

THE
HISTORY OF THE SARACENS.
(ARABS)
BY SIMON OCKLEY, B.D.



Duflos.

Finchiff.

Mohammed

THE
HISTORY OF THE SARACENS;
COMPRISING THE
LIVES OF MOHAMMED AND HIS SUCCESSORS,
TO THE DEATH OF ABDALMELIK, THE ELEVENTH CALIPH.
WITH AN ACCOUNT OF
THEIR MOST REMARKABLE BATTLES, SIEGES, REVOLTS, &c.

COLLECTED FROM AUTHENTIC SOURCES, ESPECIALLY ARABIC MSS.

BY SIMON OCKLEY, B.D.,

PROFESSOR OF ARABIC IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

THE FIFTH EDITION,
REVISED, IMPROVED, AND ENLARGED.



GORGAS PRESS
2004

First Gorgias Press Edition, 2004.

The special contents of this edition are copyright © 2004 by
Gorgias Press LLC.

All rights reserved under International and Pan-American Copyright
Conventions. Published in the United States of America by Gorgias
Press LLC, New Jersey. This edition is a facsimile reprint of the
original edition published by Henry G. Bohn, London, 1848.

ISBN 1-59333-151-7



GORGAS PRESS

46 Orris Ave., Piscataway, NJ 08854 USA

www.gorgiaspress.com

Printed and bound in the United States of America.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE PUBLISHER of the STANDARD LIBRARY has much satisfaction in presenting to his subscribers an improved edition of a book so remarkable for curious, original, and instructive matter as OCKLEY'S HISTORY OF THE SARACENS. Upon its first publication this work was received by scholars with marked approbation, as the most complete and authentic account of the Arabian Prophet and his successors which had yet been given to the world; and even at the present day, after the lapse of nearly a century, it continues to be regarded as the standard history of this eventful period.

The establishment of Islamism is undoubtedly to be numbered among those stupendous events which have changed the face of society in the East; and is a subject deserving not only of the careful study of the statesman and the divine,

but of all who delight to search, patiently and reverently, into the ways of Providence. With the Koran in one hand, and the scimitar in the other, the impetuous and indomitable Arab achieved a series of splendid victories unparalleled in the history of nations; for in the short space of eighty years that mighty range of Saracenic conquest embraced a wider extent of territory than Rome had mastered in the course of eight hundred.

It is evident that a work designed for popular circulation, and which is intended to allure those whom business or indolence may prevent from more laborious reading, requires a nice combination of qualities which do not often meet together in the same intellect—accuracy, judgment, taste, and scholarship—all of which, it will be seen, are exhibited in Ockley's pages.

The most unqualified praise has been awarded to the author for the laborious research and unwearied energy displayed under peculiar difficulties, which has resulted in the production of a work at once enriching the literature of our country, and furnishing materials of the highest importance to historians and travellers of every age. Gibbon made considerable use of this work, in his "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," where he speaks of Ockley as "a learned and spirited interpreter of Arabian authorities, whose tales and traditions afford an artless picture of the men and the times;" and in his Autobio-

graphy he describes him as “an original in every sense, who had opened his eyes.” Professor Smyth, also, in his recent Lectures on Modern History, recommends “Ockley’s curious work as necessary to enable the student to comprehend the character of the Arabians, which is there displayed by their own writers in all its singularities.” A writer in the *Quarterly Review* (No. xxix.) likewise adds, that “the History of the Saracens is a splendid instance of success in this most difficult branch of authorship, and will considerably overpay a perusal, by the strong moral painting and dramatic vivacity with which the vigorous writer diversified and elevated his subjects.”

The literary character of the work being so well established, and the last edition having become extremely scarce, the reasons for its republication must be obvious. In preparing the present Edition for the Press, it is confidently hoped, that the various improvements introduced throughout, have enhanced its value, and will entitle it to a high degree of popular favour. The entire work is now compressed in a single volume, printed from the third and best edition of 1757, which appeared in two volumes, 8vo, and it has been enriched with considerable additions in the form of Notes, from the researches of later writers on Arabian History, particularly Major Price, Burckhardt, Mills, Lane, Dr. Weil, and Don Pascual de Gayangos. The orthography of the Oriental names, which in the work as left by Ockley was by no means uniform, has, as far as possible, been reduced to the standard

now most generally acceptable to English readers. A Memoir of the learned Author, a Table of Contents and Index, have also been added, with Chronological Dates of the Christian and Mohammedan years, as well as a Synoptical View of the later portion of Saracenic History not given by Ockley.

In a future volume it is intended to give a continuation of Ockley's work, to the extinction of the Bagdad Caliphate, which will be found to contain information both interesting and instructive to the general reader.

H. G. B.

YORK STREET, *March*, 1847.

CONTENTS.

	Page.
Advertisement	i
Memoir of Ockley	vii
Author's Preface	xvi
Introduction	xxi
LIFE OF MOHAMMED. Born A.D. 571, died A.D. 632. AN. HEJ. 11.	1
<p style="margin-left: 2em;">Ancient Arabs—The Kaaba—Birth and family of Mohammed—Traditions of his childhood—Marries Kadija—Writes the Koran—His mission—First converts—Marries Ayesha, Hafsa, &c.—Traditions of his night-journey to heaven—Persecuted by the Koreish—Flight to Medina—Victory at Beder—Defeat at Ohud—Prohibits wine—War of the Ditch—Marries Zainab and Juweirah—Ayesha's intrigue—Submission of Mecca—Nearly poisoned—Bewitched by the Jews—His amours with Mary—Conquest of Arabia—Marches into Syria—Farewell pilgrimage to Mecca—His death—His person and character—His wives—The Koran—His miracles—Mohammedan religion—Mohammedan creed and practice.</p>	
SUCCESSORS OF MOHAMMED.	
ABUBEKER. AN. HEJ. 11—14. A.D. 632—634	79
<p style="margin-left: 2em;">Election of Caliph—General disaffection of the Arabians—Malec Ebn Noweirah beheaded by Kaled—Moseilama the false prophet defeated and slain—War with Syria—Kaled, general—Bostra taken—Siege of Damascus—Battle of Ajnadin—Damascus taken—Abubeker's sickness and death—Collected the Koran into one volume—His person and character.</p>	
OMAR I. AN. HEJ. 13—23. A.D. 634—643	141
<p style="margin-left: 2em;">Sends Abu Obeidah Ebn Masud into Persia—Death of Abu Obeidah—War with Persia—Slaughter of the Damascenes—Story of the two lovers—Deposition of Kaled—Fair at Dair Abi'l Kodas—Siege of Hems or Emesa, raised by Abu Obeidah Ebn Jerahh—Kinnisrin taken—Siege of Baalbec—Hems taken—Arrestan taken—Battle of Yermouk—Siege of Jerusalem—Omar's journey—Treaty with the inhabitants—Victories in Persia—Siege of Aleppo—Successful stratagem of Dames—Aazaz taken—Surrender of Antioch—Omar writes to Heraclius—Plague in Syria—Amrou's conquests in Egypt—Treacherous surrender of Misrah—Alexandria taken, and library burnt—Assassination of Omar—His person and character—His wives.</p>	
OTHMAN. AN. HEJ. 23—35. A.D. 643—655.	271
<p style="margin-left: 2em;">Chosen Caliph by six commissioners—Deposes Amrou—Moawiyah invades Cyprus—Death of Yezdejird—Disaffection of the Saracens—Revolt at Cufah—Merwan's ill-ministration—Othman's palace besieged—His death and character.</p>	
ALI. AN. HEJ. 25—40. A.D. 655—661	287
<p style="margin-left: 2em;">Dissensions among the Arabians—Ali consents to become Caliph—His embarrassments—Disaffection towards him—Revolt of</p>	

	Page.
Ayesha—Writes to Cufah—Ayesha's letter—Defeat of Ayesha—Disturbances in Syria—Revolt of Moawiyah and Amrou—Skirmishes at Scfein—Arbitration fruitless—Rebellion of the Separatists—Malec Alashtar poisoned—Assassination of Ali, and conspiracy discovered—Person and character of Ali—His wives—Anecdotes—Shiites and Sonnites—Sentences of Ali	337
HASAN. AN. HEJ. 40, 41. A.D. 660, 661	346
Dissensions in the caliphate—Hasan proffers the throne to Moawiyah—Resignation of Hasan—Poisoned An. Hej. 49—His birth and character.	

DYNASTY OF THE OMMIADES.

AN. HEJ. 41—132. A.D. 661—750.

1. MOAWIYAH I. AN. HEJ. 41—60. A.D. 661—679	354
Birth and descent of Moawiyah—Death of Amrou—Ziyad, the Caliph's brother—Story of—Character and anecdotes of—Execution of Hejer—Siege of Constantinople—Kairwan built—Makes Damascus his capital—Death of Ziyad—Makes the caliphate hereditary—Death of Ayesha—Death of Moawiyah—His patronage of letters—Anecdotes of—His character—The first Caliph who formed a navy.	
2. YEZID I. AN. HEJ. 60—64. A.D. 679—683.	387
Hosein endeavours to obtain the caliphate—Disaffection at Cufah—Destruction of Hosein's party and his melancholy death—His family—Traditions concerning his head—Anecdotes of—Revolt of Abdallah, the son of Zobeir—Rebellion at Mecca—Abdallah besieged in Mecca—Death of Yezid—His character.	
3. MOAWIYAH II. AN. HEJ. 64. A.D. 683	430
Deposed after a reign of six weeks—Abdallah the son of Zobeir proclaimed Caliph.	
4. MERWAN I. AN. HEJ. 64, 65. A.D. 683, 684	434
Proclaimed in Syria—Defeats Abdallah—Marries Yezid's widow—Proceedings at Cufah to revenge Hosein's death—The Cufians march towards Syria—Cut to pieces by Obeidollah Ziyad—Death of Merwan by poison—His character.	
5. ABDALMELIK. AN. HEJ. 85—86. A.D. 684—705	435
Insurrection of Al Moktar—Death of Obeidollah—Death of Al Moktar—Murder of Amrou, son of Saïd—Musab assumes the government of Cufah—Expedition against him—His death—Hejaj besieges Mecca—Death of Abdallah, the son of Zobeir—Abdalmelik acknowledged Caliph throughout Arabia—Cruelty of Hejaj—Insurrection of Shebib and Salehh at Mosule—Arabian money first coined—Death of Shebib—Anecdotes of Hejaj—His death—Death of Abdalmelik—Stories of—His conquests.	

End of Ockley's History.

MEMOIR OF SIMON OCKLEY.

At a time when Oriental studies were at their infancy in this country, Simon Ockley, animated by the illustrious example of Pocock, and the laborious diligence of Prideaux, devoted his life and his fortune to those novel researches, which necessarily involved both. With that enthusiasm which the ancient votary experienced, and with that patient suffering the modern martyr has endured, he pursued, till he accomplished, the useful object of his labours. He perhaps was the first who exhibited to us other heroes than those of Greece and Rome; sages as contemplative, and a people more magnificent even than the iron masters of the world.*

Simon Ockley was born at Exeter in 1678, and was descended from a good family of Great Ellingham, in Norfolk, where his father usually resided. After a proper foundation laid in school-learning, he was sent, in 1693, to Queen's College in Cambridge, where he soon distinguished himself by great quickness of parts as well as intense application to literature; to the oriental languages more particularly, for his uncommon skill in which he afterwards became famous. He took, at the usual time, the degrees in arts, and that of bachelor in divinity. Having taken orders also, he was, in 1705, through the interest of Simon Patrick, bishop of Ely, presented by Jesus College, in Cambridge, to the vicarage of Swavesey, in that county; and, in 1711, chosen Arabic professor of the university. These preferments he held to the day of his death, which happened at Swavesey, Aug. 9, 1720, immaturely to himself, but more so to his family.

Ockley had the culture of Oriental learning very much at heart, and the several publications which he made were intended solely to promote it. In 1706, he printed, at Cambridge, a useful little book, entitled, "Introductio ad Linguas Orientales." Prefixed is a dedication to his friend the bishop

* D'Israeli's Calamities of Authors.

of Ely, and a preface, addressed to the *Juventus Academica*, whom he labours to excite by various arguments to the pursuit of oriental learning; assuring them in general, that no man ever was, or ever will be, truly great in divinity, without at least some portion of skill in it. There is a chapter in this work, relating to the celebrated controversy between Buxtorf and Capellus, upon the antiquity of the Hebrew points, where Ockley professes to think with Buxtorf, who contended for it: but he afterwards changed his opinion, and went over to Capellus, although he had not any opportunity of publicly declaring it. And indeed it is plain, from his manner of closing that chapter upon the points, that he was then far enough from having any settled persuasion about them.

In 1707, he published in 12mo. from the Italian of Leo Modena, a Venetian rabbi, "The History of the present Jews throughout the World; being an ample, though succinct, account of their customs, ceremonies, and manner of living at this time:" to which is subjoined a "Supplement concerning the Carraites and Samaritans, from the French of Father Simon." In 1708, a little curious book, entitled "The Improvement of Human Reason, exhibited in the Life of Hai Ebn Yokdhan, written above 500 years ago, by Abu Jaafar Ebn Tophail:" translated from the Arabic, and illustrated with figures, 8vo. The design of the author, who was a Mohammedan philosopher, is to show, how human reason may, by observation and experience, arrive at the knowledge of natural things, and thence to supernatural, and particularly the knowledge of God and a future state: the design of the translator, to give those who might be unacquainted with it, a specimen of the genius of the Arabian philosophers, and to excite young scholars to the reading of eastern authors. This was the point our rabbi had constantly in view; and, therefore, in his "Oratio Inauguralis," for the professorship, it was with no small pleasure, as we imagine, that he insisted upon the beauty, copiousness, and antiquity, of the Arabic tongue in particular, and upon the use of oriental learning in general; and that he dwelt upon the praises of Erpenius, Golius, Pocock, Herbelot, and all who had in any way contributed to promote the study of it. In 1713, his name appeared to a little book, with this title "An Account of South-West Barbary, containing what is most remarkable in the territories

of the king of Fez and Morocco ; written by a person who had been a slave there a considerable time, and published from his authentic manuscript: to which are added, two Letters ; one from the present king of Morocco to Colonel Kirk ; the other to Sir Cloudesly Shovell, with Sir Cloudesly's answer," &c., 8vo. While we are enumerating these small publications of the professor, it will be but proper to mention two sermons: one, "Upon the Dignity and Authority of the Christian Priesthood," preached at Ormond Chapel, London, in 1710 ; another, "Upon the Necessity of Instructing Children in the Scriptures," at St. Ives, in Huntingdonshire, 1713. To these we must add a new translation of the second "Apocryphal Book of Esdras," from the Arabic version of it, as that which we have in our common Bibles is from the vulgar Latin, 1716. Mr. Whiston, we are told, was the person who employed him in this translation, upon a strong suspicion, that it must needs make for the Arian cause he was then reviving ; and he, accordingly, published it in one of his volumes of "Primitive Christianity Revived." Ockley, however, was firmly of opinion, that it could serve nothing at all to his purpose ; as appears from a printed letter of his to Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Thirlby, in which are the following words : "You shall have my 'Esdras' in a little time ; two hundred of which I reserved, when Mr. Whiston reprinted his, purely upon this account, because I was loath that anything with my name to it should be extant only in his heretical volumes. I only stay, till the learned author of the 'History of Montanism' has finished a dissertation which he has promised me to prefix to that book."* A learned letter of Ockley's to Mr. W. Wotton is printed among the "Miscellaneous Tracts of Mr. Bowyer, 1784."

But the most considerable by far of all the professor's performances is, "The History of the Saracens ;" begun from the death of Mohammed, the founder of the Saracenic empire, which happened in 632, and carried down through a succession of caliphs, to 705. This "History," which illustrates the religion, rites, customs, and manner of living of that warlike people, is very curious and entertaining ; and Ockley was at vast pains in collecting materials from the most authentic

* This letter, dated Oct. the 15th, 1712, is entitled, "An Account of the authority of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, controverted between Dr. Grabe and Mr. Whiston." 1712. 8vo.

Arabic authors, especially manuscripts, not hitherto published in any European language; and for that purpose resided a long time at Oxford, to be near the Bodleian library, where those manuscripts were repositied. It is in 2 vols. 8vo.; the first of which was published in 1708; the second, in 1718: and both were soon after republished. A third edition was printed, in the same size, at Cambridge, in 1757; to which is prefixed, "An Account of the Arabians or Saracens, of the Life of Mohammed, and the Mohammedan Religion, by a learned hand:" that is, by the learned Dr. Long, master of Pembroke hall, in Cambridge.

While at Oxford, preparing this work, he sent a letter to his daughter, part of which is worth transcribing, as characteristic both of him and his labours. "My condition here is this: one of the most useful and necessary authors I have is written in such a wretched hand, that the very reading of it is perfect deciphering. I am forced sometimes to take three or four lines together, and then pull them all to pieces to find where the words begin and end; for oftentimes it is so written, that a word is divided as if the former part of it was the end of the foregoing word, and the latter part the beginning of another; besides innumerable other difficulties known only to those that understand the language. Add to this the pains of abridging, comparing authors, selecting proper materials, and the like, which in a remote and copious language, abounding with difficulties sometimes insuperable, make it equivalent at least to the performing of six times so much in Greek and Latin. So that if I continue in the same course in which I am engaged at present, that is, from the time I rise in the morning till I can see no longer at night, I cannot pretend once to entertain the least thought of seeing home till Michaelmas. Were it not that there is some satisfaction in answering the end of my profession, some in making new discoveries, and some in the hopes of obliging my country with the history of the greatest empire the world ever yet saw, I would sooner do almost anything than submit to the drudgery.

"People imagine, that it is only understanding Arabic, and then translating a book out of it, and there is an end of the story: but if ever learning revives among us, posterity will judge better. This work of mine (in another way) is almost of as different a nature from translating out of the Greek or

Latin, as translating a poet from one language to another is different from prose. One comfort I have, that the authors I am concerned with are very good in their kind, and afford me plenty of materials, which will clear up a great many mistakes of modern travellers, who, passing through the eastern countries, without the necessary knowledge of the history and ancient customs of the Mohammedans, pick up little pieces of tradition from the present inhabitants, and deliver them as obscurely as they receive them. One thing pleases me much, that we shall give a very particular account of Ali and Hosein, who are reckoned saints by the Persians, and whose names you must have met with both in Herbert and Tavernier; for the sake of whom there remains that implacable and irreconcilable hatred between the Turks and Persians to this very day, which you may look for in vain in all the English books that have hitherto appeared. It would be a great satisfaction to me, if the author I have were complete in all his volumes, that I might bring the history down five or six hundred years: but, alas! of twelve that he wrote, we have but two at Oxford, which are large quartos, and from whence I take the chief of my materials.

“I wish that some public spirit would arise among us, and cause those books to be bought in the east for us which we want. I should be very willing to lay out my pains for the service of the public. If we could but procure £500 to be judiciously laid out in the east, in such books as I could mention for the public library at Cambridge, it would be the greatest improvement that could be conceived: but that is a happiness not to be expected in my time. We are all swallowed up in politics; there is no room for letters; and it is to be feared that the next generation will not only inherit but improve the polite ignorance of the present.”

Poor Ockley, always a student, and rarely what is called a man of the world, once encountered a literary calamity which frequently occurs when an author finds himself among the rapid triflers and the polished cynics of the fashionable circle. Something like a patron he found in Harley, the Earl of Oxford, and once had the unlucky honour of dining at the table of my Lord Treasurer. It is probable that Ockley, from retired habits and severe studies, was not at all accomplished in the *suaviter in modo*, of which greater geniuses than Ockley

have so surlily despaired. How he behaved we cannot narrate; probably he delivered himself with as great simplicity at the table of the Lord Treasurer, as on the wrong side of Cambridge Castle gate. The embarrassment this simplicity drew him into, is very fully stated in the following copious apology he addressed to the Earl of Oxford, which we have transcribed from the original; perhaps it may be a useful memorial to some men of letters as little polished as the learned Ockley:—

“ Cambridge, July 15, 1714.

“ MY LORD,

“ I was so struck with horror and amazement two days ago, that I cannot possibly express it. A friend of mine showed me a letter, part of the contents of which were, ‘That Professor Ockley had given such extreme offence by some uncourtly answers to some gentlemen at my Lord Treasurer’s table, that it would be in vain to make any further application to him.’

“ My Lord, it is impossible for me to recollect, at this distance of time. All that I can say is this: that, as on the one side for a man to come to his patron’s table with a design to affront either him or his friends, supposes him a perfect natural, a mere idiot; so on the other side it would be extremely severe, if a person whose education was far distant from the politeness of a court, should, upon the account of an unguarded expression, or some little inadvertency in his behaviour, suffer a capital sentence.

“ Which is my case, if I have forfeited your Lordship’s favour; which God forbid! That man is involved in double ruin that is not only forsaken by his friend; but, which is the unavoidable consequence, exposed to the malice and contempt, not only of enemies, but, what is still more grievous, of all sorts of fools.

“ It is not the talent of every well-meaning man to converse with his superiors with due decorum; for, either when he reflects upon the vast distance of their station above his own, he is struck dumb and almost insensible; or else their condescension and courtly behaviour encourages him to be too familiar. To steer exactly between these two extremes requires not only a good intention, but presence of mind, and long custom.

“Another article in my friend’s letter was, ‘That somebody had informed your lordship, that I was a very sot.’ When first I had the honour to be known to your lordship, I could easily foresee that there would be persons enough that would envy me upon that account, and do what in them lay to traduce me. Let Haman enjoy never so much himself, it is all nothing, it does him no good, till poor Mordecai is hanged out of his way.

“But I never feared the being censured upon that account. Here in the University, I converse with none but persons of the most distinguished reputations both for learning and virtue, and receive from them daily as great marks of respect and esteem, which I should not have, if that imputation were true. It is most certain that I do indulge myself the freedom of drinking a cheerful cup, at proper seasons, among my friends; but no otherwise than is done by thousands of honest men who never forfeit their character by it. And whoever doth no more than so, deserves no more to be called a sot, than a man that eats a hearty meal would be willing to be called a glutton.

“As for those detractors, if I have but the least assurance of your lordship’s favour, I can very easily despise them. They are *nati consumere fruges*. They need not trouble themselves about what other people do; for whatever they eat and drink, it is only robbing the poor. Resigning myself entirely to your Lordship’s goodness and pardon, I conclude this necessary apology with like provocation, That *I would be content he should take my character from any person that had a good one of his own*.

“I am, with all submission,

“My Lord,

“Your Lordship’s most obedient, &c.

“SIMON OCKLEY.”

To the honour of the Earl of Oxford, this unlucky piece of awkwardness at table, in giving “uncourtly answers,” did not interrupt his regard for the poor oriental student; for several years afterwards the correspondence of Ockley was still acceptable to the Earl.*

* D’Israeli’s Calamities of Authors.

In the meantime, Ockley was one of those unfortunate persons, whom Pierius Valerianus would have recorded, in his book "De infelicitate literatorum." In his "Inaugural Oration," printed in 1711, he calls fortune *venefica* and *noverca*, speaks of *mordaces curæ* as things long familiar to him; and, in Dec. 1717, we find him actually under confinement for debt. In the introduction to the second volume of the first edition of his "Saracenic History," he not only tells us so, but even stoically dates from Cambridge Castle. His biographer thus accounts for his unfortunate situation:—Having married very young, he was encumbered with a family early in life; his preferment in the church was not answerable to his reputation as a scholar; his patron, the Earl of Oxford, fell into disgrace when he wanted him most; and, lastly, he had some share of that common infirmity among the learned, which makes them negligent of economy and a prudential regard to outward things, without which, however, all the wit, and all the learning, in the world, will but serve to render a man the more miserable.

If the letters of the widows and children of many of our eminent authors were collected, they would demonstrate the great fact, that the man who is a husband or a father ought not to be an author. They might weary with a monotonous cry, and usually would be dated from the gaol or the garret. I have seen an original letter from the widow of Ockley to the Earl of Oxford, in which she lays before him the deplorable situation of her affairs; the debts of the Professor being beyond what his effects amounted to, the severity of the creditors would not even suffer the executor to make the best of his effects; the widow remained destitute of necessaries, incapable of assisting her children.

Thus students have devoted their days to studies worthy of a student. They are public benefactors, yet find no friend in the public, who cannot yet appreciate their value—Ministers of state know it, though they have rarely protected them. Ockley, by letters I have seen, was frequently employed by Bolingbroke to translate letters from the sovereign of Morocco to our court; yet all the debts for which he was imprisoned in Cambridge Castle did not exceed two hundred pounds. The public interest is concerned in stimulating such enthusiasts; they are men who cannot be salaried, who can-

not be created by letters patent ; for they are men who infuse their soul into their studies, and breathe their fondness for them in their last agonies. Yet such are doomed to feel their life pass away like a painful dream !*

As to the literary character of Ockley, it is certain that he was extremely well skilled in all the ancient languages, and particularly the oriental ; so that the very learned Reland thought it not too much to declare, that he was “ *vir, si quis alius, harum literarum peritus.*” He was, likewise, very knowing in modern languages, as in the French, Spanish, Italian, &c. and, upon the whole, considered as a linguist, we may presume that very few have exceeded him.†

* D'Israeli's Calamities of Authors.

† For this biography, which is principally written by Dr. Heathcote, we are indebted to Chalmers's Biographical Dictionary and D'Israeli's Calamities of Authors.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THE Arabians, a people but little noticed by the Greek and Roman authors, notwithstanding the nearness and the extent of their country, have, since the time of Mohammed, rendered themselves universally remarkable, both by their arms and learning. The understanding, therefore, of their affairs seems no less if not more necessary than a knowledge of the history of any people whatsoever, who have flourished since the decline of the Roman empire. Not only have they had as great men, and performed as considerable actions, as any other nation under heaven ; but, what is of more concern to us Christians, they were the first ruin of the eastern church.

It might reasonably have been expected, that the Greeks, who bore the greatest share of that grievous calamity, and whose vices and divisions, it is to be feared, brought it upon the Christian world, would have taken particular care to have given a just account of it. But, on the contrary, they have been more jejune and sparing in this particular, than is allowable in any tolerable historian, even when relating matters at the greatest distance. Not to enumerate a long catalogue of their defects, I shall content myself with producing the words of an ingenious author,* who was well aware of the imperfections of the Greeks with relation to this history, and fully expresses the true sense of that matter in these words : " This," says he, " in substance, is the account of those wars, and of the beginning of the Saracenic empire, which is left us by the Grecian writers of that age, who are justly accused of brevity and obscurity, in a subject that deserved to be more copiously handled ; for undoubtedly it must needs have been various as well as surprising in its circumstances, containing no less than the subduing of whole nations, altering ancient governments, and introducing a new face of affairs in the world." There is nothing more just than this observation ; and what lame accounts must we then expect from those who compile histories of the Saracens out of the Byzantine historians ?

I was no sooner convinced of this, but, having, by the study of their language, fitted myself in some measure for reading their authors, I felt a great desire to communicate some part of this hitherto unknown history to the world ; being equally affected with wonder and concern, that, considering the multitude of learned men which the last age produced, it should have been so long neglected. The reason of this is, I conceive, that the very few who were masters of the Arabic learning were otherwise employed, spending their time in publishing such books as were absolutely necessary to pave the way for posterity to attain a competent skill in that difficult language. Others, insufficiently acquainted with that nation, have entertained too mean an opinion of them, looking upon them as mere barbarians and this mistaken notion hindered all further inquiry.

* Echard's Roman History, vol. ii. p. 304.

As for those great men who, in this last age first restored to us Europeans that learned, copious, and elegant language ; I mean Erpenius, Giggeius, Golius, Sionita, and our incomparable Dr. Pocock ; we cannot express how much we are indebted to them for their learned labours, without which the Arabic tongue would still have been inaccessible to us. But as there are other persons of a different taste, who, for want of due information, have conceived a wrong opinion of the Arabians, it will not be amiss, before we give a particular account of our present undertaking, to say something concerning that people.

Before Mohammed's time they were idolaters. They were always a warlike people, seldom being at peace either with one another or their neighbours. They were divided into two classes ; some of them lived in towns and villages ; others, having no fixed, settled habitations, lived in tents, and removed from one part of the country to another, according as their necessities compelled, or conveniences invited them. Their chief excellence consisted in breeding and managing horses, and the use of bows, swords, and lances. Their learning lay wholly in their poetry, to which their genius greatly inclined them. Mohammed and his successors soon rooted out idolatry, and united those jarring tribes in the profession of that new superstition, which he pretended to have received by inspiration from God, delivered to him immediately by the angel Gabriel.

For about two hundred years, little else was cared for but war, except what concerned the interpretation of the Koran, and the sects and divisions among themselves which arose therefrom, and daily multiplied. But there was as yet no curiosity about foreign learning, nor desire of being acquainted with the arts and sciences. At last, in Al Mamoun's reign, who was the twenty-seventh after Mohammed, and was inaugurated caliph in the 108th year of the Hejrah,* learning began to be cultivated to a very great degree, especially mathematics and astronomy. And, in order to promote learning and science, that noble caliph spared no cost, either to procure such Greek books as were serviceable to that purpose, or to encourage learned men to the study of them. Nor did the sagacity and application of that ingenious, penetrating people in the least disappoint the designs of their munificent benefactor ; their progress in learning, after they had once entered upon it, seeming no less wonderful than that of their conquests ; for in a few years' time they had plenty of translations out of the Greek, not only of mathematicians and astronomers, but also of philosophers, naturalists, and physicians. And this love of learning was not confined to the eastern parts, but diffused throughout the whole dominions of the Saracens, being first carried into Africa (where they erected a great many universities), and from thence into Spain : so that when learning was quite lost in these western parts, it was restored by the Moors, to whom was owing whatever of philosophy was understood by the Christians of these times. For Greek was not understood in this part of the world till the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, A.D. 1453, when several learned Greeks escaping with their libraries, and coming westward, that language was restored ; therefore the philosophers and schoolmen, before this date, were obliged to content themselves with Latin translations, not only of Averroes, Alfarabius, and

* A.D. 813.

Algazali, and other Mohammedan authors, but also of Aristotle and other philosophers, which translations of Greek authors were not made out of the original Greek, but out of Arabic versions.

Had the Arabians, after having taken the pains to learn the Greek tongue, applied themselves with as much care to the historians, as they did to the philosophers, and studied Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, and the other masters of correct writing which that language furnished, we might have expected from them a succession of historians worthy to write the great actions which were performed among them. But they never turned their thoughts that way, studying the Greek merely for the sake of the sciences, and valuing neither that nor any other language as compared with their own. And, though it must be granted that the Arabic is extremely fine and copious, so as to afford words sufficient to express with elegance and propriety every subject, it is, nevertheless, not sufficient of itself, any more than any other language, to make a man an author; there being a manifest difference between language and style, insomuch that a man may write the best language in the world, and use the most proper and significant words, and yet not be worth the reading. For besides propriety of expression, a certain justness and exactness (not only with respect to the choice of materials, but to the composition), must shine through the whole; and this is not to be attained without being well acquainted with the best authors.

The great esteem which I have for eastern learning makes me heartily wish that we had not too much cause in this respect to complain of our Arabic historians. For in this way they have deprived us of a great deal of the pleasure, and sometimes profit, which we might otherwise have derived from reading them. They have not sufficient regard to the due qualifications of an historian, but tell things after a careless manner, often stuffing their works with many trifling matters, at other times jingling upon words, and, to show the copiousness of their language and variety of expression, spinning out a trifling incident into a long story. It is, therefore, a work of difficulty to follow or compile these authors, and yet the task, nevertheless, deserves well to be undertaken, and will abundantly recompense the pains.

For in these authors is contained an account of all the most remarkable actions done in the east, and other parts, for above one thousand years. During this period, Asia and Africa were the scene of as great achievements as ever were performed in the times of the Roman empire, to which that of the Saracens was, in many respects, equal.

In order to carry out my design, after I had made a draught out of Elmakin, Abulfaragius, and Euty chius, I went to the Bodleian Library which is, without question, the best furnished with oriental manuscripts of any in Europe. Besides a great number of the best authors, purchased by the University of Oxford, out of the libraries of Dr. Hyde, Dr. Huntington and Dr. Pocock; not to mention Mr. Samuel Clark's, Gravius's, or Selden's, there is in the Bodleian an invaluable collection given by that incomparable prelate and martyr of blessed memory, Archbishop Laud; of whose great virtues it would be superfluous to say anything here, they being so well known and admired by all that know how to set a just value upon learning and piety.

But this prelate's princely munificence and zeal in restoring oriental learning in these northern climates, both by purchasing an excellent collection of eastern authors, and in encouraging men of abilities to apply themselves to that study, cannot, without the greatest ingratitude, be passed over in silence by any one that has any due regard to oriental learning. But I especially owe him this acknowledgment, as it was among the manuscripts of that reverend prelate that I found the best copy* of that author which I have here endeavoured to make speak English, and of whom I am now going to give an account.

His name is Abu Abdollah Mohammed Ebn Omar Al Wakidi. As to the time in which he lived I have not been able to find any authentic information, nor could I, by the diligent reading of him, discover any token by which I could give a probable guess.

Though I cannot precisely fix his age, it is most certain that he lived above two hundred years after the matter of fact which he relates. For, page 313, he mentions Al Motasem, the caliph, whose reign began in the year of our Lord 833; and, if so, it is the same thing as if he had lived six hundred years after. For that author that lives one thousand years after any matter of fact, is as much a witness of it as he that lives but at two hundred years' distance. They are both of them obliged to take upon trust, and if there be no loss of good authors during that interval, he that writes latest is as credible an historian as the first.

Besides, the particulars relating to the first rise of kingdoms and empires are generally obscure. The reason of which is, because arms take rule of all, and a government must be well established before learning can get room to breathe in it. Wherefore, in these cases, it is allowed by all, that those accounts which have been handed down from time to time, and received by the best judges, ought to be looked upon as authentic. Never was there any person yet that inquired after the age of Livy, in order to know how far he might be accounted a competent relator of what was done in the reigns of Romulus and Numa Pompilius.

In these cases it is, as that excellent author very well observes: *Fama rerum standum est, ubi certam derogat vetustas fidem*, "When a long interval of time has set things at too great a distance, we must be content with the current report, and rest satisfied with the best account we can get." However, that author consults his own reputation, and his readers' satisfaction most, who does not indifferently set down everything he meets with, but uses as much caution as the circumstances of the matter will admit. Our author, Al Wakidi, has not been wanting in this particular. Sometimes he ushers in a story after this manner: "I have been informed by a credible person." In another place, he says: "We are informed by Moses Ebn Asem, who had it from Jonas Ebn Abdallah, who had it from his grandfather Abdarrhaman Ebn Aslam Arrabii, who was in the wars of Syria." In that place where he gives an account of Derar and some others, who were put into chests at Arcean, he says: "I was informed by Ahmed Al Matin Al Jorhami, who had it from Raphaa Ebn Kais Al Amiri, who had it from Saiph Ebn Jabalah Al Chatgami, who had it from Thabet Ebn Al Kamah, who said he was present at the action." These

* MSS. Laud. No. A. 112.

expressions (not to insinuate that they may afford a trace which may lead to a guess at the author's age) are most evident proofs that he was as careful as he could, neither to be imposed upon himself, nor to deceive his reader. And though there are a great many such like expressions dispersed throughout his whole work, yet I have not thought fit to intermix them in my history, because it is so different from what we are used to. Here, however, I thought it necessary to give a taste of it, for the vindication of my author. And certain it is, that such things as these, nay of less consideration, were thought a good defence of Herodotus against Plutarch's objections. by no less a person than the learned Harry Stephens.

Al Wakidi's design was not to write the life of any particular caliph, but to give an account of the conquest of Syria. I should have been very glad if he had given me an opportunity of comparing him with some noble Greek or Latin historian, but his manner of writing will not allow it. He is chiefly valuable for this, that we find materials in him which we have no where else, and he is not so sparing of them, but there is liberty enough to pick and choose. How I have succeeded in this performance must be submitted to the judgment of the learned reader. Only I must take the liberty to say, that though I have not transcribed my author in every particular, yet I have done him no injury in anything that I have related; nor have I taken a liberty of writing carelessly, in hopes of being secure from discovery (the language not being generally understood), but have used the same diligence as I would have done were I sure that every one of my readers would instantly have collated my book with the manuscripts.

The archbishop's copy, which I chiefly used, is two hundred and fifty years old, being written in the year of the Hejirah 863, of our Lord 1458. There is another copy of it among Dr. Pocock's MSS. D'Herbelot says there is one in the library of the king of France; which are all that I know of in Europe.

SIMON OCKLEY.

INTRODUCTION.

IN our first volume* we have given an account of the wonderful success of the Saracens in the speedy conquest of Syria, Persia, and Egypt. The particulars of the sieges of Damascus, Alexandria, Aleppo, Antioch, Jerusalem, and several other places of great importance, as delivered by their own authors; the foundation of the destruction of the Grecian empire, and the establishment of that of the Saracens under the government of Abubeker, Omar, and Othman, the immediate successors of Mohammed.

But, if the reader expects in this second volume such a particular account of their foreign conquests as is to be found in the first, he will find himself deceived. When the Saracens first undertook the conquest of the universe, everything beyond their own bounds was new to them, and their achievements were no less matter of surprise to themselves than to their neighbours. Afterwards, however, when they were grown considerable enough to quarrel among themselves, and when their foreign enemies were removed so far from the centre of the government, that, let success prove which way it would, it was not likely to affect the vitals of the empire; their historians begin to pass over those distant transactions very cursorily, seldom descending to particulars, unless there happens to be something very extraordinary; and, what is more remarkable still, seldom take any notice of them, unless the bare mentioning of them can be reckoned as such. Not but that there are in several of their libraries particular accounts from whence many circumstances might be gathered relating to Africa, and also entire histories of the conquest of Spain; while, for the eastern parts of their empire, the Persian historians are the best.

Instead of such exact accounts of foreign affairs, we are in the present period entertained with a quite different scene. Here their historians dwell principally upon those terrible divisions among themselves which, originating with the succession of Ali and his family, the abdication of his son Hasan, and the death of Hosein, have laid the foundation of perpetual discord among the followers of the prophet. For the dissensions between Ali's followers (of whom the Persians are chief), and the Traditionists (of whom are the Turks, and whose creed we have inserted at the end of the Life of Mohammed), seem never likely to be reconciled so long as Mohammedanism itself shall exist. Some of the Turks, indeed, interpret that fable of Mohammed's having divided the moon, and, after holding one half of it for some time in his sleeve, joining it again to the other, as prefiguring the division of the professors of Mohammedanism (whose standard is the new

* The edition from which the present is printed is in two volumes, published at intervals, in 1757. This introduction was prefixed to the second volume.—*Ed.*

moon) into those two great sects, and the re-union of them after a certain period of years.

These things, together with the changing of their government from an elective monarchy as it was left to them by Mohammed, into an hereditary one, as commenced by Moawiyah, and firmly settled in the reigns of his successors; as well as the account of the immense and rapid extension of their empire, form the principal contents of the second volume. And although we have not arrived at the conquest of Spain, nor the learned age of the Arabians, yet we have brought the Saracen empire to an established settlement, and written the history of fourscore years, in which the Saracens conquered very much more than the Romans did in four hundred.

I designed, when I first set about the present portion of my work, to take in the whole of the contemporary affairs of the Christians; but, upon second thoughts, it appeared to me to be foreign to my purpose. Every one may satisfy himself, by reading this history, how regardless during its course the Saracens were of any European powers; they were wholly taken up with their domestic quarrels. The proposed way of proceeding must have occasioned a great many discourses to be intermixed through the whole, in order to reconcile the accounts of the Greeks and Arabians, which widely disagree both in the facts and the dates. By such discussions the narrative of Arabian affairs must have been frequently and unseasonably interrupted. A man might as well undertake to write the history of France for the present time, out of our newspapers, as to give an account of the Arabians from Christian historians. The Arabians (and it is their history we write, and no other) are the most likely to give the best account of things performed among themselves. Wherefore all that we promise, is, to fix our chronology to a day.

Then, as to the Greeks, whom, in the early part of our history, we see sufficiently broken by the irresistible prowess of the victorious Saracens; it was not in their power to offer any considerable opposition to such foes. For so great was their intrepidity that there was not a single deputy-lieutenant or general among them that would not have thought himself worthy to be branded with indelible disgrace, if he should have suffered himself to have been intimidated even by the united forces of all Europe. And if any one asks, why the Greeks did not exert themselves more towards the extirpation of these insolent invaders? to say, that Amrou kept his residence at Alexandria, and Moawiyah at Damascus, is a sufficient answer to any person that is acquainted with the characters of those men.

But what a great many persons, otherwise of no contemptible reading nor abilities, wonder at, is the vast difference between the occurrences in our present history and those that are found in others. But whosoever considers the briskness and activity of the Arabians (the effect of the warmth of their climate, temperance, and constant exercise), joined to their enthusiasm, will find an easy solution of those extravagant actions that seem to distinguish them from the rest of mankind.

For this reason no one ought to wonder if I have accommodated my style to the humour of the people of whom I write. To write of men in their circumstances, who were all humorists, bigots, and enthusiasts, in the same style as becomes the sedateness and gravity of the Greeks and Romans, would be most unsuitable and unnatural. In such a case you put

them in a dress which they would no more thank you for than a Roman senator would for a long periwig, or Socrates for a pair of silk stockings. You rob them of all their merit; the very things for which you laugh at them are what they most value themselves upon; and it is most certain, that the nearer you bring a man that is singular to the rest of mankind, the farther you remove him from himself, and destroy the very being of his singularity. This will, I hope, satisfy the judicious reader, that, if I have deviated from that way of writing which was first established by the ancients, and always admired and imitated by the wisest of the moderns, I have done so not of choice, but of necessity. For otherwise I should have abused both the Arabians and my readers: the former by putting them into a disguise under a pretence of dressing them; my readers, by defrauding them of the humour of that enthusiastic nation. Wherefore I have let them tell their own story their own way; and I have abstained as much as possible from intermixing reflections of my own, unless where there appeared a necessity of illustrating something that might not be obvious to persons unacquainted with oriental affairs.

I must confess that some of the particulars seem very odd and ridiculous; but the stranger they are, the more they illustrate the character of the people of whom we write. Besides, there is a vast deal of difference between being a reader and a spectator. The things that make us laugh now, would have made us tremble then. The habit, the manner, the gravity, sobriety, and activity of that conquering people, are not beneath the observance of the greatest genius. What we find in them to laugh at is the difference of their manners. But this is but a childish reason, and the very same which makes ignorants laugh at scholars; fools, at wise men; boys, at old ones; atheists and debauchees, at persons of virtue and religion. However, I do not deny, but that I have here and there inserted a relation wherein the matter of fact itself contains nothing very extraordinary; nevertheless, I could not make up my mind to omit it, because the circumstances appeared to be highly characteristic of the humour and genius of that tragi-comical people.

Who would not rather have the details of a siege omitted, than lose the description of Ali's inauguration? Of the former a man may form some notion by himself, but he could have no idea of the latter without good authority. Many cities have been taken under nearly the same circumstances, but very few emperors, I believe, were ever proclaimed in such style as Ali. A great many other little incidents there are, very useful and entertaining in themselves, that may be properly enough inserted in writing a life, which would not so well come into a universal history, whose course goes on like a vast river, sometimes overflowing its banks, sometimes keeping within its bounds; sometimes with a great, impetuous fall, sometimes with a smooth and almost imperceptible motion. But, in writing the lives of monarchs, the course of the narrative is frequently interrupted, and the historian must detail several little particulars pertaining to his particular person, his humour, friends, enemies, passions, affections, dangers, deliverances, apophthegms, and the like, not properly belonging to the history of the people. Such is the difference between Suetonius and Livy.

But, to write after the manner of the most celebrated universal historians, all little circumstances and trivial discourses must be omitted; the

language must be all of the same thread, and the whole carried on in a nervous, eloquent, and flowing style; and, when the subject calls for it (as in any very extraordinary case), proportionable ornament must be added; the images magnified beyond the life, and embellished to that degree sometimes, that the historian puts on the orator before he is aware: and speeches must be made suitable to every occasion, according to the abilities of the author. Throughout the cadence must be smooth and easy, and the periods full: nothing must be inserted that falls beneath the dignity of history; otherwise, between the style and the matter, it must of necessity oftentimes happen, that a great deal of nature is lost. The whole composition must be uniform, and managed as regularly as a well-built edifice. In short, such a round turn must be given to everything, that the facts shall seem to be made on purpose to embellish the history, rather than the history for the relation of the facts. He, therefore, that reads for delight, and loves to be entertained with artful compositions, will choose this way; he that studies nature, will be better pleased with the other. That is one reason why persons of the greatest severity and exactest judgment delight in comedy, not only because it diverts them, but because it lets them into the humour of mankind, and paints it in all conditions of life as it really is. Now, why an historian, whose business is truth, should, for the sake of imitation, smother every thing that is characteristic and distinguishing of the people concerning whom he writes, I cannot understand. Wherefore, let Livy make speeches for his people, and Tacitus invent politics, it is the glory of our Arabic historians to represent the naked truth as handed down from their ancestors in its native simplicity. So that, as much as we are exceeded by other authors in their elaborate expression, and the strength and artifice of their composition, so much at least do we hope to exceed them in the unaffected plainness and sincerity of our relation.

Some critics were pleased to object to the first part of my history, that it was the strangest story they had ever heard since they were born! They never met with such folks in their lives as these Arabians! They never heard too, they said, of these things before, which they of course must have done, if any body else had. A reverend dignitary asked me, if, when I wrote that book, I had not lately been reading the History of Oliver Cromwell! They say that the Arabians are given to romance; and for that reason I suppose they are not to be believed (according to Aristotle) when they speak truth. And above all, that a history will never go down in this nice age, that contains only a relation of battles, but that the very quintessence of a history consists in the politics.

Now for my own part I must confess, that I am of such an indolent disposition, that if I can but fairly get rid of this last grand objection, I care not one rush for all the rest. I confess that a history without politics comes into the world in very unfashionable circumstances, especially in a generation wherein, if fortune had not envied our merit, we should all have been plenipotentiaries, secretaries of state, or privy-councillors! What affects me most is, that this objection should be made by these enlightened gentlemen, whom every body would have supposed to have been so well skilled in analytics, as upon the first sight of any action to have made an infallible guess at the springs of it. Besides, I should have run a great risk on the other side, for it is an insufferable affront in an author to leave

nothing to his intelligent reader, but to be always feeding him with a spoon, and teaching him to read with a fescue ! Who would ever have imagined but that it was the peculiar talent of these gentlemen, upon first sight of the event to trace back the springs of the action; and surely it required no great discernment to trace the course and issue of events, in an enthusiastic tyrannical government, held by persons entangled in family quarrels entailed upon them from generation to generation, and not extinguished, whatsoever they pretended, by their being united in the same profession of Mohammedanism. For it was from these antecedent divisions that arose those terrible convulsions in the state which, had it not been very well supported by their aversion to Christianity on the one side, and to idolatry on the other, must soon have rendered them a prey to their common enemies. Add to this, that those persons who had enjoyed the greatest share of their prophet's favour when alive, were treated with proportionable respect after his decease. To such a height was this carried, that if any person had been any way familiar with Mohammed, he was reckoned among the companions* though he was never so young; and so great was the respect paid to them, that their authority would turn the scale in almost any debate. For the Saracens preferred to go to a very great extremity, rather than reject the advice of a companion of the apostle—of course I mean if that counsel were urged on the prevailing side; for notwithstanding their allegiance to their prince, it is evident they were no bigots to indefeasible right.

But if the not having heard of this history before be such a terrible objection against it, what would the having heard of it before have been ? I must confess that objection lies strong against the veracity of it to persons who would take it as an affront to be supposed capable of being ignorant of such a considerable part of history as this pretends to be. What I wonder most at is, that those very gentlemen who formerly were better acquainted with the rivers Jaxartes and Oxus, Indus and the Ganges, than with the Thames itself which they swam in every holiday; who discoursed of Asia as if they had been surveyors to Alexander the Great; who would have disputed every foot of ancient geography with no less eagerness than if it had been a paternal inheritance; and could pronounce concerning the oracle of Jupiter Ammon with no less certainty than the oracle itself, should on a sudden prove so indolent as not only to suffer those delicate provinces to be ravished out of their hands without so much as venturing a suit about them, but even express an ungrateful displeasure of those who too officiously proffer their service to restore them gratis. However, these critics are of the kinder sort; they neither mean nor do any great hurt; they only make themselves a little sport with those things which they do not very well understand; and, if they carry on the humour upon that foot, bid fair for the reputation of the merriest company in the world.

I have not omitted to make every use of the learned labours of Monsieur D'Herbelot, whose *Bibliothèque Orientale* deserves the highest esteem from all that have a true taste for oriental learning. After I had made my collections, I found him so accurate in the life of Ali, in the history of the Saracens, that I have chosen sometimes to transcribe him

* Ziyad was of this number: he was born in the year of the Hejirah, and was but eleven years old when Mohammed died. See p.

paragraph by paragraph, rather than to spoil what was already well done, by affecting to make it my own.

To him I owe whatsoever is quoted from the Persian authors. How often have I endeavoured to perfect myself in that easy and delicate language ; but my malignant and envious stars have still combined to frustrate my attempts. However, they shall sooner alter their own courses than extinguish my resolution of quenching that thirst, which the little taste I have had of it, hath so hotly excited.

I am as yet ignorant of Turkish ; which I should not be so much concerned at, were it not for five volumes in that language in our public library, which I behold with delight and concern at the same time : with delight, because they are ours, and so not to be despaired of : with concern, because I do not myself understand them. They are a translation of the great Tabari, who is the Livy of the Arabians ; the very father of their history. As far as I could find by inquiry his original work is given over for lost in Arabia. I formerly inquired of my predecessor, Dr. Luke, concerning him, who told me he had never met with him in the east, and that he believed there was no hope of finding an Arabic copy of his book : Monsieur D'Herbelot says the same. And there is this good reason for it, that this being the standard of their history, and upon that account translated from the very first out of Arabic into Turkish, the value of the Arabic copy must of necessity have fallen more and more in all those territories where Turkish is better understood than Arabic ; for it would not be worth the bookseller's while to be at the charge of transcribing it. However that we might not imagine it lost because of its extreme scarcity, I luckily found a piece of it in folio amongst archbishop Laud's manuscripts (it is unfortunately imperfect), accurately written and with all the points, and no doubt for the use of some great person. Without the assistance of which copy I must oftentimes have been left in the dark.

Had I not been destitute of similar aids ; had I not been forced to snatch everything that I have, as it were out of the fire ; our history of the Saracens should have been ushered into the world after a different manner. Now, gentlemen, though critics and readers, I hold you in very particular respect, yet pardon me if I choose rather to point out my own deficiencies than leave them for you to find out ; for I fear lest, notwithstanding your candour, a fault should be ascribed to my laziness or negligence that ought more justly to be attributed to the influence of inexorable necessity. Wherefore, in the first place, I will confess that could I have been master of my own time and circumstances, I would never have published anything of this kind, till I had perfectly finished the first part of it according to the natural division which the circumstances of the Saracen empire suggested to the Arabian historians. This era would have extended, from Mohammed's birth to the ruin of the house of Ommiyah by that of Abbas, which was effected in that part of the year of the Hejrah one hundred and thirty two, which answers to part of the year of our Lord seven hundred and fifty. And this period would consequently have included several other conquests, besides that of Spain.

But these were things rather to be desired than hoped for ; and if I had waited till I could have made all this preparation, I should never have published any of it as long as I lived. The ancients oftentimes thought a

life well spent in polishing one single book ; and they certainly were very much in the right of it, if (as most certainly they did) they intended to perpetuate their memories to posterity, and eke out perishing mortality with an access of glory. We moderns on the contrary can no sooner propose anything though it requires never so much care and application, but we are daily importuned to know when it is to come out. This however is our comfort, that the ancients are in their graves, and though we can, when we find leisure, read their books, they shall never arise from the dead to read ours.

But that we may not affectedly attribute to the ancients all excellence exclusively, we must observe that modern taste is not always so corrupt. Monsieur Petit de la Croix, (that famous oriental interpreter to the late Louis XIV. of France,) when commanded by the great Colbert to write the life of Jenkizchan, did not think, as his son acknowledges in the preface, ten years too much time to employ upon it ; though he neither wanted books, leisure, abilities, nor encouragement. It is not the mere following those authors who have made their business to write the lives of such or such princes that is sufficient ; but it is also necessary to gather up the scattered remains that occur in other historians ; to consult the commentators upon the Koran ; to consult the scholiasts of their poets ; also their medals, inscriptions, and lexicographers. The historian must also trace the originals of customs, surnames, tribes, and the like ; and in a word, must dispose all the materials with such judgment that every part may fall naturally into its proper place, and add a lustre to the whole.

But my unhappy condition hath always been such as was far from admitting of such an exactness. Fortune seems only to have given me a taste of it out of spite, on purpose that I might regret the loss of it. Though perhaps I might accuse her wrongfully for befriending me with an excuse for those blemishes that would have admitted of none had I been furnished with all those assistances and advantages, the want of which I now bewail. If that was her meaning, she hath been very tender of my reputation indeed, and resolved that my adversaries should have very little reason to accuse me of the loss of time. The first part of my work cost me two journeys to Oxford, each of them of six weeks only, (inclusive of the delays upon the road, and the difficulty of finding the books without any other guide than the catalogue, not always infallible.) But my chief business being then with one author,* it was so much the easier to make a quick despatch ; because it is of no small moment in affairs of this nature to be once well acquainted with the hand of the manuscript, and the style of the author.

But in my second undertaking I found the appearance of things quite different in more respects than one. Either my domestic affairs were grown much worse, or I less able to bear them, or, what is most probable, both were the case.† What made me easy as to my journey and charges during my absence, was the liberality of the worshipful Thomas Freke, Esq. of

* Al Wakidi.

† "Ingenuous confession ! fruits of a life devoted, in its struggles, to important literature ! and we murmur when genius is irritable, and erudition is morose !" — *D'Israeli's Calamities of Authors.*

Hannington, Wilts; to whom the world is indebted for whatsoever is performed at present in this second work; I mean with regard to the expenses: which kindness however would not have answered the end he designed, if I had not been indulged with all possible conveniences of study, first by the favour of my much honoured friend, the incomparable Dr. Halley, who, with the consent of his learned colleague Dr. Keil, allowed me the keys of the Savilian study. In the next place I have to express my thanks to the reverend and learned Dr. Hudson, principal librarian of the Bodleian; who according to his wonted humanity permitted me to take out of the library whatsoever books were for my purpose; otherwise, though I had five months' time, much could not have been done, considering the variety and difficulty of the manuscripts. Besides all which I was forced to take the advantage of the slumbers of my cares, that never slept when I was awake; and if they did not incessantly interrupt my studies, were sure to succeed them with no less constancy than night doth the day.* Though it would be the height of ingratitude in me not to acknowledge that they were daily alleviated by the favours and courtesies which I received from persons of the greatest dignity and merit in that noble university; too numerous to be all here inserted, and all too worthy (should I mention any one of them) to be omitted.

Some such apology as this will always be necessary for him that undertakes a work of this nature upon his own bottom, without proper encouragement. If any one should pertly ask me, why then do you trouble the world with things that you are not able to bring to perfection? let them take this answer of one of our famous Arabian authors;† what cannot totally be known, ought not to be totally neglected; for the knowledge of a part is better than the ignorance of the whole.

* "This is the cry of agony. He who reads this without sympathy, ought to reject these volumes (Calamities of Authors) as the idlest he ever read; and honour me with his contempt."—*D'Israeli*.

† Abulfeda, Præf. ad Geograph.

THE
LIFE OF MOHAMMED.

THE Arabians, who are also by the Greek, and in imitation of them, by Latin writers, called Saracens, are divided by their historians into three classes: 1. The primitive Arabians, who inhabited Arabia immediately after the flood: of whom nothing now remains but the names of their tribes, as Adites, Thamudites, &c. and some traditional stories of their punishment for not hearkening to the prophets sent to reclaim them; which stories, however fabulous, have not only served to furnish the Arabian poets with subjects and allusions, but are mentioned in a serious manner by Mohammed,* in the Koran,† in order to deter his followers from disbelieving his mission and rejecting his doctrine. 2. The second class are the pure Arabians, descended from Kaktan or Joktan the son of Heber, spoken of Gen. x. 25. The Arab historians make Joktan the father of two sons, not mentioned in the Bible, or mentioned under different names: one of them, called Yáarab, they say was the father of the Arabs who

* Ockley writes *Mahomet*, but as the name is pronounced in Arabic, *Muhammed*, or *Mohammed*, and the latter is the orthography most generally adopted, it has been followed here. The name is derived from the past participle of the verb *hamad*, signifying "praised," or "most glorious."

† *Koran* signifies a book, *Al* is the Arabic article *the*; the word *Alcoran* was formerly adopted in almost all the European languages; but as Sale, Gibbon, and most of our modern authors write *Koran*, it is preferred here.

inhabited Yeman, or Arabia Felix ; and the other son Jorham settled in the province of Hejaz ; hither they tell us Abraham, upon Sarah's complaint, carried Ishmael, who married Ra'ala the daughter of the twelfth king of the Jorhamites : by whom he had twelve sons. From these, and their posterity intermarrying with the pure Arabians, sprang the Most-Arabi or mixt Arabians, called Ishmaelites and Hagarens. This does not agree with Scripture, which tells us, that the mother of Ishmael took him a wife out of the land of Egypt, Gen. xxi. 21. But here I would have it once for all observed, that we shall often find the Arab writers give different accounts of persons and things from what we meet with in sacred history. They had no ancient writings, their memorials of ancient times were handed down to them by tradition ;* they are besides much given to fable ; no wonder then that they deviate so from the truth. Thus they tell the most absurd stories of Adam and Eve : they mention Noah's flood, but instead of eight, as the Scripture informs us, pretend eighty persons were saved in the ark : they will have it that it was not Isaac but Ishmael whom Abraham was about to offer, &c. In general, though Mohammed professed great regard for the Old and New Testaments, he miserably corrupted the histories of both by fables ; some borrowed out of the Jewish Talmud, others from spurious authors, and some probably forged in his own brain, or that of his assistants.

The Arabs are now, as they were in ancient times, of two sorts. Some inhabit towns, maintaining themselves by their flocks, agriculture, the fruit of their palm-trees, by trade or merchandise ; others live in tents, removing from place to place, as they find grass and water for their cattle, feeding chiefly upon the milk and flesh of camels, a diet which is said by an Arabian physician to dispose them to fierceness and cruelty.† The latter class, though strictly just among themselves, often commit robberies upon merchants and travellers ; and excuse themselves by alleging the hard usage of their progenitor Ishmael, and think they have a right to indemnify themselves, not only upon the posterity of Isaac, but also upon every body else who falls in their way. The Arabs were, before the time of Mohammed, divided into several

* Pocock. Specim. Arab. Histor. p. 55.

† Idem, p. 88.

tribes; each tribe had a king or head: and they were often at war with one another.

The religion of the ancient Arabians, according to their traditions, was derived from Abraham and Ishmael. These patriarchs it was pretended built the temple of Mecca, which from its form, was called the *Kaaba* or Square; and was their kebla, or place towards which they turned their faces when they prayed, as the Jews turned theirs towards the temple of Jerusalem. The Kaaba was held by them in great veneration, as it is also by the present Mohammedans, who are persuaded it is all but coeval with the world. For they say, that when Adam was cast out of paradise (which they place in the seventh heaven), he begged of God that he might be permitted to erect upon earth a building like that he had seen the angels go round in heaven; and that in answer to his prayer, a representation of that house in curtains of light was let down, and placed at Mecca, directly under the original, in a way that he might go round it, and turn his face towards it when he prayed. After Adam's death, Seth, they tell us, built the Kaaba of stone and clay, in the same place; but, being destroyed by the deluge, it was rebuilt by Abraham and Ishmael. The Kaaba, which has been several times rebuilt or repaired,* is a square stone building, the length whereof from north to south is twenty-four cubits, the breadth from east to west twenty-three, and the height twenty-seven cubits. The door, which is on the east side the threshold, has four cubits above the ground, so that, there being no steps † adjoining to it, they who come to worship may touch the threshold with their foreheads, or kiss it. The black stone, which the Mohammedans hold in great reverence, and believe to be one of the stones of paradise, which fell down with Adam from heaven, is a small stone set in silver and fixed in the south-east corner of the Kaaba, about four feet from the ground. It is said to be white within, but to have been turned black on the outside by the sins of the people, or more

* "Ten thousand angels were appointed to guard the structure from accidents; but they seem, from the history of the holy building, to have been often remiss in their duty."—*Burckhardt's Arabia*, p. 162.

† There are movable steps to use when the Kaaba is to be cleaned, or the lamps therein lighted up.

probably by the kisses of the pilgrims.* Upon the ground on the north-side of the Kaaba there is a stone called the sepulchre of Ishmael; there is also another stone called the station of Abraham, which they say being used by him for a scaffold rose higher with him as the walls of the building rose; and that, after he had done building, he stood upon it and prayed, and left on it the prints of his feet. Round three sides of the Kaaba, and at no great distance from it, stands a row of pillars, which are joined at the bottom by a low balustrade, and at the top by bars of silver. Without this enclosure, are buildings used for oratories, by the different sects of Mohammedans; there also is the treasury, and a small edifice raised over the sacred well Zemzem.† All these buildings are en-

* "Being in want of a stone to fix into the corner of the building as a mark from whence the Towaf, or holy walk round it, was to commence, Ismael went in search of one. On his way he met the angel Gabriel, holding in his hand the famous black stone. It was then of a refulgent bright colour, but became black, says El Azraky, in consequence of its having suffered repeatedly by fire, before and after the introduction of Islamism. Others say its colour was changed by the sins of those who touched it. At the day of judgment, it is to bear witness in favour of all those who have touched it with sincere hearts, and will be endowed with sight and speech."—*Burckhardt's Arabia*, p. 163.

† "The Mohammedans are persuaded that the well Zemzem is the very spring which gushed out for the relief of Ismael, when Hagar his mother wandered with him in the desert; and some pretend it was so named from her calling to him, when she spied it, in the Egyptian tongue, 'Zem, zem, that is, 'stay, stay;' though it seems rather to have had the name from the murmuring of its waters. The water of this well is holy, and is highly revered; being not only drunk with particular devotion by the pilgrims, but also sent in bottles, as a great rarity, to most parts of the Mohammedan dominions. Abdallah, surnamed Al Hâfedh, from his great memory, particularly as to the traditions of Mohammed, gave out that he acquired that faculty by drinking large draughts of Zemzem water, to which I believe it is about as efficacious as that of Helicon to the inspiring of a poet."—*Sale*. Mr. Lane, in his notes to the Arabian Nights, tells us, that "The water of this well is believed to possess miraculous virtues, and is therefore brought away in bottles or flasks by many of the pilgrims, to be used, when occasion may require, as medicine, or to be sprinkled on grave-linen. A bottle of it is a common and acceptable present from a pilgrim, and a guest is sometimes treated with a sip of this holy water." Pitts, an old English traveller, found the water brackish, and says, the pilgrims drink it so inordinately that "they are not only much purged, but their flesh breaks out all in pimples; and this they called the purging of their spiritual corruption."

closed at a considerable distance by a magnificent colonnade surmounted with small cupolas, and at the four corners there are as many steeples adorned like cupolas, with gilded spires and crescents; between the pillars of both enclosures hang a number of lamps, which are constantly lighted up at night.*

The Kaaba is supported by pillars of aloe-wood, between which hang silver lamps, and a spout of gold carries off the rain-water from the roof. The walls on the outside are hung with a rich covering of black damask, adorned with a band of gold, which is changed every year at the expense of the Turkish emperor.† The Kaaba is properly the temple, but the whole territory of Mecca is held sacred, and distinguished by small turrets, some at seven and others at ten miles' distance from the city. Within these precincts it is not lawful to attack an enemy, or even to hunt or fowl.

Mohammed was born at Mecca, an ancient city of Arabia, about the year of our Lord 571, for historians do not agree about the precise year.‡ He was of the tribe of Koreish, the noblest of that part of the country. Arab writers make him to be descended in a right line from Ishmael, the son of Abraham; but do not pretend to any certainty in the remote part of his genealogy; for our purpose it will be enough to commence much later, but with a well authenticated fact. The great grandfather of Mohammed was Hashem, whose descendants were

* Burekhardt, in describing the Kaaba at the present day, says, "The effect of the whole scene, the mysterious drapery, the profusion of gold and silver, the blaze of lamps, and the kneeling multitude, surpasses anything the imagination could have pictured."

† "A new covering for the Kaaba is sent from Cairo every year with the great caravan of pilgrims: it is carried in procession through that city, and is believed to be one of the chief means of procuring safety to the attendants through their arduous and dangerous journey."—*Lane's Arab. Nights*.

‡ "The date of the birth of Mohammed is not fixed with precision. It is only known from Oriental authors that he was born on a Monday, the 10th Reby 1st, the third month of the Mohammedan year; the 40th or 42nd of Cosroes Nushirvam, king of Persia; the year 881 of the Seleucidan era; the year 1316 of the era of Nabonnassar. This leaves the point undecided between the years 569, 570, 571, of Jesus Christ. See the Memoir of M. Silv. de Sacy, on divers events in the History of the Arabs before Mohammed, Mem. Acad. des Inscriptions. vol. xlvii, pp. 527, 531. St. Martin, vol. ix. p. 59. Dr. Weil decides on A.D. 571. Mohammed died in 632, aged 63; but the Arabs reckoned his life by lunar years, which reduces his life nearly to 61."—*Milman's Gibbon*.

from him called Hashemites.* He managed to obtain the presidency over the Kaaba, and, what went with it, the government of Mecca, which had been some time in the tribe of the Koreishites.† After his death it went to his son Abda'l Motaleb, who had thirteen sons, whose names I shall here set down, because we shall meet with some of them in the following history. Abdallah, Hamza, Al Abbas, Abu Taleb, Abu Laheb, Al Gidak, Al Hareth, Jahel, Al Mokawam, Dorar, Al Zobeir, Kelham, Abdal Kaaba. The eldest of them, Abdallah, who, on account of the integrity of his character and the comeliness of his person, is said to have been his father's favourite, married Amina, of the tribe also of the Koreishites, by whom he had Mohammed. Upon the marriage of Abdallah, it is related that no fewer than two hundred young damsels, who were in love with him, died in despair. We should here observe, that the Mohammedan historians are often very extravagant in their accounts of persons and things that have any relation to their prophet. Thus Abulfeda, one of the gravest of them, tells us of four miraculous events that happened at the birth of Mohammed: 1. That the palace of Cosroes, king of Persia, was so shaken, that fourteen of its towers fell to the ground; 2. That the sacred fires of the Persians, which had been kept incessantly burning for 1000 years, went out all at once; 3. That the lake Sawa sank; 4. That the river Tigris overflowed its banks. By these prodigies, and by a dream of the high-priest of Persia, which seemed to forebode some impending calamity from Arabia, Cosroes being naturally alarmed, sent for a famous diviner to inform him what they portended; he received for answer, that fourteen kings and queens should

* Even to this day the chief magistrate both at Mecca and Medina, who must always be of the race of Mohammed, is invariably styled "The Prince of the Hashemites."

† Abulfeda informs us that the custody of the Kaaba and presidency of Mecca had been formerly in the possession of the tribe of the Kozaites, till at length they fell into the hands of Abu Gabshan, a weak and silly man, whom Kosa, the grandfather of Hashem, circumvented while in a drunken humour, and bought of him the keys of the temple and the government of Mecca for a bottle of wine. A war between the Koreishites and Kozaites was the result, which, however, ended in the defeat of the latter, and the whole possession of Mecca remained to the Koreishites, and was held by Kosa and his posterity in a right line down to Mohammed.

reign in Persia, and that then what was to come to pass would happen. Some legendary writers relate a great many more wonderful things, enough to shock the belief of the most credulous. They may be seen in Maracci.* I shall give only two of them as a sample of the rest: 1. They assert that Mohammed came into the world surrounded with a light, which not only illuminated the chamber wherein he lay, but also the whole country round about. 2. That as soon as he was born he fell upon his knees, and bending all except his two fore-fingers, with uplifted hands, and his face turned towards heaven, pronounced distinctly these words, "Allah acbar," &c. that is, "God is great: there is no other God but one, and I am his prophet."

Abdallah dying while Mohammed was an infant, or, according to some, before he was born, he was by his mother put to a wet-nurse named Halima. Here again we have more miracles, even in Abulfeda. The nurse, who, while this blessed infant was with her, was in greater affluence than ever she had been before, was one day put in a great fright by her own son, who came running out of the field, and told her that two men in white had just seized Mohammed, laid him on the ground, and ripped open his belly. Upon this, she and her husband went out to him, and found him upon his legs; but when she asked him, What is the matter with you, child? he confirmed the tale of his belly being cut up. Hearing this, the husband said, I am afraid he has contracted some bad disease; and Halima herself, who had before been very desirous to keep the child, was now as eager to get rid of him, and carried him home at once to Amina. On being asked what was the reason she had thus changed her mind, the nurse said she was afraid the devil had made some attack upon him; but the mother replied, "Out upon you, why should the devil hurt my child?" Some authors tell us, that when the angels ripped up Mohammed's belly they took out his heart, and squeezed out of it the black drop, which they believe is the consequence of original sin, and the source of all sinful thoughts, being found in the heart of every person descended from Adam, except only the Virgin Mary and her son Jesus.

* Refutatio Alcorani, fol. 1698.

It is a wonder they did not except Mohammed also, whom they look upon to be the most perfect creature that God ever made ; but of whom we shall find in the sequel that his heart was not entirely cleansed from the black drop.

Mohammed's mother dying when he was six years old, he was taken care of by his grandfather, Abda'l Motaleb, who at his death, which happened two years after, left him under the guardianship of his son Abu Taleb. By this uncle, whose business was merchandise, Mohammed was brought up, and at the age of thirteen went with him into Syria. At fourteen he joined his kinsmen in the impious war,* where the Koreishites gained the victory. With Abu Taleb he continued till he was twenty-five, when he became a factor to Kadija, the widow of a rich merchant at Mecca, who had left her all his wealth. He managed the affairs of his mistress so well, and so ingratiated himself into her favour, that after keeping him three years in her service, she bestowed on him her hand. The legendary writers, in their account of this circumstance, tell us, Kadija fell in love with Mohammed owing to the wonderful things that befell him in his last journey from Bostra in Syria, of which some were related to her by the slaves who had accompanied him, and of some she was herself an eye-witness. But that which made the greatest impression on her heart was, that the angel Gabriel carried all the way a cloud over his head, to screen him from the scorching heat of the sun, which in that country is very intense. But surely there was little need of a miracle to induce a widow of forty-five, who had already buried two husbands, to take for a third a young man of twenty-eight, possessed, as Mohammed is said to have been, of a handsome person and agreeable manners.†

From the age of thirteen or fourteen to twenty-five very

* The Arabs had four months in which it was not lawful to go to war; this war was in one of those months.

† "The nuptials of the prophet and his bride were celebrated with great festivity, mirth, music, and dancing; heaven is said to have been filled with unwonted joy, and the whole earth intoxicated with delight. Some Arab writers add, that a voice from the skies pronounced the union happy; that the boys and girls of Paradise were led out on the joyous occasion in their bridal robes; that the hills and valleys capered for gladness at the sounds of unearthly music; and that fragrance was breathed through all nature."

little is related of Mohammed, except a fabulous story of his being seen when very young by a monk of Bostra in Syria, called Bahira, who foretold his future grandeur. Boulainvilliers, indeed, who has left an unfinished account of his life, has thought fit to fill up the chasm with inventions of his own. He tells us, that during this interval his uncle Abu Taleb prepared him for the wars he was afterwards to be engaged in, by inuring him to hunting and martial exercises. Contrary to all history, he makes him twenty when he first travelled into Syria, and carries him to Damascus, to Baalbec, to Elia or Jerusalem, and to the capital of Persia, places which no other writer ever mentions him as visiting. These accounts he pretends to have taken from Arabian authors, but does not name a single authority. In short, Boulainvilliers* has given to the world, instead of a history, a politico-theological romance founded upon the life of Mohammed, whom he supposes, in these imaginary voyages, to have made such observations, and to have furnished his mind with such political ideas as enabled him to form those great designs he afterwards put in execution.

The following, however, seems to be the truth of the matter. Raised by his advantageous match with Kadija to an equality with the principal men of the city, he may very naturally have conceived the idea of aiming at the government of it. And this is the more probable as it belonged to his family, and in a regular succession ought to have come to him; but in consequence of his father and grandfather both dying when he was a minor, it had fallen to his uncle Abu Taleb. From his marriage nearly to the time of his pretended revelation, all that we hear of him on authority is, that by Kadija he had four sons. Upon the birth of the eldest, who was named Casem, he took, according to the custom of the Arabians, the surname Abu'l Casem, i. e. the father of Casem. His sons all died in their infancy; but his daughters, Fatima, Zainab, Rokaia, and Omm Colthum, lived to be married, and will be mentioned hereafter, as occasion arises.

* Gagnier says he could find no historians that verify the account given by Boulainvilliers; and exposes the bad design he seems to have had in view, in the encomiums he lavishes on the impostor and his false religion.—*Pref. au Vie de Mohammed.*

It is probable that he employed himself for some years in the care of his family, and the prosecution of his trade; conforming all the while to the idolatrous superstition of his countrymen. By the Christian writers he is said to have been profligate in his morals; but nothing of the kind, as was to be expected, is mentioned by any Mohammedan author. However this may be, in the thirty-eighth year of his life he began to affect solitude, retiring frequently into a cave of mount Hara, near Mecca, to spend his time in fasting, prayer, and meditation. Here he is supposed to have composed so much of the Koran as he first published. Mohammed, who, it is agreed on all hands, could neither read nor write, has evidently borrowed many things from the Old and New Testaments, and from the Jewish Talmud. His assistants in the work are said to have been Abdia, the son of Salem, who was a Persian Jew, and a Nestorian monk named Bahira by the eastern, and Sergius by the western writers. From a statement we shall presently give from Abulfeda, it seems probable that Waraka was also in the secret, if he did not lend a helping hand. In his Koran, chap. xvi. the impostor complains that his enemies charged him with being assisted by that Persian Jew, but endeavours to clear himself in these words: "They say, certainly some man teaches him; he whom they mean speaks a barbarous language; but the Koran is in the Arabic tongue, full of instruction and eloquence."* As for the monk, he is said to have murdered him, when he had no further occasion for him. No doubt he took what care he could to conceal his being assisted.

Abulfeda, after relating Mohammed's marriage with Kadija, has a digression, wherein he speaks of the prefecture of the Kaaba going from Nabet, the son of Ishmael, to the Jorhamites, next to the Kozaites, and from them to the Koreishites. The last pulled down the temple and began to rebuild it. But when the walls were raised up to the height at which the black stone was to be set, a dispute arose as to which of the tribes should have the honour of placing it. The Koreishites being unable to settle the question, Mohammed, who stood by, ordered a garment to be spread upon

* See Sale's Koran, chap. xvi. with the Notes thereon.

the ground, and the stone to be laid in the middle of it, and then all the tribes together to take hold of it round the edges and lift it up. When they had raised it high enough the prophet took the stone and put it into its place. From Abulfeda's manner of relating this transaction, its date is not fixed to this part of his life; but an Arab writer, cited by Gagnier, says it was done when Mohammed was a little boy. In all probability it is only a fiction, invented to excite a high opinion of his wisdom.*

The following account, which is taken verbatim from Abulfeda, is the statement already alluded to. "When the apostle of God (whom God bless†) was forty years old,

* Schlegel mentions the circumstance, and says, that at the time the honour fell to the lot of Mohammed, he was a stripling of fifteen. He also states, that at an early age, long before he announced himself as a prophet, his poetry, which far outshone that of his competitors, had raised him to a high degree of honour and consideration.—*Phil. of History*. In reference to this, we annex the following illustration from Herbelot: Lebid, the most distinguished Arabian poet of the time, and one of the seven whose verses constituted the Moallakat, a series of prizes suspended in the Kaaba, was still an idolater when Mohammed commenced publishing his laws. One of his poems commenced with this verse: "All praise is vain which does not refer to God: and all good which proceeds not from him is but a shadow;" and no other poet could be found to compete with it. At length, the chapter of the Koran, entitled Barat, was attached to a gate in the same temple, and Lebid was so overcome by the verses at the commencement, as to declare that they could only be produced by the inspiration of God, and he immediately embraced Islamism. When Mohammed was apprised of the conversion of Lebid, the finest genius of his time, he was exceedingly delighted, and requested him to answer the invectives and satires of Amilicais and other infidel poets who wrote against the new religion and its followers. Amasi, however, states, that after he had become a Mussulman, he wrote on no other subject save the praising of God for his conversion. He is said to have uttered the following sentence on his death-bed: "I am told that all that is new is pleasant; but I find it not so in death, even though it be a novelty." Ben Caschem also attributes to him the following, which is the finest sentence which ever fell from the lips of an Arab:—

"All is vain which is not of God."

Lebid lived to the age of 140 years, and died in the year 141 of the Hejira.

† In the Koran the followers of the impostor are forbidden, when they address him, to call him by his name, Mohammed. This was too familiar; they were therefore commanded to say, O prophet, or O apostle of God.

God sent him to the black and the red (i. e. to all mankind), that by a new law he might abolish the ancient laws. His first entrance upon this prophetic office was by a true night vision; for the most high God had inspired him with a love of retirement and solitude, so that he spent a month every year in the cave of Mount Hara. When the year of his mission was come he went, in the month Ramadan, with some of his family, into the cave. Here, as soon as the night fell wherein the glorious God very greatly honoured him, Gabriel (upon whom be peace) came to him and said, 'Read,' And when the prophet answered, 'I cannot read,' he said again, 'Read: In the name of the Lord who hath created,' &c. reciting the words as far as, 'he taught man what he knew not,' v. 5.* Upon this the prophet, going to the middle of the mountain, and hearing a voice from heaven saying, 'O Mohammed, thou art the apostle of God, and I am Gabriel,' stood still in his place looking upon Gabriel, till at length Gabriel departed, when the prophet also went away. Soon after he came to Kadija, and told her what he had seen; she said, 'I am very glad of this good news; I swear by him in whose hand the soul of Kadija is, I verily hope you are the prophet of this nation.' And when she had said this she went to her kinsman, Waraka, son of Nawfal. Now Waraka had read the books, and heard many discourses, of Jews and Christians. To him, therefore, Kadija related what the apostle of God had said; and Waraka replied, 'By the most holy God, and by him in whose hand is the soul of Waraka, what

This author never mentions the apostle of God without adding these words, "whom God bless," or the initial letters of these words, "w. G. b." Generally, indeed, Mohammedan writers seldom name an angel, or a person whom they regard as a prophet, or as eminent for piety, without adding "peace be to him."

* This is generally believed to be the first passage of the Koran revealed to Mohammed, though it is the beginning of the ninety-sixth chapter of that book. It runs thus, as divided into verses in Maracci's edition. "1. Read in the name of the Lord, who hath created. 2. He hath created man of coagulated blood. 3. Read by the most beneficent Lord. 4. Who taught by the pen. 5. Who taught man what he knew not." The rest of the chapter has no connexion with the beginning, but is taken up in upbraiding and threatening one of his enemies, supposed to be Abu Jehel.

you say, Kadija, is true, for the glorious law brought by Moses, the son of Amram, foretold his coming. No doubt he is the prophet of this nation.' Then Kadija returned to the apostle of God, and told him what Waraka had said; whereupon the apostle of God said a prayer, and went to the Kaaba, and, after compassing it seven times, returned to his own house.*

"After this, revelations followed thickly one after another. Kadija was the first of mortals that embraced Islamism,† so that nobody preceded her. In the book called *Al Sahih* there is a tradition, that the apostle of God said, among men there have been many perfect; but among women only four: Asia, the wife of Pharaoh; Mary, daughter of Amram; Kadija, daughter of Cowalled; and Fatima, daughter of Mohammed."‡

* Warakah-bin-Nawfal was a cousin of Kadija. In the days of ignorance he learned the Christian religion, translated the gospel into Arabic, gave himself up to devotion, and opposed the worship of idols. He lived to a great age, and towards the end of his life became blind.—*Notes to the Mishcat.*

† Islam, or Islamism, is said by Prideaux, to signify the Saving religion; by Sale, resigning one's self to God; by Pocock, obedience to God and his prophet. It also means the Mohammedan world. It is, therefore, of the same acceptation among the Mohammedans, as the words Christianity and Christendom among Christians. Moslem, or Mussulman, is a derivation from *Islam* or *Islam*, and is the common name of Mohammedans, without distinction of sect or opinion. In grammatical accuracy, Moslem is the singular of the word, Mussulman is the dual, and Mussulminn, the plural. But in conformity with the usages of the best writers, we shall use the words Moslem and Mussulman in the singular, and Moslems and Mussulmans in the plural. Mussulmen is decidedly wrong, and has never been used by any author of note.—*Mills.*

‡ "The wickedness of women is a subject upon which the stronger sex among the Arabs, with an affected feeling of superior virtue, often dwell in common conversation. That women are deficient in judgment or good sense is held as a fact not to be disputed even by themselves, as it rests on an assertion of the prophet; but that they possess a superior degree of cunning is pronounced equally certain and notorious. Their general depravity is declared to be much greater than that of men. 'I stood,' said the prophet, 'at the gate of Paradise; and, lo, most of its inmates were the poor: and I stood at the gate of hell; and, lo, most of its inmates were women.' In allusion to women, the caliph Omar said, 'Consult them, and do the contrary of what they advise.' A truly virtuous wife is, of course, excepted in this rule: such a person is as much respected by Mussulmans, as she is (at least, according to their own account) rarely met

According to this statement, Kadija was the first disciple of Mohammed. Some authors, however, assert that she did not come in so readily as is here related, but for some time rejected the stories he told her as delusions of the devil. Others again say she declared she would not believe except she also should see Gabriel; but upon her husband telling her she had not virtue enough to see an angel, she was satisfied, and became a believer. His second convert was his cousin Ali, who had lived with him some time, and was then not above ten or eleven years old. The third was his slave Zaid, to whom he gave his freedom. In imitation of this, it became a law among the Mohammedans to emancipate those of their slaves who should turn to their religion. The fourth convert was Abubeker, one of the most considerable men in Mecca, and whose example was soon followed by Othman son of Affán Abdal Rahman son of Aws, Saad son of Abu Wakas, Zobair son of Al Awam, and Telha son of Obeidolla, and Abu Obeida. These were some of the principal men of the city, and were afterwards the generals of Mohammed's army, and assisted him in establishing his imposture and his empire. Abulfeda says, "Mohammed made his converts in secret for three years; but after this period he was commanded to preach to those of his tribe. Upon this he ordered Ali to invite his kinsmen, about forty in number, to an entertainment, and to set before

with by them. When woman was created, the devil, we are told, was delighted, and said, 'Thou art half of my host, and thou art the depository of my secret, and thou art my arrow, with which I shoot, and miss not.' What are termed by us affairs of gallantry were very common among the Pagan Arabs, and are scarcely less so among their Moslem posterity. They are, however, unfrequent among most tribes of Bedawees, and among the descendants of those tribes not long settled as cultivators. I remember being roused from the quiet that I generally enjoyed in an ancient tomb in which I resided at Thebes, by the cries of a young woman in the neighbourhood, whom an Arab was severely beating for an impudent proposal that she had made to him."—*Lane's Arab. Nights*, vol. i. pp. 38, 39. Thomas Moore has thus wittily versified the above sentiment of Omar:—

" Whene'er you're in doubt, said a sage I once knew,
 'Twixt two lines of conduct which course to pursue,
 Ask a woman's advice, and whate'er she advise,
 Do the very reverse and you're sure to be wise."

them a lamb and a large vessel of milk. When they had done eating and drinking, he began to preach; but being interrupted by Abu Laheb, he invited them to a like feast the next day, and when it was over, he harangued them in the following words: 'I do not know any man in Arabia can make you a better present than I now bring you; I offer you the good both of this world, and of the other life: the great God has commanded me to call you to him. Who then will will be my vizier (i. e. take part of the burden with me), my brother, my deputy?' When all were silent, Ali said, 'I will; and I will beat out the teeth, pull out the eyes, rip up the bellies, and break the legs of all that oppose you, I will be your vizier over them.' Then the apostle of God embracing Ali about the neck, said, 'This is my brother, my ambassador, my deputy, pay him obedience.' At this they all fell a laughing, and said to Abu Taleb, 'You are now to be obedient to your son.'

"Mohammed, not at all discouraged by the opposition of his tribe, continued to upbraid them with their idolatry, and the perverseness and infidelity of their ancestors and of their nation. This provoked them to that degree, that they went to Abu Taleb to complain of his nephew, and desired him to interpose, who, however, dismissed them with a civil answer. However, as Mohammed persisted in his purpose, they went to him a second time, and threatened to use force. Upon this, Abu Taleb sent for his nephew and said to him, 'Thus and thus have your countrymen spoken to me;' but Mohammed imagining his uncle to be against him, replied, 'Uncle, if they could set the sun against me on my right hand, and the moon on my left, I would never drop the affair.' 'Well,' says Abu Taleb, 'tell me what answer I shall give them: as for me,' confirming his words with an oath, 'I will never give you up.' The whole tribe now consulted about banishing all who embraced Islamism; but Abu Taleb protected his nephew, though he did not come into his new religion." After this, Hamza, another of his uncles, resenting an affront that Abu Jehel, whom he bitterly hated, had offered to Mohammed, became one of his proselytes, as did also Omar, the son of Al Ketabi, another of the principal men of Mecca, and Abubeker's successor in the Caliphate. Previously to his conversion, Omar was violently set against the prophet. At last his

anger rose to such a height, that having girded on a sword, he went in search of him with an intent to kill him. By the way, he called in at his own sister's, where the twentieth chapter of the Koran was reading. Omar demanded to see the book, and upon his sister's refusal, gave her a violent slap on the face, who then gave it to him, upon his promising to restore it her again. No sooner had he read a little of it, when he cried out, "O how fine is this! how I reverence it! I have a great desire to be a believer." He immediately inquired where Mohammed was to be found, and, being told, went to the apostle, who, taking hold of his clothes and pulling him forcibly to him, said, "O son of Al Ketabi, what do you stop at? Why would you stay till the roof of the house falls upon your head?" Upon Omar's replying, "I come hither that I may believe in God and his apostle," the apostle gave praise to God, and thus was completed the conversion of Omar.

And now, finding he made such progress, the Koreishites cruelly persecuted the followers of Mohammed. On this account he gave leave to as many of them as had no family to hinder it, to leave Mecca, which they did, to the number of eighty-three men and eighteen women, with their little ones. They fled to the king of Ethiopia, to whom the Koreishites sent two persons with a present of skins, desiring him to send back the fugitives. This the king not only refused to do, but, as the Mohammedan writers assert, embraced Islamism himself. In the eighth year of Mohammed's mission, the Koreishites pledged themselves by a written compact not to intermarry with the Hashemites, or to have any dealings with them. This deed was placed in the Kaaba, where, it is said, a worm ate out every word of the deed, except the name of God. Upon this the whole tribe held a public meeting, and cancelled the agreement.*

* Some say that the hand of the notary who drew up the writing was dried up as soon as he had finished it. The Mussulman writers, however, do not agree amongst themselves about this miracle. Maracci quotes an account in which it is asserted that the name of God was eaten out of the instrument, wherever it occurred, every other part of it being perfectly legible; upon which, it was observed, that as God had been averse to the drawing up of the instrument before them, he had taken care that everything relating to him in it should be obliterated, and that everything that was the effect of their wickedness should remain.

“In the tenth year of the mission of the prophet died Abu Taleb. Before his death, whilst he was very ill, the apostle of God said to him, ‘Uncle, make the profession which will entitle you to happiness at the day of the resurrection;’ and Abu Taleb answered, ‘So I would, nephew, if it were not for the disgrace; for if I should do so, the Koreishites would say I did it for fear of death.’ In his last moments he began to move his lips, and Al Abbas, putting his ear close to them, said, ‘O nephew, he has repeated the words that you exhorted him to say.’ Upon hearing this, the apostle of God said, ‘Praised be God who has directed you, dear uncle.’”

Very soon after Kadija died also.* Whereupon, Mohammed, meeting with more and more opposition at Mecca, where Abu Sofian, his mortal enemy, bore the chief sway, took a journey to Taïf, a town about sixty miles east of Mecca, wherein Al Abbas, another of his uncles, often resided, to try if he could make any converts there; but having no success, he returned to Mecca, where his followers were greatly mortified by the repulse he had met with.

Mohammed, however, continued his preaching, even, says Abulfeda, at the hazard of his life; going occasionally among the pilgrims, and calling to them, “O ye of such and such a tribe (which he named), I am the apostle of God, who commands you to serve God, and not to associate any other with him; and to believe and testify that I am a true apostle.” One time, being at a place called Alkaba (a mountain north of Mecca), where there were some pilgrims from Yathreb, he addressed them, and made converts of six. These, upon

* Of Mohammed’s affection for his wife Kadija, Abulfeda relates the following anecdote. His subsequent wife Ayesha one day reproached him with his grief on her account. “Was she not old?” said Ayesha, with the insolence of blooming beauty; “has not God given you a younger, a better, and a more beautiful wife in her place?” “More beautiful, truly,” said the prophet, “and younger, but not better. There cannot be a better: she believed in me when men despised me—she relieved my wants when I was poor and persecuted.” Mr. Burckhardt informs us that the tomb of Kadija is still remaining, and is regularly visited by hadjys (pilgrims), especially on Friday mornings. It is enclosed by a square wall, and presents no objects of curiosity except the tomb-stone, which has a fine inscription in Cufic characters, containing a passage from the Koran, from the chapter entitled, *Souret el Kursy*.—*Arabia*, p. 172.

their return to Yathreb, spread his fame there, and propagated Islamism with great success.

The chief points of religion which, besides some moral duties, Mahommed first insisted upon were, the unity of God, a resurrection, and a future state of rewards and punishments. The only profession necessary to be made in order to be one of his disciples consisted of these two articles: "There is no God but one," and "Mohammed is his prophet." The former was in opposition, not only directly to all who worship idols, or own a plurality of gods, but indirectly against Christians also, as holding the divinity of our blessed Saviour, and the doctrine of the Trinity. The profession of the second article was the most essential means he could take to bind his followers to swallow everything, how absurd soever, that he should propose to them for belief or practice. Islamism, he declared, was not a new religion, but a restoration to its original purity of the ancient religion, taught and practised by the prophets Adam, Abraham, Moses, David, and Jesus. He did indeed purge the religion of the Arabians, which in his time was rank idolatry, from some gross abuses, as Sabæism, or the worship of the host of heaven, the worship of idols, and divination. In order, however, to make his new system the more acceptable to his countrymen, he retained several of their old superstitious services, such as frequent washing, the pilgrimage to Mecca, with the absurd ceremonies appendant to it, of going seven times round the Kaaba, throwing stones to drive away the devil, &c.

The fewness of the things he proposed to their profession and belief certainly made it more easy for him to gain proselytes. And although the paradise he promised them was, as we shall see hereafter, very gross and sensual, it was nevertheless very well suited to the taste of the people he had to deal with, while, on the other hand, the hell with which he threatened unbelievers was terrible. He may be supposed to have dwelt much on the latter subject, as it is so frequently repeated in the Koran. By his artful, insinuating address, in which he is said to have exceeded all men living, he surmounted all difficulties that lay in his way. At his first setting out upon his prophetic office, he bore all affronts without seeming to resent them; and when any of his followers were injured he recommended patience to them, and

for that purpose, it is said, proposed the Christian martyrs for their imitation. He was obliging to every body; the rich he flattered, the poor he relieved with alms: and by his behaviour appeared the most humane, friendly person in the world, so long as he found it necessary to wear the mask, which we shall hereafter find him, upon occasions, pulling off and throwing aside.

In the tenth year of his mission, Mohammed gave his daughter Fatima, then nine years old, in marriage to Ali. The dowry given by Ali upon that occasion was twelve ounces of ostrich plumes (a thing of some value in that country), and a breastplate; all indeed that he had to give.* In the same year, according to Elmakin (for authors vary as to the precise date of many of his most considerable transactions), Mohammed, to strengthen his interest, as well as perhaps to gratify his inclination, married Ayesha, daughter of Abubeker, and Sawda, daughter of Sama.† To these two wives he added, some time after, Hafsa, daughter of Omar. Ayesha was then but seven years old, and therefore this marriage was not consummated till two years after, when she was nine years old, at which age, we are told, women in that country are ripe for marriage. An Arabian author cited by Maracci,‡ says that Abubeker was very averse to the giving him his daughter so young, but that Mohammed pretended a divine command for it; whereupon he sent her to him with a basket of dates, and when the girl was alone with him, he stretched out his blessed hand (these are the author's words), and rudely took hold of her clothes; upon which she looked fiercely at him, and said, "People call you the faithful man.§ but your behaviour to me shows you are a perfidious one." And with these words she got out of his hands, and, composing her clothes, went and complained to her father. The old

* It was a custom among the Arabs for the bridegroom to make a present to the father of the bride.

† According to the *Mishcat*, Sawda was not a favourite wife of Mohammed's. Razin says, that once when he proposed to divorce her, she said, "Keep me with your wives, and do not divorce me; peradventure I may be of the number of your wives in Paradise; and I give up my turn to Avesha."—Book xiii. chap. x.

‡ Marac. *Vita Mahometis*, p. 23.

§ Abulfeda says he was called Al Amin, "the faithful one," when he was young.

gentleman, to calm her resentment, told her she was now betrothed to Mohammed, and that made him take liberties with her, as if she had been his wife.

THE STORY OF MOHAMMED'S ASCENT INTO HEAVEN.

The Mohammedan writers are not agreed about the time of this transaction, nor as to the nature of it, whether it were only a vision or a real journey. The most received opinion is, that it was in the twelfth year of his mission; and the most orthodox belief is, that it was a real journey.* I will give it in the words of Abulfeda, who took his relation out of Al Bokhari. "Hodba† the son of Kaled said, that Hamman son of Jahia said, that Cottada had it from Anas the son of Malek the son of Sesa, that the prophet of God gave them a relation of his night-journey to heaven in these words: As I was within the inclosure of the Kaaba (or, as he sometimes told the story, as I lay upon a stone), behold one (Gabriel) came to me with another, and cut me open from the pit of the throat to the groin; this done, he took out my heart, and presently there was brought near me a golden basin full of the water of faith; and he washed my heart, stuffed it, and replaced it. Then was brought to me a white beast less than a mule but larger than an ass, I mounted him, and Gabriel went with me till I came to the first heaven of the world, and when he knocked at the door, it was said to him, 'Who is there?' he answered, 'Gabriel;' and 'Who is with you?' he answered, 'Mohammed;' then it was asked, 'Has the apostle had his mission?' he replied, 'Yes;' whereupon the wish was uttered, 'May it be fortunate with him, he will now be very welcome;' and the door was opened, and behold, there was Adam. Upon this Gabriel said to me, 'This is your father Adam, greet him;' and I did so, and he returned the greeting, saying, 'May my best son and the best prophet be prosperous.' Then he went up with me to the second heaven, and as he knocked at the door a voice demanded, 'Who is there?' when he had answered, 'Ga-

* According to a tradition from Ayesha, it must have been a dream, for she said he was in bed with her all that night.

† The author of the book of the most authentic traditions; an account will be given of him hereafter.

Gabriel,' he was further asked, 'And who is with you?' to which he replied 'Mohammed;' the voice again inquired, 'Has the apostle had his mission?' Upon his answering, 'Yes,' I again heard the words, 'May it be fortunate to him, he will now be very welcome;' and the door was opened, and behold there was Jahia (i. e. John) and Isa (Jesus), and they were cousins-german.* Gabriel said to me, 'These are Jahia and Isa, greet them,' and I did so, and they greeting me in turn, said, 'May our best brother and the best prophet be successful.' " It would be nauseous to an English reader to repeat in the same manner, as my author does, the knocking at the doors, the same question and answer, and the exchange of greeting, through the following five heavens; it is sufficient to say that Mohammed being with Gabriel admitted into the third heaven, found Joseph there, Enoch in the fourth heaven, Aaron in the fifth, Moses in the sixth, and Abraham in the seventh; and that when he was near Moses, Moses wept, and being asked the reason of his weeping, said " It was because a young man, whose mission was posterior to his, would have a greater number of his nation enter into paradise, than he should of his countrymen." " Then," continued the prophet, " I was carried up to the tree Sedra, † beyond which it is not lawful to go. The fruit thereof is as large as the water-pots of Hadjr, and the leaves as big as the ears of an elephant. I saw there also four rivers, and when I asked Gabriel, 'What rivers are these?' he answered, 'Two of them run within paradise, and quite through it, the other two, which run on the outside of it, are the Nile and the Euphrates.' Then he took me to the house of visitation, ‡ into which seventy thousand angels go every day. Here there were set before me three vessels, one of wine, another of milk, and the third of honey. I drank of the milk, whereupon Gabriel said to me, 'This is the happiest [omen] for thee and thy nation.' " (Another tradition adds, " If you had chosen the wine, your nation would have strayed from the right way.") " Lastly, when I came to the throne of God, I was

* Here Mohammed was mistaken, the Virgin Mary and Elizabeth were not sisters.

† Or Lotus tree.

‡ This house is the original whereof a copy was sent down to Adam, as is mentioned before, page 3.

ordered to pray fifty times a day. In my return from thence, being near Moses, he asked me what I had been commanded to do; I told him to pray fifty times a day. 'And are you able,' said he, 'to pray fifty times a day?' and with an oath he declared, 'I have made the experiment among men, for I have endeavoured to bring the children of Israel to it, but never could compass it. Go back then to your Lord, and beg an abatement for your nation.' So I went back, and he took off ten prayers; and coming to Moses, he advised me as before, and I went back again and had ten more abated; then coming to Moses, he repeated the same advice; I therefore returned, and was commanded to pray ten times a day; upon Moses's repeating what he had said before, I went back again, and was commanded to say prayers five times a day; and when Moses was informed of this last order, he would have had me go back again to my Lord and beg a still further abatement; I replied, 'I have so often petitioned my Lord that I am ashamed;' and so saying, I took my leave of him, and prayed for him."

The foregoing account of Mohammed's night-journey is modest, in comparison of what some authors give us, who, from other traditions, add many other wonders. Thus they tell us, that the beast Alborac would not let Mohammed mount, till he had promised him a place in paradise; that then he took him quietly on his back, and in the twinkling of an eye, Gabriel leading him all the way by the bridle, carried him to Jerusalem; that there a number of the prophets and departed saints appearing at the gate of the temple, saluted him, and, attending him into the chief oratory, desired him to pray for them; that when he came out from thence, there was a ladder of light ready set for them, on which Gabriel and Mohammed went up to the heavens, having first tied Alborac to a ring, where he used to be tied by the prophets who had formerly ridden him. Besides all these wonders, in the first heaven, which was made of pure silver, Mohammed saw the stars hanging from it by chains of gold, (each star being as large as Mount Nobo near Mecca,) and the angels keeping watch and ward in them, that the devils might not come near to listen and hear what was doing in heaven. As he went farther on, he saw a multitude of angels of every variety of shape, which presided over and interceded

for the different kinds of birds and beasts in whose shape they severally appeared. Amongst those of the birds, there was a cock, the angel of the cocks, so large, that his feet standing upon the first heaven, his head reached up to the second, which, at the ordinary rate of travelling upon earth, was at a distance of a five hundred days' journey. This he makes the distance of every one of the seven heavens from the heaven next above it. Other writers are still more extravagant, and say, the head of the cock reached through all the seven heavens, up to the throne of God: that his wings, which are large in proportion to his height, are decked with carbuncles and pearls: that every morning when God sings a hymn, this cock joins in it, and crows so loud as to be heard by all the creatures upon the earth, except men and fairies: and that upon hearing him all the cocks upon earth crow also. In the second heaven, which was all of pure gold, he saw an angel so large that his head reached up to the third heaven. The third heaven was all made of precious stones. There he found Abraham, who recommended himself to his prayers; and there also, he saw more angels than in either of the former heavens. One of them was of so prodigious a stature that the distance between his two eyes was equal to the length of a journey of 70,000 days.* This, Gabriel told him was the angel of death, who had a table before him of an immense bigness, whereon he was continually writing down the names of those who were to be born, and blotting out the names of those who were to die. The fourth heaven was all of emerald; therein he found Joseph the son of Jacob, who desired him to pray for him. In this again the number of angels was greater than in the third heaven, and one of them, whose head reached to the fifth heaven, was always weeping for the sins of mankind, and the miseries they thereby bring upon themselves. The fifth heaven was made of adamant; here he found Moses, who desired his prayers. The sixth heaven was of carbuncle; here was John the Baptist, who also begged his prayers. In the seventh heaven, which was made

* Here Prideaux observes, that the distance between a man's eyes is in proportion to his height, as one to seventy-two. So that the height of this angel must have been four times as much as the height of all the seven heavens, and therefore he could not stand in one of them.