, have drawn a very unfavourable picture of the inhabitants in general, as a nation of tyrants, hypocrites, and deceivers, plunged in a lower state of ignorance and debauchery than the most barbarous islanders of the South Seas. These representations are no doubt partially true, but they are far from being universally just. A longer residence among them and better opportunities of judging have contributed to remove many erroneous impressions as to their social and domestic habits.

No people are more remarkable than the Arabs for their spirit of nationality and family pride. The poorest of them glory in their birth, and look with disdain on the natives of other countries. They boast of the accuracy with which they have preserved their genealogies; yet the lower, and most even of the middle classes, keep no register of their parentage, and would often be at a loss to know their fathers or grandfathers were it not regulated by custom that the son frequently joins their names to his own. The sheiks and sheriffs are the true aristocracy of Arabia; and these have reason to be vain of their ancestry, which some of them can trace in regular descent from the days of Mohammed or Moses. The oldest nobility in Europe are but of yesterday compared to these petty princes of the desert.

Though the title of sheik is the most ancient and most common in use among the Arabian grandees, the sheriffs, being the descendants of Mohammed,

hold the first rank in point of dignity. This has arisen doubtless from the singular veneration in which the family of the Prophet is held, and it has entailed on his posterity the double honour that always attaches to splendid descent and superior sanctity. The sheriffs are very numerous, and multiplied over all Mohammedan countries. Whole villages are peopled with them; and they are frequently found in the lowest state of misery. Still their presence commands universal respect; in a fray no arm would violate their person,—their character is held sacred, and furnishes a better protection for their property against thieves than bolts or bars. The reason why these families are so numerous is that the honour is hereditary both by male and female descent. The son of a Turk or Syrian is ennobled if his mother can reckon kindred with Fatima. To this class belong the seyeds and mollahs; but between these and the sheriffs there is this distinction, that the latter are constantly devoted to a military life, while the former engage in the pursuits of trade and science. There are, besides these, other noble families at Mecca, such as the Koreish and muftis of certain sects, who have hereditary employment about the mosque, and for the retention of which they are obliged to prove the genuineness of their pedigree.

In the domestic life of the Arabs there is little to attract the admiration of strangers. Their best houses display little exterior magnificence, and are still more deficient in point of internal accommodation. The tent forms the cherished home of the larger proportion of the inhabitants, and when they remove they transport their dwellings with them. The height of this dwelling is generally seven feet, its length from twenty-five to thirty, and its breadth about ten. It is divided into two apartments, one for the men and the other for the women; and these are separated by a white woollen carpet of Damas-

cus manufacture drawn across, and fastened to the three middle posts.

The furniture comprises pack-saddles, as well as those for riding, large water-bags made of tanned camel-skins, goat-skins for milk and butter, the little bag into which the hair or wool is put that falls from the sheep and camels on the road, the leather bucket for drawing up water from deep wells, a copper pan, coffee-pot, mortar, hand-mill, wooden dishes, the horse's feeding bag, and the iron chain which fastens their forefeet while pasturing about the camp. The Arabs seldom allow their women to be seen; and when a stranger is introduced, the cry of *tarik* (or retire) warns them instantly to disappear. It is reckoned a breach of decorum to salute a lady, or even to look her steadfastly in the face.

The mode of encamping differs according to circumstances. When the tents are but few, they are pitched in a circle (*dowar*); if the number is considerable they extend in a straight line, perhaps along a rivulet, in rows three or four deep. The sheik's is always on the side where danger is apprehended, or where travellers are expected; it being his particular business to oppose the former and to honour the latter. Every chief sticks his lance into ground in front of his tent, to which he ties his horse or camel; the pack-saddles forming the couch on which he and his guests recline. When wandering in search of water or pasture, they move in parties slowly over the sandy plain. The armed horsemen ride foremost, as a reconnoitring detachment; the flocks with their young follow; behind come the beasts of burden, loaded with the women and children, tents, baggage, and provision.

The ordinary costume of the Bedouins is extremely simple, consisting of a coarse cotton shirt, over which is worn a thin, light, white woollen mantle (*kombaz*), or sometimes one of a coarser kind (the *abba*), striped white and brown. The wealthy sub-

stitute for this a long gown of silk or cotton stuff. The mantles worn by the sheiks are interwoven with gold, and may be valued at 10*l.* sterling. The common abba is without sleeves, resembling a sack, with openings for the head and arms, and requires so little art in the making that blind tailors earn their livelihood by this employment. Public taste, however, is occasionally more capricious, especially as to the headdress, which is often expensive, and in a hot country must be extremely inconvenient. A fashionable Arab will wear fifteen caps one above another, some of which are linen, but the greater part of thick cloth or cotton. That which covers the whole is richly embroidered with gold, and inwrought with texts or passages from the Koran. Over all there is wrapped a sash or large piece of muslin, with the ends hanging down, and ornamented with silk or gold fringes. This useless encumbrance is considered a mark of respect towards superiors. It is also used, as the beard was formerly in Europe, to indicate literary merit; and those who affect to be thought men of learning discover their pretensions by the size of their turbans. No part of oriental costume is so variable as this covering for the head. Niebuhr has given illustrations of forty-eight different ways of wearing it. The Bedouins use a keffie, or square kerchief of yellow or green cotton, with two corners hanging down on each side to protect them from the sun and wind, or to conceal their features if they wish to be unknown. A few rich sheiks wear shawls striped red and white, of Damascus or Bagdad manufacture. The Aenezes and some other tribes do not use drawers, which they consider as too effeminate for a man; and they usually walk and ride barefooted, though they have a particular esteem for yellow boots and red shoes.

In Mecca and other large towns the winter suit of the higher classes is the *benish* or upper cloak, and

the *jubbe* or under one,—both of cloth such as is worn in all parts of Turkey. The rest of their dress consists of a showy silk gown, tied with a thin Cashmere sash, a white muslin turban, and yellow slippers. In summer the benish is composed of a very slight silk stuff of Indian manufacture. Beneath the jubbe some wear a gown, called *beden*, of white muslin, without lining or sleeves, and very short. The Meccawees are remarkable for being cleanly and tasteful in their attire. On feast-days and other public occasions their finery is displayed in the highest degree. The common shopkeeper, who walks about the whole year in his short gown with a napkin round his loins, appears in a pink-coloured benish lined with satin, a gold-embroidered turban, rich silk sash, and jambea with its scabbard ornamented with gold and silver. His wives and children are decked in the gaudiest colours; but after the feast is over the fine suits are laid aside. At home in his dishabille, the citizen seats himself near his projecting latticed window, holding in one hand the long snake of his Persian hookah, and in the other a small square fan made of the chippings of date leaves, with which he drives away the flies. The women's dress is generally Indian silk gowns, and very large blue striped trousers reaching down to the ankles, embroidered below with silver thread. Over these they throw a sort of cloak called *habra* or *mellaye*, of black or striped silk, which covers the head, and has a graceful effect. The wealthy wear gold necklaces, bracelets, and silver ankle-rings, while the poorer classes have similar trinkets of horn, glass, or amber. A ring is sometimes passed through the cartilage of the nose, and hangs down upon the upper-lip. The face is concealed with a white or light-blue piece of cloth called *borko*, in which there are two holes worked for the eyes, but so large that nearly the entire features may be seen. This piece of female vanity, according to Ali Bey, had better be

spared, as the illusion of hidden charms is completely dispelled when a sight is obtained of their lemon-coloured complexions, their hollow cheeks daubed all over with black or greenish-blue paint, their yellow teeth, and their lips stained of a reddish tile-colour. Though custom has reconciled them to these artificial means of heightening their beauty, their appearance is frightful and repulsive to strangers. It ought to be added, however, that in general they have fine eyes, regular noses, and handsome persons. The women at Loheia wear large veils, which conceal their faces so entirely that only one of their eyes can be seen. In the interior, females are less shy than in cities; they converse freely with strangers, and have their countenance quite uncovered. The Arabs of the Hauran use a coarse white cotton stuff for their *kombaz* or gown, and have their keffie tied with a rope of camel's hair.

In winter, the Bedouins throw over the shirt a pelisse made of sheep-skins stitched together. Many even in summer wear these skins, as they learn from experience that thick clothing is a defence from heat as well as cold. The dress of the women consists of a wide cotton gown of a dark colour, blue, brown, or black, and on their heads a kerchief. They go barefooted at all seasons, have the same affection for ornaments as their more polished rivals in the city, and employ similar arts to increase their beauty. Silver rings are much worn both in their ears and noses. Round their naked waists both sexes wear from infancy a leathern girdle, or cord, consisting of four or five thongs twisted together, which they adorn with amulets or pieces of riband. They all puncture their lips, and die them blue. Some of them also tattoo their cheeks, temples, forehead, breasts, arms, and ankles; and in these practices they are sometimes imitated by the men.

A Young Female of the Coffee Mountains.

Their eyes and eyelashes they paint black, with a preparation of lead ore called *kohel*.

Fashion has a powerful influence in determining the various modes in which the hair and beard are worn. Within the Imam of Sanaa's dominions all men of whatever station shave their heads; in other parts of Yemen the hair is carefully preserved and knotted up behind. The Aenezes never cut their long black tresses, but cherish them from infancy until they hang in twisted locks over their cheeks down to the breast. Everybody without exception wears the beard of its natural length; being considered as the ensign of honour and dignity, it is reckoned disgraceful to appear without it. Shaving is often prescribed as a penance for some fault, and it is one of the severest punishments that can be inflicted. By threatening this chastisement, Saoud kept in order many a rebellious sheik. A favourite mare which he wished to purchase, belonging to a chief of the Beni Shammar, and valued at 2500 dollars (546*l.*), was yielded up by the reluctant owner the moment the barber produced his razor. Some old men still die their beards red; but this practice is generally disapproved.

In personal appearance the Arabs are of the middle size, lean and athletic. Their complexion is brown, their eyes and hair dark. When young they have a mild but expressive countenance; in advanced age their aspect is truly venerable. The Aenezes are rather diminutive in their stature, few of them being above five feet two or three inches in height; but their features are good, their persons extremely well formed, and not so meager or slight as some travellers have represented. Their deep-set but lively dark eyes sparkle from under their bushy black eyebrows with a fire unknown in our northern climes.

From living constantly in the open air the Arabs acquire a remarkable acuteness in all their senses.

Their powers of vision and of hearing improve by continual exercise; and on their vast plains they can descry distant objects far beyond the ken of a less practised eye. Their sense of smelling, too, is extremely nice; hence their dislike to houses and towns, where they are disgusted with the nauseous exhalations which dense collections of people always generate. One of the most singular faculties they possess is the *athr*, or the power of distinguishing the footsteps of men and beasts on the sand, in the same manner as the American Indians discover impressions made upon the grass. This art is carried to a perfection that appears almost supernatural. From inspecting the footstep an Arab can tell whether the individual belonged to his own or some neighbouring tribe, and thus he is able to judge if he be a stranger or a friend. He likewise knows from the faintness or depth of the impression whether the person carried a load or not; whether he passed the same day or several days before. From examining the intervals between the steps, he judges whether or not he was fatigued, as the pace becomes then more irregular and the intervals unequal; hence he calculates the chances of overtaking him. Every Arab can distinguish the footmarks of his own camels from those of his neighbours; he knows whether the animal was pasturing or loaded, or mounted by one or more persons; and can often discover, from marks in the sand, certain defects or peculiarities of formation that serve him as a clew to ascertain the owner. This sagacity becomes extremely useful in the pursuit of fugitives, or in searching after stolen cattle. Instances occur of camels being traced by their masters to the residence of the thief, at the distance of five or six days' journey. A Bedouin shepherd can track his own camel in a sandy valley where thousands of other footsteps cross the road in all directions, and sometimes he can tell the name of every one that has passed

in the course of the morning. Many secret transactions are brought to light by this curious art: an offender can scarcely hope to escape detection in any clandestine proceeding, as every footstep may be a witness against him, by recording his guilt on the public road, and in characters which he that runs may read. Of their remarkable acuteness in hearing, some wonderful but well-attested anecdotes are told of those who act as pilots in the Red Sea. They know very nearly the time when ships from India arrive; and going down to the water's edge every night and morning, they lay their ear close to the surface for three or four minutes; and if the ship is not more than 2 or 2½ degrees distant (120 or 150 miles) they can hear the report of the signal-gun, or feel the ground shake, upon which they immediately set off with their pilot-boat.*

The Arabs are thoroughly inured to fatigue, and can endure hunger and thirst to a surprising degree. They sometimes travel five days without tasting water, and can discover a brook or a natural spring by examining the soil and plants in the environs. They are dexterous horsemen, swift of foot, expert in handling their arms, and reckoned good marksmen since they became familiar with the use of the musket. Their most common arms are lances, sabres, matchlocks, pistols, and daggers. The shepherds have slings, with which they throw stones with great precision. The lance is made of wood or bamboo, twelve feet long, with an iron or steel pointed head. Occasionally they are covered with workmanship in gold and silver, but are often without any ornament except two balls or tufts of black ostrich-feathers placed near the top. In striking,

* Captain Newland mentions an instance of a ship which, after firing the morning gun, ran 95 miles by the log; and when the pilot came on board in the evening, he declared he had heard the signal at sunrise, on the faith of which he had put off with his boat.—*Philosoph. Transact.* vol. lxii.

they balance it for some time over their head, and thrust forwards, or backwards if hard pressed by an enemy. Should a horseman be without a lance, he arms himself with a club or mace, which is made either wholly of iron or with a wooden handle. The foot-soldiers sometimes carry a small round target, made of the wild-ox hide, and covered with iron bars. Some wear iron caps and coats-of-mail, which either cover the whole body to the knees, like a long gown, or reach only to the waist.

The hardy and athletic frame of the Bedouins is to be ascribed in part to their abstemious habits. They are models of sobriety, and never indulge in luxuries except on some festive occasion, or on the arrival of a stranger. Their usual articles of food are rice, pulse, dates, milk, butter, and flour. The common people eat bread made of dhourra, which is coarse and insipid. When they have no gridiron they roll the dough into balls and cook it among embers. They generally eat their bread while hot and only half-baked. Though not strangers to the invention of mills, they grind their flour with the hand, or merely bruise the grain between two stones. The daily and universal dish of the Aenezes is the *ayesh*, which is flour and sour camels' milk made into a paste and boiled. The *bourgoul* is wheat boiled with some leaven and then dried in the sun; and in this state it is preserved for the whole year. Bread is used at breakfast, which they bake in round cakes either upon gridirons or on heated stones, over which the dough is spread and immediately covered with glowing ashes; sometimes the fire is put into glazed earthen pots, and the paste spread over the outside. In some districts they have abundance of poultry and garden-stuffs. Butter is used to excess. It is an ingredient in every dish; all their food swims in it; and they frequently swallow a whole cupful before breakfast. The operation of churning is performed in a goat-skin bag, which is tied to the tent-pole or

the branch of a tree, and moved constantly backwards and forwards until coagulation takes place. Animal food is less used than vegetable, as it is not reckoned so wholesome in hot countries. Camels' flesh is rarely eaten; it is more esteemed in winter than in summer, and that of the female is preferred. If a man of rank happens to be a visiter, a kid or a lamb is prepared: a guest of less distinction is treated with coffee, or bread and melted butter. Sometimes an entire sheep is roasted in a hole, dug in the sand and lined with heated stones. Upon these the flesh is laid, and then covered closely up with cinders and the wet skin of the animal. In an hour and a half the meat is cooked; and as it loses none of its juices it has an excellent flavour. It is customary in the desert, when a sheep or goat is killed, to eat the liver and kidneys raw, with the addition of a little salt.

The Arabs drink little during meals; but when camels' milk is plentiful it is handed round after dinner. In their style of eating, they are slovenly and disagreeable, if tested by the standard of Europeans. They tear the meat with their fingers, if not cut into small pieces before it is set down. A wooden bowl containing the melted grease of the animal is placed in the middle, into which every morsel is dipped. They thrust the whole hand into the dish at once, which is soon emptied of its contents, as they eat with great avidity. The food being always very hot, it requires some practice to enable a stranger to keep pace with the company and yet avoid burning the fingers. They have only two meals, breakfast in the morning, and dinner or supper at sunset. They wash their hands just before eating, but seldom after; merely licking the grease off their fingers, rubbing them on the scabbards of their swords or a corner of the tent-covering. Among the better classes table-napkins are used, or a long linen cloth which is spread under their knees. The

women and slaves eat what is left by the men; and it is seldom they have the good fortune to taste any thing but the fragments and refuse of the table. It is accounted a mark of respect towards superiors not to eat out of the same dish.

From their regular and temperate life the Arabs are subject to few diseases. Leprosy seems always to have been an endemic in that country. Of the three varieties, two are reckoned more disgusting than dangerous; but the third is infectious, and very malignant. The ravages of the small-pox have long been arrested by artificial means; as the practice of inoculation has been in use among the Bedouins from time immemorial. Mothers perform this operation on their children, by opening the skin of the arm with the prickle of a thorn or the point of a needle charged with infected matter. There are many tribes, however, where this art is unknown, and in consequence whole encampments have fallen victims to this unsparing malady. Vaccination has been lately introduced, and met with a favourable reception. Attacks of the Guinea-worm (the *Vena Medinensis*) are common in Yemen; and supposed to originate from the use of putrid waters in which the eggs of the insect have been deposited. The disorder is not fatal if the person affected can extract the worm, which is slender as a thread, and two or three feet long, without breaking it. This is done by rolling it gradually on a small bit of wood as it comes out of the skin. Toothache is rare; but ophthalmic disorders are very common. Jaundice, bilious complaints, and agues or intermittent fevers are of frequent occurrence, though seldom fatal. At Medina, Burckhardt reckoned the mortality at about 1200 deaths annually, which may be considered a large proportion for a population of 10,000 or 12,000. The plague is the most terrible scourge of Arabia, though it is less destructive there than in some other Eastern countries. Notwithstanding the belief of the

Hejazees, that the Almighty has excluded it from the holy territory, it made its appearance in 1816. At Yembo, forty or fifty persons expired daily; while at Jidda the proportion was as high as two hundred and fifty. The Arabs seldom employ medicine for it; but, though predestinarians, the common belief in Europe is erroneous that supposes they use no precautionary measures. Burckhardt states that many of the townsmen fled to the desert; alleging as an excuse, that although the distemper was a messenger from Heaven, sent to call them to a better world, yet being conscious of their unworthiness, and that they did not merit this special mark of grace, they thought it more advisable to decline it for the present, and make their escape from the town. The Yembawees have a superstitious custom of leading a she-camel through the town, covered with feathers, balls, and all sorts of ornaments, after which it is slaughtered, and the flesh thrown to the dogs. By this process they hope to get quit of the malady at once, as they imagine that it has been concentrated in the body of the devoted animal. The cholera morbus, now fearfully familiar to British ears, is no stranger in Arabia. At Mecca, in the month of May, 1831, it raged with the greatest violence; having carried off above 5500 persons in the course of twenty or thirty days. Of 50,000 pilgrims assembled that year nearly one-half are said to have perished. The dead were buried in their clothes indiscriminately, in large trenches dug for the purpose. Medina, Yembo, and Suez were visited at the same time by this dreadful epidemic.

An Arab's property consists chiefly in his flocks; the profits of which enable him to procure the necessary provisions of wheat and barley, and occasionally a new suit of clothes for his wife and daughters. No family can exist without one camel at least; a man who has but ten is reckoned poor,—thirty or forty place him in easy circumstances, and

he who possesses sixty is rich. The annual expenditure for an Arab possessed of moderate affluence is calculated by Burckhardt at between 35*l.* and 40*l.* sterling. The lower classes spend less in proportion. Wealth in such a fluctuating state of society is extremely precarious, and the most rapid changes of fortune are daily experienced.

Domestic industry is little known among the Bedouins; the husband enjoys his amusements, while all the household cares devolve on his females. This degradation of the weaker sex is common to the Arabs with most other Asiatic nations. Women are regarded as beings much inferior to men, and to them exclusively all the labour and menial offices in the tent are assigned. In these employments there is sometimes a curious inversion of character,—women work at the loom, while the men milk the cattle and handle the distaff, without regarding these effeminate duties as in the least derogatory to their masculine dignity. The loom, called *nutou*, is extremely simple, being merely two sticks fixed into the ground with a third placed across them.

The Arabs practise polygamy in common with most other Eastern nations; but in general they are content with one wife, and rarely avail themselves of the legal privilege of marrying four. The rich espouse as many wives and keep as many concubines as they can maintain; though this luxury is too expensive to be generally adopted. But those who restrict themselves to one wife make amends for this self-denial by indulging in variety, or entertaining at the same time a number of female slaves.

In courtship the Arabs often display a great deal of gallantry; for the constraint to which their women are subjected does not altogether prevent intrigues. But the opportunities of the lover's meeting or seeing his mistress are more rare; and the youth who is bold enough to trespass on the sanctuary of the *meharrem* finds his path encompassed

with perils, battles, and death. The desert is the genuine theatre of those keen passions depicted in the Arabian tales, and perhaps the Bedouins are the only people in the East that can with justice be entitled true lovers. While Europeans merely languish and sigh, and while the townsmen compose amorous verses, the Bedouins sometimes cut and slash their arms with knives to show the violence of their affections. The pastoral life is favourable to forming acquaintances; and there are occasions when the youth of both sexes mingle in parties to sing and dance in the open space before or behind the tents.

The marriage ceremony in general is very simple. —Negotiations commence with the father of the maiden, who usually consults the wishes of his daughter, and if her consent is gained the match takes place. The marriage-day being appointed perhaps five or six days after, the bridegroom comes with a lamb in his arms to the tent of his betrothed, and there cuts the animal's throat before witnesses, and as soon as the blood falls upon the ground the ceremony is regarded as completed. It is accompanied with feasting and singing; all the guests present must eat bread and meat; for this is a circumstance absolutely necessary on such occasions. The form of betrothing differs in different tribes, sometimes the friend of the lover, holding the girl's father by the hand, merely says before witnesses, "You declare that you give your daughter as wife to ——." Among the Bedouins of Sinai the father of the bride gives to the suitor a twig of a tree or shrub, or something green, which he sticks in his turban and wears for three days, to show that he has taken a virgin in matrimony. The betrothed is seldom made acquainted with the change that is to take place in her condition. On returning home in the evening with the cattle, she is met at a short distance from the camp by her future spouse and a

couple of his young friends, who carry her by force to her father's tent. If she entertains any suspicion of their designs she defends herself with stones, and often inflicts wounds on the assailants though she has no dislike to the lover; for the more she struggles, bites, kicks, cries, and strikes, the more she is applauded ever after by her own companions. Sometimes she escapes to the neighbouring mountains, and several days elapse before the bridegroom can find her; her female friends, meantime, being apprized of her hiding-place, furnish her with provisions. When brought to her father's tent she is placed in the women's apartment, where one of the young men immediately throws over her an abba in the name of her future husband; and this is often the first time she learns who the person is to whom she is betrothed. She is then dressed by her mother and female relations in her wedding-suit, which is provided by the bridegroom; and being mounted on a camel ornamented with tassels and shreds of cloth, she is conducted, still screaming and struggling in the most unruly manner, three times round the tent, while her companions utter loud exclamations. If the husband belong to a distant camp the women accompany her; and during the procession decency obliges her to cry and sob most bitterly. These lamentations and struggles continue after marriage; and sometimes she repeats her flight to the mountains, refusing to return until she is found out, or is even far advanced in pregnancy.

Marriages are generally solemnized on the Friday evenings, and the contracts are drawn up by the cadi; if the bride be a widow or a divorced woman it is attended with little ceremony or rejoicing. This sort of connexion is always reckoned ill-omened; no resistance is made,—no feast takes place,—no guest will eat of the nuptial bread; for thirty days the husband will not taste any provisions belonging to his wife, and visiters when they come to drink coffee bring their own cups, because to touch any

vessel belonging to the newly-married widow would be considered the sure road to perdition. Sheiks and rich citizens display more splendour in their dresses and entertainments. The bride is decked out in the finest attire, perfumed with essences, and every part of her body painted with figures of flowers, trees, and houses, as well as antelopes and other animals.

Instead of receiving a marriage portion, the husband pays for his wife,—the sum varies according to rank and circumstances. Among the Arabs of Sinai it is from five to ten dollars; but sometimes thirty if the girl is handsome and well connected. At Mecca the price paid for respectable maidens is from 40 to 300 dollars (8*l.* 15*s.* to 65*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.*); and on the borders of Syria young men obtain their masters' daughters by serving a number of years. Part of the money only is paid down, the rest standing over as a kind of debt, or as a security in case of divorce. The price of a widow is never more than half, generally but a third, of what is paid for a virgin.

The sacred tie of marriage has but a slender hold on the Arabs, and may be dissolved on slight occasions at the pleasure of the husband. This facility of separation relaxes morality, though it reflects no dishonour on the woman or her family. She may be repudiated three or four times, and yet free from any stain or imputation on her character. It is not uncommon for a Bedouin before attaining the age of forty or forty-five to have had fifty wives. If the woman depart of her own accord she receives nothing, and even forfeits the unpaid portion of her dowry; but if she is turned away without any valid reason or proof of misconduct, she is entitled to a small sum of money, a camel, a goat, a copper boiler and handmill, with some other articles of kitchen furniture. This operates as a check upon the evil, and makes the customs in some degree cor-

rect the laws. The form consists of two words, "*Ent taleka!*" (Thou art divorced): when once pronounced it cannot be revoked; but it does not prevent the man from again marrying the same person, though she may in the interval have had several other husbands. Many instances occur of conjugal fidelity; and a Bedouin has been known in a fit of distraction to commit suicide on seeing his wife give her hand to a second bridegroom.

The law also allows females a kind of divorce. If ill used, or not happy, they may fly for refuge to their father's tent, and their husbands have no right to reclaim them. The extreme jealousy of the Arabs leads them to speak but seldom or indirectly on this subject; and instead of saying "my wife" or "my daughters," they say "my house," and "those at home." In domestic quarrels the loquacity of the spouse very often triumphs over the just cause of her partner; and rather than see himself overpowered by so contemptible an instrument, and exposed to ridicule in the presence of his neighbours, he pronounces in a moment of irritation the fatal "Ent taleka!" which is always applauded by the spectators. These broils are the most frequent cause of divorces, which are perhaps to be ascribed rather to the unruly temper of these wild sons of the desert than to any want of conjugal feeling.

Children are brought up in the most hardy manner; the name is given immediately on their birth, and at the age of six or seven the boys undergo the ceremony of circumcision. This is always celebrated with feasting and rejoicing; and it is generally arranged by those who have families in a camp that the operation shall take place on the same day. On these occasions the boys are dressed in the richest stuffs, set upon fine horses highly adorned, and are carried in public procession with drums beating before them; the men exhibit equestrian feats and warlike evolutions: the common people have sham

fights and other buffooneries; while the young women join in the song and the dance, taking care by removing their veils to allow their lovers a hasty glance of their beauty as they pass.

Funerals in Arabia are attended with certain peculiar circumstances. Some tribes bury with the dead man his sword, turban, and girdle. From the scarcity of linen the Bedouins not unfrequently wrap the body in an abba, which serves as a winding-sheet. Women, but not men, wear mourning. Females are hired on these occasions, and paid a small sum by the hour, to howl in the most heart-rending accents: sometimes they dance before the house of the deceased with sticks and lances in their hands, tearing their arms, faces, and hair, and behaving like furies. Medina, according to Burckhardt, is the only place where this absurd custom is not practised. The female relatives of the family accompany the bier through the streets dressed in black; and, as a further demonstration of their grief, they stain their hands and feet with blue indigo, which they suffer to remain for eight days. During all that time they abstain from milk, alleging that its white colour but ill accords with the gloom of their minds.

Though rude in manners and fierce in their general character, the Arabs are not without civility and politeness. Their usual salutation is the *Salaam aleikum* (Peace be with you). Shaking hands and kissing after a long absence are everywhere practised, and sometimes it is customary to quote a passage of the Koran. The Bedouins know nothing of those numerous court phrases and ceremonious expressions current in the towns. They simply wish a good morning when they meet their friends upon the road, or a farewell when they depart. When an Egyptian hails an acquaintance, he says, "May your day be white;" and there is absolutely no other reply but "May yours be like milk." These studied

and superfluous compliments a Bedouin would consider at once ridiculous and ill-bred. They attach no indelicacy to the disgusting practice of eructation after meals; but they are shocked beyond measure at an involuntary accident which is the natural consequence of indigestion on certain articles of diet. An habitual offender in this way is deemed unworthy of being admitted as a witness before the cadi; and some for this reason have been obliged to betake themselves to voluntary banishment. In towns there is a greater ostentation of politeness:—"Welcome!" says the obsequious shopkeeper of Mecca to his foreign customer; "a thousand times welcome! you are the guest of the holy city; my whole property is at your disposal!" In Yemen, persons who value themselves on their good breeding use many compliments. In ordinary visits pipes and coffee are always presented. Sometimes the beards and clothes of the guests are sprinkled with rose-water and perfumes. Men salute each other by kissing the beard or hand, and women by kissing the forehead, chin, and both cheeks. Even in quarrelling among themselves the Arabs do not use the ill names and scurrilous language so frequently heard in the mouths of more polished nations.

Hospitality, the ancient and hereditary virtue of the nation, is still exercised in all its primitive cordiality. A hungry Bedouin always divides his scanty meal with a still more hungry wanderer. If a stranger be seen coming from afar towards the camp, he is reckoned the guest of the first person that descries him; and for this honour there is often a generous rivalry which leads to serious altercations. When he alights, the friendly carpet and the ready meal are spread for him. So long as he remains his life and property are perfectly secure; and should a robbery occur, the host, if he possess the means, will indemnify him for whatever loss he may sustain while under his protection. His person

is sacred, and he may trust the fidelity of his entertainer the moment he has eaten bread and salt under his roof. An Arab considers no emergency so urgent or embarrassing as to palliate the neglect, much less the violation, of that social virtue. He has been heard to declare, that if his enemy should present himself at the door of his tent carrying the head of his own son, it would not exclude him from a hospitable reception.

These generous dispositions have been subjected to certain regulations; and it cannot be denied that in some instances they proceed less from goodness of heart than from vanity or the fear of reproach; for the greatest insult that can be offered to a Bedouin is to tell him that he does not treat his guests well. The hours of hospitality are numbered,—three days and eight hours are the term, after which a stranger ceases to be a ward, and becomes a simple visiter. He is not dismissed; but if he prolong his stay he is expected to assist in the domestic business of the tent—in fetching water, milking the camel, or feeding the horse. Should he decline these menial offices he may still remain, but he will be censured for ingratitude; or he may go to another tent, where he will receive a fresh welcome; and if he has a distant journey to perform, he may, by changing his residence every third or fourth day, be comfortably entertained until he reach his destination.

It is a received custom in every part of the Desert, that a woman may entertain strangers in the absence of her husband; when this is not permitted, some male relation does the honours of the table. In certain parts of Nejed, a guest is welcomed by pouring on his head a cup of melted butter. Among the Azir tribes a practice exists not very consistent with our ideas of female honour: when a stranger arrives, he is required to be the companion of his hostess for the night, whatever be her age or

condition; and it depends upon his rendering himself agreeable, whether he is to be honourably treated or dismissed with disgrace. This custom the Wahabees abolished; but on a representation being made by the tribe to Abdelazeez, of the misfortunes that had befallen them for having abandoned the good old practice of their forefathers, permission was granted to honour their guests as before. The established laws of the Desert sanction manners that to European nations must appear extravagant and unnatural. But the influx of foreigners, and especially the gold of Mohammed Ali, have had a pernicious effect on the virtues of the Bedouins.

Another singular institution is that of the *wasy*, or guardianship. An Arab may, in the prime of life, request a friend to act as guardian to his children. If the trust is accepted, the friend is solemnly installed in his office; and one family is thus constituted the hereditary protectors of another. To the weak, such as minors, women, and old men, this practice affords some security, however imperfect, against the oppressions of the strong. It is observed by all the Arabs of Nejed, but not generally throughout the Desert; and affords another instance of those peculiar ties, domestic as well as political, by which a fierce and warlike community are held together and protected amid the lawless ravages occasioned by their own dissensions.

That the Arabs are brave, and capable of displaying exalted courage, was confirmed by numerous exploits in the Turkish campaign. Examples might easily be adduced of the most heroic personal valour. The Wahabee soldiers fought with desperation, encouraged by the songs of the female warriors. It was the custom for the favourite wife of the sheik, on the day of battle, to ride in front on a swift dromedary splendidly caparisoned; and on occasions of extreme importance she had her legs tied under the belly of the animal—a signal to the troops

that they must either conquer or perish by her side. She formed the rallying-point when the combat was at the hottest, and to kill or take her captive was reckoned the proudest achievement of the enemy. When an Arab is hotly pursued, he may save his life by throwing himself from his steed and begging for mercy; but he does it at the expense of his honour, and forfeits his mare and his clothes. If he refuses to yield after repeatedly hearing the cry of "*Howel! howel!*" (Get down!) the pursuer instantly stabs him with his lance. Some tribes use battle-banners ornamented with ostrich-feathers; but these are never displayed except in important actions; and their loss is regarded as a signal of defeat. All Bedouin tribes without exception have their *agyd*, who acts as commander-in-chief; for it is a remarkable circumstance in the policy of the Desert, that, during a campaign in actual warfare, the authority of the sheik is completely set aside, and the soldiers are wholly under the control of the agyd. This person is esteemed as a kind of augur or saint; he often decides the operations of the war by his dreams, visions, or prognostications, and announces the lucky or unlucky day for attack. His office is hereditary; but he possesses no more coercive power than the sheik, and his authority ceases whenever the combatants return to their homes. This curious institution doubtless was intended to check any increase of power in the person of the chief of the tribe, by rendering it difficult for him to engage in feuds merely from private motives.

In the Desert the character of the soldier passes by an easy transition into that of the brigand. The Arabs may be styled a nation of robbers (*harami*); but they are far from attaching to this practice any ideas of criminality or disgrace. They consider the profession as honourable, and one of the most flattering titles that could be conferred on a youthful hero. They rob, indiscriminately, enemies, friends,

and neighbours; and these acts are daily committed in their own tent without entailing any permanent disgrace on the offender. The defenceless traveller is waylaid, seized, and stripped of every thing; but his life is not taken unless he resist, or shed the blood of a Bedouin. There are many instances of their extreme ignorance in appreciating the value of their booty. A peasant has been known to boil a bag of pearls, mistaking them for rice, and afterward throw them away as useless.

The Bedouins have reduced robbery to a science, and digested its various branches into a complete and regular system. In distant excursions every horseman chooses a companion (*zammal*), and both are mounted on a young and strong camel, carrying a provision of food and water, that the mare may be fresh and vigorous at the moment of attack. If the expedition is to be on foot, each of the party takes a small stock of flour, salt, and water. They clothe themselves in rags, to make their ransom easier if they should be taken. In this guise they approach the devoted camp under cloud of night, and when all are fast asleep. One of them endeavours to irritate the watch-dogs; when they attack him, he flies and artfully draws them off, leaving the premises unprotected. The *harami* then cuts the cords that fasten the legs of the camels, when they instantly rise from their kneeling posture, and walk away, as all unloaded camels do, without the least noise. To quicken their pace, the tails of the foremost or strongest are twisted, and the rest follow at the same trot. The third actor in the robbery keeps watch at the tent-door with a heavy bludgeon, to knock down such of the inmates as may venture to interfere. In this manner fifty camels are often stolen, and driven by forced marches to a safe distance during the night. An extra share of the prey is always allowed to these three principal adventurers.

It frequently happens that the robbers are surrounded and seized; and the mode of treating their prisoners affords a curious illustration of the influence which custom, handed down through many generations, still exercises over the minds of these fierce barbarians. It is an established usage in the Desert, that if any person who is in actual danger from another can touch a third person, or any inanimate thing which he has in his hands, or with which he is in contact; or if he can touch him by spitting, or throwing a stone at him, and at the same time exclaim, "I am thy protected!" the individual is bound to grant him the protection he demands. This law or point of honour is called the *dakheil*; and however absurd or capricious, it seems naturally to arise out of those scenes of violence, the ferocity of which it is calculated to soften. A robber detected in the act of plundering is always anxious to avail himself of the privileges of this artificial convention; while the inmates of the tent are equally desirous to prevent him. The person who first seizes the prisoner demands on what business he is come. "I came to rob: God has overthrown me;" is the common answer. The captor (*rabat*) then binds him hand and foot, and beats him with a club, until he exclaims, *Yeneffa!* "I renounce!" (namely, the benefit of any protector). But this renunciation being only valid for one day, the prisoner (*rabiet*) is secured in a hole dug in the ground, with his feet chained to the earth, his hands tied, and his twisted hair fastened to two stakes at both sides of his head. This temporary grave is covered with tent-poles, corn-sacks, and other heavy articles,—a small aperture only being left through which he may breathe. Here he is detained, and every endeavour used to extort from him the highest possible ransom.

Still the buried captive does not despair; and circumstances sometimes favour his escape. If he

can contrive through the aperture to spit upon a man or a child, or receive from their hand the smallest morsel of food, he claims the rights of the dakheil. To obtain his release gives rise to many adventurous intrigues and ingenious stratagems. His mother or his sister will often enter the camp in the garb of a beggar, or during night, and having put the end of a worsted thread in his mouth, she retires, still unwinding the clew, to some neighbouring tent, and places the other end in the hand of the owner, who by this means is guided to the prisoner, and claims him as his "protected." The right of freedom is at once allowed; the thongs which tied his hair are cut, his fetters are struck off, and he is entertained by the captor as his guest, with all the honours of Arabian hospitality. To avoid paying a ransom, a prisoner will often remain six months under this rigorous custody, always concealing his real name, and giving himself out for a poor mendicant. He is, however, generally recognised, and obliged to purchase his liberty at the expense of all his property in horses, camels, sheep, tents, provisions, and baggage.

Should the robbers fail in their enterprise, and meet, when returning, a hostile party of the tribe they intended to pillage, their declaration, "We have eaten salt in such a tent," is a passport that ensures them a safe journey.

The Arabs are the most adroit and audacious thieves in the world; their address, indeed, in this art is proverbial. They spring behind the horseman, seize him with one hand by the throat, and with the other rifle him of his money. They stole the swords from the sides of the French officers in Egypt, and even purloined clothes and valuable articles from under their heads while sleeping. These acts of rapacity they always palliate by using a softened and delicate language when relating them. Instead of saying, I robbed a man of this or that

article, they say, "I gained it." They even pretend a sort of kindred or relationship between themselves and the victim they plunder. "Undress thyself," exclaims the brigand of the Desert, as he rides furiously upon the wayfaring stranger; "thy aunt" (meaning his own wife) "is without a garment!" This license they regard as a sort of birthright or national prerogative. If they are reproved for their depredations, "You forget that I am an Arab" is always the reply; which is spoken with a tone and expression of countenance that shows how little the haughty marauder is affected by the supposed opprobrium. But the chivalry of pillage, like that of hospitality, has been impaired by their intercourse with strangers. The honourable asylum of the tent has often been violated, and the sacred shield of the dakheil has not always screened the unfortunate who sought its protection.

The natural jealousy and fiery temperament of the Arabs have always proved a source of the most implacable enmity among themselves. They betray the quickest sensibility to any affront or injury; and instances might be multiplied where a contemptuous word, an indecent action, or the most trifling violation of etiquette, can only be expiated by the blood of the offender. If one sheik say to another, "Thy bonnet is dirty," or "The wrong side of thy turban is out," it is considered a mortal offence. To spit on the beard of another, even accidentally, is an insult scarcely to be forgiven. Murder is the deepest injury that can be committed. The Arab code regulates the revenge for blood (called *thar*) by the nicest distinctions; and it is perhaps owing to this salutary institution more than to any other, that the warlike tribes of the Desert have been prevented from exterminating each other.

It is a universal law among them, that he who sheds blood owes on that account blood to the famly of the slain person; and this debt may be required,

not only from the actual murderer, but from all his relations. The right of the thar is limited within certain degrees of kindred. In the case of a slain parent, his lineal descendants to the fifth generation inherit the sacred duty of revenging his death on a corresponding series of descendants on the other side. This right is never lost by prescription, but devolves on both sides to the latest posterity. If one death is simply avenged by another, the account is considered to be cleared; but if two of the assassin's family be killed by the relatives of the deceased, the former retaliates. Though murder may be expiated by fine or confiscation, it depends upon the next relations of the slain to accept or reject the penalty. If the offer is deemed unsatisfactory, the homicide, and all his kin comprised within the law of vengeance, make their escape to some friendly tribe. A sacred custom allows the fugitives three days and four hours, during which their enemies abstain from the pursuit: the exiles are permitted to return so soon as a reconciliation can be effected.

The *dye*, or fine for a murdered man, varies among the different tribes from 1000 to 500 piastres (50*l.* to 25*l.*), and the sum is often made up by contributions in money or cattle from the friends of the guilty person, who are generally liberal with their assistance on such occasions. The Beni Harb in Hejaz fix the price of blood at 800 dollars (175*l.*). Among the Aenezes it is rated at fifty she-camels, one riding camel, a mare, a black slave, a coat-of-mail, and a gun. The quality of these articles is not much regarded, and it is seldom they are all demanded, as the wives or daughters of the slayer petition earnestly for some abatement. The matter being finally settled, a she-camel is brought to the tent of the adversary and there killed, that blood may be expiated by blood. The parties, now reconciled, feast upon the flesh of the animal; and at

parting the homicide flourishes a white handkerchief on his lance, as a public notification that he is "free from blood." This mode of arrangement is not common among the more wealthy and independent tribes. Most of the great sheiks regard it as shameful to compromise in any degree for the slaughter of their relations.

Amid the continual hostilities in which the Arabs are involved, debts of blood are frequently incurred, when the slaughter is accompanied with treachery, or contrary to the law of nations. When a tribe violates the rights of war by killing their enemies as they lie wounded on the field, the adversary retaliates by killing double the number with the same circumstances of cruelty. However revolting this policy may appear, an Arab would be censured were he not to follow the general practice.*

The amusements of the Arabs are comparatively few,—chess, draughts, and mangela are the only games they play; the latter consists of a wooden table with a dozen holes, into which two players drop so many little stones, beans, or shells. The vacant unvaried life which they lead, and the monotonous scenery amid which they dwell, must often render existence irksome. It is to relieve this weariness and want of novelty that they have recourse to tobacco, kaad, hashish, and other intoxicating stimulants. Smoking is universal among all classes, notwithstanding the warmth of the climate and the natural dryness of their constitution. Persons of opulence and fashion always carry with them a box filled with odoriferous wood,—a bit of which, when put into the pipe, communicates to

* Hence we may extenuate the slaughter of the captive kings (who were Bedouin sheiks) by the Israelites, as being dictated less by a wanton desire of bloodshed than by the necessity of adhering to the usages of the land where they dwelt; a dereliction from which must have diminished the respect in which they were held by their neighbours.—*Judges*, chap. viii.

the tobacco a fragrant smell and a very agreeable taste. Throwing the jereed is a kind of rude tournament which they frequently practise. This is a blunt spear, made of heavy wood, about a yard long and the thickness of a mopstick. The object of the game, in which they evince the most astonishing dexterity, is for one party to pursue and the other to fly, and try to elude being struck with the weapon. Sometimes they amuse themselves with sham-fights; and nothing can be more picturesque than to see a group of wild men huddled together in the greatest apparent confusion, with drawn swords and couched lances. The more domestic pastimes are dancing, singing, and story-telling, for which they have a singular passion, and which fill up all their leisure hours. There is a species of song common all over the Desert, in which the youths of both sexes join in the chorus, accompanying it with clapping of hands and various motions of the body. It is called the *mesamer*, and is the only opportunity which the lover has of serenading his mistress; the verses are often composed extempore, and relate to the beauty and qualities of the beloved object. They have war-songs, called *hadou*, in praise of their chiefs, and chants to enliven their camels; for it is well known that that animal never moves with so much ease as when he hears his master sing.* When an Aeneze recites verses or ancient poetry, he accompanies his voice with the *rebaba*, a kind of guitar, the only musical instrument used in the Desert. Some tribes are more famous than others for their poetical and vocal

* Of the *Asamer*, or Camel-driver's Song, Burckhardt gives the following specimen:—"Lord preserve them from all threatening dangers! Let their limbs be pillars of iron!"

In their amatory songs the lover sometimes expresses his passion in epithets that sound rather oddly in European ears:—"O, Ghalia! if my father were a jackass, I would sell him to purchase Ghalia!"

talents. The people of Jof sing among the tents of the Aenezes for a trifling remuneration; and in towns there are regular professors of the art, who attend at the coffee-houses and lend their aid on festive occasions. A common entertainment among the Bedouins is the reciting of tales after the manner of the Arabian Nights.

Notwithstanding the natural abilities of this people, the arts and sciences are neither cultivated nor encouraged. The literary splendours of the caliphate have long been quenched. Except Abulfeda, in whom the sun of Arabian learning appears to have set, no historian, philosopher, or writer of any celebrity, has risen to dissipate the gloom with which the Tartars in the thirteenth century overspread the East under the banners of Zingis Khan. In almost every mosque there is a school, having a foundation for the support of teachers and the instruction of poor scholars in the common elements of reading, writing, and arithmetic. In large towns there are academies, colleges, and other seminaries of education, in which astronomy, astrology, medicine, and some other sciences are taught; but, from the want of books and competent masters, extremely little progress is made. The principal employment among men of letters is the interpretation of the Koran and the study of ancient Mohammedan history. All the Bedouins throughout Arabia are entirely ignorant of letters. The Wahabee chief took pains to instruct them, by establishing schools in every village of Nejed, and obliging parents to superintend the education of their children. Deraiah was made an attractive seat for learned ulemas, by collecting valuable libraries from all parts of the country; but, in spite of every effort, these warlike tribes still remain, as might be expected, a most illiterate race. Among a people so superstitious as the Arabs no science is so much cultivated as astrology, which is held in high repute. Though the

Koran expressly forbids the prying into futurity by any form of divination, yet a Moslem seldom concludes a bargain without consulting the stars.

In a country where there are so few patients, it cannot be expected that the healing art should be much studied, or held in great esteem. The common practitioners know little more than the use of simples, and the technical terms, such as they find them in the books of Avicenna. Physicians are obliged to act as chymists, apothecaries, surgeons, farriers, and cattle-doctors; and yet, with all this variety of employments, they can scarcely earn a livelihood. If the sick man die they get no reward; and this custom has taught them to use many petty and disgraceful artifices to obtain payment beforehand. There is not a single individual of this profession in the whole of Nejed. The natives cure themselves, and their mode of treatment is sufficiently rude. They heal sabre-wounds by applying raw flesh taken from a camel newly killed. In bowel-complaints they have recourse to senna. For headache, colic, and sore eyes, the most approved remedy is a red-hot iron. In cases of rheumatism the patient is rubbed with warm oil or the fat of mutton; in dropsical complaints the water is drawn off by means of setons in the back. Toothache is sometimes cured by inhaling the smoke of a certain plant; and the bite of venomous serpents by sucking out the poison. Blood-letting is performed with a common knife, and the lower classes sometimes scarify their legs, being of opinion that this has a tendency to improve their strength. From the same persuasion the inhabitants of Yemen anoint their bodies with oil, which protects them from the heat of the sun, and by closing the pores of the skin is supposed to check the debilitating effects of too copious perspiration. The Arabs have many family nostrums, and are implicit believers in the efficacy of charms and other mystic arts. No species of know-

ledge is more highly venerated than that of the occult sciences, which afford a maintenance to a vast number of quacks and impudent pretenders. The science of *Ism Allah* (or Name of God), enables the possessor to discover what is passing in his absence, to expel evil spirits, cure diseases, and dispose of the winds and seasons as he chooses. Those who have advanced far in this study pretend to calm tempests at sea by the rules of art, or say their prayers at noon in Mecca, without stirring from their own houses in Aden or Bagdad. The *Simia* is not quite so sublime a science, as it teaches merely the feats and illusions of jugglers. Dervises and mollahs practise it, and appear to the astonished spectators to pierce their bodies with lances, strike sharp-pointed instruments into their eyes, or leap from the roofs of houses upon a pole shod with iron, which seems to run through their body, while they are carried like spitted victims about the streets. The *Kurra* is the art of composing billets or amulets, which secure the wearer from the power of enchantments and all sorts of accidents. They are also employed to give cattle an appetite for food, and clear houses from flies or other vermin. The practice of fortune-telling, which they call *ramle*, is very common. The natives of Oman are peculiarly skilled in sorcery (*sihr*); they are inferior, however, to the witches and wizards of Europe, as they know nothing about the art of riding through the air on broomsticks, sailing to India in cockle-shells, or holding nocturnal revelries in their mosques, under the visible presidency of Satan.

The Arabs pay great attention to their language, which they speak and write with the utmost care. No tongue, perhaps, is diversified by so many dialects: the pronunciation in Yemen differs from that of Tehama; and both are distinct from the Bedouin phraseology. It is a mistake, however, to suppose,

as Niebuhr and Michaelis have done, that these dialects differ as widely as the Spanish or Italian does from the Latin. Burckhardt, who had the best opportunity of judging, says, that notwithstanding the vast extent of country in which the language prevails, whoever has learned one dialect will easily understand all the rest. According to this traveller, it is in the Desert where the purest Arabic is spoken. The Bedouins, though they have different idioms, are remarkable for the grammatical accuracy as well as the elegance of their expressions. Next to them are the Meccawees and natives of Hejaz, whose language approaches nearer to the old written dialect than that of any other district. The inhabitants of Bagdad and Sanaa, and the Yemenees in general, speak with purity, but have a harsh accent. At Cairo the pronunciation is worse; and it gradually degenerates among the Libyan and Syrian Arabs. After them come the tribes on the Barbary coast,—at Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers; and, lastly, the natives of Fez and Morocco, whose rough articulation is considered the extreme point from the pure Bedouin standard; yet this difference is not greater, perhaps, than between the spoken language of England and Scotland. All the Arabs pay much attention to penmanship, though there is great diversity in their style of writing. The several countries have also their peculiar method of folding letters. In Hejaz they are sealed with gum-arabic, and a small vessel filled for the purpose is suspended near the gate of every khan or public-house. Wax is never used, as the heat prevents it from retaining the impression.

In the mechanical arts the Arabs are extremely deficient. The Bedouins know little else than the tanning of leather and the weaving of coarse fabrics. They have a few blacksmiths and saddlers; but all handicraft occupations are considered degrading. There is only one watchmaker at Jidda, and not a

single shoemaker in Hejaz. In Yemen there are workers in glass, gold, and silver; but the artificers in the precious metals are all Jews and Banians.

The want of home manufactures obliges the natives to supply their markets by means of foreign trade. Though their ports have long lost their celebrity as the grand *entrepôts* for the commodities of the East, they still continue to enjoy a portion of the commerce between India and Europe. Jidda has become the principal emporium of the Arabian trade. It is perhaps the wealthiest town of the same extent in the Turkish dominions; hence its name, which means "rich," is well bestowed. A few years ago it employed about 250 ships in the Red Sea. The two main branches of its commerce are coffee and Indian produce. In May the annual fleets from Calcutta, Surat, and Bombay make their appearance, bringing different kinds of goods, —Cashmere shawls, cocoanuts, rice, sugar, drugs of all sorts, china and hardware, pipes, glass beads, rosaries, mirrors, and cards. These commodities are mostly sold for cash to India merchants, some of whom possess capital to the amount of 150,000*l.* or 200,000*l.* sterling; while several inferior houses have capitals of 40,000*l.* or 50,000*l.* Sales of entire cargoes are often made in the course of half an hour, and the money paid down next day. Trade is there carried on chiefly by barter, or by cash transactions. Credit is with difficulty obtained; hence no Arabian merchant can contract debts which he is unable to pay, and consequently there are no mercantile failures in speculations such as daily occur in Europe. From Jidda the India goods are sent to Suez and Cairo, whence they are dispersed over Egypt and the ports of the Mediterranean. The returns from these countries are made either in dollars or sequins, or in produce, such as wheat and barley, for which Arabia depends on Egypt; an inferior sort of tobacco, which is called tambak; Bedouin cloaks,

coarse Turkish carpets, cotton quilts, linen for shirts, red and yellow slippers, and other articles of dress; besides a variety of commodities which are not manufactured in Arabia. Ships laden with coffee are constantly arriving from Mocha, and their cargoes are generally converted into dollars. This branch of trade suffered, when the Mocha coffee was supplanted, in the markets of European Turkey, Asia Minor, and Syria, by that produced in the East and West Indies; but there is little doubt that it will revive under the auspices of Mohammed Ali, who may be said to command the entire commerce of the Arabian Gulf, now that he has become the independent sovereign of Egypt and Syria. With this view he has already proposed to augment his navy; to construct a canal from Suez to the Nile; to establish regular marts on the Mediterranean coast; and open a communication between the Orontes and the Euphrates. Should these mighty projects be carried into effect, a few years may behold a total revolution in the mercantile intercourse between the nations of the East and the West. The annual exports of coffee at present, from Jidda, Mocha, Hodeida, and other contiguous ports, is estimated at 12,000 tons. The duties on the best are 100 per cent., and fully 150 per cent. on the inferior sorts. Independently of coffee, the export-trade of Mocha is very considerable in gum-arabic, myrrh, and frankincense. Muscat carries on a valuable trade with India and the Persian Gulf. Its inhabitants are reputed excellent seamen.

There is one circumstance connected with the commerce of Arabia that deserves notice, from the attention which it has recently excited in this country; we mean the communication with India by steam conveyance. Two routes have been proposed, both of which are practicable, but attended with obstacles that it may be difficult to overcome. One of these is by the Persian Gulf along the Euphrates

to Bir or Beles, and thence across the Desert to the Mediterranean at Scanderoon, or the mouth of the Orontes, a distance of sixty-seven miles. Captain Chesney, who surveyed that celebrated river, considered it navigable for steamers as high as Bir; and that a constant supply of fuel might be found in the wood, charcoal, bitumen, and naphtha, of which abundance is to be had throughout the whole line. The distances and time necessary to accomplish this route he estimates thus :—

	Miles.	Days.
From Falmouth to Malta, - - -	2300	15
— Malta to Scanderoon, - - -	800	4
— Scanderoon to Bussora, - -	1349	12
— Bussora to Bombay, - - -	1587	8
Necessary or incidental delays, - -	——	3½
	6036	42½

The other route is by the Red Sea, the advantages and practicability of which have been advocated by Captain Head. The only physical point on which there seems to be any doubt or difference of opinion is the overland conveyance between Egypt and the Arabian Gulf. Suez and Cosseir are certainly the most favourable ports; but the former has the disadvantage of shallow water, while the other would occasion a delay of ten or twelve days in ascending the Nile to Keneh, and crossing the intervening desert. The following is the calculation as to time and distance by this line of conveyance :—

	Miles.	Days.
From Falmouth to Malta, - - -	2040	16
— Malta to Alexandria, - - -	860	5
— Alexandria to Suez (by Cairo), -	175	6
— Suez to Bab el Mandeb, - - -	1200	7
— Bab el Mandeb to Socotra, - -	600	4
— Socotra to Bombay, - - -	1200	7
	6075	45

The most formidable impediment in the way of this project, as we have already stated (vol. i. p. 79),

is the article of expense, which has been estimated at 40,000*l.* or 50,000*l.* per annum, if the communication is made monthly. But, though in abeyance in the mean time, it is highly probable that the plan will be carried into effect.* The changes at present contemplated in the government and policy of India will render it of vast importance to establish a shorter and cheaper line of intercourse than by the Cape of Good Hope; and perhaps the period is not very remote when the commerce of the East will resume its ancient channel, and the great trading capitals of Europe and Asia be brought, by the marvellous agency of steam, within a few days' journey of each other.

The population of Arabia cannot, perhaps, be very accurately ascertained. In the towns and districts belonging to Nejed, Mengin reckons 50,945 males, and 231,020 women and children. Its whole military force consisted of 41,100 infantry and 8620 cavalry. The population of Hejaz, Burckhardt computed at 150,000, the greater proportion of which are Harb Bedouins. The territory of Sinai, south of a line drawn from Suez to Akaba, he supposed might contain nearly 4000; but the number diminishes in years when pasturage is scarce. Yemen is reckoned to have about a million of inhabitants, most of whom belong to the sect of the Zeidites. The entire population of the Arabian peninsula Head states at 11,000,000; Malte Brun thinks it may probably amount to 12,000,000; a number which, if united by a system of regular government and acting under one political head, might prove a formidable enemy to the countries once overrun by their warlike ancestors. That this vast region was anciently more rich and populous than it is now there is undeniable evidence in its own deserts. The

* Captain Head estimates that a monthly voyage would leave balance of no less than 52,486*l.* of annual *profits*.

tribes on the northern frontiers, in the days of the Hebrew judges, are represented as coming up and encamping against Israel, with their camels, their cattle, and their tents, like grasshoppers for multitude. The plains of Hauran are strown with the ruins of towns and villages; and many places which are susceptible of culture, and must once have been thickly peopled, are overgrown with wild herbage. It may even be doubted whether these regions have always existed in the same state of hopeless sterility which they at present exhibit. Numbers of petrified trunks have been discovered in desolate tracts, where neither tree nor shrub has grown within the remembrance of history; but of the same species—the date and the sycamore—which still abound in the more fertile parts of the same district. These facts seem to demonstrate a more flourishing condition of soil and population in certain places than are now witnessed by modern travellers, but at a period of which antiquity is silent.

In casting a retrospective view over the manners and habits of the Arabs, we are struck with the contradictory features which they discover, both in their social and moral character. Independently of the grand distinction between natives and settlers, shepherds and citizens, which naturally creates a difference in their modes of life, other anomalous circumstances are found to exist among the pure aboriginal tribes. The spirit of patriotism among them is strong and universal, yet they have no home but the pathless waste and wretched tent. They are a nation of brothers, yet live continually at war; jealous of their honour, and at the same time addicted to the meanest vices. Though fierce and sanguinary in their temper, they are not strangers to the virtues of pity and gratitude. They are faithful where they pledge their word, and charitable to the needy; but they are covetous, and by no means of good faith in pecuniary transactions.

Their religious character is marked by the same irreconcilable extremes. Their fanaticism is coupled with infidelity; their prayers and devotions are mingled with the pursuits of commerce and the ideas of worldly lucre. Islam has but very little hold on the reverence of its disciples, even under the domes of its own temples. In the Desert there is a still more lax observance of its precepts and ceremonies. In a pleasant indifference about the matter, the Bedouins remark that the religion of Mohammed never could have been intended for them. "In the Desert," say they, "we have no water; how then can we make the prescribed ablutions? We have no money, and how can we bestow alms? Why should we fast in the Ramadan, since the whole year with us is one continual abstinence; and if God be present everywhere, why should we go to Mecca to adore him?" The whole of their social and moral economy remarkably illustrates the truths of Holy Writ, that "Ishmael shall be a wild man, whose hand is against every man, and every man's hand against him." Enemies alike to industry and the arts, they dwell "without bolts and bars," the wandering denizens of the wilderness. Religiously opposed to the luxuries and refinements of civilized life, these rude barbarians present the phenomenon of a people living in a state of nature, unsubdued and unchanged; yet, in their acknowledgment of the true God, still preserving evidence of their lineage as the children of Abraham.

CHAPTER IX.

NATURAL HISTORY OF ARABIA

Want of Information on the Natural History of Arabia—Scientific Discoveries of the Danish Travellers—GEOLOGY—Mount Sinai—Hills of Hejaz and Yemen—Volcanic Rocks—Hot Springs—SOIL—Agriculture—Crops—Harvest—Comparative Fertility of different Districts—MINERALOGY—No Gold or Silver Mines in Arabia—Precious Stones—BOTANY—Vegetables—Plants—Coloquintida—Tobacco—Hemp—TREES AND SHRUBS—Fruit-trees—The Palm—Date-groves—Manna—Gum-arabic—Honey—SHRUBS—The Nebek—Tamarisk—Balsam of Mecca—The Gharkad—Henna—Acacia—Incense Tree—Coffee—ZOOLOGY—Wild Animals—Hyenas—Monkeys—Rock-goats—Hares—Jerboas—Domestic Animals—Cows—Buffaloes—Asses—Horses—Camels—Dromedaries—Sheep—Goats—Dogs—Mice—*Birds*—Poultry—Birds of Game—Birds of Prey—The Ostrich—The Lapwing—The Samarman—Field-sports of the Arabs—*Reptiles*—Tortoises—Scorpions—Serpents—*Fishes*—*Insects*—The Locust—Ants—Tenebriones—*Shells*—*Coral Banks.*

As few travellers comparatively have visited Arabia, it cannot be supposed that its natural history has been very minutely investigated. The knowledge of the ancients on this subject was extremely imperfect, consisting chiefly of fabulous or exaggerated reports as to some of the more celebrated of its mineral and vegetable productions. Several useful observations, not indeed referring peculiarly to that country, occur in the works of Kæmpfer, Bochart, Norden, Belon, Pauw, Rauwolf, and Tournefort. Shaw and Hasselquist were both distinguished for their attainments in physical science; but the reader will look in vain in their works for that systematic arrangement or accuracy of description which modern philosophy has introduced into every department of natural knowledge. It is to the Danish travellers, Niebuhr and his companions, who have done so much to illustrate the geography, manners, and civil institutions of Arabia,

that we are indebted almost exclusively for whatever is known in Europe of its minerals, animals, and plants.

That literary expedition, which owed its formation to the patronage of Frederick V. and his minister Count Bernstorff, sailed from Copenhagen in January, 1761, and, after a short stay at Constantinople, reached the coast of Yemen, by way of Egypt, in December, 1762. Each of the academicians who composed it had his particular task assigned him. Professor Von Haven was appointed linguist; Mons. Baurenfiend acted as draughtsman; Dr. Cramer had the office of physician; Mons. Forskal was charged with the department of natural history; and Niebuhr with that of geography. The novelty of the undertaking xcited a lively interest among the learned associations of Europe. A series of questions, embracing many intricate points both physical and philological, was proposed for solution by Michaelis, professor of theology at Göttingen. A similar list was drawn up and addressed to these accomplished travellers by M. de Brequigny of the Royal Academy of Inscriptions at Paris, with a view to obtain authentic information respecting the antiquities, chronology, government, religion, and language of Yemen. Of the historical treasures brought to light in the answers to these interrogatoreis we have not failed to avail ourselves in the preceding chapters of our work.

It is to be regretted, however, that from a concurrence of unfavourable circumstances, the hopes of the scientific world were in a great measure frustrated. Von Haven died at Mocha within five months after their arrival. Forskal survived him but a few weeks, having expired at Jerim on the 11th of July; but not before he had visited Sanaa, and made various professional excursions among the Coffee Mountains near Taas. In the course of the following year Niebuhr lost his two remaining companions: Baurenfiend died at sea near the island of Socotra, and Cramer ended his days at Bombay. By this melancholy catastrophe, numerous valuable discoveries were doubtless left unaccomplished; yet it is truly surprising how much was effected in so short a time by the ardent zeal and indefatigable industry of M. Forskal. He collected and gave descriptions of more than 300 species in the animal kingdom, and upwards of 800 in the vegetable; and this number might have been considerably increased had he not scrupulously adhered to the resolution of admitting

nothing which he had not examined with the greatest care. These fragments were afterward reduced to order by Niebuhr, according to the Linnæan arrangement, and published in Latin in two quarto volumes.* Owing to the rigour with which Christians were then excluded from the Holy Land of the Moslem, the observations of the Danish travellers were necessarily restricted to the southern provinces, and those parts of the country through which Niebuhr passed in his journey from Bagdad to Aleppo. Since that time Mohammedan bigotry has relaxed; but this tolerance has not much increased the information of naturalists; and a few geological remarks gleaned from the pages of Burckhardt and Ali Bey are all that have been added to the scientific treasures of the northern philosophers. In collecting and arranging the materials which we have drawn from these various sources, we have been less anxious to follow a particular system than to present the general reader with a simple and intelligible treatise on the subject.

SECTION I.—GEOLOGY.

Mountains.—It has been already stated in the description of Arabia, that the mountain-chain which traverses that peninsula from north to south is a continuation of Lebanon in Palestine. Passing eastward of the Dead Sea, it runs towards Akaba, and from thence extends as far as Yemen; in some places approaching the shore of the Arabian Gulf, and in others being separated from it by the intervening plain of Tehama. On the eastern side the descent of this range is less by one-third than on the western, owing perhaps to the constant accumulation of sand; so that the great central desert is considerably elevated above the level of the sea. The lofty summits, that tower to the clouds when viewed from the coast, dwindle into mere hills when seen from the interior. At Wady Arabah the surface of the western plain is perhaps 1000 feet lower than the eastern. The structure of Gebel Shera (Mount Seir) is principally of calcareous rock; there are also detached pieces of basalt, and large tracts of breccia, formed of sand and flint. About Mount Hor and Wady Mousa sandstone of a reddish colour prevails; and from this

* Flora Arabica, 4to Hafniæ, 1775. Descriptiones Animalium, *ibid.* 1775.

all the tombs and temples of Petra have been excavated. To the southward it follows the whole extent of the great valley. The summits of these cliffs are so irregular and grotesque, that when seen from a distance they have the appearance of volcanic mountains. Their naked perpendicular sides present calcareous rocks, sandstone, and flint lying over each other in horizontal layers. In several parts of the caravan-route between Suez and Akaba, Burckhardt observed large insulated masses of porous tufwacke. The famous Gebel Mokkateb, or Written Mountain, is of sandstone; but at Wady Borak the formation changes to porphyry, alternating with strata of greenstone.

The peninsula of Sinai exhibits a considerable diversity of structures, differing in their ingredients from the ridges in other parts of Arabia. On approaching the central summits of the Sinai group, the traveller encounters abrupt cliffs of granite from 600 to 800 feet in height, whose surface is blackened by the sun. These precipices enclose the Holy Mountain on three sides, leaving for a passage a narrow defile about forty feet in breadth. The upper nucleus, including the rugged peaks of St. Catherine, is composed almost entirely of granite. Among the lower ridges porphyry and greenstone begin to appear. In many places the latter takes the nature of slate. The layers of the former are sometimes very striking, running perpendicularly from the top to the base of the mountain in strata of about twelve feet in width, and projecting slightly from the other rocks. The porphyry of Sinai, Burckhardt remarks, is usually a red indurated argillaceous substance. Some specimens had the appearance of red felspar. In the argil are imbedded small crystals of hornblende or of mica, and thin pieces of quartz, the colour of which is universally red. The granite is gray and of the small-grained species, of which the Towara tribes manufacture hand-mills, which they dispose of to the northern Arabs, or export for sale. The intervening valleys are interspersed with blocks of chalk-rock; on each side, beds of red or white sandstone present their smooth perpendicular surface.

Shaw remarks, that on the route between Cairo and Suez an infinite number of flints and pebbles are to be met with, all of them superior to the Florentine marble, and frequently equal to the Mocha stone in the variety of their figures and representations, having the images of little trees, shrubs, or

plants impressed upon them,—and hence they have obtained the name of *dendrite* stones. The porphyry of Sinai and St. Catherine is distinguished by the same remarkable appearances,—a circumstance which has induced some naturalists to call it *marmor embuscatum*, or bushy marble. It was this singular feature that led Buxtorf to derive the name of *Sinai* from the *bushes* (the tamarisks and acacias) figured in the rocks; although it seems more natural that the appellation should have originated from the shrubs themselves, as they are known to abound in these deserts.* Shaw noticed some branches of this fossil tamarisk that were nearly half an inch in diameter; the constituent matter appeared rather of a mineral substance, not unlike the powder of lead-ore, which crumbled into dust when touched or rubbed with the fingers. The porphyry, he says, is sometimes of so small and compact a grain that the contexture is not inferior to the *ophites* or serpentine marble; and he thought it probable, that out of this rock were hewn the two tables of the law on which the Ten Commandments were written with the finger of God.

On the shore towards Akaba rise numerous promontories of black trap and basalt, the bases of which have been scooped by the sea into creeks, resembling small lakes with very narrow entrances. Some of these cliffs, which run close by the water's edge for upwards of a mile, present granite and red porphyry crossing each other horizontally or perpendicularly in irregular layers. The granite of this peninsula exhibits the same numberless varieties, and the same beautiful specimens, of red, rose-coloured, and almost purple, that are to be found near Es Souan and above the cataract of the Nile. The transitions from primitive to secondary rocks, partaking of the nature of greenstone or graywacke, or hornstone and trap, present also an endless diversity, the description of which would only tire the patience of the reader. Om Shomar con

* Sinai montis nomen a *sine*, rubus, quod lapides inventi in ea figuratum in se habuerint rubum, &c. Buxtorf in voce סנה. Other commentators say that *sine* also signifies a breast; and as Mounts Sinai and St. Catherine are the highest peaks in that quarter, they might be so called from their likeness to that part of the human body; a derivation far less probable than the other. The dendritic appearance of these rocks is mentioned by Prospero Alpino (Hist. Nat. Egypt. cap. vi. p. 147), who speaks of the "silices sylviferæ, in quibus lapidibus sylvæ, herbarum, fruticum, &c. pictæ imagines cernuntur."

sists of granite; the lower stratum is red; at the top it is almost white, so as to appear from a distance like chalk. This arises from the large portion of white felspar in it, and the minute particles of hornblende and mica. Towards the middle of the mountain and between the granite rocks are broad strata of brittle black slate, mixed with layers of quartz, felspar, and micaceous schistus. The quartz includes, thin strata of mica of the most brilliant white colour, which is quite dazzling in the sun, and forms a striking contrast with the blackened surface of the slate and the red granite.

The hills that branch off from this great chain between Medina and Mecca differ little in their formation. Granite, both of the gray and red species, limestone, and porphyry are the prevailing rocks. Ohud, famous for one of Mohammed's battles, consists of different-coloured granite. On its sides Burckhardt found flint, but no lava. Its entire extent from west to east is about four miles. The lowest range above Jidda, which is seldom more than 400 or 500 feet high, is calcareous; but the rock soon changes into gneiss and a species of granite, with schorl in the place of felspar, accompanied by masses of quartz and some mica. This formation continues with little variety as far as the vicinity of Gebel Nour, near Mecca, where granite begins. The mountains enclosing the valley of Muna are composed of variously coloured granite, mixed in a few places with strata of greenstone, trap, and porphyry schistus. Although there are some beds of hornblende, felspar, mica, and schorl to be found accidentally among them, yet, according to Ali Bey, quartz forms in general the principal masses. Their beds are oblique, and in different angles of declination, dipping westward from thirty to forty-five degrees. White marble is said to be found in the neighbourhood; and some travellers sup pose that there is abundance of valuable minerals, which are only hid because the inhabitants want skill or enterprise to discover them.

The geological description of the country northward of Hejaz applies, with little variation, to the lofty chain that extends along the coast for nearly 1800 miles, from Mecca to Muscat; except that, in the ridge behind Tehama, schistus and basalt predominate, instead of granite. At Kahhme near Beit el Fakih, Niebuhr saw a hill composed entirely of pentagonal basaltic columns, each about eight inches in diam-

eter, and so uniformly regular, that they might be mistaken for the work of art. They rise vertically one over the other, sometimes spreading in parallel rows to a considerable extent. In different parts of Yemen, especially among the Coffee Mountains, similar phenomena were observed, which contributed greatly to the beauty of the landscape; particularly in the rainy season, when the water was seen rushing over their summits, and forming cascades, which had the appearance of being supported by rows of artificial pillars. These basalts were useful to the inhabitants, serving as materials for building steps to climb the hills where the ascent was difficult, and also as walls to support the plantations of coffee-trees on the steepest declivities. The mountains southward of Muscat, behind Ras el Hud, are chiefly of granite, and according to Captain Owen rise to the height of 6000 feet.

Volcanic Rocks.—The first and only appearance of volcanic action which Burckhardt detected in the peninsula of Sinai was on the coast near Sherm. For a distance of about two miles the hills presented perpendicular cliffs from sixty to eighty feet in height, some of them nearly circular, others semicircular. The rocks were black, slightly tinged with red, of a rough surface, and full of cavities. In other places there was an appearance of volcanic craters. No traces of lava were observed towards the higher mountains, which seemed to prove that the discharged matter was confined to that spot. The hills round Medina, as well as the lower ridge of the great northern chain, exhibit a layer of volcanic rock. It is of a bluish-black colour, very porous, yet heavy and hard, not glazed, and intermixed with small white substances of the size of a pin-head, but not crystallized. The whole plain is blackened by the debris, with which it is overspread. This traveller observed no lava, although the nature of the ground seemed strongly to indicate the neighbourhood of a volcano. The inhabitants gave him an account of an earthquake and a volcanic eruption, which took place there about the middle of the thirteenth century. They described it as bursting forth eastward of the town, with a smoke that completely darkened the sky; at the same time a fiery mass of immense size, resembling a large city with walls, battlements, and minarets, was seen ascending to heaven. The number of hot-springs found at almost every station of the road to Mecca seems to authorize the conjecture that simi-

lar volcanoes have existed in many other points of the mountain-ridge between Syria and Yemen. Ali Bey remarked seven groups of volcanic hills near Jedeida, which were entirely black, and had the appearance of very picturesque ruins. The islands of Kotembel and Gebel Tar, in the Red Sea, have been already noticed as exhibiting traces of eruptions now extinct; and travellers have remarked that the rocky peninsula on which Aden is situated resembles the fragment of a volcano, the crater of which is covered by the sea.*

Hot Springs.—The fountains already mentioned, called *Ayoun Mousa* or the Wells of Moses, are lukewarm and sulphureous, boiling three or four inches above the surface, as if they were agitated below by some violent heat. The water brings up the sand with it; yet the inhabitants about the place drink it in preference to the brackish springs near Suez. Pococke says that the ground around them is like a quagmire, and dangerous if approached too near. Several of these springs appeared to be dried up: one only affords sweet water; but it is so often rendered muddy by the camels of the Arabs that it is rarely fit to supply the wants of the thirsty traveller. The waters of *Hammam Faraoun* or Baths of Pharaoh, near Wady Gharendel, are extremely hot. Shaw was assured that an egg might be boiled hard in one minute; but he had no opportunity of making the experiment himself. These baths lie within a cavern or grotto in the rock, and have a low narrow entrance leading to them. "As soon as one enters this passage," says Pococke, "there is heat enough to make anybody sweat very plentifully, and many people have died that have gone as far as the water, by a vapour that extinguishes the lights. The water runs through the rocks and sandbanks in a great number of little streams into the sea for a quarter of a mile, and it is even there exceedingly hot, and so are the stones, which are incrusted with a white substance, apparently of salt and sulphur." This traveller gives an analysis of the fluid, which was found to be impregnated with much earthy gross sulphur, a neutral salt, a small quantity of alum, but no vitriol. The taste is nauseous; but its virtues are much esteemed in cutaneous and nervous disorders, as also for removing sterility. The patients, male or female, who desire a family, have this fertilizing

* Vol. i. p. 66. Valentia's Travels, vol. ii. p. 86.

element copiously poured over them; during forty days their sole food must be oil, honey, and bread baked without salt, and their drink water with dates steeped in it.

Soil.—Arabia presents great diversities of soil. In the highlands of Yemen its general character is clay mixed with sand; but the conformation of those schistous hills is unfavourable to the growth of plants. They are usually so craggy and precipitous as to afford neither room nor aliment for vegetable productions; the nutritive earth being continually washed down by the rains. This circumstance has also had the effect of rendering culture in these districts extremely difficult and expensive; water must be supplied either from wells, or by terraces constructed along the sides of the mountains. The barren sands of Hejaz resemble pulverized quartz; the calcareous stone from the hills is decomposed into a blackish earth, which in time becomes fit to bear coarse vegetables. The cultivable soil around Medina is clay, mixed with a good deal of chalk and sand, and is of a grayish white colour. In other parts it consists of a yellow loam, and also of a substance resembling bole-earth; of the latter, small conical pieces about one and a half inches long, dried in the sun and suspended on a piece of riband, are sold to the pilgrims, who carry them home in commemoration of a miracle said to have been performed by Mohammed, who cured several Bedouins of a fever by washing their bodies with water in which this earth had been dissolved. The plain of Tehama contains large strata of salt. Lord Valentia states, that in digging a well at Mocha Mr. Pringle found the first eight feet to he the rubbish of buildings,—the next two of clay,—one of sea-mud and wreck,—six of broken madrepores, and eleven of sand and shells; thus showing that, to the depth of twenty-eight feet, the earth was entirely composed of marine exuviæ, with the exception of clay. Near the surface the water was highly mephitic; lower down it became less brackish, and yielded only one per cent. of salt. The wadis are generally formed of alluvial depositions; and are in consequence the most rich and beautiful spots in the peninsula.

The extreme variety of soils admits of a corresponding diversity in the modes of cultivation, as well as in the kind and quantity of the crops produced. In the greater part of Arabia agriculture may be said to be entirely unknown. In

Yemen, where there is a settled government, husbandry is in a more prosperous condition than in Syria or Mesopotamia. Whole fields are cultivated like gardens. Great pains are taken in watering them, though the Arabs have not adopted the hydraulic machinery which is used by their neighbours in Egypt and India. Their plough is of a very rude construction. It is dragged over the ground in every direction by oxen, until the surface is sufficiently broken and loosened for the reception of the seed. On the banks of the Euphrates sometimes asses and mules are employed in this labour. Where the ground is hilly and not accessible to the plough it is dug by the hoe; and this implement is sometimes so large as to require the management of two men, one of whom presses it into the earth, while the other pulls forward with a cord.

The crops most common in Arabia are wheat, barley, rice, millet, maize, dhourra, dokoun, and safra. The two latter yield small round yellow grains, which the Bedouins grind to flour, and subsist on during winter. No oats are sown in any part of Hejaz; but they grow in other districts of the country. There is great variation in the season both of sowing and reaping. In Nejed wheat and barley are sown in October and gathered in April. Rice is sown in June, and comes to maturity in September. The seedtime for dhourra, maize, dokoun, and safra is May; and they are reaped in August. No rice is cultivated in Nejed, owing to the aridity of the climate; but it grows abundantly in El Hassa, Oman, and Yemen, where nature has supplied the means of irrigation. In the Hauran, where there is plenty of water, the peasants sow winter and summer seeds; but where they have to depend entirely upon the rainy season nothing can be cultivated in summer. The first harvest is that of horse-beans, at the end of April, of which vast tracts are sown; next comes the barley harvest, and the wheat towards the end of May. In abundant years this grain sells at fifty piastres the gharara, or about 2*l.* 10*s.* for fifteen cwt. In the southern provinces there is a material change, both as to the time and the relative produce of the harvest. At Muscat wheat and barley are sown in December, and reaped about the end of March; while dhourra is sown in August, and ripens in November. This difference of seasons may be remarked even within the narrow extent of the province of

Yemen. At Sanaa, Niebuhr observed that the barley was cut down on the 15th of July, while the inhabitants of the neighbouring mountains were occupied in sowing their pulse and lentils. In the plain of Beit el Fakih the dhourra was seven feet high in the beginning of August; and at the same time the peasants in the valley of Zebid, distant only a very short day's journey, were ploughing and watering their fields for a second crop. Along the banks of the Euphrates barley is cut early in May, and wheat about six weeks later. All kinds of grain ripen at Bagdad twenty-four days sooner than at Mosul. This singular diversity of season is nowhere more remarkable than in the districts bordering on Syria. Burckhardt observed, that while the Hauran was everywhere covered with the richest verdure of wild herbage, every plant in Wady Ghor was already dried up. To the north Gebel Sheik was covered with snow; to the east the fertile plains of Jolan were clothed in the blossoms of spring; while towards the south the withered vegetation indicated the effect of a tropical sun.

The usual mode of sowing is with the hand: the seed is then covered with the plough or with a large rake, and watered every ten days, either by manual labour or with the aid of a simple machine, called *mahalah*, placed over the mouth of a well furnished with buckets, and wrought by asses or oxen. The Arabs use a small quantity of seed: they are disposed to trust in the bounty of Heaven and the regularity of the seasons, rather than lose a superfluous particle. In some districts of Yemen, maize, dhourra, and lentils are planted with the hand in furrows or drills: and these crops Niebuhr represents as the finest and most luxuriant he had ever seen. As the planter went on he covered the grain by pushing in the mould with his feet on both sides. In other places he followed the ploughman, who in his turn covered the seed by coming back upon the same furrow; a method which, though economical, must be exceedingly troublesome. Noxious weeds are rooted out with the hand while the corn is in the blade; and sometimes this operation is performed by a small plough, to which the oxen are so yoked, that they pass between the rows without injuring the plants, even when these are eight or ten inches high. For preserving the young crops the peasants watch their fields by turns, to drive away birds and granivorous animals. In the

highlands of Yemen the cornherd seats himself on a tree; in Tehama a sort of scaffold is raised, having a roof or awning spread over it. They are not, however, all equally careful; and Niebuhr remarks, that he passed fields between Mofhak and Sanaa very irregularly sown, and overrun with cockle-weeds.

In Nejad reaping is performed with the sickle; but in Yemen the ripe grain is pulled up by the roots; the instrument being only used in cutting grass or other forage for cattle. Like the Indians, the Arabs have a simple method of sharpening this implement by rubbing the blade with moistened sand. In thrashing their corn they have made no advance beyond the ancient and patriarchal fashion of which we read in the books of Moses. The sheaves are laid down on the floor in a certain order, and over them eight or ten oxen, fastened to an upright post in the centre, are driven, until the grain is completely separated from the ear. The straw is removed with pitchforks, and preserved as food for horses and cattle. In Yemen this operation is performed by two oxen dragging a large stone over the sheaves; and in the Hauran a heavy plank is used for the same purpose. Corn of all kinds is cleared from the chaff by being thrown up against the wind with a shovel (the *fan* of the sacred writers), and then passed through a sieve; after which it is ready for the process of grinding.

Travellers have remarked a very great difference with regard to the comparative increase of certain crops, and the productive powers of the soil. In Oman, according to Niebuhr, wheat yields ten to one; while in the best-cultivated lands of Yemen it gives a return of fifty fold. In the vicinity of Bussora and Bagdad the increase seldom exceeds twenty to one; at Mosul it varies from ten to fifteen; and in Diarbekir the ordinary wheat-crop produces from four to fifteen fold. In the Hauran this grain yields in middling years twenty-five, and in good seasons one hundred and twenty fold; while barley gives fifty, and in some instances eighty fold. But the corn of those districts which are watered solely from the clouds is of better quality, and produces more flour than what is grown on fields irrigated by artificial means: hence a return of fifteen in Syria is reckoned more than equivalent to twenty fold in Mesopotamia. A government-tax of ten per cent on all grain is levied in Nejed;

but where the labour of irrigation is required this impost is reduced one-half, in consideration of the additional expense. Of all kinds of grain dhourra is the most productive. On the hills of Yemen it gives a return of 140; and in Tehama, where the inhabitants reap three successive crops from the same field in the same year, this increase varies from 200 to 400: an exuberance that appears almost incredible, but which is chiefly owing to their mode of sowing and their industrious irrigation. As this grain forms the staple article of food, not only in Arabia, but in other Eastern countries, its extraordinary fertility must be regarded as one of those benevolent arrangements of Providence, whose economy is adapted with such exquisite wisdom to the wants and circumstances of man in all climates and in every region of the earth.

SECTION II.—MINERALOGY.

We have noticed elsewhere, that the mineral treasures ascribed by the ancients to Arabia have almost entirely vanished; although the positive and unanimous testimony both of the Greek and Latin authors will not permit us to doubt as to the fact of the wealth formerly drawn from the veins of Yemen. We have the authority of Niebuhr, that the precious metals are not found or known to exist in Arabia, which has no mines either of gold or silver. The rivulets no longer wash down the yellow grains from the hills; nor do their sands exhibit any trace of so rich an intermixture. All the gold circulating in that country comes from Abyssinia or Europe, and is generally received in payment for coffee or other merchandise. When the Imam of Sanaa last century attempted to introduce a gold currency, he was obliged to melt down foreign money (Venetian sequins) for the purpose. There are still enthusiasts in alchymy who pretend to know the art of transmuting metals, and imagine themselves sure of success could they but discover a certain herb, called *haschischet el dub*, which gilds the teeth and gives a yellow colour to the flesh of the sheep and goats that eat it. At Beit el Fakih the Danish travellers found two alchymists who had ruined themselves by their researches into the mystery of gold-making; and they mention a philosopher of Loheja, who endeavoured to persuade them that mines of

that precious article were known to him, and to nobody else; an assertion to which they paid not the slightest credit.

No veins of silver are known to exist; but a small quantity of that metal is extracted from the rich lead-mines in Oman. As the lead of that province is extremely fusible, the inhabitants export it in great abundance; and it forms an article of considerable traffic from the port of Muscat. In Wady Osh near Sinai the Arabs collect native cinnabar, which is usually found in small pieces about the size of a pigeon's egg. It is very seldom crystallized, though there are sometimes nodules on the surface. The fracture is in perpendicular fibres; and it stains the fingers of a dark colour.

Of precious stones, strictly so called, Niebuhr could learn nothing; and he supposes that in ancient times they must have been all imported from India. Though the onyx is common in Yemen, especially between Taas and Mount Sumarra, he did not think it probable that the emerald was indigenous. There is a hill that bears this name, but it is on the Egyptian side of the Gulf, and forms part of that large chain of granitic mountains that runs parallel with the Red Sea. The agate, called the *Mocha stone*, comes from Surat, and the finest carnelions are brought from the Gulf of Cambay. The *smaragdus cholos*, or inferior emerald, which according to Pliny was used in building to ornament the walls of houses, was prcbably diallage; and some writers (Malte Brun) have conjectured that the *aromatites*, or aromatic stone of the ancients, was amber. In a mountain near Damar is found a stone which the Arabs call *ayek yemani*, and which they hold in the highest estimation. It is of a red or rather a light brown colour, and seems to be a carnelion. The natives set it in rings or bracelets, and ascribe to it the talismanic virtue of healing wounds, and stanching blood when instantly applied. The topaz belongs to Arabia, and derived its name, according to Pliny, from the island Topazos (now called Zemorget) in the Red Sea. He also mentions Cytes, another islet where good specimens were found.

Stones of less value are by no means rare. In the neighbourhood of Loheia, the Danish travellers found a bluish gypsum, a gray schistus, and spheroidal marcasites, in beds of grit-stone, which are used in building. Near Kahhme they saw a ferruginous spar, mixed with brown and white

selenite, almost transparent. The dark granitic rocks of Sinai contain jasper, amethyst, and syenite; magnets are frequently to be met with in the province of Kusma; and at Saade there are iron-mines which are still worked. Particles of this ore are also to be found among the sands that are washed down from the hills by the rain. It was the belief of the ancients that Arabia was entirely destitute of iron; but this opinion proves to be unfounded. Niebuhr confesses, however, that it is coarse and brittle: and, from the scarcity of wood, it sells at a higher price than that which is imported from other countries.

At Loheia, and near the isle of Kameran, to the north of Hodeida, there are hills consisting almost entirely of fossil salt. These masses are piled up in large transparent strata, and enclosed in a crust of calcareous stone. The Arabs formerly wrought these mines; but the galleries have been allowed to sink down, although a considerable quantity of that article is still quarried in the neighbourhood.* Burckhardt states, that rock-salt is found in the mountains south of the Dead Sea, and in the sandstone strata in Wady Romman, near Gebel Mokkateb. Oman possesses copper-mines; and in the neighbourhood of Mecca Ali Bey observed some veins of sulphur that were open. In the northern Ghor, pieces of native sulphur are discovered at a small depth beneath the surface, which are used by the Bedouins for curing diseases in their camels. Shaw was of opinion that lead-mines existed near Sinai.

The Arabs, in general, still believe in the foolish old superstitions respecting their gems and precious stones; and are more apt to wonder at their miraculous virtues than to turn them to account in the way of commerce. In ancient times they were used as antidotes, to which the wearer piously ascribed his safety when surrounded with invisible danger. Among other absurdities, it is recorded of the Caliph Soliman that he wore constantly round his arm a bracelet composed of ten of these magical stones, which never failed to strike one against the other, and make a slight noise when any poison was near.† The carbuncle was believed to possess many wonderful qualities. It was supposed to be an animal sub-

* Capt. Head's Journey, p. 7.
† Marigny, Hist. des Arab. tome ii.

stance formed in the serpent, which had a most ingenious method of preserving it from the song of the charmer. The distinction of sex was also ascribed to it; the females threw out their radiance, while the males appeared within like brilliant and burning stars.*

* The historian De Thou mentions a marvellous carbuncle that was brought by an Eastern merchant to Bologna. Among its surprising properties, he states, "that being most impatient of the earth, if it was confined it would force its way, and immediately fly aloft. Certain shape it had none, for its figure was inconstant, and momentarily changing; and though at a distance it was beautiful to the eye, it would not suffer itself to be handled with impunity, but hurt those who obstinately struggled with it, as many persons, before many spectators, experienced. If by chance any part of it was broken off, for it was not very hard, it became nothing less."—*Thuanus*, lib. viii. ix. Besides the power of charming against spells, some of them were believed to have the virtue of rendering their possessor invisible or invulnerable, of enabling him to see through rocks, and to discover hidden treasures. Of their medicinal properties, we are told that the amethyst could remove the effects of intoxication; "for being bound on the navel, it restrains the vapours of the wine, and so dissolves the inebriety." The *borax* or *crapondinus* was reckoned of unfailing efficacy in poisons. It was said to be extracted from a dead toad, and described as of a black or dun colour, with a cerulean glow, having in the middle the similitude of an eye. The *kinocteus* was employed to cast out devils; and the *corvina*, a stone of a reddish colour, found in crows' nests, was supposed to make boiled or addled eggs fresh and prolific; besides having the virtue "to increase riches, bestow honours, and foretel many future events." The *alectoria*, a stone of a darkish crystalline colour, was said to be found in the intestines of capons that had lived seven years. Its size was no bigger than a bean; but its qualities are represented as of a very potent and miscellaneous nature. "It could render the person who carried it invisible; being held in the mouth it allays thirst, and therefore is proper for wrestlers; it makes a wife agreeable to her husband; bestows honours, and preserves those already acquired; it frees such as are bewitched; it renders a man eloquent, constant, and amiable; it helps to regain a lost kingdom and acquire a foreign one."—*Mirror of Stones.* "In the countrey called Panten or Tathalamasin, there be canes, called cassan, which overspread the earth like grasse, and out of every knot of them spring foorth certaine branches, which are continued upon the ground almost for the space of a mile. In the sayd

It was customary with the Arabian physicians, during the highest era of Saracen learning, to administer precious stones in the way of medicine, as remedies for certain diseases; but their miraculous properties have been long since exploded. It is now generally admitted, as has been already observed, that the greater part of the gems, jewels, and precious metals, with which the ancient Hamyarites embellished their cities, temples, and palaces, were obtained from the Indians, Persians, and Romans, in exchange for the spices and perfumes which they imported from the Happy Arabia.

SECTION III.—BOTANY.

Throughout the greater part of Arabia neither the soil nor the climate is favourable to vegetation; the botany of such a country cannot therefore be either varied or extensive. The heat of the sun is so intense that the flowers no sooner blow than they are withered; so that the naturalist is not only circumscribed as to the number of plants, but limited as to the proper time for observation; and if he miss the particular moment in examining certain species when they are in bloom, he can have no subsequent opportunity until another season. Besides these physical inconveniences there are others arising from the character of the inhabitants. The Arabs, who are an ignorant, jealous, and avaricious people, cannot comprehend how foreigners should be prompted by mere curiosity, or a love of science, to expose themselves to so much danger and fatigue; hence the idea prevalent among them is, that Europeans are attracted by motives of interest and the desire of discovering hidden treasures, either in their mountains or among the ruins of ancient cities. This belief operates strongly against scientific investigations; as travellers are exposed to the risk of being plundered or murdered, on account of the imaginary wealth which they are supposed to

canes there are found certaine stones, one of which stones whosoever carryeth about with him cannot be wounded with any yron; and by the vertue of these stones, the people aforesaid doe for the most part triumph both on sea and land."—*Odoricus in Hakluyt.* This evidently refers to the *Tabasheer*, a siliceous substance found in the joints of the bamboo, and to which great virtues are attributed in India.

possess. In Yemen there is less of this prejudice, and consequently less interruption, than in other provinces.*

There are in Arabia a considerable number of vegetable productions common to other regions, both of a colder and a warmer climate. In the highlands plants grow which are found in the northern parts of Europe; while in the plains and valleys may be seen species that are to be met with in India and Africa, and which have probably been introduced by settlers from these countries. Niebuhr has remarked, however, that where there are in Europe various species of any genus of plants, the Arabian species of the same genus are almost all new; while no such diversity is observed in those which are common to Arabia with India. So little known were the indigenous plants of Yemen, that Forskal was obliged to form no less than thirty new genera, besides a variety of doubtful species which he could hardly venture to include under any generic arrangement. Of the 800 specimens which he has described, it is unnecessary for our purpose to do more than allude to a few that may be considered remarkable for their novelty or their usefulness.

Vegetables.—The Arabs cultivate several pot-herbs that are common in our gardens,—such as carrots, turnips, beans, onions, leeks, garlic, asparagus, beet, spinach, lettuce, a very delicate purslain with sharp leaves, a sort of radish of which the leaves only are eaten, water-cresses, besides an immense variety of gourds, cucumbers, pumpkins, and melons; of the two latter there is a sort that grows wild in the woods, and serves for feeding camels. The proper melons are reared in the fields, and in such abundance that the natives of all ranks use them for some part of the year as their chief article of food. When nearly ripe the fruit is pierced into the pulp; this aperture is then stopped with wax, and the melon left upon the stalk. By means of this simple process, the pulp in a few days is converted into a delicious liquor. Of Indian vegetables naturalized in Arabia, Forskal enumerates a *Sida*

* Much was anticipated from the talents and attainments of Seetzen, who expected to make several discoveries in the mineral as well as in the animal and vegetable productions of the country; but the hopes of the scientific world were disappointed by his premature death at Akaba (supposed by poison). A short correspondence between him and M. de Zach of Saxe Gotha was translated and printed in 1810 by the Palestine Association.

and *Hibiscus*, resembling our mallows; a *Jussiæa*, the *Betel*, a beautiful species of *Acanthus*, and *Bunias* somewhat like our cabbages, the leaves of which are eaten boiled. There are other Indian plants which the Arabs eat raw by way of salad; a *Stapelia*, a *Cleome* not unlike mustard; a *Dolichos* and *Glycyne*, resembling French beans, are very common in Yemen, and so beautiful when ripe that they are strung into necklaces and bracelets, which are highly esteemed. There are some culinary vegetables that require no culture, such as the *Corchorus*, the *Sælanthus*, the leaves of which, when boiled, have a pleasing acid taste; and the celebrated *Colocasia* (a species of *Arum*), which flourishes abundantly in all marshy places.

Plants.—Of these the variety is not great; and they are chiefly of the saline or succulent kind. The sandy plains produce the same genera as Northern Africa, which serve as agreeable objects to the traveller, as well as to alleviate the thirst of the camel in the weary journeys of the caravans through the Desert. Different kinds of *Zygophyllum*, *Hedysarum*, *Colutea*, *Mesembryanthemum*, *Salsola*, with other prickly herbs and shrubs, are browsed by these animals, which are content with the driest and hardest fare. The ass eats a species of the *Scorzonera*, so rough and bitter that even the camel refuses to taste it. There is a species of *Mesembryanthemum*, the grain of which the Bedouins prepare into a sort of bread, and eat it as readily as if it were made of wheat. It is in the wadis and recesses of the mountains that Arabian botany ought to be studied; and here, as Burckhardt remarks of the Sinai group, the naturalist would find a rich harvest. He mentions in particular the *tattar* (*Ocymum tatarhendi*), as affording the best possible food for sheep; and the *nooman* (the *Euphorbia retusa* of Forskal), bearing a pretty red flower, which abounds in these valleys, and is seen among the cliffs of the most barren granitic rocks. The monks of St. Catherine collect various herbs when in full bloom, which they dry and send to their archbishop, who distributes them to his friends and dependants, as they are supposed to possess many virtues conducive to health. This barren peninsula is the favourite soil of the rose of Jericho, an *Apocynum* or dog's bane, the *Absinthium santonicum judaicum*, the *Asteriscus trianthophorus*, *Astragalus perennis*, and several others, which Shaw has enumerated in his "Speci-

men Phytographiæ." The *Ocymum*, the most beautiful species of the *Basilic*, is much valued for its perfume, as are also an *Inula*, a sort of elecampane ; a *Cacalia* from the heart of Africa ; and the genus *Dianthera*, of which Forskal discovered eight species. The same traveller gave the name of *Moscharia* to a plant of a new genus, on account of its musky smell. Among the odoriferous herbs of which he collected specimens were lavender, marjoram, lilies, and pinks. The most fragrant, as well as the most remarkable for their fine flowers, were those common to India and Arabia, such as an *Ipomœa*, resembling the rope-weed ; a *Pancraticum*, with a flower of the purest white, which he called the sea-daffodil, and a species of *Hibiscus*, whose flower is singularly large, and of the brightest red colour. The Arabs are by no means indifferent to the beauties of Flora, as the peasants in many parts retain the ancient custom of crowning themselves on festive occasions with chaplets and garlands.

There are certain plants used for purposes of domestic economy, while others are universally esteemed for their medicinal qualities. A mean-looking herb like orache is mentioned by Forskal, and ranked by him as a distinct genus, by the name of *Suæda*, which affords abundance of an alkaline salt excellent for whitening linen, and employed instead of soap by the common people. Burckhardt states, that the Bedouins of Wady Genne, near Sinai, use for the same purpose the herb *ajrem*, which they dry and pound between two stones. In the same valley he found several people occupied in collecting shrubs, which they burn into charcoal for the Cairo market. The thick roots of the *rethern* (the *Genista rætan* of Forskal), which grows there in great plenty, is the kind they prefer. For its well-known properties in dying, the indigo-shrub (*Indigofera*, Linn.) is universally cultivated here, blue being the favourite colour of the Arabs. We are told, that when this plant happens to be scarce the natives contrive to extract indigo from a species of *Polygala*. The common *kali* (*Salsola kali*, Linn.) grows in great abundance on the coasts and in the islands of the Red Sea. There is one plant which, though not a native of Arabia, deserves to be noticed, as it serves a very important economical purpose both in that country and in Egypt. It is a gray-coloured herb, called *schæbe*, an infusion of which, mixed with a certain quantity of meal, forms a leaven for the fermentation both of bread

and beer. This is considered essential to the process of brewing, and it communicates an agreeable taste to the liquor. Upon examining this herb, Forskal found it to be a *lichen* of the plum-tree, of which several ship-loads were then annually imported from the Archipelago into Alexandria. Among the new genera discovered by the Danish botanist, several were distinguished for their curious properties. The *Polycephalus suaveolens*, which resembles the thistle, has at a distance the appearance of a heap of loose balls each of which encloses a bunch of flowers. The *Nerium obesum*, a sort of laurel-rose, is remarkable for a singular bulb close to the earth about the size of a man's head, which forms all its trunk, and out of which the branches spring. The *Volutella aphylla* (*Cassyta filiformis*, Linn.) appears like a long slender thread, without root or leaves, which entwines itself about trees. It bears, however, a sort of flower, and berries which are eaten by children. The *caydbeja* (called *Forskalea* by Linnæus, in honour of its discoverer) grows in the driest parts of the country. It has small feelers, with which it fixes itself so tenaciously upon soft or smooth substances, that it must be torn in pieces before it can be removed.

Arundinaceous plants are necessarily limited to certain districts. In most parts of Yemen, a sort of panick-grass or bulrush (*Panicum* and *Scirpus*, Linn.) is used in roofing houses; and as rains are not frequent, these slender coverings are found to be sufficient. There is a particular sort of rush on the borders of the Red Sea, of which the natives work carpets so fine that they are exported to other countries, even as far as Constantinople, and form a considerable branch of trade. There is also a species of field-reed, which rises to the gigantic height of twenty-four feet, and is found in great abundance in the district of Ghobebe, near Suez. It is an article of commerce, being exported to Yemen, where it is used in the ceiling of houses. In the same neighbourhood Niebuhr was surprised to see a *Conferva* growing at the bottom of the Hammam Faraoun, the temperature of which was at 142¼° of Fahrenheit's scale. That the sugar-cane was from a very early period cultivated in Yemen has been already noticed.* When the Arabs conquered Spain and the Medi-

Pliny mentions it. "Saccharon et Arabia fert, sed laudatius India." Lib. xii. cap. 17.

terranean islands they introduced it among their other improvements. The experiment succeeded; and in Sicily the duty imposed on its exportation produced a very large revenue to the government. The ancient records of Calabria inform us that seven villages were entirely employed in this commerce. With the Portuguese discoveries the Indian cane travelled to America, where its extensive plantations so lowered the price of sugar that it became impossible to support a competition; in consequence of which its cultivation was gradually abandoned.

Medicinal Plants.—Vegetables were evidently the first medicines; and among all primitive nations a traditionary knowledge of their virtues has been preserved. The Arabs used them with a wonderful degree of success, though the greater part of these simple remedies is a mystery to strangers. It is unnecessary to describe plants belonging to such well-known genera as *Aloe* and *Euphorbia;* of the latter the species are exceedingly numerous in Arabia. In hot countries infested with venomous animals, the inhabitants learn from experience what plants are salutary to man by operating as counter-poisons; among the Arabs these from time immemorial have been held in the greatest esteem. They appear, however, according to Forskal, to be ignorant of the properties of the *Ophiorrhiza* (serpent-root), which is very common on their hills; but they highly value the evergreen *Aristolochia*, which they consider, not only as a remedy, but a preservative against the bite of serpents. Whoever drinks a decoction of this herb six weeks successively is fortified, in their opinion, against all future danger from these noxious reptiles. It is not improbable that jugglers, who in the East expose themselves so daringly to be bitten by serpents, have recourse to some such artificial protection. The prickly caper is reckoned an excellent antidote against all kinds of poisons. Senna (*Cassia Senna*, Linn.) and other sorts of cassia, are prescribed in various diseases. *Cassia fistula*, or black cassia, is reckoned by the Arabian physicians the best cure for cholera morbus, and other affections of a similar nature, which in warm climates are peculiarly dangerous. Though its favourite soil seems to be Upper Egypt, it abounds on the opposite side of the Red Sea. That which we call Senna of Alexandria grows in the territory of Abu-Arish; the natives sell it at Mecca and Jidda, whence it passes by way of Egypt

to the Mediterranean ports. There are several species; and, judging from the differently-shaped leaves, it would seem that what is imported into Europe is not all the produce of the same plant. The Bedouins of Sinai use coloquintida, which abounds in all the wadis of that peninsula, in syphilitic complaints. They fill the bulk with camel's milk, roast it over the fire, and then administer to the patient the contents thus impregnated with the essence of the fruit. They likewise manufacture it into tinder, which is done by the following process:—After roasting the root in the ashes, they wrap it in a wetted rag of cotton cloth; it is then pounded between two stones; and by this means the juice is expressed and absorbed by the cloth, which imbibes a tint of a dirty blue colour. The rag, when dried in the sun, ignites with the slightest spark of fire.

In the same districts tobacco is raised in considerable quantities, and forms a profitable branch of traffic. The Towara tribes are all great consumers of this luxury; and whether they smoke or chew, they always mix with it natron or salt. They draw their chief supply from Wady Feiran, where its quality is very strong, and of the same species as that grown on the other mountains of Petræa, near Wady Mousa and Kerek, which retains its green colour even when dry. Such is the currency which this commodity has acquired in trade, that the *moud*, or measure of tobacco, forms the standard by which the Tebna Arabs buy and sell minor articles among themselves.* Hemp, as has been already observed, is cultivated and used as a narcotic over all Arabia. The flowers, or small leaves surrounding the seed, when mixed with tobacco, are called *hashish;* and with this the common people fill their pipes. The higher classes eat it in a jelly or paste called *maajoun*, and made in the following manner:—A quantity of the leaves is boiled with butter for several hours, and then put under a press until the juice exudes, which is mixed with honey and other sweet drugs, and publicly exposed for sale in shops kept for the purpose.

* A moud, according to Burckhardt, is equal to 18 or 19 lbs. English; 3½ rotolo (about 5½ lbs. each) make a moud, and 80 mouds are a gharara. The rotolo or pound of Mecca contains 144 drachms; at Jidda it is nearly double. The erdeb is equivalent to about 15 English bushels. At Mecca it is divided into 50 *keile* or measures, and at Medina into 96.

The hashish paste is politely termed *bast* (cheerfulness), and the venders of it are called *basti*, or cheerful-makers. It exhilarates the spirits, and excites the imagination as powerfully as opium. Many persons of the first rank use it in one shape or other; and there are some who mix with it seeds of the benj, which is brought from Syria.

SECTION IV.—TREES AND SHRUBS.

Forests are neither common nor extensive in Arabia; they are only to be seen in the wadis, and where the hills retain enough of earth for vegetation. In general, however, trees are either absolutely unknown, or at least different from those of the same genera and species in Europe. As the interior has been little explored by travellers, it is not surprising that we should remain comparatively ignorant of its indigenous productions. But from what Forskal accomplished in his hasty excursion, it would appear that Yemen possesses a great variety of trees, as these alone comprehend more than half of the new genera proposed by that naturalist. He likewise enumerates eighteen others which he saw, but whose genus he had no opportunity of ascertaining. Of most of these he merely learned the Arabic names and a few of their properties. *Noeman*, a native of the Coffee Mountains, is often confounded with the cassia-tree. *Bæka* and *anas* are common in the hills; their juice is narcotic and poisonous. *Schamama* bears a fruit that tastes and smells like a lemon; *gharib el bæke* abounds in Abu-Arish, and distils an agreeable substance, of which the birds appeared to be particularly fond. *Segleg*, in the same district, bears leaves, the sap of which when expressed is esteemed an excellent remedy in cases of weak sight. In Yemen Forskal saw two trees, one of which resembled the lemon, and the other the apple-tree; but the inhabitants knew neither their names nor their qualities. The *sym el horat* (or poison of fishes) is the fruit of an unknown tree in Southern Arabia, and exported in considerable quantities. Fishes swallow it eagerly, after which they float in a state of seeming intoxication on the surface of the water, and are easily taken. Among the new genera described by the Danish traveller, and considered peculiar to Arabia, are the *katha*, *el kaya*, *keura*, and *onkoba*. The *katha*, which is improvable by cultivation, is commonly

planted on the hills among the coffee-shrubs. The natives constantly chew the buds of this tree, which they call *kaad*, and to which they ascribe the virtues of assisting digestion, and of fortifying the constitution against infectious distempers. The taste, according to Niebuhr, is insipid, and the only effects he experienced from eating them was the interruption of sleep. The *kuera* and *el kaya* are celebrated for their perfume. The former bears some resemblance to the palm, and produces flowers of a rich and delicious odour. They are scarce, and draw a high price; but a small quantity, if preserved in a cool place, will continue for a long time to diffuse its fragrance through a whole apartment. The latter is common on the hills of Yemen; the women steep its fruit in water, which they use for washing and perfuming the hair. The *onkoba* is a large tree, yielding an insipid fruit, which children eat. Of the *khadara*, the *antura*, and the *kulhamia* we know nothing, except that they are new species discovered by Forskal, and that their wood is used in building. The chestnut and sycamore grow to a gigantic size in Hejaz. The Arabs, however, have little timber suited for this purpose, their trees being generally of a light porous texture. The *skeura*, a new genus, which grows on the shore of the Red Sea, is so soft that it is entirely useless. The *el atl*, which abounds in Nejed, resembles the oak, and is employed in the construction of houses. The *samar*, *sareh*, *salem*, *wahat*, and *kathad* serve only for firewood; their leaves afford shelter for the cattle, and form the chief nourishment of the camels.

Fruit-trees.—Most of the fruit-trees reared in the gardens and hot-houses of Europe are indigenous to Arabia. The apple, pear, peach, apricot, almond, quince, citron, pomegranate, lemon, orange, olive, mulberry, and filberts are to be met with in the wadis and irrigated plains, from the borders of the Dead Sea to the Euphrates and the shores of Oman.* The Arabs likewise eat the fruit of several common shrubs, such as *Asclepias* and the *Rhamnus*; but they have a species of pear and a cornel peculiar to themselves. From com-

* Burckhardt doubts whether apples or pears grow in Arabia (Travels, p. 367); but he seems to have forgotten that he mentions them elsewhere among the fruits in the garden of the convent at Mount Sinai. Niebuhr speaks of them as common in Yemen, *tome* iii. 130.

mon oranges, cut through the middle while green, dried in the air, and steeped forty days in oil, they prepare an essence famous among old women for restoring a fresh black colour to gray hairs.* Though wine is forbidden, they plant vines, and have a great variety of grapes, a small kind of which, without stones, called *zebib* or *kischmis*, they dry and export in considerable quantities. They also prepare from mint a syrup known by the name of *dubs* or *debs*, which they find a lucrative article of commerce.

The Banians have imported many fruit-trees from India, which have all become naturalized in their adopted country; such are the banana (*Musa*, Linn.), the mango (*Mangifera indica*, Linn.), the papaya (*Carica papaya*, Linn.), a *Cissus*, an excellent counterpoison, the cocoa, and the Indian fig-tree (*Ficus religiosa*). The singular property that the latter possesses of propagating itself by means of filaments shooting from its boughs, which take root on reaching the ground and spring up into new trunks, is well known. Forskal saw more than a dozen species of fig-trees, not one of which are mentioned by Linnæus; but their fruit was far from being agreeable, and seldom eaten as food. The bark of one species was used in tanning leather; and the leaves of another were so rough that they served for cleaning and polishing iron. At Beit el Fakih he found some fine ornamental trees, which he supposed to be of Indian origin; but, as their characteristics were different from those of any other known species, he classed them in two new genera, under the names of *Hyperanthera* and *Binectaria* (*Mimusops obtusifolia* of botanists).

By far the most common and important of the palm tribe is the date-tree, the fruit of which constitutes the staple nourishment of the Arabs during the greater part of the year. In Hejaz the places chiefly renowned for this valuable production are the gardens of Medina, and the valleys at Safra and Jedeida on the route to Mecca. Almost every district, however, has its own variety, which grows nowhere

* From the name *Portughan*, given to the orange both in Arabia and Italy, travellers and naturalists have supposed that it was brought into Europe by the Portuguese. This is a mistake. The orange was cultivated by the Arabs in Sicily and Spain many centuries before the Portuguese visited the East.—*See* p. 102 *of this volume.* *Cod. Diplom. Arab. Sicil.*, tome i p. 114.

else. Burckhardt was informed that upwards of a hundred different sorts grew in the immediate neighbourhood of Medina; and a native historian in his description of that city has enumerated one hundred and thirty. The cheapest and most common kinds are the *jebeli*, the *heloua*, the *heleya*, a very small date not larger than a mulberry; it has its name from its extraordinary sweetness, in which it equals the finest figs from Smyrna; and, like them, when dried is covered with a saccharine crust. This was the date with which Mohammed is alleged to have performed a very great miracle, by planting a kernel in the earth, which instantly took root, grew up, and in five minutes became a full-grown tree loaded with fruit. Another miracle is related of the species called *el syhani*, which hailed the Prophet as he passed under it with a loud Salaam Aleikoom! The *birni* is esteemed the most wholesome and the easiest of digestion; Mohammed, with whom it was a favourite, recommended the Arabs to eat seven of them every morning before breakfast. The *jebeli*, which is scarce, is about one inch in breadth, three in length, and has a very agreeable taste. The price of the *birni* is twenty paras, or 2.083*d.* per *keile* (a measure containing about 120 dates), while the jebeli are sold at the rate of eight for the same money. They are in great request with the hajjis, who always carry some of them home as presents to their friends: they are bought in small boxes holding about a hundred. One species of the Medina date remains perfectly green even when ripe and dried; another retains a bright saffron colour. These are threaded on strings, and worn as ornaments by children, or sold under the name of *Kalayd es Sham*, or Necklaces of the North. Dates are dressed in a variety of ways; they are boiled, stewed with butter, or reduced to a thick pulp by simmering in water, over which honey is poured. It is a saying of the Arabs, "that a good housewife may furnish her husband every day for a month with a dish of dates differently prepared."

The many purposes to which almost every part of this tree is applied have been mentioned by several travellers. The timber serves for rafters or firewood, the fibres for cordage, and the leaves for cages, boxes, bedsteads, baskets, cradles, and other articles of the hurdle species. The Hejazees, like the Egyptians, make use of the leaves, the outer and inner

bark, and the fleshy substance at the root of the leaves where they spring from the trunk. The kernels, after being soaked for two days in water until they become soft, are given as food to camels, cows, and sheep, instead of barley, and are said to be much more nutritive than that grain. In Nejed the kernels are ground for the same purpose; but this is not done in Hejaz. At Medina there are shops where nothing else is sold but date-stones; and in all the main streets beggars are occupied in picking up those that are thrown away. The fruit does not all ripen at the same time, each species having its particular season. The harvest at Medina continues for two or three months (from July till September), but dates are eaten by the beginning of June. This epoch is expected with as much anxiety, and attended with the same general rejoicings, as the vintage or the harvest-home in Europe. "What is the price of dates at Mecca or Medina?" is always the first question asked by a Bedouin who meets a passenger on the road. A failure of the crop, either from the ravages of the locusts or the exhaustion of the trees, which are seldom known to produce abundantly more than three or four successive years, causes a general distress, and spreads a universal gloom over the inhabitants. The process of impregnating this tree artificially, by scattering the pollen over the female flowers, is still practised by the modern Arabs, exactly as described by Pliny and Ammianus. The date-groves around Medina are cultivated by farmers, called *nowakhele*, who were assessed by the Wahabees according to the number of trees in each field. For every *erdeb* of dates the Nejed tax-gatherers levied their quota either in kind or in money according to the current market-price. At Safra the plantations, which extend to four miles in length, belong partly to the inhabitants of the village and partly to the neighbouring Bedouins (the Beni Salem). Every small grove is enclosed by a mud or stone wall, and interspersed with hamlets or low insulated huts. The trees pass from one individual to another in the course of trade; they are sold singly, according to their respective value, and often constitute the dowry paid by the suitor to the girl's father on marrying her. The sand is heaped up round their roots, and must be renewed every year, as it is usually washed away by the torrents from the hills, which sometimes form a brook twenty feet broad and three or four

deep. Here the Wahabees imposed heavy assessments, taxing not only the produce of the groves and gardens, but the very water used in irrigating them. In Wady Feiran Burckhardt mentions the *jamya* as the best species, of which the monks of Sinai send large boxes annually to Constantinople as presents, after having taken out the kernel and put an almond in its place. Among these date-groves he observed several doun-trees, as well as in other parts of the peninsula. They belong to the Tebna Arabs, and during the five or six weeks of harvest the valley is crowded with people, who erect temporary huts of palm-branches, and pass their time in great conviviality. At Dahab the plantations have a very different appearance from those in Hejaz. The lower branches, instead of being taken off annually, are suffered to remain, and hang down to the ground, forming an almost impenetrable barrier round the tree, the top of which only is crowned with green leaves.

Manna.—The true nature and origin of this substance, celebrated as the miraculous food of the Israelites, have not yet been very satisfactorily ascertained. The observations made by travellers and naturalists do not accord with the Scripture narrative, nor do they afford any explanation of the phenomena as recorded by Moses (Exod. xvi., Numb. xi.) That it is a vegetable production is generally admitted. Rauwolf has described a thorny plant called *algul*, which yields a species of manna; and Michaelis mentions another under the name of *alhage*. Niebuhr neglected to inquire after this substance, and what he heard from a monk near Suez was an idle legend not worth repetition. He was told that in Mesopotamia manna is produced by several trees of the oak genus; that it covers the leaves like flour, and is obtained by shaking the branches. July or August are the months in which it is gathered, and it is found in greater abundance in moist than in dry seasons. When fresh it is white and saccharine, but it melts in the sun. At Bussora this traveller was shown another species called *taranjubil*, which is gathered from a prickly shrub near Ispahan: the grains were round and yellowish. Both of these sorts were used by the inhabitants as sugar in preparing several dishes, especially pastry. Burckhardt is clearly of opinion that the manna of Scripture is that which distils from the *tarfa* or tamarisk-tree, a shrub abounding in the peninsula of Smai. This remarkable fact,

he observes, remained unknown in Europe until it was first mentioned by Seetzen. It is called *mann* by the Bedouins, and accurately resembles that described by the Jewish historian.* In the month of June it drops from the prickles of the tamarisk upon the fallen leaves and twigs, which always cover the ground beneath the branches, in its natural state. The Arabs collect it in the morning, when it is coagulated, but it dissolves as soon as the sun shines upon it. They clean away the leaves and dirt which adhere to it; and, after being boiled, it is strained through a coarse piece of cloth and put into leathern skins, in which it is preserved till the following year. They do not seem to make it into cakes or loaves; but they dip their morsel into it, or pour it as they do honey over their unleavened bread. It is found only in seasons when copious rains have fallen, and sometimes it is not produced at all. When kept in a cool temperature it is hard and solid, but becomes soft if held in the hand or exposed to the sun. The colour is a dirty yellow; but the taste is agreeable, somewhat aromatic, and sweet as honey. If eaten in considerable quantities it is said to be slightly purgative. The Bedouins esteem it as the greatest dainty which their country affords: the produce, however, even in the best years, is trifling, perhaps not exceeding 500 or 600 pounds. The harvest is usually in June, and lasts about six weeks. Though the tamarisk abounds in Hejaz, on the Euphrates, and in every part of Arabia, Burckhardt never heard of its yielding manna except in Mount Sinai. He was informed that in Asia Minor near Erzeroum, the kind mentioned by Niebuhr was still collected from the tree which produces the galls; but this is probably the gum-tragacanth, which is obtained from a spinous shrub of the genus *Astragalus*, and which is so strong that a drachm will give to a pint of water the consistency of a syrup. This gum is indigenous in Natolia, Crete, and Greece. There is, however, a confusion in his different accounts of the manna, which he appears

* Josephus derives the name from the Hebrew particle *man*, which, he says, means *What is it?* this being the exclamation of the Jews when they first beheld that divine and wonderful food.—(Antiq. b. iii. c. 1.) Whiston, in a note on the text, rather thinks it comes from the verb *mannah*, to divide; and mentions that in an old heathen writer, Artapanus, it is compared "to oatmeal, and like snow in colour."

sometimes to have mistaken for other vegetable substances. The modern officinal drug sold under this name comes from Italy and Sicily, where it is obtained from a species of ash, with a leaf resembling that of the acacia. The Calabrian manna is said to exude after the puncture of an insect,—a species of grasshopper that sucks the plant; and this fact led Michaelis to propose the question to the Danish travellers, whether the Arabian species might not be produced in a similar manner. But notwithstanding the identity of the name, the resemblance in the description, and the concurrence of learned naturalists, it is impossible to reconcile the manna of Scripture with any species of vegetable gum, much less to explain the preternatural circumstances connected with its appearance. We are expressly told that it was rained from heaven; that it lay on the ground when the dew was exhaled, round and small as the hoar-frost, like coriander-seed, and its colour like a pearl; that it fell but six days in the week; that it became offensive and bred worms if kept above one day; that the double quantity provided for the Sabbath kept sweet for two days; that it continued falling for forty years, but ceased on the arrival of the Israelites at the borders of Canaan. These and other facts all indicate the extraordinary nature of the production; and in no one respect do they correspond with the distillations of the tarfa, the gharrab, or the talh-tree. These gums are collected only for about a month in the year; they do not admit of being ground in a hand-mill, nor baked; they are not subject to putrefaction if kept, nor are they peculiar to the Petræan wilderness; besides, the constant and daily supply in a desert often barren of all vegetation must have been impossible, except on the supposition that the trees accompanied them on their march. Whatever the manna was, it was obviously a substitute for food; and the peculiarities connected with its regular continuance, its corruption, and periodical suspension are facts not less extraordinary than the mysterious nature of the substance itself. It is in vain to attempt any explanation of these phenomena by natural causes. A skeptical philosophy may succeed in reconciling preternatural appearances with its own notions of probability; but this gives not a particle of additional evidence to the credibility of the sacred narrative. The whole miracle, as related by Moses, admits but of one solution—the interposition of a

Divine power. As for local traditions or modern practices, these, we have already shown, are unsafe guides in matters of history; much less can they be admitted as authorities in support of revealed truth.

Gum-Arabic.—According to Burckhardt this substance is the produce of the talh, which he calls the gum-arabic-tree. In describing Wady Lahyane, between Akaba and Gaza, he says that the Bedouins feed their camels upon the thorny branches of this shrub, of which they are extremely fond. In summer they collect the gum, which they sell at Cairo for about 12*s.* or 15*s.* per cwt. The taste he represents as insipid, but he was assured it was very nutritive. Of this latter fact Hasselquist mentions a striking confirmation, in the case of an Abyssinian caravan crossing the African desert to Cairo in 1750. Finding their provisions consumed while they had yet sixty days to travel, they had recourse to gum-arabic, of which they carried a considerable quantity with them; and upon this alone 1000 persons subsisted for two months. Burckhardt, however, in another place says, that in Wady Nebk he found the acacia-trees thickly covered with this gum, which the Towara tribe sell at Cairo, though its quality is inferior to that from Sennaar or Soudan. The Bedouins use it as a substitute for water. Some have supposed the gum-arabic-tree to be the *Acacia vera* (the *Mimosa Nilotica*, Linn.), which Hasselquist says the Egyptian Arabs call *charrad* (perhaps the *gharrab* of Burckhardt), and which he represents as also producing the *thus* or frankincense, and the *Succus acaciæ*. The *thus* he describes as pellucid and white, or rather colourless; while the gum is of a brownish or dirty yellow. This exactly agrees with the accounts given of the manna; hence it is probable these substances are nearly, if not altogether, identical. In collecting the leaves of the acacia for the use of their camels, the Bedouins spread a straw mat under the tree, and beat the boughs with long sticks, when the youngest and freshest buds are brought down; and these are sold in the markets as fodder.

Honey is an article much used in Arabian cookery, and found in various districts of the country. The mountains near Safra swarm with bees, of which the Bedouins take possession by placing wooden hives upon the ground. This honey is of the finest quality, white, and clear as water. One

of the most interesting productions of Wady Ghor is the beyrouk honey (the *Assal beyrouk* of the Arabs), which Burckhardt supposed to be manna. It was described to him as a juice dropping from the leaves and twigs of the gharrab-tree, about the height of an olive, with leaves like those of the poplar, only somewhat broader. The honey is sweet when fresh, but turns sour when kept for two days. It is gathered in May and June, either from the leaves, on which it collects like dew, or from the ground under the tree. The colour is brownish, or rather of a grayish hue.

Shrubs.—The deserts and mountains of Arabia produce a variety of shrubs, with the uses and qualities of which we are but imperfectly acquainted, and many of their names might have remained utterly unknown had they not been accidentally noticed by the passing traveller. Several new genera were discovered by Forskal, but he had little opportunity for examining their properties. Of the *mærua*, *kadaba*, and *masa* nothing particular has been recorded. The fruit of the *sadada* is eaten; and from the berry of the *kebutha* is extracted a very strong kind of brandy, the acid taste of which is counteracted by a mixture of sugar. *Dolichos*, a species of that false phaseolus already mentioned, grows up to a bushy shrub, so as to form hedges in a short time which are almost impenetrable. The wood of the *Cynanchum*, called *march* by the Arabs, is used for fuel; it has all the lightness and combustibility of tinder; and Forskal observed that the peasants near Loheia kindled it by rubbing one piece against another. The *nebek* (*Rhamnus Lotus*), the fruit of which the Arabs sometimes eat in preference to dates, is very common in the plain of Medina; large quantities of it are exposed in the market, where a person may obtain enough to satisfy himself for a pennyworth of corn, which is readily taken in exchange instead of money. The inhabitants of Wady Feiran grind the dried fruit together with the stone, and preserve the meal, which they call *bryse*, in leathern skins in the same way as the Nubian Bedouins do. It forms an excellent provision for journeying in the desert, as it only requires the addition of buttermilk to make a most nourishing, pleasant, and refreshing diet. Among the rocks of Mount St. Catherine, Burckhardt observed, besides other shrubs, the *Sorour* nearly in full bloom; its fruit is about the size of a small cherry, and has very much the flavour of the straw-

berry. In Wady Mousa junipers grow in considerable numbers. The tamarisk and talh-tree abound in the same region. The tree called *asheyr* by the Arabs is very common in Wady Ghor. It bears a fruit of a reddish yellow colour, about three inches in diameter, which contains a white substance resembling the finest silk, and enveloping the seeds. The Bedouins collect this stuff, and twist it into matches for their muskets, preferring it to the common match, as it ignites more readily. Burckhardt says that more than twenty camel-loads of this substance could be annually procured, and perhaps might be found useful in the silk and cotton manufactures of Europe. This tree, when incisions are made into the branches, yields a white juice, which the natives collect, by putting a hollow reed into the aperture, and sell to the druggists at Jerusalem, who are said to use it in medicine as a strong cathartic. In the gardens of Medina the *ithel*, a species of tamarisk, is cultivated for its hard wood, of which the Arabs make camels' saddles, and every utensil that requires strong handles. The burial-grounds round Mecca are adorned with a low shrub of the aloe genus called *sabber* (or patience), which is planted at the extremity of almost every tomb opposite the epitaph. It is an evergreen, requiring very little water ; and is chosen for this purpose in allusion to the patience necessary in waiting for the resurrection. Of the *Mimosa* genus there are several species in Arabia. One of these (*Mimosa selam*) produces splendid flowers of a beautiful red colour, with which the natives crown their heads on festive occasions. The flowers of another (*Mimosa Lebbeck ; Acacia Lebbeck*, Linn.) are no less remarkable for a fine silky tuft formed by their pistils. There is another so sensitive that it droops its branches whenever any person approaches it, appearing to salute those who retire under its shade. This mute hospitality has so endeared it to the Arabs, that the injuring or cutting of it down is strictly prohibited. The pod of the *syale* and the tender shoots of the branches serve as fodder for cattle, while the bark is used in tanning leather. The leaves of the *Mimosa orfora* (*Acacia horrida*, Linn.) preserve camels' milk sweet for several days ; the smoke of the wood is said to expel a worm, which fixes itself in the flesh of the human neck and produces epileptic fits. The tamarisk is cultivated as an object equally useful and agreeable ; its shade is a protection from the scorching heat of the sun ; and

its graceful figure adorns the scenery of the country. It is one of the most common productions of the desert from Mecca to the Euphrates, and in the driest season, when all vegetation around is withered, it never loses its verdure.

The *balessan* or celebrated balsam of Mecca (the balm of Gilead in Scripture) has been already noticed in the Botany of Abyssinia. According to Burckhardt, Safra and Bedr are the only places in Hejaz where it can be obtained in a pure state. The tree from which it is collected (called by the Arabs *beshem*) grows on Gebel Sobh and the neighbouring mountains, and is said to be from ten to fifteen feet high, with a smooth trunk and thin bark. In the middle of summer small incisions are made in the rind; from these the juice immediately issues, which is then taken off with the thumb-nail and put into a vessel. The gum appears to be of two kinds; one of a white colour, which is most esteemed, the other of a yellowish-white. The latter, which the Bedouins bring to market in small sheepskin bottles, has a bitter taste and a strong turpentine smell. The people of Safra generally adulterate it with sesamum-oil and tar. When they try its purity, they dip their finger into it and apply it to the fire; if it burn without giving pain or leaving a mark, they judge it to be of good quality;—if otherwise, they consider it bad. The test mentioned by Bruce of letting a drop fall into a cup of water, when the good falls coagulated to the bottom and the bad swims on the surface, is unknown to the Hejazees. The Bedouins, who sell it to the Safra Arabs, demand two or three dollars a pound for it when quite genuine; while the latter dispose of it to the hajjis, chiefly the Persians, in an adulterated state, at five or six times the prime cost. The richer classes put a drop into the first cup of coffee which they drink in the morning, from the notion that it acts as a tonic. That which is sold at Mecca and Jidda, for the Cairo market, always undergoes several adulterations. The seeds are employed to procure abortion, but the balm itself is used medicinally, and highly valued in the harems on account of its cosmetic qualities. Forskal, who gives a botanical description of this tree as a new species of *Amyris*, found one of them in the open fields. Its appearance was not beautiful; but what seems very remarkable is, that the inhabitants of Yemen, according to his account, were ignorant of its qualities. They only burn the wood as a

perfume in the same manner as they do the *kafal*, another sort of *Amyris*, which is exported to Egypt, and there used as fuel, to communicate an agreeable odour to the vessels and the liquors which are boiled in them.

Gharkad (the *Peganum retusum* of Forskal), a thorny shrub, bearing a small red berry about the size of a pomegranate-seed, is common in the peninsula of Sinai, especially in Wady Gharendel. It comes to maturity in the height of summer, and surprises the traveller by the delicious refreshment which it affords in the parched and solitary wilderness. The fruit is juicy and pleasant, much resembling a ripe gooseberry in taste, but not so sweet; and when the crop is abundant, the Arabs make a conserve of the berries. This is the shrub which Burckhardt supposes might have been used by Moses to sweeten the bitter waters of Marah (Exod. xv. 25); but as he made no inquiries on the spot, his supposition rests on mere conjecture.

Another shrub, of high celebrity in the East as an article for the toilette, is the henna-tree (*Lawsonia inermis*, Linn.), whose leaves and odoriferous flowers, when pulverized and wrought into a paste, are universally used by the ladies for staining the face, hands, feet, and nails, of a reddish or yellowish colour; lighter or deeper according to the manner in which this fashionable pomatum is applied. The tincture requires to be frequently renewed. This shrub, which in size and character resembles privet, is very abundant in Wady Fatima, and sold to the hajjis at Mecca in small red leathern bags. A species of *Glycyrrhiza*, or liquorice-shrub, is common in Yemen, as is also a sort of caper-tree (*Capparis spinosa*, Linn.), which is reckoned the only antidote against the effects of a shrub (called *Adenia* by Forskal), whose buds, when dried and given in drink as a powder, are strongly poisonous. The rose-laurel (*Nerium*), the cotton-plant, the acacia, and various others, spring in the sandy plains, and form scattered tufts of verdure in the cliffs of the barren rocks. The acacia being one of the largest and most common shrubs in the desert, Shaw conjectures that it must have been the *shittim-wood* of which the planks and several utensils of the tabernacle were made. Exod. xxv. As it abounds with flowers of a globular figure, and of delicious fragrance, it is perhaps the same as the *shittah-tree*, which (Isaiah xli. 19) is joined with the myrtle and other sweet-

smelling plants. Of the cotton-tree Niebuhr mentions two species, one of which grows to some size, and the other bears red flowers. The profits from the culture of this article are inconsiderable, as most of the Arabs wear the cotton-cloths of India and Egypt.

The incense-tree, so famous in all antiquity, is not once mentioned by Forskal: the travellers could learn nothing of it, except that it was to be found in a part of Hadramaut, where it is called *oliban*. The soil of the hills where it grows is said to be of a clayey texture, impregnated with nitre. Ibn Batuta, who visited Dafar and Hasec (A. D. 1328), says, "We have here the incense-tree, which is about the height of a man, with branches like those of the artichoke; it has a thin leaf, which, when scarified, produces a fluid like milk; this turns into gum, and is then called *laban*, or frankincense." Some French naturalists suppose it to be *Boswellia dentata* of Roxburgh, which is described as growing to a considerable height on the mountains of Coromandel;* but this account does not agree with what the ancients say of the incense-tree. According to Lord Valentia, the frankincense is chiefly produced near Cape Guardafui, and is exported from a harbour of the Somaulies called Bunder Cassim. It forms an article of trade with the Red Sea, and is principally consumed in Catholic countries. As the natives hold their own produce in no estimation, and make use of that only which comes from India, we deem it unnecessary to add any farther remarks to what has been already said of this substance, as well as of myrrh, cassia, spikenard, with other resinous and aromatic plants, in treating of the commerce of the ancient Arabs. The name *thus*, by which it was known to the Greeks and Romans, was superseded in the decline of the Latin language by that of incense (*incensum*), from the universal practice of *burning* it in the temples of their gods.†

Coffee (*Coffea Arabica*) is a native of Abyssinia, and has been noticed among the vegetable productions of that country. That it was introduced into Yemen by the Abyssinian conquerors is highly probable; and when the Koran prohib-

* Nouveau Dictionnaire d'Hist. Nat. art. Encens. Roxburgh, Plants of Coromandel.

† Vol. i. chap. v. p. 162. Eutrop. Rer. Rom. lib. xi.

ited the use of wine, this supplementary drink would take its place, and propagate itself, by degrees, over the regions which embraced the creed of Islam. This supposition is not founded on mere conjecture. We learn from Poncet, who travelled in Ethiopia in 1698, that the opinion then universally prevalent in the East was, that coffee had been originally transported from that kingdom into Arabia Felix. The etymology of the name itself is a strong presumption that it was at first intended as a substitute for the juice of the grape. *Cahouch* (or *cahveh*, as the Turks pronounce it with a *v*, whence our word *coffee* is derived) was used by the old Arabs, in its primary sense, to denote wine or other intoxicating liquors. It was afterward applied to the decoction of the Abyssinian berry, to which they gave the name of *buun*, while they called the shrub on which it grew the *buun-tree*. The early Mohammedan authors furnish us merely with a few details about the supposed qualities of this liquid, and the disputes that occurred concerning its lawfulness as an article of diet. Avicenna, Ibn Jazlah of Bagdad, and some other professional writers of that time, speak obscurely of *buun*; hence we may presume that coffee, like sugar and chocolate, was then prescribed as a medicine. Its use, however, was long peculiar to the East; and the city of Aden is the first on record that set the example of drinking it as a common refreshment, about the middle of the fifteenth century. A drowsy mufti, called Jemaleddin, had discovered that it disposed him to keep awake, as well as to a more lively exercise of his spiritual duties. On his authority coffee became the most fashionable beverage in the place. The leaves of the *cat* (tea) were abandoned; and all classes,—lawyers, students, loungers, and artisans,—adopted the infusion of the roasted bean. Another discovery of the same individual rendered it still more popular. Having contracted some infirmity during a voyage to Persia, on returning to Yemen he applied to his favourite stimulant, and in a short time found his health perfectly restored. This pious doctor, to whom Europe perhaps owes one of the most useful luxuries of the East, died A. D. 1470; and such was the reputation which his experience had given to the virtues of coffee, that in a short time it was introduced by Fakeddin at Mecca and Medina, and became so agreeable to the general taste, that public saloons were opened, where crowds assembled to enjoy the

amusements of chess, singing, dancing, gambling, and other recreations not very consistent with the rigour of the Koran.

About the beginning of the sixteenth century it was brought by certain dervises of Yemen to Cairo, where its qualities recommended it to general use. But the innovation of drinking it in the mosques gave rise to a bitter controversy, which seemed to threaten the East with a new revolution. In the year 1511, it was publicly condemned at Mecca by an assembly of muftis, lawyers, and physicians, who declared it to be contrary to the law of the Prophet, and alike injurious to soul and body. The pulpits of Cairo resounded with the anathemas of the more orthodox divines; all the magazines of this "seditious berry" were laid in ashes; the saloons were shut, and their keepers pelted with the fragments of their broken pots and cups. This occurred in 1523; but by an order of Selim I. the decrees of the muftis were reversed; the tumults both in Egypt and Arabia were quashed; the drinking of coffee was pronounced not to be heretical; and two Persian doctors, who had declared it to be pernicious to the health, were hanged by order of the sultan. From Cairo this contested liquor passed to Damascus and Aleppo, and thence to Constantinople (in 1554), where it encountered and triumphed over the persecution of the dervises, who declaimed vehemently against the impiety of human beings eating *charcoal*, as they called the bean when roasted, which their Prophet had declared was not intended by God for food.

From the Levant it found its way by degrees to Europe, and was probably imported by the Dutch and Venetian merchants. Pietro de la Valle, who travelled in 1615, seems the first that made it known in Italy. Mons. Thevenot, on his return from the East in 1657, brought it with him to France as a curiosity, though it appears to have been used privately at Marseilles ten years earlier; and in 1679 the medical faculty of that city made its deleterious effects the theme of a public disputation. The first coffee-house opened in Paris was in 1672, by an Armenian named Pascal (or Pasqua), who sold this beverage at 2*s.* 6*d.* a-cup; but the want of encouragement obliged him to remove to London. The government of Charles II. attempted in vain to suppress these places of entertainment as nurseries of sedition; and in a few years they became general throughout the country. The first European author that wrote expressly on coffee was

Prospero Alpino, a celebrated botanist and physician of Padua, who resided at Cairo in 1580. It is not mentioned by Belon, who has described the most remarkable plants of Egypt and Arabia (A. D. 1546–49). Lord Bacon, who died in 1626, and Dr. John Ray, both speak of it; but in a manner which shows that they had a very superficial knowledge of the subject. Its qualities, however, were soon afterward celebrated both by naturalists and poets. Della Valle insisted that it was the nepenthe of Homer, while Mons. Paschius alleged that it was among the articles presented to David by Abigail. In France it became a theme for the dramatic muse; and in 1694, *Le Café* was the most fashionable comedy in Paris. A national song under the same name was written by Fuzelier, and set to music by Bernier. The following stanza will suffice as a specimen:

"Favorable liqueur, dont mon ame est ravie,
Par tes enchantemens augmente nos beaux jours;
Nous domptons le sommeil par ton heureux secours.
Tu nous rend les momens qu'il dérobe à la vie.
Favorable liqueur, dont mon ame est ravie,
Par tes enchantemens augmente nos beaux jours."

The method of roasting and sweetening it, and the praises of the cups and saucers into which it was poured, were sung in a heroic poem by a Jesuit of the name of Father Vanière, who thus speaks in the eighth book of his *Prædium Rusticum*:—

"Tritaque mox validis intra mortaria pilis,
Diluitur lympha; facilique parabilis arte
Vulcano coquitur, donec vas pulvis ad imum.
Venerit, et posito mansueverit ollula motu.
Fictilibus rufis pateris defunde liquores,
Adde peregrina dulces ab arundine succos.
Ora sapore calix ne tristia lædat amaro."

This shrub has long maintained a vast importance as an article of commerce; and though it has been transplanted to various countries in Asia, Africa, and America, its chief celebrity is derived from Arabia, where its cultivation seems to be best understood. It appears originally to have grown wild in Abyssinia, where the natives were in the habit of eating the bean as food. They roasted and pounded it, and then mixed

the powder with grease or butter to give it consistency. A small quantity of this preparation was sufficient to support them during a march of several days. In Upper Egypt this practice is still common. Reynier often saw the soldiers prefer this mixture to their rations when they had long fatigues to support; facts which leave no doubt as to the nutritive qualities of coffee.

In Arabia the fruit of the tree, when allowed to grow wild, is so bad as to be unfit for use. It is only in certain parts of that country that the soil is adapted for its production. Burckhardt was informed that it does not grow farther north than Mishnye, in the district of Zohran, and that it improves in quality towards the south. The plantations are found to thrive best on the western side of the great mountains of Yemen. They abound in the provinces of Heschid-u-Bekil, Kataba, and Jafa; but the climate about Udden, Kahhme, Kusma, Jebi, Jobla, and Taas, is reckoned the most favourable, as the shrub on these hills yields the berry in greater quantity and of better flavour. The coffee produced in the neighbourhood of Sanaa is esteemed the best. Europeans are mistaken in supposing the tree should be planted in a dry soil, and under a torrid sun. Though it is cultivated only in the hilly regions, it requires both moisture and coolness; and it is for this reason that the Arabs plant other trees in their coffee-grounds in order to afford it shade. In times of intense heat the plantations are regularly irrigated; which is the more easily done, as they usually stand upon terraces in the form of an amphitheatre, where they are so densely crowded that the rays of the sun can hardly penetrate among the branches. Most of them are only moistened by the rain; but others have the benefit of large reservoirs (*birkets*) upon the heights, from which water is conveyed and sprinkled over the steep declivities. The coffee-shrub is an evergreen; its average height is from twelve to fifteen feet; the branches are elastic, the bark rough and of a whitish colour; the flowers resemble those of the jasmine, and though bitter to the taste, they diffuse a strong balmy fragrance. At Bulgosa, Niebuhr found the trees in full bloom in the beginning of March, and the whole atmosphere perfumed with their delicious odour. When the blossom dies the fruit appears in its place, green at first, but red and resembling a cherry when ripe; in the centre of which lies the bean, enclosed in a thin membrane,

and easily separated into two halves. There are two or three crops in the year; and it is quite common to see fruit and flowers on the same tree; but the first produce is always the best. May is the proper harvest month; the berries are shaken from the branches on cloths spread underneath; they are then dried in the sun; after which a heavy roller of wood or stone is passed over them, to separate the bean from the husk.* All the Arabs are extravagantly fond of coffee; yet less of it is drunk in Yemen than in the other provinces. The flavour is greatly improved by their mode of preparing it: instead of grinding the beans in a mill, they pound them to an impalpable powder in a close mortar, which seems better to express and preserve from evaporating those oily particles that give the decoction its peculiar relish. They also use a preparation from the husks, called *café à la sultane*, which is made by pounding and roasting them, and is esteemed an excellent beverage. The greatest care is taken of the powdered coffee, which is kept closely pressed down in a wooden box, and the quantity required for use is scraped from the surface with a wooden spoon. Two small pots are often used; in the one the water is boiled (generally mixed with the remains of the preceding meal); into the other is put the fresh coffee, and it is sometimes heated by standing near the fire before the boiling water is added. This latter mixture is then boiled two or three times; care being taken to pour a few drops of cold water upon it the last time, or to place over it a linen cloth dipped in cold water. After this process it is allowed to subside, and then emptied into the

* In the West Indies this operation is performed by a mill composed of two wooden rollers furnished with iron plates eighteen inches long and ten or twelve in diameter. These moveable rollers are made to approach a third, which is fixed, called *chops;* between these the fruit falls from a hopper, where it is stripped of its first skin, and divided into two parts. Out of this machine it falls into a brass sieve, which separates it from the husks. It is then thrown into a vessel full of water, where it soaks for one night, and is afterward thoroughly washed and dried. Another machine, called the *peeling-mill*, which is a wooden grinder, turned vertically upon its axis by a mule or horse, is employed to strip the thin pellicle from the bean; and after this process it is winnowed by slaves, who set the air in motion by turning rapidly four tin-plates fixed upon an axle.

pot containing the boiling water. All classes use it without milk or sugar; people of rank drink it out of porcelain cups; the lower sort are content with coarser ware. In Hejaz it is served up to travellers in small earthern pots like bottles, containing from ten to fifteen cups. This vessel has a long narrow neck, with a bunch of dry herbs stuck into its mouth, through which the liquor is poured. At Mocha, Mrs. Lushington observed that every lady, when she pays a visit, carries on her arm a little bag of coffee, which is boiled at the house where she spends the evening; and in this way she can enjoy society without putting her friends to expense. The Bedouin cooks this meal in the same rude manner that he does his cakes and his mutton. He roasts a few beans on an iron shovel, hammers them to atoms in a wooden mortar with his bludgeon, and boils his pot between two stones, over a fire lighted with tinder, and composed of dry shrubs or camel's dung.

SECTION IV.—ZOOLOGY.

Wild Animals.—The zoology of Arabia differs but little from that of other Eastern countries. Most of the animals found there being described in works which are familiar to the reader, it will not be necessary here to enter into any lengthened details on their natural history. Lions, leopards, panthers, lynxes, wolves, foxes, boars, antelopes, and various domestic animals in a wild state, are to be met with in almost every district in the peninsula. The small panther (called *fath*) is more common than the large one (the *nemer* of the Arabs); but it is not regarded with the same terror, as it only carries away cats and dogs, never venturing to attack man. It is the *Felis jubata* or hunting-tiger of naturalists. The jackall (*el vavi*) abounds in the mountains; but its habits and appearance are too well known to require particular notice. The hyena inhabits the solitary caverns of the Petræan range, and is also common round the shores of the Persian Gulf. It assails men and beasts with the same ferocity: stealing out at night, it seizes on the natives who sleep in the open air, and frequently carries off children from beside their parents. In the forests of Yemen, and on the hills around Aden, are swarms of monkeys without tails, and whose hind-quarters are of a bright red. They are extremely docile, and learn readily any tricks that are attempted to be taught

them. On this account vast numbers of them are exported to Egypt, Persia, and Syria, where itinerant jugglers make a livelihood by exhibiting them to the people. The sandy plains, and the valleys of the mountains, are stocked with gazelles. So common is this beautiful creature, that as a beast of chase, it furnishes amusement and food for the Arabs of the desert, and supplies the poets with many of their finest similitudes. On the Eastern frontier there are several places allotted for the hunting of this animal, enclosed with a high wall. Gaps are left, with a broad ditch on the outside, where they are caught in hundreds while attempting to escape. The rock-goats (*Capra Ibex*, the steinbok or bouquetin of the Swiss) abound in the Alpine districts, especially among the cliffs of Sinai, where they are hunted by the Bedouins. Their flesh is excellent, and has nearly the same flavour as that of deer. In the plains dogs are employed to catch them; but among the rocks it is difficult to come near them, as they occasionally take a leap of twenty feet, and are so keen-scented, that on the slightest change of wind they smell the pursuer at a great distance, and take to flight. They pasture in herds of forty or fifty together, having a leader who keeps watch; and on any suspicious sound, odour, or object, he makes a noise, which is a signal to the flock to make their escape. The chase of the *beden*, as the wild-goat is called, resembles that of the chamois of the Alps, and requires as much enterprise and patience. Burckhardt was assured, that when hotly pursued they would throw themselves from a height of fifty or sixty feet upon their heads without receiving any injury. The Arabs make long circuits to surprise them, and endeavour to come upon them late, or early in the morning when they feed. Their skins are made into water-bags, and their long, large, knotty horns are sold to the merchants, who carry them to Jerusalem, where they are made into handles for knives and daggers.

Hares are plentful, and hunted by the Arabs, who knock them down with small sticks or clubs, which they throw to a great distance, and with admirable dexterity. As the line of a caravan sometimes extends nearly a mile in length, they are often started in considerable numbers, and scarcely one of them ever escapes the shower of missiles to which they are exposed. The more orthodox, however, object to dress or eat them until they have undergone the operation of *hulaul*,

or being made lawful; a ceremony which is performed by cutting the throat with the neck turned towards the Holy City. Forskal mentions several wild animals of which he knew nothing except what he learned from the indistinct accounts of the natives. The *jæar* was said to resemble the the ass in shape and size, and the flesh is reckoned excellent food. The *bakar wash*, from the vague descriptions given by the Arabs, seemed to be the wild ox. They mentioned another quadruped of a similar form, which was without horns, and fed only by night. One of the most singular of these anonymous animals was described as resembling a cat, which fed on grass, and was eaten as a great delicacy. The Bedouins of Sinai frequently mentioned to Burckhardt a beast of prey called *wober*, which inhabited only the retired parts of the desert; they represented it as being about the size of a large dog, with a head like a hog. He was told of another voracious creature called *shyb*, stated to be a breed between the leopard and the wolf, but their accounts as to this origin are not much to be trusted, their common practice being to assign parents of different known species to any animal which they seldom meet with. The *jerboa* or Pharaoh's rat is seldom to be found in great numbers in the sandy tracts among the hills, and on the banks of the Euphrates. Its appearance and manners have already been noticed in the Zoology of Abyssinia and Egypt. Its size is that of a large rat; the upper part is of a light-fawn colour, striped with black; and this dusky hue contrasts agreeably with the fine shining white of the belly. The body is short,—broader behind than before, and well provided with long, soft, silky hair. According to Hasselquist, the tail is three times longer than the whole body; Sonnini says he never found it much more than half its length. Its thickness hardly exceeds the circumference of a large goose-quill; but it is of a quadrangular, and not of a round shape. The fore-legs, which have five toes, are white and short, scarcely extending beyond the hair; but they are less serviceable in walking than in conveying food to the animal's mouth, or digging his subterranean habitation; hence the name *dipus* or two-footed mouse, erroneously applied to the jerboa. The hind-legs are covered with white and fawn-coloured hair; but its long feet are almost entirely naked. Its motion, especially when pursued, is that of leaping and bounding like the kangaroo which

it performs with great rapidity, assisted by its long muscular tail. It is this peculiarity which induced naturalists to give this species the name of *Mus joculus*, or flying mouse. The flesh is eaten by the Arabs, and its taste is said to be very little different from that of a young rabbit.

Domestic Animals.—The Arabs rear in abundance all the domestic animals common to hot countries. They breed horses, mules, asses, camels, dromedaries, cows, buffaloes, hogs, sheep, and goats.* Their cows and oxen are distinguished by a hump or bunch of fat on the shoulder, immediately above the fore-legs. Those in Hejaz are described by Burckhardt as small, but of a stout bony make; they have for the most part only short stumps of horns, and bore a strong resemblance to those he had seen on the banks of the Nile in Nubia. Of the instinct ascribed to these animals, of forming into circular bodies to defend themselves against beasts of prey, Niebuhr could obtain no information, nor did he think the story probable. Buffaloes are found in all marshy parts of the country and on the banks of the rivers, where they are more numerous than the common horned cattle. The male is as fit for the yoke as the ox; his flesh is inferior, being hard and unsavoury; but when young, it has much the taste and appearance of beef. The female yields more milk than the ordinary cow. The Arabs have a mode of forcing her to yield more than she would do voluntarily: while one person milks, another tickles her; a custom which the ancient Scythians practised with their mares.

Asses.—There are two sorts of asses in Arabia,—one small and sluggish, which is there as little esteemed as in Europe; the other a large and noble-spirited breed, which sells at a high price. Niebuhr thought them preferable to a horse for a journey, and reckoned their progress in half an hour equal to 3500 paces of a man. In Yemen, the soldiers use them on patrol, as well as in every military service in which parade is not an object; the pilgrims employ them in considerable numbers; and Ali Bey mentions, that they sometimes travel the distance from Jidda to Mecca (fifty-five miles) in twelve hours. In various parts of the country these

* Strabo must have been misinformed when he excepted mules, horses, and hogs; as also geese and hens. "In Arabia pecorum, omnis generis copia, exceptis mulis, equis, et porcis; avium etiam omnium præter anseres et gallinas."—*Lib.* xvi.

animals abound in a wild state. To the northward of Nejed, adjoining the district of Jof, they are found in great numbers. The Sherarat Arabs hunt them and eat their flesh (though forbidden), but not before strangers.* They sell their skins and hoofs to the pedlars at Damascus and the people of the Hauran. The hoofs are manufactured into rings, which are worn by the peasants on their thumbs or under the armpits as amulets against rheumatism.

According to Buffon, the domesticated breed of asses used in Europe came originally from Arabia. The uniform aspect of this animal, when compared with the great variety of colour exhibited by the domestic races of the horse, has induced some to suppose that the former has not been so long nor so generally under the dominion of man. In the time of Aristotle the ass was not found in Thrace, nor even in Gaul; but, on the other hand, we know from the Sacred Writings, that it was used as a beast of burden in the remotest ages of Jewish history, and was therefore, in all probability, reduced to servitude by the Eastern nations fully more early than any other animal not immediately necessary to the existence of a pastoral people.† Its comparatively recent reduction, then, cannot, as Buffon has alleged, be assigned as the cause of its greater uniformity of colour. This must be sought for in the different natures of the two animals when acted upon by the influence of climate, leading the one to vary only in form and stature, and the other in colour as well as form. The domestic ass of our northern climes being never improved by crosses from a purer race, the inferiority of the animal is scarcely to be wondered at. But under the warm and serene climates of Asia, where the breed is not only carefully tended, but frequently improved by intercourse with the fleet and fiery onager, it is an animal of great strength and considerable beauty.

The onager or wild-ass, called *koulan* by many of the tribes of Asia, is distinguished from the domestic kind by the

* Ibn Batuta says, that the flesh of the domestic ass was considered lawful in Oman, and publicly sold in the streets.—*Travels*, p. 62.

† The first mention of mules is in the time of David, previous to which time asses seem to have been used for riding. The word rendered mules in Genesis xxxvi. 24, signifies springs of water.

greater length and finer form of its limbs, its straight chest, and somewhat compressed body. Its head is better *put on*, and more erectly carried, than in the common ass; and the ears, which are shorter by one-third, are slender and sharp pointed. The true source of our domestic race, though well known to the ancients, appears to have been lost sight of during the middle ages, and was indeed but obscurely known for some centuries after the revival of learning. We owe the best modern elucidation of its history, as we do that of several other species, to the researches of Pallas. The Romans were familiar with the aspect of this animal. Julius Capitolinus, in the life of Gordian (in *Hist. August.*) observes, that that emperor brought up thirty onagers and as many wild horses; and in the secular games of Philip, twenty of the former and forty of the latter were exhibited.

The Turkish name of the wild ass, *Dagh Aischaki* or mountain-ass, points out its natural locality:—"Whose house I have made the wilderness, and the barren land his dwellings. —The range of the *mountains* is his pasture, and he searcheth after every green thing."* Even the choice which the domestic ass makes of the narrow and irregular paths by the wayside has been regarded as a remnant of natural instinct.† A good ass of Arabian origin sells, according to Chardin, for as high a sum as 18*l.* sterling. That the breed is capable of supporting great fatigue was evinced by the young female mentioned by Pallas, which travelled from Astracan to Moscow, attached to his post-chaise, with only an occasional night's repose. It afterward proceeded in the same manner, and without being incommoded by the journey, 700 wersts (464) miles) from Moscow to Petersburgh.‡

The Horse.—Arabia has been called the native country of the horse; and certainly if the most valuable conquest of man over the animal creation be that of this noble quadruped, which shares with him the fatigues of industry and the glory of war,—no nation better merits that distinction than the Arabs. The care and affection which they bestow in breeding and rearing it, and the decided predilection with which it is constantly regarded, are founded not merely on its utility to them in their predatory and wandering life, but also on an

* Job xxxix. 6–8. † Dict. Class. d'Hist. Nat. t. iii. p. 563.
‡ Edinburgh Journal of Agriculture, No. VII.

ancient prejudice, which induces them to consider horses as beings endowed with generous sentiments and an intelligence superior to that of other animals. They suppose that these spirited creatures, so serviceable in the cause of Islam, have obtained, through Mohammed, the blessing of God, and an occult capacity to read or repeat tacitly every day some verses of the Koran. It was one of their old proverbs, that after man, the most eminent creature is the horse; the best employment is that of rearing it; the most delightful posture is that of sitting on its back; the most meritorious of domestic actions is that of feeding it. They were taught by their prophet to believe that it was originally predestined for their special service. "When God," said he, "wished to create it, he called the south wind, and said, 'I desire to draw from out of thee a new being; condense thyself by parting with fluidity,'—and he was obeyed. He then took a handful of this element, now become tangible, and blew upon it, and the horse was produced. 'Thou shalt be for man,' said the Lord, 'a source of happiness and wealth; he will render himself illustrious by ascending thee.'" The "brood mares" were particularly recommended by Mohammed to his disciples, "because their back is the seat of honour, and their belly an inexhaustible treasure. As many grains of barley as are contained in the food we give to a horse, so many indulgences do we daily gain by giving it."

The care which the Arabs take in classifying and preserving the pedigrees of their horses, to a European must appear almost incredible. The collective term whereby they designate them in general is *Kohayl* or *Kochlani;* but they commonly distribute them into five great races, all originally from Nejed. Some authors trace them back to the most remote times of paganism, assigning as their sire the famous stallion Mashour, the property of Okrar, chief of the Beni Obeida. Others assert that they are merely the issue of the five favourite mares of the prophet, named Rhabda, Nooma, Waja, Sabha, and Hezma. Whatever be the fact as to these genealogies, history has certainly commemorated from a very ancient period the names and noble qualities of some of the Arabian horses. With the beautiful description of the war-steed in Job (chap. xxxix. 19–26) every reader is familiar: "His neck is clothed with thunder; and the glory of his nostrils is terrible: He paweth in the valley, and rejoiceth

in his strength: He mocketh at fear; neither turneth he back from the sword: He swalloweth the ground with fierceness and rage, and smelleth the battle afar off." The famous racers Dahes and Ghabra have been already noticed (vol. i. p. 170), from which it would appear that the amusements of the turf were among the national festivals of the ancient Bedouins. D'Herbelot speaks of the *Kamel el Sanateyn*, an old work which treats of the keeping and physicking of horses. Another on the same subject, still more curious, bears the title of "Summary of all that can be desired to be learned respecting the different Races of Horses." According to the author of this treatise, all the breeds already alluded to sprung from a stallion and a mare, called *Zad al Rekeb* and *Serdet Shekban*, which belonged to Muthayer Ibn Oshaim, chief of one of the primitive tribes of Yemen. He has given a table, which contains 136 races of Arabian horses,—three Persian, nine Turkoman, and seven Kurd,—and mentions the *Safenet* as being of the same species with those presented to Solomon by the Queen of Sheba. The modern Bedouins repose implicit faith in the traditions of antiquity, and still reckon their five noble breeds to be descended from the stud of the prophet. The following are the names:—*Taueyse*, *Manekeye*, *Koheyl*, *Saklawye*, and *Julfa*; which, according to the vulgar notion, are derived from the different districts of Nejed, where they were born. These principal races diverge into innumerable ramifications. The Saklawye is subdivided into the *Jedran*, *Abriyeh*, and *Nejm el Subh*; the Koheyl into *Ajuz*, *Kerda*, *Sheikha*, *Dabbah*, *Ibn Khueysha*, *Khumeyseh*, and *Abu Moarraff*; the Julfa has only a single branch, that of *Estemblath*. Besides these, they have various others of a secondary or less-esteemed breed, such as the *Henaydi*, *Abu Arkub*, *Abayan*, *Sheraki*, *Shueyman*, *Hadaba*, *Wedna*, *Medhemeh*, *Khabitha*, *Omeriah*, and *Sadathukan*. The different races have not any characteristic marks by which they can be distinguished from each other. Every mare particularly swift and handsome, with noble blood in her veins, may give origin to a new stock, the descendants of which are called after her; so that the catalogue of distinct races in the desert is almost endless. The only means of recognising them is by certificates of their genealogy, which are drawn up by the proprietors, and attested by witnesses: in these the issue, both masculine and

feminine, are specified with great exactness; so that an Arabian horse offered for sale is usually provided with his title of nobility. The pedigree is often put into a small piece of leather, covered with waxed cloth, and suspended round the animal's neck. Burckhardt has given one of these curious documents, which he translated from the original in the handwriting of the Bedouins. It is as follows:—

"GOD.

"Enoch.

"In the name of the most merciful God, the Lord of all creatures, peace and prayers be with our Lord Mohammed and his family and his followers until the day of judgment; and peace be with all those who read this writing, and understand its meaning.

"The present deed relates to the grayish-brown colt, with four white feet and a white mark on the forehead, of the true breed of *Saklawye*, called *Obeyan*, whose skin is as bright and unsullied as milk, resembling those horses of which the Prophet said, 'True riches are a noble and pure breed of horses;' and of which God said, 'The war-horses, those which rushed on the enemy with full blowing nostrils,—those which plunge into the battle early in the morning.' And God spoke the truth in his incomparable book. This Saklawye gray colt was bought by Khoshrun, the son of Emheyt, of the tribe of Zebaa, an Aeneze Arab. The sire of this colt is the excellent bay horse called *Merdjan*, of the breed of Koheylan; its dam is the famous white Saklawye mare known by the name of *Djeroua*. According to what we have seen, we attest here, upon our hopes of felicity and upon our girdles, O Sheiks of Wisdom and Possessors of Horses! this gray colt, above mentioned, is more noble even than his sire and dam. And this we attest, according to our best knowledge, by this valid and perfect deed. Thanks be to God, the Lord of all creatures!—Written on the 16th of Saphar, in the year 1223 (A. D. 1808). Witness," &c.

This purity of blood and descent the Bedouins are extremely careful to preserve uncontaminated. During twenty days, at a certain season, the mare must be watched to secure her from the approaches of any common horse, which she is not allowed to see, even at a distance; for the Arabs are believers in the effects of imagination on the progeny of their cattle. When the foal is produced, the same witnesses must

be present, and within seven days a notarial certificate of its legitimacy is made out, in which is written an account of the colt's distinctive marks, with the names of its sire and dam. These genealogical tables, called *Hujeh*, never ascend to the granddams, because it is understood that every Arab of the tribe knows by tradition the purity of the whole breed. Nor are such testimonials at all necessary in the interior of the desert, where many horses are of such illustrious descent that thousands can attest their nobility. A Bedouin would laugh at being asked by an inhabitant of Nejed for the pedigree of his mare; written evidence he never thinks of producing, except when attending distant markets, such as Bussora, Bagdad, Damascus, Aleppo, Medina, or Mecca. A colt, at the moment of birth, is never allowed to drop upon the ground; they receive it in their arms, and so cherish it for several hours, washing and stretching its tender limbs, and caressing it as they would a baby. After this they place it on its legs, and watch its feeble steps with particular attention, prognosticating from that time its future excellencies or defects. The ears are tied together over its head with a string, that they may assume a fine pointed direction; the tail is pressed upwards, and other measures taken at the same time, in order that it may be carried high. The only care taken of the dam is to wrap a piece of linen cloth round her body, which is removed next day. At the end of a month the foal is weaned, and for the space of a hundred days thereafter it is permitted no other food than camel's milk. When that period has elapsed it receives a daily portion of wheat diluted with water. A handful only is given at first; by degrees this quantity is increased; although milk still continues to be its principal food. This diet continues a hundred days more; and when this second period has expired, it is allowed to eat grass, and is fed on barley; receiving every evening, along with that provender, a bucket of camel's milk, should the tent happen to be well supplied with it. The Nejed Arab gives his colts neither barley nor wheat, but nourishes them with a paste of dates and water; and sometimes to a favourite he will give the fragments or leavings of his own meals. In that province horses are regularly fed upon dates; at Deraiah and in El Hassa the dates are mixed with *birsim*, or dried clover. The wealthier classes often give them flesh, raw as well as

boiled; and sometimes before the commencement of a long journey they get roasted meat, that they may be the better able to endure fatigue. A native of Hamah told Burckhardt, that in order to prevent a favourite horse from falling into the hands of the governor of that town, he fed it for a fortnight exclusively on roasted pork, which excited its mettle to such a degree that it became absolutely unmanageable, and could be no longer an object of desire to the avaricious functionary. In Egypt, vicious horses are cured of the habit of biting by having a leg of mutton presented to them newly taken from the fire; the pain which the animal feels in seizing the hot meat with its teeth teaches it in a few lessons more gentleness of temper. The Arab steed, like its master, is accustomed to the inclemency of all weathers. During the whole year they are kept in the open air, being seldom taken into a tent even in the rainy season. The Bedouins never rub or clean their horses; but take care to walk them gently whenever they return after a ride. They generally rest in a standing position, and have been known to remain on their legs for years in succession without lying down. Yet with so little attention to health they are seldom ill. The most prevalent diseases are the gripes, farcy, warbles, surfeit jaundice, strangles, mange, broken wind, and watery swellings upon the stomach. Burning is the most general remedy. To cure the strangles they rub the tumours with a paste made of barley, chaff, and butter; at the same time the smoke of a linen rag died with indigo is inhaled up the animal's nostrils, which occasions a copious discharge. In cases of surfeit they bleed the horse's feet, and wrap the skin of a sheep newly killed round its body. They have no use for farriers, except for making shoes, which are of a soft flexible iron, hammered cold, and very small, that the swiftness may not be impeded. They give different names both to fillies and colts every year until the age of four.* In general, they do not allow their mares to breed until they have

* So extremely accurate are the Arabs in every thing relating to their horses, that they have invented appropriate names for distinguishing the several competitors in a race, according to their respective merits. Instead of saying the first, second, third, &c. as we do, they call the foremost the *outrunner of the outrunners*: the next the *back-presser*; the third the *tranquillizer*; and this distinction they continue as far as the eleventh.

completed their fifth year; but the poorer class sometimes wait no longer than the fourth, as they are eager for the profits arising from the sale of the foals. The colts are usually ridden after the completion of the second year, and from the time they are first mounted the saddle is but rarely taken off their backs. In winter a coarse sackcloth is thrown over them, and in summer they stand exposed to the mid-day sun. Their saddles are of wood, covered with Spanish leather; but they have no pommels, instead of which they make use of stitched felt. The stirrups are very short, with flat square bottoms and sharp-pointed corners, which answer the purpose of spurs; the slightest touch makes the animal fly like the wind, while the rider bears himself upon the stirrups that he may use his lance with greater vigour. The Nejed Bedouins have no other saddles than a stuffed sheep-skin; they all ride without stirrups or bridles, guiding the horse merely with a halter. This is nowise surprising, when the extreme docility of the animal is considered,—without vice of any kind,—and more the friend and companion than the slave of his master. When not employed in war or travelling, they loiter about the tents, often going over heaps of children lying on the ground, and carefully picking their steps lest they should hurt them. They allow themselves to be kissed and toyed with, or hugged round the neck, without doing the smallest injury. The different colours of Arabian horses are clear bay (*ahmar*), brown bay (*adhem*), sorrel (*ashekwar*), white (*abiad*), pure gray (*azrek*), mottled gray (*raktha*), bluish gray (*akhdar*), black (*udhem*), and dark chesnut (*ulmar mukruk*): black and light bays (*aswad* and *ashehab*) are unknown in Arabia, and only found in Persia, Tartary, and Turkey.

In general, these animals are of a middle size, of a slender delicate shape, light and active, rather lean than fat, but of surprising swiftness, and accustomed to the fatigue of long marches. They have small ears, little belly, and a short scanty tail. They are almost invariably free from apparent deformities, and so gentle that women or children may manage them. The physical qualities which the Arabs prize most in this animal are the following:—Neck long and arched,—head small,—ears tapering and almost meeting at the points,—eyes large and full of fire,—lower jaw thin,—muzzle bare,—wide nostrils,—belly not too broad,—sinewy legs,—pasterns short and flexible,—hoofs hard and ample,—chest broad,—rump high and rounded. Whenever the three beau-

ties of head, neck, and rump, are found combined, the horse is considered as perfect. There are several particular marks or natural signs which the Arabs regard as sinister and unfavourable; while others are esteemed the reverse, and capable of producing happiness to the owner. They reckon about twenty evil indications; but the only bad effect they have on the animal is that of depreciating its value by two-thirds or more. The Persian and Turkoman horses, whose figures are much alike, differ from the Arabian in this, that they are more corpulent, and their coat is not so soft to the touch. It is, moreover, an opinion pretty generally received in the East, that the latter are especially distinguished from the others by the repugnance they evince towards clear water; while that which is turbid pleases them to such a degree, that they never fail to prance about in any that happens to come in their way. The price of Arabian horses is variable, and often depends much on the caprice of the buyer and seller: in Syria, it fluctuates from 10*l.* to 120*l.* A good mare can scarcely be obtained under 60*l.*; and even at that price it is difficult to purchase one, as the Bedouins always prefer the females to the males for riding, because they are not accustomed to neigh, and thus expose them in their ambuscades to the risk of detection. For a celebrated mare a sheik has been known to pay 200*l.*; sometimes the price has amounted to 500*l.*, and even to 800*l.* The favourite mare of Saoud, named *Koraye*, which he constantly rode on his expeditions, was purchased from a Kahtan Bedouin for 1500 Spanish dollars. Kinneir states that 1200*l.* was refused for one at Aleppo. At Bussora, where they form an important article of trade with India, the average price is about 300 rupees, though the cost is thrice, or even five times as much at Bombay or Calcutta. Over all Arabia, as also in Egypt and Syria, horses are possessed by several owners in partnership; each is divided into a number of shares (*kerat*), of which several may be purchased by a single individual. If an Aeneze has a mare of remarkable breed, he seldom or never consents to sell her without reserving one-half or two-thirds for himself. The ownership of the progeny is regulated by special compact: the fillies of the first or second year belong to the seller; those of the subsequent years become the property of the buyer. This contract is called

"selling the mare's belly;" and in this manner most of the Arabian breeders are held in joint property. Sometimes the dam and her offspring are disposed of in equal shares, or on condition that the booty shall be equally divided between the original owner and the man who rides her. As the Bedouins are ignorant of those frauds by which a European jockey deceives his customers, a stranger may take a horse on their word, at first sight or trial, without much risk of being cheated. Niebuhr alleges that no instance of false testimony was ever given in respect to the descent of a horse,—the Arabs, in his days, being persuaded that they and their families would be cursed should they prevaricate in giving an oath on a matter of such consequence; but the moderns do not scruple to tell falsehoods if they find they can make a better market by it. The affectionate terms in which families live with their horses sometimes occasion extreme regret when they are obliged from necessity to sell them. D'Arvieux mentions a Syrian merchant who cried most tenderly while caressing his mare, whose genealogy he could trace for 500 years. Rubbing her with his shirt-sleeves, and wiping her forehead with his handkerchief, "My eyes," he would say to her, "my heart, must I be so unfortunate as to have thee sold to so many masters, and not to keep thee all myself? I am poor, my antelope; but I have brought thee up like my child: I never beat nor chid thee: God preserve thee, my dearest, from the looks of the envious; thou art pretty, thou art sweet, thou art lovely." It may be remarked, that the Arabs have great faith in certain superstitious charms, which they suppose will protect their horses from accidents. They use talismans written on a piece of triangular paper, which are put into a leathern purse of the same shape, and fastened round the animal's neck as a defence against witchcraft from unlucky eyes. A couple of boar's tusks, joined at the extremities by a silver ring, is suspended from their mane, to keep them from the farcy. Though the Arabs jusly boast of their horses, it is a common error that supposes them to be very abundant in that country. In the Sacred Writings, and down to the time of Mohammed, they are seldom mentioned; camels being mostly used both in their warlike and predatory excursions. The breed is limited to the fertile pasture-grounds, and it is there only that they thrive; while the Bedouins who occupy

arid districts rarely have any. In Nejed, they are not nearly so numerous as in the rich plains of Syria and Mesopotamia. In Hejaz, they become scarcer; and thence towards Yemen they become fewer still, both the climate and pasture there being reckoned injurious to their health. The great heat of Oman is also deemed unfavourable to them. In the district of Gebel Shammar there are many encampments that possess none; in Medina they are not seen, and in Mecca there are perhaps not more than sixty belonging to private individuals; so that the estimate of Burckhardt is perhaps correct, when he affirms that, from Akaba to the shores of Hadramaut, comprising the great chain of mountains and the western plains towards the sea, the amount of horses is not more than 5000 or 6000; while the aggregate number in the whole peninsula does not exceed 50,000,—a number far inferior to what the same superficial extent in any other part of Asia or Europe would furnish. The rich pastures are not only stocked more abundantly, but likewise produce the finest and most select race. The best *Koheyls* of the *Khomse*, or noble breed, are found among the Aenezes and the Rowallas in Nejed and the Hauran, towards the Euphrates. They are not all of the most perfect or distinguished quality; and perhaps not above five or six in a whole tribe deserve the name of first-rate in respect to size, bone, beauty, and action. But still their numbers are considerable; each of which may be bought, if purchased in the desert, at from 150*l.* to 200*l.* Taking the comparative excellence of the different races on an average, Nejed is generally reckoned to produce the noblest; Hejaz, the handsomest; Yemen, the most durable; Syria, the richest in colour; Mesopotamia, the most quiet; Egypt, the swiftest; Barbary, the most prolific; Persia and Kurdistan, the most warlike.

The Camel.—This useful animal is esteemed by Eastern nations one of the most precious gifts of Providence to man. It seems formed and qualified by nature for a life of patient drudgery. Justly has the Arab, to whose comfort and accommodation it is indispensable, named it the Living Ship of the Desert, as without it he could neither transport himself nor his merchandise across those oceans of sand with which his country is covered. Descriptions of its habits and uses have been so often given, since the times of Aristotle and Pliny, who have treated with remarkable accuracy of the

only two distinct species of this genus which are known, that we shall restrict our account to what may be considered peculiar to it as an inhabitant of Arabia. Between the races of camels in the northern and southern provinces there is a considerable difference. On the borders of Syria and Mesopotamia they are covered with thick hair, and in general attain to a much greater size than in Hejaz, where they have very little wool. The prevailing colour of the Arabian breed is brown or black: further south, as in Egypt, the hue becomes lighter; and towards Nubia they are mostly white. The largest kind are from Anatolia, of the Turkoman race; and the smallest from Yemen. Those of the Eastern Desert near the Euphrates are reputed the best for carriage; the Egyptian are less qualified than any other to undergo fatigue, being too well fed to endure the privations of the wilderness. The Syrian camel, though smaller than the Anatolian, bears heat and thirst much better. The natives of Nejed are not only remarkable for their fecundity, but are less susceptible of epidemic diseases than most others; hence they are preferred by the Bedouins, who repair thither from all quarters that they may renew their flocks. So rich and abundant is that province in the produce referred to, that it has obtained the appellation of *Om el Bel*, or the Mother of Camels. In Yemen they are plentiful; but in Hejaz, where pasture is scanty, their number is very limited.

The Arabs are in the habit of producing a variety of kinds by crossing the breed. The young ones are weaned in the beginning of the second year, and they call them by different names according as they are one, two, three, or four years old; the latter being the period when they begin to propagate. To prevent them from sucking, a small piece of wood, four inches long and sharp pointed, is driven up the palate and comes out at the nostril, which pricks the mother. Sometimes the teats are covered with a thin round board, or a camlet bag, which is fastened with a string tied round the body. After the fore-teeth have reached their full length, the first pair of grinders appear, about the commencement of the sixth year; the second, third, and last pair make their appearance at the end of two years successively; so that the animal does not complete its full growth until the age of twelve, when it is called *ras*. It will live as long as forty years: but after twenty-five or thirty its activity begins to

fail, and it is no longer capable of enduring much fatigue. If it become lean after passing the sixteenth year, the Arabs say that it can never again be rendered fat; and in that case they generally sell it at a low price to the peasants. When fed upon tender verdure, this animal improves so much that he seems no longer to belong to the hard-working or caravan species; and when he has attained the full degree of fatness, his hump assumes the shape of a pyramid, extending its base over the entire back. None of this description, however, are found except among the wealthy Bedouins in the interior, who keep whole herds solely for the purpose of propagating the species. In some provinces butter is made of the camel's milk; the Aenezes and other northern tribes use it as drink, and also as food for their horses. About the end of spring the wool, which seldom exceeds two lbs. a-head, is easily taken off the skin with a person's hand. All the flocks of the different owners are branded with a hot iron, that they may be recognised should they stray or be stolen. The property of each has a peculiar mark,—a ring, a cross, or a triangle, which is usually placed on the neck or the left shoulder. When called home in the evening, which is done by uttering a sound resembling that of the letter *r*, every animal knows its master's face, and putting its own to his, drops down upon its knees as if to ask for supper.

The two grand services in which camels are employed are riding and carriage. Among the Bedouins females are always more esteemed and dearer than the males: the latter, on the contrary, are most valued in Egypt and Syria, where the quality chiefly wanted is strength in bearing heavy loads. The wandering tribes in Nejed prefer he-camels for riding, while the peasants use only the females on their journeys, because they support thirst better. The term *deloul* is applied to those that are trained to the saddle, of which the most swift and easy-paced are said to be from Oman, though some of the Aenezes have likewise excellent breeds. They differ little from the others in appearance, except that their legs are somewhat more straight and slender; but there is a noble expression in their eye and in their whole deportment, by which the generous among all animals may be distinguished. In Egypt and Nubia, the delouls are called *hejein*; they are very docile, and have a pleasant amble. The deloul saddle, throughout every part of Arabia, is called *shedad*;

and in the equipping of this article the Arab women on all occasions make a great display. In Hejaz, they use a kind of palanquin named *shebriah*, having a seat made of twisted straw, about five feet in length, placed across the saddle, with cross-bars above, over which mats or carpets are spread to screen the traveller from the sun. Similar machines, but shorter and narrower, are occasionally suspended lengthwise on each side of the animal: these are called *shekdef*, and contain one person each; but they do not admit of his stretching himself at full length, as in the other vehicle. These conveyances are chiefly used for women, who pay great attention to fashion and etiquette in their equipage. A lady of the Aenezes prefers a white or a gray camel, while a belle in the Nejed would think herself degraded were she to ride any other than a black one. In Syria and Mesopotamia the Arabs are in the practice of mounting their saddles with small swivel-guns, which turn upon the pommel and are found to be as serviceable in the way of inspiring terror as the heaviest pieces of artillery. The first thing that a Bedouin examines about his camel when preparing for a long journey is the hump. Should he find it large, he knows that the animal will endure considerable fatigue, even with a very moderate allowance of food; for he believes in the proverb, that "the camel can subsist for one expedition on the fat of its own hump!" This index is indeed an infallible criterion as to the ability for exertion, for whenever it subsides the beast gradually yields to fatigue. A long journey will cause the hump almost entirely to disappear: it is easily restored, however, by a few weeks of good nourishment and repose. The favourite pace of the riding-camel is a kind of gentle and easy amble at the rate of 5 or 5½ miles an hour; and this speed the more robust will continue for six days in succession. "His back is so soft," an Arab will say in commendation of this agreeable trot, "that you may drink a cup of coffee while you ride him."

Many stories were related to Burckhardt concerning the wonderful performances of a breed in Egypt and Nubia called *oshari*, implying a camel that could travel ten days' journey in one; but these exploits he considered to be inventions of the Bedouins to amuse credulous strangers. The greatest feat of this kind that ever came to his knowledge was that of a camel which was to go for a wager from Esneh to Genne

and back again between sunrise and sunset; the whole distance being equal to one hundred and thirty miles. In eleven hours its strength failed, after having finished about one hundred and fifteen miles, and lost twenty minutes in twice crossing the Nile in a ferry-boat; but had it not been urged to forced exertion, it would probably have performed one hundred and eighty or even two hundred miles within the space of twenty-four hours. Messengers have travelled in seven days from Bagdad to Aleppo, which is a journey of twenty-five; and from Cairo by land to Mecca, which is forty-five stations, in eighteen days, without changing their camels. But the swiftness of this animal never approaches for short distances even to that of a common horse: though it is perhaps unrivalled for the ease with which it will despatch an uninterrupted journey of several days and nights if allowed its own natural pace. Twelve miles an hour is reckoned its utmost degree of celerity in trotting; at full speed it may gallop from sixteen to eighteen, but it cannot support so violen an effort for more than half an hour without showing symptoms of distress. Niebuhr calculates that the larger ones make nine hundred and seventy-five paces in half an hour, and the smaller one thousand and fifty. In those used for carriage, strength is the principal quality desired. In common cases the load is from four hundred to five hundred pounds for a short journey, and from three hundred to four hundred pounds for one of any considerable distance. Some will carry fifteen cwt.; but the longer the journey, and the fewer wells on the route, the lighter is the burden. The capability of bearing thirst varies considerably among the different races. The Anatolian camel requires water every second day: in Arabia, the utmost extent to which they can endure in summer without drinking is four days, and in cases of absolute necessity they may perhaps go five: but in the caravans from Darfûr they travel nine or ten days without water. Burckhardt never heard that the Arabs, even in the extremity of their distress, slaughtered this animal for the sake of finding a supply in its stomach to allay their thirst; nor did he think it likely that they would resort to this expedient, as their own destruction was involved in that of the beast on which they rode. In Egypt they are guided by a cord attached to a nose-ring; but those of Arabia seldom have their nose perforated, and are more obedient to the

short stick of the rider than to the bridle. The drivers have a song full of guttural sounds that they chant, and by which the animals know to halt, walk, trot, eat, drink, stop, or lie down. In loading or unloading they are taught to obey a particular signal, crouching down upon the ground with their legs bent under them, so that the rider may get off and mount again without trouble. They are content with the scantiest fare,—a bunch of dry grass or the stunted shrubs of the desert. Their ordinary food is a ball of paste (*maabouk*) weighing about a pound, made of barley-meal and water, which each receives in the evening; and this is all the daily expense of these useful creatures. The value of the camel depends of course on its kind and quality. In Hejaz, Burckhardt states that the price of a good one was sixty dollars, or 14*l.*; but they sometimes cost 150, or 35*l.*; and Saoud has been known to pay as much as 300, or 70*l.*, for one of the Oman breed. They are subject to various defects and diseases, which very much affect their value; such as stiffness of the neck, tremor and swellings in the hind-legs, pustules about the mouth, ulceration below the chest, and colic and diarrhœa, which generally prove fatal. To most of these distempers the Arabs apply cautery, as well as to the wounds or injuries which are often occasioned by bad pack-saddles, or burdens of too great a weight. No pain, however, provokes the generous animal to refuse the load or throw it on the ground. Overcome with hunger and fatigue, it spends its latest breath in its master's service, and leaves its bones to whiten and rot in the desert.

Dromedary.—This animal was considered by the ancients as a distinct species of the camel. Diodorus and Strabo gave it the appellation of *dromos* or the runner, to distinguish it from the *Bacht*, or Bactrian camel, which was reckoned best adapted for carrying burdens. It is, however, rather a variety of the same species, and is found sometimes with a single and sometimes with a double hump. It breeds readily with the common camel. The Anatolian or Turkoman race are produced between an Arab she-camel and the double-humped dromedrary from the Crimea. A dromedary and a she Turkoman produce a small handsome camel (called *taous*), which has a very thick growth of long hair under the neck reaching almost to the ground; and two humps, one of which the natives cut off to render it more fit for bearing a

load. The Arabs have none with a double hump; nor did Burckhardt meet with any of them in Syria; and the only one seen by Niebuhr was in a town in Anatolia, to which it had been brought from the Crimea. "It differs," says Henniker, "in its make, its uses, and its master, only as a hunter differs from a pack-horse." Chenier says this animal can travel sixty leagues in a day, or 145½ miles; and some of the African Bedouins have offered to ride 400 miles through the Great Sahara in four days. His motion is so violent and rapid that the rider must be girded to the saddle, and have a handkerchief before his mouth to break the current of the wind.

Sheep and goats form a considerable part of the pastoral wealth of the Arabs, but there seems to be nothing very peculiar in the breed. Russell and Barthema relate that the sheep have a thick and broad tail, which they drag behind them, supported on a small carriage. In Hejaz, Ali Bey remarked that the tail, though large, was less so than in the southern countries; while Burckhardt informs us, that in the northern deserts this appendage is of the ordinary size. The ears, however, are rather bigger than those of the common English kind. In the neighbourhood of Mecca and Medina he noticed a diminutive species with a white and brown spotted skin. They are purchased as rarities by foreigners. At Cairo, where they are kept in the houses of the grandees, they are painted red with henna, and have a collar with little bells hung round their neck to amuse the children. The Aenezes shear their flocks yearly about the end of spring; they generally sell the wool before it is cut from the sheep's back, at so much per hundred The greater part of them are black, having the head and neck, or sometimes only the face, white. The goats also are mostly black, with long ears. The male lambs and kids are sold or slaughtered, except two or three which are kept for breeding. The ewes and goats are milked morning and evening during the three spring months. From the milk of one hundred (which is always mixed together) the Bedouins expect, in common years, about eight pounds of butter per day; of this a single family will consume about two quintals (about two hundred and twenty pounds) a year; the remainder is carried to the market.

Of dogs there are several varieties in the domesticated

state. There is a wild kind called *derboun*, of a black colour, which is found in the country near Syria, and eaten by the Fellahs. Those which Ali Bey saw at Mecca appeared to be of the shepherd breed; and as they had no owners they roamed about the streets at pleasure. This animal being declared unclean by the Koran, the Mohammedans will not allow it to enter their houses. Linnæus, speaking of the dog, says, "a Mahometanis expellitur." In Egypt, they are obliged to resort to the house-tops; and Burckhardt observes, as a circumstance worthy of remark, that Medina, so far as he knew, was the only town in the East from which they were entirely excluded. They are never admitted within the gates, but must remain in the suburbs, lest they should chance to pollute the sanctity of the mosque. The watchmen assemble and make a regular search once a year for the purpose of driving out such intruders as may have crept into the city unperceived. The Bedouins, as we learn from Sonnini, who are less superstitious than the Turks, have a fine breed of very tall greyhounds, which serve not only for the chase, but likewise mount guard around their tents. They have a great affection for them, and to kill one of these useful domestics incurs a heavy penalty. Keppel, on his route from Korna to Bagdad, saw some of this species: they are beautiful animals, somewhat less in size than the English; the ears hang down; and these, as well as the tail, are covered with fine silky hair. He mentions an odd circumstance, that the Faithful are not allowed to touch a dog except on the crown of the head; that being the only part free from pollution, as he cannot lick it with his tongue. The cat is held in good repute, from the belief that it was a favourite with Mohammed. It seems to be the same species as the European, only a little smaller. The domestic mouse of the Arabs resembles our own; but, according to Ali Bey, they are more fierce and troublesome. "I never saw," says he, "any mice so bold as those of Mecca. As I had my bed on the floor, they danced and leaped upon me every night. I gave them some blows, which made them fly." In spite of this warning, however, they returned to the charge and bit his fingers, having been attracted by the smell of some balm of juniper which he had been handling, and had neglected to wash off. Even when his bed was suspended, these imperturbable vermin leaped from the nearest furniture

on the coverlid, and quietly stared him in the face, but would not permit themselves to be touched.

Birds.—Travellers have had but few opportunities of examining the winged tribes of Arabia; though that country is by no means deficient in the number or variety which it produces. In the fertile districts, tame fowls are very plentiful, and all sorts of poultry,—hens, ducks, geese, and turkeys,—are bred in great abundance. The pintado or guinea-fowl is not domestic; but they inhabit the woods in such numbers, that children kill them with stones, and sell them in the towns. The pheasant, and several varieties of the pigeon species, abound in the forests of Yemen. In the plains are to be seen the gray partridge, the common lark, and a sort of white crane with the under part of the belly of a beautiful red. About Mount Sinai, Henniker found many coveys of partridges; some the red-legged of the Grecian Isles; others brown, and differing but little from the English; and a third sort speckled like the quail. Over all that peninsula, and in every part of Syria, the *katta* (a kind of partridge) is met with in immense numbers, especially in May and June. They fly in such large flocks, that the Arab boys often knock down two or three at a time, merely by throwing a stick among them. Burckhardt thinks it not improbable that this bird is the *seluca*, or quail of the Children of Israel.* The Bedouins mentioned to him a large eagle, which carried off their lambs, and whose outspread wings measured six feet. The one called *rakham* is very common in these mountains; and the fields are infested by vast numbers of crows, which are sometimes eaten, although forbidden both by the Mohammedan and the Levitical law. Of birds of prey, the Arabs have falcons, sparrow-hawks, bustards, and vultures. The latter are of great service to the natives by clearing the earth of all carcasses, which corrupt very rapidly, and are extremely noisome in warm climates. They also destroy the fieldmice, which multiply so prodigiously in some districts, that were it not for this assistance the peasant would find it absolutely in vain to cultivate his fields. It was gratitude for these important offices that induced the ancient Egyptians to pay them divine honours; and even at

* It has been particularly described in Russell's Hist. of Aleppo, vol. ii. p. 94.

present it is held unlawful to kill them in all hot countries which they frequent.

The Ostrich.—Ostriches (called by the Arabs *Naamah* and *Thar es Jemmel*, or the camel-bird) are to be met with in the deserts; the Bedouins, however, do not tame them when young, nor take the trouble of hunting them. Burckhardt saw two in Wady Tyh; but on a shot being fired, they were out of sight in an instant. They chiefly inhabit the plains towards Gebel Shammar and Nejed. When full grown, the neck, particularly of the male, is covered with beautiful red feathers. The plumage upon the shoulders, back, and some parts of the wings, from being of a dark grayish colour, becomes black as jet; while the tail and the rest of the feathers are of an exquisite whiteness. The belly, thighs, and breast do not partake of this covering, being usually naked. The female is of a spotted gray colour. Under the joint of the great pinion, and sometimes upon the smaller, there is a strong pointed excrescence like a cock's spur, with which, according to certain naturalists, it stimulates itself when pursued. In speed it outstrips the fleetest horse, being assisted by the quick vibratory motion of its wings. In feeding it is voracious, devouring every thing indiscriminately, insects, reptiles, leather, rags, wood, stones, and even iron. Shaw says he saw one swallow, without any apparent uneasiness, several leaden bullets as they were thrown upon the floor scorching hot from the mould; a proof that they are well furnished with powerful digestive organs. Though naturally shy, they are fierce and mischievous when tamed, especially to strangers; they peck with their bills, and strike so violently with their feet, that they have been known to rip open a man's belly with their pointed angular claw at a single blow. This bird breeds in the middle of winter, and lays from twelve to twenty-one eggs,—some say from thirty to fifty,—while others make them amount to eighty. The nest is made on the ground, generally at the foot of some isolated hill. The eggs are placed close together in a circle, half-buried in the sand to protect them from rain; and a narrow trench is drawn round, which carries off the water. At the distance of ten or twelve feet from this circle the female is said to place several other eggs, which she does not hatch, as these are intended for the young ones to feed upon; instinct having taught her to make this provision for her off-

spring, which might otherwise perish of hunger in the desert.* The parents sit by turns; for it is an error to suppose that they leave their eggs to be hatched in the sun; and while one is on the nest the other keeps watch on the summit of the adjacent hill, which circumstance sometimes enables the Arabs to kill them. The usual mode of taking them is by digging a hole in the ground near the eggs, into which the Bedouin puts his loaded gun pointed towards the nest, and having a long burning match fastened to the lock. After he has retired for some time, the ostrich returns, and not perceiving any enemy it rejoins its mate sitting upon the eggs. In a short while, the match being burnt down, the gun is discharged; and the two birds are frequently killed at one shot. The inhabitants in the district of Jof purchase and eat their flesh; the eggs are reckoned delicious food, and are sold for about a shilling each. The shells are hung in rooms as ornaments; and the feathers are carried to the markets of Aleppo and Damascus, where they bring about two shillings a piece. Sometimes the whole skin is sold with the feathers upon it: the price, when Burckhardt was at Aleppo in 1811, was from 250 to 600 piastres the rotolo, being from 2*l.* 10*s.* to 6*l.* per lb. A beautiful lapwing (called *hudhud*) is common on the shores of the Persian Gulf. The Arabs have a fabulous tradition, perhaps descended from Solomon, that its language may be understood.

There is a bird named *Samarman* or *Samarmog*, to which the Arabs pay a degree of respect bordering on adoration. It is thought to be a native of Khorasan, and is ranked among the thrushes by Forskal, who calls it *Turdus seleucus*. It comes annually into Arabia in pursuit of the locusts, of which it destroys incredible numbers. The service done by it, in protecting vegetation from the desolating ravages of these insects, has given rise to several ridiculous and superstitious practices. The Syrian Arabs believe that it is attracted from Persia by means of water, which for this purpose they bring from a distance with great ceremony, and preserve in a stone reservoir on the top of the tower of a mosque at Mosul. When this consecrated liquid fails, the inhabitants are in despair. The periodical visits of the samar

* This instinctive habit of the female ostrich is, however, doubted by some authors.

man are easily accounted for on the principle of instinct, which prompts it not only to feed on locusts, but to kill as many of them as possible; and hence, it naturally follows them in the course of their passage. The Arabs named to Forskal several other birds which he could never see, and of which, consequently, he did not ascertain the genus. Of these were the *Sumana;* the *Salva*, which he understood to be the rail, a bird of passage which frequents some districts; the *Thar el Hind*, remarkable for its gilded plumage, and supposed from the name to come from India; the *Achjal*, famous for the beautiful feathers with which the Highlanders adorn their bonnets: so careful is the bird about their growth, that it is said to bore a hole in the nest to preserve them uninjured. Game is abundant in Arabia, especially on the plains along the Euphrates,—the ancient kingdom of Nimrod, that "mighty hunter before the Lord." The inhabitants, however, regard neither the exercise nor the amusement of fowling. With a people living in a climate where animal food is injurious to health, game is despised. The precepts of the Koran are inimical to the diversion of field-sports. The labours of the huntsman or the fowler are lost, and his prey becomes impure, if he has but neglected the repetition of one short prayer when he killed the animal; if it has not lost the exact quantity of blood required by the law; if the beast or bird struggled with any remains of life after it was shot; or if it fell upon a place which was either inhabited or in any manner defiled. These causes will explain why the Arabs have an apathy or aversion for those sports of which savages in other countries are so passionately fond. From the nature of the climate, it cannot be expected that Arabia possesses any great variety of waterfowl. In marshy places, however, cranes, herons, snipes, storks, swans, pelicans, and a beautiful species of the plover, are found. Sea-birds are numerous on the coasts, especially those of the Red Sea, which is copiously stored with fish. Besides gulls, of which there are a variety of species, Niebuhr saw in one of the islands of that gulf pelicans which had built nests, and laid eggs as large as those of the common goose.

Reptiles.—The Danish travellers never met with the sea-tortoise; but the land-tortoise was not uncommon. In several places they saw the peasants bring them in loads to the market. The Eastern Christians eat them in Lent, and

drink their blood with great relish. The lizard-tribe are numerous. On the coast and in the valleys of Petræa, Burckhardt saw a species called *dhob*, that has a scaly yellow-coloured skin, of which the natives make tobacco-pouches. The largest are about eighteen inches in length, and the tail measures nearly one-half. Another sort of lizard is that called *jecko*, the saliva of which, falling upon victuals, is said by the Egyptians to infect the person that eats them with leprosy. Scorpions are numerous in the deserts, particularly on the confines of Palestine, which they have continued to infest since the time when the Children of Israel "passed through that great and terrible wilderness." Deut. viii. 15. Ali Bey saw a very large one in the great court of the Temple at Mecca. It was of a sallow colour, and walked with the tail bent over its back. Its length appeared to be about six inches. Of serpents there are several sorts whose bite is mortal; though the harmless are more numerous than the dangerous. The only kind that is truly formidable is that called *bætan*, a small slender creature, spotted black and white. The bite is said to cause instant death; while the dead body is swelled by the poison in a very extraordinary manner. It has been remarked that, in general, life is endangered by the wound of such only as have a distinct set of teeth larger than the rest, which serve to conduct the poison. Of this peculiarity the Arabs are aware; and they scruple not to play freely with these reptiles after the fatal teeth are extracted. In some species, the bite occasions merely a disagreeable itching, which the Bedouins cure by applying the leaves of the caper-tree. Serpents are very common in the Petræan deserts. On the shore near Akaba Burckhardt observed the sand everywhere bearing impressions of their passage crossing each other in all directions; and from the traces it appeared that the bodies of some of them could not be less than two inches in diameter. He was told that the fishermen were much afraid of them, and always extinguished their fires in the evening before going to sleep, as the light was known to attract them. It was while traversing these wilds, "from Hor to the Red Sea, to compass the land of Edom," that many of the Israelites were destroyed by these venomous reptiles (Numb. xxi. 4–6. Deut. viii. 15), called somewhat inaccurately fiery or flying serpents.*

* The meaning of the original is "serpents whose bite causes

Fishes.—The Arabian seas swarm with all sorts of fishes. In the short passage between Suez and Jidda, Forskal observed more than a hundred new species, only a part of which ne could rank among the known genera. Of these were some with which he was familiar; such as crabs, oysters, cod, mackerel, mullet, scarus, perch, and ray, but of species unknown in our seas. Others, such as the *Chætodon* and the *Sciæna*, are peculiar to the waters of hot climates. Troops of flying-fishes were seen, which rose from time to time above the surface. Of those observed by Captain Head near Loheia, some were spotted with glowing green and blue, others tinted with bright red. The Arabs on the coast, as well as their cattle, subsist almost entirely on this kind of food; but the fishermen always kill their prey before bringing them ashore, for fear of violating some precept of the Mohammedan law.*

Insects.—The locust, both from its numbers and its destructiveness, is the most formidable of all the Arabian insects. There appears to be various species. Forskal calls that which infests Arabia *Gryllus gregarius*, from their living and travelling in companies; and thinks it different from the *Gryllus migratorius* of Linnæus, which passes from its native deserts of Tartary into Poland and Germany. Niebuhr found nests of these insects near Mosul, which he thought, with proper care, might easily have been destroyed. They are said to breed three times in the year. When young, they are about the size of a fly, but grow with great rapidity, and attain their natural size in a few days. The prodigious quantities in which they take their flight is almost incredible. Their swarms darken the air and appear at a distance like clouds of smoke. The noise

death by inflammation." Burckhardt observes, that the Arabic version of the Pentateuch is more correct than our translation, by rendering it "serpents of burning bites, instead of "fiery serpents."

* Ali Bey has noticed a battle of fishes in the Red Sea, between Jidda and Yembo. The scene of action,—a circular space of twenty feet diameter,—was indicated by the bubbling and noise of the water, which extended to a considerable distance. During the finny combat, swarms of seafowl hovered over the spot, with a view no doubt to feast on the slain.—*Travels*, vol. ii. p. 148.

they make in flying is like the rush of a waterfall, and stuns the inhabitants with fear and astonishment. When they alight upon a field, it is wasted and despoiled of its verdure in an instant. The palm-trees are stripped of every leaf and green particle,—nothing being left but naked boughs as in the dead of winter. Pulse and succulent crops are devoured; but grain, either ripe or nearly so, is preserved, being too hard for their use. No pen has so beautifully depicted their ravages as that of the Prophet Joel:—"The land is as the garden of Eden before them, and behind them a desolate wilderness."* Africa, Egypt, Persia, and the whole of Asia, are subject to their visitations. In Arabia the locusts come invariably from the East, which makes the Arabs suppose that they are produced by the water of the Persian Gulf. Nejed is particularly exposed to their ravages; and when they have destroyed the harvests, they penetrate by thousands into private dwellings, and devour whatever they can find,—even the leather of the water-vessels. The Bedouins of Sinai are frequently driven to despair by the multitudes of these vermin, which remain generally during a space of forty or fifty days, and then disappear for the rest of the season. They arrive towards the end of May, when the Pleiades are setting, which leads the natives to suppose that locusts entertain a dread for that constellation. A few visit the country annually; but the great flights take place every fourth or fifth year. All Arabs, except those of Sinai, wherever they reside, are accustomed to eat locusts. In almost every town there are shops where they are sold by measure. In preparing them the cook throws them alive into boiling water, with which a good deal of salt has been mixed. After a few minutes they are taken out, and dried in the sun; the head, feet, and wings, are then torn off; the bodies are cleansed from the salt, and perfectly dried, after which they are put up into sacks or bags. Sometimes they are broiled in butter, and spread on the unleavened bread used at breakfast. The Jewish Arabs believe that the food of which the Israelites ate so abundantly in the desert was showers of locusts; and they laugh at our translators, who suppose that quails were rained where quails were never found.

* See Africa, in Edinburgh Cabinet Library, 2d edit. p. 500, 501.

Another scourge of Arabia, and of hot countries in general, is a small insect named *arda* (*Termes fatale*, Linn.), of the bulk of a grain of barley. On account of some general resemblance, this insect is represented as an ant. Its instinct disposes it to travel only by night; it forms a sort of gallery or mine in the earth; and, after reaching the end of its journey, it destroys every thing,—victuals, clothes, and furniture. At Beit el Fakih, the Danish travellers were grievously annoyed by them; they invaded their chambers, and persisted in their attacks with singular obstinacy. They are very destructive to trees, the sweetness of whose leaves and fruit is extremely gratifying to them. To preserve their gardens from ruin, the natives are obliged to surround the trunks with sheep's dung, the smell of which this insect cannot endure. In Arabia there are many species of ants, all of which are harmless, except two; one of these attacks the natives, and its bite is little less painful than that of the scorpion; the other settles upon their victuals with great avidity, and can only be driven away by the odour of camphor. They are likewise much infested by a sort of *scolopendra*, which torments with a burning pain those on whom it fixes. This insect inserts its feet into the flesh, so that it is impossible to get rid of it, otherwise than by successively burning all the parts affected with a hot iron. Another venomous insect, resembling a spider, which infests the deserts, is that to which the Bedouins give the name of *abou hanekein*, or the two-mouthed. Its length is about three inches; it has five long legs on both sides, covered like the body with *satæ* or bristles, of a light-yellow colour. The head is long and pointed, with large black eyes; the mouth is armed with two pairs of fangs, one above the other, recurved and extremely sharp. It makes its appearance only at night, and is chiefly attracted by fire. The Arabs entertain the greatest dread of them; their bite, if not always mortal, produces vomiting, swelling, and the most excruciating pains. Among the *tenebriones* is one species which destroys reeds and attacks the stalks of corn, where it deposites its eggs. Another *tenebrio*, found among the filth of gardens, is used as an article of female luxury Plumpness being thought a beauty in the East, both the Turkish and Arab women, in order to obtain this enviable obesity, swallow every morning and evening three of these insects fried in butter.

Shells.—It would be difficult to enumerate the vast diversity of shells that adorn the banks, or lie in the shallows of the Arabian Seas. *Cypreæ* are seen in the Gulf of Suez, beautifully spotted, and in a great variety of sizes. Turbinated and bivalve shells are also common, remarkable not only for the luxuriance of their colours, but so exceedingly capacious that *Buccina* have been found a foot and a half long, while some of the bivalve specimens are as much in diameter. There are three kinds of shell-fish highly valued on account of the pearls which they contain. The first of these is a muscle, which is found chiefly on the Egyptian coast of the Gulf; the second is a *Pinna*, rough, brittle, and of a beautiful red colour; the third bears a resemblance to our oyster. The pearl of the first is seldom of a clear colour, but esteemed for its form and lustre; the second yields a rich mother-of-pearl, of a white colour, tinged with a delicate shade of red; the third, called *lulu el berber*, is most sought after. Vast quantities of it are carried to Jerusalem, where it is used in veneering, or formed into boxes, beads, and crucifixes. Bruce says that he observed none of these shells on either side of the Gulf southward of the parallel of Mocha. Edrisi mentions a place on the western arm of the sea where pearls were found; and Burckhardt states that the Bedouins still pick up a considerable quantity there, which they sell to advantage to the ships that anchor at Moilah. Nor is this the only benefit which the Arabs derive from their marine wealth; much of the furniture and utensils of their houses, as well as their personal ornaments, are supplied from this watery magazine. The *Nautilus* serves them instead of a cup; the *Buccinum* instead of a jar; and a bivalve is the dish or platter from which they eat their food. Fossil shells are not very common; yet at Wady Gharendel, Ayoun Mousa, Tor, and Suez, Shaw found quantities of *Chamæ*, *Pectunculi*, *Echini*, and other species; most of which corresponded exactly with their respective families still contained in the Red Sea. Most of the echini are remarkably beautiful,—some being flat and unarmed, of the pentaphylloid kind; others oval or globular, very elegantly studded with little knobs, and covered with prickles, which are sometimes thicker than a swan's quill. The *Asterias* or star-fish is another of these marine productions. Shaw observed some of

them nine inches in diameter; but there seemed to be nothing peculiar in their habits or conformation.

Coral Banks.—We have already spoken of those immense masses of submarine rocks, formed by myriads of minute creatures of the polypus kind, called *Polypes a polypiers* by the French naturalists, which traverse and almost fill up the Arabian Gulf. In some places they rise ten fathoms above the surface of the water. Being soft, and easily wrought, they are preferred to all other stones for the purpose of building. Most of the houses in Tehama are constructed of this material; so that every cottage is a cabinet of natural history. The island of Kameran is formed entirely of coral rock, which rises without the slightest inquality of surface to the height of twenty feet above the level of the sea. The quantity of madrepores, millepores, algæ, and other substances, which procured for that gulf the name of the Weedy Sea, is immense. When rowing gently along in a calm day, they appear to the eye much the same as in the time of Strabo and Pliny, who described them as forests under water. Nor is the comparison inapposite. Shaw remarks that several of them were eight or ten feet high, growing sometimes pyramidal like the cypress; at other times their branches spread more open, resembling the oak; while the entire bottom was overlaid with a rich green carpet of creeping plants. At low water, especially after strong tides or high winds, these marine productions are cast ashore in great quantities. The coralline bodies increase to an extraordinary size. Several of them, such as the *meandrina*, or *brainstone*, are observed to retain constantly a certain specific form; while the astroite madrepores have each their different asterisks or starlike figures impressed upon their surface. They assume the most fantastic shapes, as in course of their increase they mould themselves into the figures of rocks, shells, and other objects that lie within the reach of their growth. With respect to the other inhabitants of the waters, it is sufficient to state that both the Red Sea and especially the Arabian Gulf swarm with species of *Medusæ*, *Salpæ*, *Fistulariæ*, and other kinds, which led Forskal to believe that the phosphorescence of the seas was owing to the immense numbers of these animals.

THE END.

COLEGIO INTERNACIONAL
SARRIÁ.-BARCELONA