

billāh (He who looks for help to God). Under the reign of this feeble prince, the Greeks inflicted serious losses on the Moslems in Asia Minor. The Turkish soldiery, instead of attempting to repair these losses, revolted against the Caliph whom they had themselves chosen, and plundered the city of Sorra-man-ra'a. Taking advantage of these disorders, a descendant of 'Alī, named Hasan, gained possession of Ṭabaristān and Jorjān, and permanently deprived the Eastern Caliphate of those provinces. At the same time, insurrections sprang up in every part of the empire. Next, the chiefs of the Turkish soldiery, in their mutual jealousies, began to tear each other to pieces. The infatuated Caliph fled from Sorra-man-ra'a, and took refuge at Baghdād. The Turks now resolved on his destruction, and forgetting that they themselves had deprived Mo'tazz billāh, brother of Montasir, of his legitimate rights, chose him as their Caliph. They next placed at their head a brother of Mo'tazz, named Mowaffak billāh, and besieged Mosta'in at Baghdād. At the end of one month (A.H. 252, A.D. 866), Mosta'in surrendered, and was put to death.

13. Mo'tazz billāh, thus called to the throne by the very men who had previously sought to exclude him from it, resolved to free himself from the yoke of the formidable Turkish soldiery which thus made and unmade Caliphs. But to maintain a struggle against such terrible adversaries, the new sovereign would have needed an ability and energy which he did not possess. He made, indeed, a very impolitic beginning in getting rid of his brothers Mowayad and Mowaffak, of whom he put the former to death, and drove the latter into exile. Some time after, it is true, he had the satisfaction of seeing Wasif, one of the chiefs of the Turkish soldiery, lose his life in a mutiny of his own troops; and that of defeating in person another chief, Bugha, whom he afterwards caused to be beheaded. But in the following year (A.H. 254), the Turks chose as their leaders the sons of Wasif and Bugha, Ṣāliḥ and Mohammed, who avenged their fathers by plundering the palace of the prime minister and besieging that of the Caliph, whom they seized and threw into close confinement, where he died of hunger and thirst, A.H. 255.

Mohtadi.

14. Immediately after the fall of Mo'tazz, the Turks brought from Baghdād one of the sons of Wāthiq billāh, and proclaimed him Caliph, with the title of Mohtadī billāh (Guided by God). Mohtadī, a man of noble and generous spirit, exerted himself, but in vain, to release his predecessor from prison. Having failed in this, he kept the precarious measure of power which his masters left him, and applied it to the regeneration of Moslem society, the decay of which appeared to him imminent. He forbade wine and games of chance; he devoted himself to the administration of justice; he examined in person every sentence passed by the judges, and gave public audience to the people twice a week for the redress of their grievances. The farmers of the revenue were subjected to strict control, and the taxes were considerably lightened. It seemed as if these reforms were likely to re-establish order and prosperity in the empire. But Mohtadī came too late, and the Turks did not leave him time to finish his work. Ṣāliḥ, one of the chiefs of the Turkish soldiery, having been assassinated by a rival, Mohtadī punished the guilty person with rigour. The Turks, in their rage, beset the palace and slaughtered the unfortunate Caliph (A.H. 256, A.D. 870).

15. Whether from weariness, or from repentance, the Turkish soldiery discontinued for a time their hateful excesses. A son of Motawakkil was brought out of prison to succeed his cousin, and reigned for twenty-two years under the name of Mo'tamid 'alā 'llāh (He whose support is God). During his reign two great events took place,

tokens and precursors of the dissolution of the Caliphate. Eastern Persia and Egypt separated themselves by force from the empire, and two new dynasties established themselves in these countries, those respectively of the Ṣaffārids and the Ṭūlūnids. The founder of the former, Ya'qūb b. Laith, was the son of a coppersmith (Ṣaffār). At the head of a band of resolute men, he invaded successively Khorāsān, Kirmān, and Sijistān, and at last the Caliph Mo'tamid, powerless to arrest his progress, was obliged to give an official recognition to accomplished facts. But Ya'qūb was not satisfied with this; he soon possessed himself of Ṭabaristān, Fārsistān, and Ahwāz, and thence marched against Baghdād. Fortune, however, deserted him; he was beaten in the neighbourhood of Wāsīt (A.H. 262), and compelled to return to Persia in order to levy a new army there. In 265 he resumed his march against Baghdād, but was obliged by sickness to halt at Jondis-ābūr, where he died; not, however, till he had obtained from the Caliph a formal investiture of all the provinces he had conquered. He was succeeded by his brother 'Amr. On the other side, a certain Ahmad b. Ṭūlūn, the son of a freedman, who had obtained from the Caliph the post of governor of Egypt, planned the creation for himself of an independent kingdom. Under Mo'tamid he even invaded Syria, and perhaps would have pushed his conquests still farther, had not death overtaken him in A.H. 270 (A.D. 883-884). His son Khomarūya succeeded him in Egypt, and though, at a later period, he submitted to pay tribute to Mo'tamid, nevertheless a dynasty had been founded in that country which lasted for twenty-one year longer. Mo'tamid died eight years after Ahmad b. Ṭūlūn.

16. The reign of Mo'tamid billāh (He who seeks his support in God), who succeeded his uncle Mo'tamid, is principally remarkable for the rise of the celebrated sect of the Carmathians (Karamīta), who for two centuries laid waste the Moslem empire, and for the extinction of the Ṣaffārid dynasty in Persia, where it was replaced by that of the Sāmānids. Some details respecting the origin and the creed of the Carmathians will be found in the third section of this article. We shall content ourselves here with stating the fact that these sectaries, who were numerous in 'Irāk, Syria, and Eastern Arabia, kept in check all the armies which were sent against them. Under the reign of Mo'tamid they invaded Mecca and committed great ravages there. In A.H. 281, Mo'tamid repaired the disasters which they had caused there, and raised important works about the Ka'ba. Mo'tamid died in 289 (A.D. 902), leaving the throne to his son Moktafi billāh.

17. Moktafi billāh (He who sufficeth himself in God) reigned for six years, during which he had constantly to struggle against the Carmathians. One of his generals, indeed, gained a signal victory over these sectaries; but, to avenge their defeat, they lay in wait for a caravan which was on its return from Mecca, and massacred twenty thousand pilgrims. This horrible crime raised the whole of Arabia against them. The Carmathians were beaten again, and Dhikrūya, one of their ablest generals, was taken and put to death. The sectaries remained quiet for some time, and the Caliph took advantage of this respite to take Egypt from the house of Ṭūlūn, and to confer its government on the Ikhshidites. Moktafi died A.H. 295 (A.D. 907-908). His activity and energy revived for a moment the prestige of the Caliphate; but this fleeting renewal of its greatness was soon to disappear, and decay resumed its course.

18. The new Caliph, Moktadir billāh (Powerful through God), was only thirteen years of age when he ascended the throne. His extreme youth prejudiced the people of Baghdād against him; they rebelled, and swore allegiance to 'Abdallāh, son of the former Caliph Mo'tazz; but the

party of Moktadir prevailed, and his rival was put to death. Moktadir, however, was too young to exercise any real power; he was governed by his eunuchs. He was, besides, a man of feeble character, and looked on helplessly at the death-struggle of the empire, upon which calamities of every kind now poured in. The Greeks invaded Mesopotamia. A truce was concluded with them; but the Carmathians then recommenced their disorders in Syria. The indolence of the Caliph, and his inaction in the face of this danger, alienated all hearts from him; and the eunuch Mūnis, the principal chief of his party, took the lead in deposing him and proclaiming in his stead his brother Kāhir billāh (Victorious through God), in the year 317 (A.D. 929-930). Kāhir, however, having refused to distribute a donative to the army on the occasion of his accession, a counter-revolution took place, and Moktadir, who had been imprisoned, was taken from his dungeon and replaced on the throne, only three days after his deposition. Favoured by these disturbances, the governor of Mosul, Nāṣir al-Daula, declared himself independent, and founded definitively the dynasty of the Hamdānites; thus causing an additional dismemberment of the empire. The Carmathians in their turn, under the guidance of a new chief, Abū Ṭāhir, obtained possession of Mecca, and carried off the celebrated black stone of the Ka'ba, which they did not restore till very long afterwards. Meanwhile the eunuch Mūnis had been disgraced. He withdrew at first to Mosul, to the court of Nāṣir al-Daula; but it was to raise an army and march upon Baghdād, where the Caliph had again fixed his abode. The object of Mūnis was not to attack the Caliph, but only to take vengeance on his personal enemies. Moktadir was induced by evil counsellors to make a sally against Mūnis. His troops were put to the rout, and he himself fell on the field of battle, in the year 320 (A.D. 932).

The Fātimites.

With the reign of Moktadir is connected one of the greatest events in the history of the Caliphate, the foundation of the Fātimite dynasty, which reigned, first in the Maghrib and then in Egypt, for nearly three centuries. The first of this family who put forward any pretensions to the Caliphate was 'Obaid Allāh, surnamed the Mahdī, or Messiah of the followers of 'Alī, who gave himself out as a direct descendant of 'Alī, through his wife Fātima, the daughter of Mohammed, whence the name of Fātimite. It seems to be proved that 'Obaid Allāh was really descended from a certain 'Abdallāh b. Maimūn el-Kaddāh, the founder of the Ismailian sect, of which the Carmathians were only a branch. This 'Obaid Allāh had himself become pontiff of the Ismailians. As early as the Caliphate of Moktafi, one of 'Obaid Allāh's missionaries, named Abū 'Abdallāh, had succeeded in gaining numerous partisans in the province of Africa, then subject to the Aghlabites, and the victories of this missionary had wrested Eastern Africa from the family of Aghlab when Moktadir ascended the throne. 'Obaid Allāh then repaired to his new realm (A.H. 303), and founded the city of Mahdiya, which he made his capital. He tried also, but without success, to seize Egypt; the conquest of that country was reserved for one of his successors, Mo'izz li-din-illāh. 'Obaid Allāh died two years after Moktadir, leaving to his son Kāim an empire already sufficiently powerful to cause uneasiness to the 'Abbāsids, to the Omayyads of Spain, and to all the Christian princes whose states bordered on the Mediterranean.

19. Kāhir billāh, on being raised anew to the throne after the death of his brother Moktadir, still bore ill-will to his patrons, and tried to free himself from their guardianship. The emirs of his court dethroned him a second time and put out his eyes. One of his nephews was then proclaimed Caliph under the name of Rādī

billāh (Content through God). This prince, who was entirely governed by those about his person, created, in favour of a certain Abūbekr Mohammed b. Rāik, the office of Amīr al-Omarā, or Emir of the Emirs, which nearly corresponds to that of Mayor of the Palace among the Franks.<sup>1</sup> The Amīr al-Omarā was charged with the administration of civil and military affairs. He also acted as the Caliph's deputy in sacerdotal functions, and was named next after him in the public prayers. Thenceforth the Caliphate was no longer anything but an empty shadow. During the reigns of Kāhir and Rādī, the Carmathians became more audacious than ever. The Amīr al-Omarā was obliged to purchase from them the freedom of pilgrimage to Mecca at the price of a disgraceful treaty. Thus the Caliphate found itself almost reduced to the province of Baghdād. Khorāsān, Transoxiana, Kirmān, and Persia were in the hands of independent sovereigns, the Sāmānids, the Būyids, and a prince named Washingir. The Hamdānites possessed Mesopotamia; the Sājites, Armenia; Egypt was under the rule of the Ikhshidites; Arabia was held by the Carmathians; Africa, as we have seen, had become the prey of the Fātimites. The single transient success obtained by Rādī was the capture of Mosul in A.H. 328 (A.D. 939-40); and even this success he owed to the Turk Bejkem, who had succeeded Mohammed b. Rāik as Amīr al-Omarā.

Rādī died in the following year, and was succeeded by Mottakī billāh (He who fears God). From his very accession, this prince saw himself exposed to the attacks of a certain Al-Barīdī, who had carved out for himself a principality in Chaldæa, and who now laid siege to Baghdād. Nāṣir al-Daula, prince of Mosul, who had been reinstated in his government, offered an asylum to Mottakī; put his troops at his disposal, and succeeded in repelling Al-Barīdī. In return he obtained the office of Amīr al-Omarā. But there were other competitors for that post. Turun, a former lieutenant of Bejkem, protested sword in hand against the choice of the Caliph, and threatened Baghdād. Ikhshid, sovereign of Egypt, offered Mottakī a refuge in his states; but Turun, fearing to see the Caliph obtain such powerful support, found means to entice him to his tent, and had his eyes put out, A.H. 333 (A.D. 944-945).

As successor to Mottakī, Turun chose Mostakfi billāh (He who places his whole trust in God). This prince, like his predecessors, was a mere puppet in the hands of his ministers. A new Amīr al-Omarā, Zīrak b. Shīrẓād, made himself so hateful to the people of Baghdād by his deeds of violence and rapacity that they besought the help of the Būyids. Ahmed, the third prince of that dynasty, entered Baghdād, overthrew Zīrak, and took his place under the title of Mo'izz al-Daula. Mostakfi soon had enough of this new master, and ventured to conspire against him. The plot was discovered, and Mo'izz al-Daula had the eyes of the Caliph put out. There were now at Baghdād three Caliphs who had been dethroned and blinded—Kāhir, Mottakī, and Mostakfi. Mo'izz al-Daula thought for a moment of restoring the illusory title of Caliph to the descendants of 'Alī. He feared, however, lest this should lead to the recovery by the Caliphs of their former supremacy, and his choice fell on a son of Moktadir under the name of Mot' billāh (He who obeys God). Reserving to himself all the powers and revenues of the Caliph, he allowed Mot' merely a secretary and a moderate pension. The prince of Mosul, who began to think his possessions threatened by the neighbourhood of Mo'izz, entered on a struggle with him and tried to wrest Baghdād from him; but he failed, and was obliged to

<sup>1</sup> See Defrémery, *Mémoire sur les Emirs al-Omarā*. Paris, 1848.



submit to the payment of tribute. We have said above that Mo'izz al-Daula professed a great veneration for the house of 'Alī. His preference showed itself in public acts. He caused the most terrible imprecations against the Omayyads to be posted up at the doors of the mosques. This step irritated men's minds; and a general insurrection was imminent at Baghdād, when Mo'izz died (A.H. 356), leaving his power to his son 'Izz al-Daula.

While the 'Abbāsīd family was thus dying out in shame and degradation, the Fātimites, in the person of Mo'izz li-dīn-illāh, were reaching the highest degree of power and glory (see EGYPT, vol. vii. p. 750 *seq.*) Jauhar, a general of Mo'izz li-dīn-illāh, conquered Egypt for his master, and Arabia acknowledged the sovereignty of the Fātimites. The Carmathians, who had so long contended against the 'Abbāsīds, now came to better terms with Motīf, and their general made the Caliph the offer of driving back the Fātimites, on condition of his granting him the government of Egypt. Motīf preferred to stand neutral in the struggle; and the Carmathian general, who with the support of Motīf might perhaps have triumphed over Mo'izz, was beaten by his powerful rival. Motīf, having been struck by paralysis, was obliged to abdicate in the year 363 (A.D. 973-974), and left the empty title of Caliph to his son Tāī li-amr-illāh (Obedient to the command of God). The new Caliph lived at first in peace, for it was now the office of Amīr al-Omarā which provoked ill-will. Under the reign of Tāī the Būyid princes contended furiously with one another for the office of Emir, and one of them, 'Aḍod al-Daula, having conquered 'Izz al-Daula, took the title, never before employed, of Shāhinshāh, or king of kings. On his death he transmitted his office to his three sons, who held it successively, under the names of Shams al-Daula, Sharaf al-Daula, and Bahā al-Daula. The last, who was as avaricious as he was ambitious, took offence at the Caliph Tāī for having disposed of certain sums of money, of which he wished to reserve the management to himself, compelled him to abdicate in A.H. 381, and replaced him by a grandson of Mokṭadir, who took the name of Kādir billāh (Powerful through God), and reigned forty one years under the tutelage of the Būyids. Meanwhile events were preparing the fall of the Būyids. In Persia, Maḥmūd of Ghazni was founding the powerful empire of the Ghaznevīds, which extended to the Indus, and the Seljūk Turks were already invading Khorāsān. It was under the successor of Kādir billāh that that sanguinary revolution took place, which was to give over the government of Baghdād to the Seljūks.

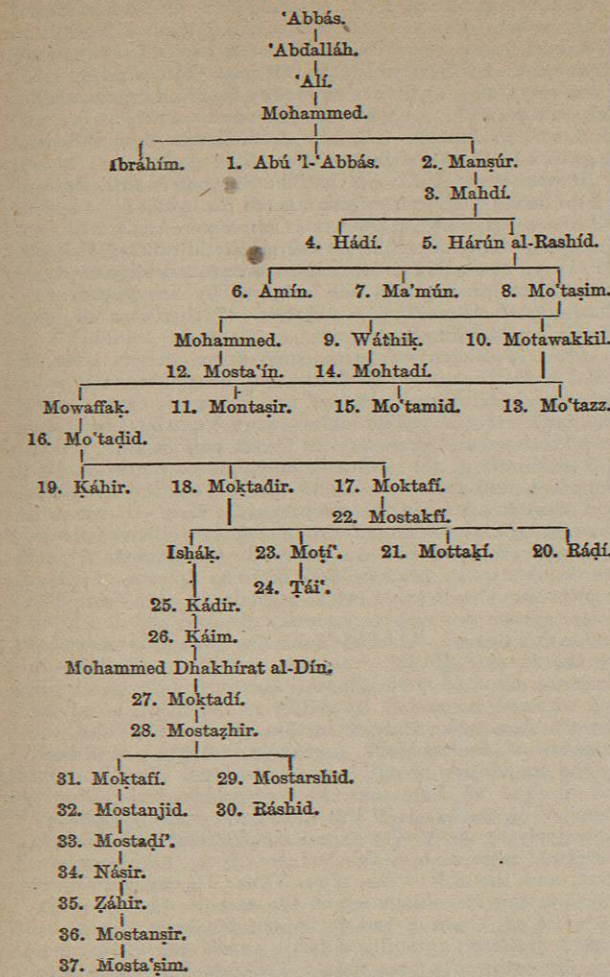
Kādir billāh died in A.H. 422 (A.D. 1030-31), and was succeeded by Kāim bi-amr-illāh (He who is charged with the business of God). The new Caliph, groaning under the iron hand of his Amīr al-Omarā, called to his aid the Seljūk Toḡhril Beg, who entered Baghdād in the month of Ramaḍān in the year 447 (A.D. 1055-1056), overthrew the Būyids, and took their place. Some years later, Toḡhril married the daughter of the Caliph. At his death, Toḡhril left to his nephew Alp Arslān the title of Sultan, a flourishing empire, and uncontrolled power. As for Kāim, he enjoyed the Caliphate in peace under the tutelage of Alp Arslān and of his successor Malik Shāh, till his death in A.H. 467. His grandson, Mokṭadī bi-amr-illāh (He who obeys the orders of God), who succeeded him, owed to the power of Malik Shāh the honour of recovering his supremacy in Arabia. At Mēdīna and Mecca his name was substituted in the public prayers for those of the Fātimite Caliphs. This was, after all, a mere gratification to his vanity, for Malik Shāh was the real sovereign, and the Caliph thought himself highly honoured in marrying the daughter of his

powerful patron. This union, however, far from drawing closer the bonds of friendship between Malik Shāh and Mokṭadī, became on the contrary a cause of strife. The Caliph having put away his wife, who had wearied him by her peevish humours, was compelled by Malik Shāh to appoint the child whom he had had by her as his successor, to the prejudice of his eldest son. Malik Shāh also exiled his son-in-law to Baṣra. Just, however, as this order was about to be carried out, Malik Shāh died. Mokṭadī survived him only a few months. It was during the reign of his successor Mostaḥzir billāh (A.H. 487-512) that the first crusade took place. We need not here enter into the details of those wars. It is sufficient to say that from the date of the first crusade Baghdād ceases, so to speak, to have any special history. The successors of Mostaḥzir billāh (He who seeks to triumph through God) were—Mostarshīd billāh (He who asks guidance from God), A.H. 512-529; Rāshīd billāh (Just through God), A.H. 529-530; Mokṭafī li-amr-illāh (He who follows the orders of God), A.H. 530-555; Mostanjīd billāh (He who invokes help from God), A.H. 555-566; and Mostadīf bi-amr-illāh (He who seeks enlightenment in the orders of God), A.H. 566-575. Under this last, the Fātimite dynasty was at length destroyed, and Egypt fell again under the spiritual authority of the Caliphs of Baghdād. It was one of the generals of the Emir Nūr al-dīn, the celebrated Ṣalāh al-dīn (Saladin), who made this important conquest in A.H. 567 (A.D. 1171-1172). He maintained himself in Egypt as Sultan, founded a new dynasty, that of the Ayyūbites, and in some sort compelled Nāṣir li-dīn-illāh (He who helps the religion of God), the successor of Mostadīf (A.H. 575-622), to acknowledge his title and to ratify his usurpation.

A still more formidable danger was now threatening Baghdād. The terrible Jīnghīz Khān was issuing from the depths of Asia at the head of his Mongols, and was beginning to invade Transoxiana. Under Nāṣir li-dīn-illāh's successors, Zāhir billāh (Victorious through God), A.H. 622-623, and Mostansīr billāh (He who asks help from God), A.H. 623-640, the Mongol invasion advanced with immense strides; and when, after them, Mostāṣīm billāh (He who seeks his defence in God) was named Caliph in the year 640 (A.D. 1242-1243), the last days of the Caliphate had arrived. Hulāgu, who was then sovereign of the Mongols, determined to make himself master of the whole of Western Asia. He placed himself at the head of his immense hordes, swept everything before him on his march, and arrived under the walls of Baghdād. In vain did Mostāṣīm sue for peace. The siege was actively pursued, and on the 29th of Moharram 656 (5th February 1258), the Mongols forced their way into Baghdād and planted the standard of Hulāgu on the highest of its towers. The city was given up to fire and slaughter; Mostāṣīm was thrown into prison, and died there a few days after; and with him expired the Eastern Caliphate, which had lasted 626 years, from the death of Mohammed.

In vain, three years later, did a scion of the race of the 'Abbāsīds, who had taken refuge in Egypt, make an effort to restore a dynasty which was now for ever extinct. At the head of a few followers, he marched against Baghdād, but was repulsed by the governor of that city, and died fighting. At a later period, another descendant of the 'Abbāsīds also sought an asylum in Egypt. The Sultan Baibars, after a judicial investigation of his origin, proclaimed him Caliph under the name of Hākīm bi-amr-illāh. His sons inherited this empty title, but, like their father, remained in Egypt, without power or influence. This shadow of sovereignty continued to exist till the conquest of Egypt by the Turks.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE ABBASID CALIPHS DOWN TO THE FALL OF BAGHDAD.



SECT. III.—SKETCH OF THE INSTITUTIONS AND CIVILIZATION OF THE EASTERN CALIPHATE.

Mohammed had begun to bestow political unity on Arabia; but he had done still more: he had given her the Koran, as the starting-point and base of the future civilization of Islam. It was for the preservation and the better understanding of the sacred text that the first believers were led to create grammar and lexicography, and to make collections of the poems of their own and former times, those "witnesses of the meaning of words," as the Arabs call them. To elucidate questions of dogma they created theology. Jurisprudence, in like manner, issued from the Koran, and the historical sciences at first gathered around it. As early as the first century of the Flight, schools were founded in 'Irāq, at Baṣra and at Cufa, in which all the questions to which the study of the Koran gave rise were stated, and answered in different ways. Natural science and mathematics were less directly concerned with the sacred book, and were consequently neglected during the whole period of the Omayyad dynasty. They only began to be cultivated when, under the 'Abbāsīds, the

study of philosophy led to the use of translations from the Greek. The institutions of Islam were developed, no doubt, as new wants made themselves felt, in proportion to the extension of the empire; but they were nevertheless founded on the first arrangements made by the Prophet, and handed down by him in the Koran.

Under the first four Caliphs these institutions continued in a rudimentary state. The Caliph (*Khalīfa*, substitute or successor) was elected by the Moslem community; and, after receiving from all its members the oath of fidelity (*Ba'ā*) which they were bound to take, united the temporal and spiritual powers in his own hands. He was at the same time high priest, ruler, and judge. He was compelled, however, by the very extent of the empire to delegate his powers to those agents (*Amīl*, plural *'Ommāl*) whom he commissioned to represent him in the provinces. The State revenues, which entered the public treasury (*Bait al-māl*), were composed—(1) of the tithe, or tax for the poor (*Zakāt*), which every Moslem was bound to pay; (2) of the fifth, raised on all booty taken in war, the rest being divided among the warriors; (3) of the poll-tax (*Jizya*) and the land-tax (*Kharāj*), which only affected non-Moslem subjects. The Caliph administered the revenues of the State at his own pleasure, applying them to the necessities of war, to public works, to the payment of officials, to the support of the poor, and to the distribution of the annual pensions, in which every Moslem had originally a right to share. The State could possess landed property. Under 'Omar I. we find that the pasture land belonging to the State supported not less than forty thousand camels and horses. To 'Omar I. was due the regulation of the poll-tax by a fixed scale. The rich, whether Christians or Jews, paid four dīnārs (about thirty-two shillings) yearly; people of the middle class, two dīnārs; the poor, one dīnār. Besides this payment in money, the subject-races had to make contributions in kind, intended for the support of the troops. The land-tax consisted of a general rent in proportion to the extent, character, and fertility of the lands possessed by the conquered.

As the sums produced by these different imposts were often very considerable, it became necessary, as early as the Caliphate of 'Omar I., to create a special office, charged with the accounts of their expenditure. Its organization was borrowed by 'Omar from the Persians, and it retained its Persian name of *Dīwān*, a term afterwards applied to all government offices. The Arabs at that time being too illiterate for such employment, the task of keeping the registers of the *Dīwān* was entrusted to Greeks, Copts, and Persians. 'Omar also gave his attention to the apportionment of the individual pensions of the Faithful. Every one received a larger or smaller sum according to the greater or less nearness of his connexion with the family, or the tribe, of the Prophet. Thus 'Aīsha, who had been the favourite wife of Mohammed, received a yearly pension of twelve thousand dirhems; the other widows of the Prophet only received ten thousand. The Hāshimītes and Moṭṭalibites, that is, the members of the Prophet's family, also received ten thousand dirhems. The Emigrants and the Defenders, or those citizens of Mecca and Medina who had been the first to embrace Islam, had five thousand dirhems; and that was the sum which 'Omar I. allotted to himself. For every other Moslem of full age, the pension varied from 4000 to 300 dirhems. We can easily understand what an influence the hope of this pension must have exerted on the conquered races, and how much it must

<sup>1</sup> The dirhem was equivalent to one franc.  
<sup>2</sup> His moderation was not imitated by his successor 'Othmān, who made it his principal object to enrich all the members of his own family at the expense of the rest of the Moslems.



have contributed to their conversion. On accepting Islam they acquired a right to the pension, besides ceasing to pay the land-tax and the poll-tax.

Even in the earliest days of Islam the Arabs were not entirely devoid of military skill. Many of their tribes had been brought into relations with the Greeks and Persians, and had acquired from them some ideas of the art of war. Thus, in the time of Mohammed, the division of an army into a centre, right and left wings, vanguard and rearguard, was understood, and the art of defending a camp or a city by entrenchments was also known. The Arabs fought on foot, on horseback, and mounted on camels. The arms of the infantry consisted of a spear, a sword, and a shield, and sometimes also of a bow and arrows. The horsemen fought chiefly with the lance. For defensive arms, besides the shield, the Arabs were acquainted with the helmet, the coat of mail, and the cuirass of leather covered with plates of iron. It was not till the period of the Omayyads that they began to employ military engines, such as the balista. The army was divided by tribes; and each tribe had its flag, which consisted of a piece of cloth fastened to a lance. As regards the recruitment of their armies, every man able to carry arms was originally bound to render military service. Omar I., to whom Islam owes so many of its institutions, was the first to divide his armies into distinct corps, and to assign to each corps a fixed station. These stations were the province of Cufa, that of Basra, and afterwards the provinces of Emesa, of the Jordan, and of Palestine. These provinces afterwards became military colonies, all the inhabitants of which were bound to render military service, as distinguished from the other provinces, where service was optional, or at all events regulated by the necessities of the moment.

Ceremonial.

With the accession of Mo'awiya I. to the supreme power, the mechanism of the State was modified and became more complicated. Mo'awiya endeavoured to copy the ceremonial of foreign courts. He built himself a palace at Damascus, and set up a throne in the audience-chamber, the door of which was kept by a chamberlain (*Hajib*). When he attended the service at the mosque, he occupied a close pew with a grating in front (*Makṣūra*). When he left his palace, he was surrounded by a bodyguard (*Shorta*), commanded by a provost (*Sahib al-Shorta*). Lastly, in his own lifetime, he caused his son Yazid to be acknowledged as his heir-presumptive, and thus established the principle of hereditary succession, which was opposed to the spirit of Islam, and was the source of every kind of calamity. As regards the administration of the State, Mo'awiya acted at his own will and pleasure. Thus, in order to secure the services of Amr b. al-'As, the conqueror of Egypt, he gave up to him the revenues of that province, a part of which ought to have gone to the State. He also took an important step with regard to the annual pensions of the Faithful, which he reduced by about two and a half per cent. The administration of the public funds in the different provinces was left to their Prefects, who were expected to pay into the public treasury only the surplus of their respective revenues. The empire had been at first divided into ten provinces—1. Syria (subdivided into four *Jond*, or military districts); 2. Cufa, with Arabian Irak and Persian Irak; 3. Basra, with Persia, Sijistan, Khorasan, Bahrain, and Oman; 4. Armenia; 5. Mecca; 6. Medina; 7. The Indian Marches; 8. Africa; 9. Egypt; 10. Yemen. Mo'awiya, however, subsequently thought proper to make Khorasan a separate province. Under his successors, and according to the necessities of the moment, it was sometimes reunited to the government of Irak. In Irak itself, Mo'awiya joined Basra and its dependencies to Cufa.

Hereditary succession.

Under Mo'awiya the Prefects had the most extensive

civil and military powers. They had even the right of the direct appointment of their Sub-Prefects. Mo'awiya, notwithstanding, thought it advisable to disconnect from their powers the offices of Judge (*Kadi*) and of Religious Official (*Imam*), which were entrusted to special functionaries named directly by the Caliph. The Caliph was, however, always at liberty to modify these arrangements at his own pleasure. Under the successors of Mo'awiya, we find certain Prefects invested at the same time with the dignities of Cadi and Imam.

It was also to Mo'awiya that the State owed the creation of a Chancery (*Diwan al-akhtam*, or Seals-office), in which all decrees proceeding from the Caliph were registered; so that, when once issued, these decrees could not be falsified. Mo'awiya also exerted himself to ensure rapidity of communication throughout the empire, by instituting the courier-post (*Barid*), in imitation of the post of the Persians and Byzantines.

After Mo'awiya we must come down to the time of 'Abd al-Melik to meet with any important innovations in Moslem institutions. Before the reign of that Caliph the books of the public offices were kept by Christians and Persians, and drawn up in Greek and Persian. 'Abd al-Melik ordered the exclusive employment of the Arabic language, and substituted Moslems for all the Christian and Persian clerks in the government offices. It was this same Caliph who founded the monetary system of Islam, Money and who was the first to strike dinars (pieces of gold worth about ten francs), and dirhems (pieces of silver worth about a franc), with legends in Arabic. The postal system was also very much improved and developed under this prince. 'Abd al-Melik was powerfully seconded by the famous Hajjaj, who was able to re-establish in Irak the disputed principle of obligatory military service, and who also succeeded, by skilful management, in raising the condition of agriculture in that province. Walid, the successor of 'Abd al-Melik, especially distinguished himself by the foundation of religious institutions. In his reign Religious founda- remained in the hands of the Christians, was appropriated exclusively to the Moslems, and considerably embellished. Hospitals were also established for lepers, the poor, the blind, and the sick. The pious 'Omar II. devoted all his efforts to the embellishment of the mosque of Damascus. An edict of 'Omar I. had forbidden Moslems to acquire landed property, agriculture being considered an occupation unworthy of a free man. This law had fallen into disuse; but 'Omar II. put it in force again, and declared null and void every purchase of land made by a Moslem subsequently to A.H. 100. The effects of this law might have been fatal to the empire; but it again became obsolete under the Caliphate of Hisham.

At the accession of the 'Abbāsids the centre of the empire was displaced. Damascus fell from the rank of its capital to that of a provincial town; while Baghdad, a small and unknown village, became the mistress of the world. Under the first 'Abbāsids the empire—not including the province of Baghdad—was divided as follows:—1. The province of Cufa; 2. The province of Basra, with the district of the Tigris, Bahrain and Oman; 3. Hijaz and Yamama; 4. Yemen; 5. Ahwaz; 6. Farsistan; 7. Khorasan; 8. The province of Mosul; 9. Mesopotamia, with Armenia and Azerbaijan; 10. Syria; 11. Egypt and the province of Africa (Spain being a dependency of Africa); 12. Sind. Al-Saffah afterwards made Palestine a distinct province, and separated Armenia and Azerbaijan from Mesopotamia. Still later, Harun al-Rashid created a new province to the north of Syria, which received the name of Awashim. Each newly-conquered province was always united to that one of the older provinces to which it was nearest.

Simultaneously with the accession of the 'Abbāsids, Persian influence began to preponderate. The Persian, Khalid b. Barmak, was entrusted with the administration of the finances (*Diwan al-Kharaj*) by As-Saffah, who was also the first Caliph who transferred the burden of public affairs from himself to a Prime Minister (*Wazir*, whence, in European languages, the term *Vizier*). The title of *Wazir* was unknown to the Omayyads. The office of Prime Minister was of Persian origin. It existed till the time of the Caliph Rādi, when that of Amir al-Omarā was substituted for it. When the Caliphs had fallen under the tutelage of the Būyids, it was the latter who chose Viziers, leaving to the Caliphs only Secretaries (*Rayis al-Ruwasā*). Under the Seljūk Sultans the Caliphs were again permitted to choose their own Viziers.

The institution of the office of Vizier was not the least among the causes of the decadence of the Eastern Caliphate. The 'Abbāsids gradually became unaccustomed to the exercise of power and the management of affairs, and thus lost all direct influence over their subjects. Besides the Minister of Finance and the Vizier, the 'Abbāsids created another important office, that of Postmaster-General (*Sahib al-Barid*), whose duty it was to collect at a central office all the information which arrived from the provinces, and to transmit it to the Prime Minister. Thus the administrative services were greatly extended under the 'Abbāsids. They were subdivided as follows:—1. *Diwan al-Kharaj*, or Ministry of Finance; 2. *Diwan al-Diyā*, or Bureau of State property; 3. *Diwan al-Zimam*, Registry Office or Exchequer Office; 4. *Diwan al-Jond*, or Ministry of War; 5. *Nazar al-Mazalim*, or Court of Appeal; 6. *Diwan al-Mawālī wal-Ghilmān*, or Bureau of the freedmen and slaves of the Caliphs; 7. *Diwan Zimam al-Nafaqāt*, or Office of Expenditure; 8. *Diwan al-Barid*, or Office of the Posts; 9. *Diwan al-Rasāil*, or Office of Correspondence; 10. *Diwan al-Tauki*, or Office of the Imperial Seal, and of the registration of official documents. There were also offices for the despatch and reception of official documents, and for the inspection of weights and measures.

Administrative services.

Organization of the State.

Caliph.

We cannot better conclude this brief summary of the institutions of the Caliphate than by giving a sketch of the organization of the State, according to the Moslem authors themselves.

The supreme chief received the title of Caliph, or of Commander of the Faithful (Amir al-Mo'minin). He united in his own person all the powers of the State; his Ministers and all public functionaries acted only by virtue of a commission from him. They, like all other Moslems, were at the mercy of the Caliph, who had power of life and death over them. As spiritual chief, the Caliph was also the supreme judge in questions of dogma. In theory he held his powers by the free choice of the majority of Moslems; but, when he had once received their oath of allegiance, he became their absolute master. The first condition of eligibility to the Caliphate was to belong to the tribe of Korais. In Moslem belief, the subjects of the Caliph owed him obedience and aid so long as he should fulfil his duties with exactness. These consisted in maintaining the principles of religion, in administering justice scrupulously, in defending the territory and assuring its safety, in carrying on war for the subjugation of the infidels, and in spending the public revenue in conformity to the law. If the Caliph failed in the performance of his duty, rebellion against him became lawful.

The Ministers might be absolute or dependent. If dependent, they simply executed the orders of their sovereign. If absolute, they took his place, and exercised all the powers of a Caliph except that they could not, at least in theory, designate any successor to the reigning

Caliph. It was only to the Caliph himself that they were responsible for their actions.

The Prefects, when once appointed, whether by the Caliph or the Vizier, became so many petty sovereigns, and, legally, owed an account of their actions only to the Caliph, or to his Prime Minister, when the latter was absolute.

The Generals were appointed either by the Caliph or by the Vizier, or lastly by the Prefect, when only a local war was in question. They were sometimes invested with very extensive powers, such as those of concluding treaties of peace, of administering justice, and of dividing the booty. The General, in his turn, appointed the officers (*Nakibs*) and under-officers (*'Arifs*). It was a general order that infidels, before hostilities against them were opened, should be summoned to embrace the faith, or to submit by capitulation. The conversion of infidels was valid, even when effected sword in hand, on the field of battle, and the new convert became inviolable in person and property. On the other hand, every infidel taken prisoner was sold as a slave, with his wife and children. He might even be put to death. Apostates were never to be spared; they were put to death, and their property confiscated.

Justice was administered by Cadis, appointed either by the Caliph, by the Vizier, or by the Prefect. To be eligible as a Cadi (*Kadi*), it was requisite that a man should be—1. A male and of respectable age; 2. In full possession of his mental and physical faculties; 3. A free man; 4. A Moslem; 5. Of good moral character; 6. Acquainted with the principles of the law and their application. The duties of the Cadi were to examine into the disputes and lawsuits brought before him; to enforce the execution of his judgments; to name judicial councils for the administration of the goods of minors, madmen, etc.; to administer the mortmain property of mosques and schools (*wakf*, plural *wakāf*); to watch over the execution of wills; to inflict due legal penalties on those guilty of crimes or misdemeanours;<sup>1</sup> and to inspect the highways and public buildings. When any locality possessed no Imam, or public officiator at the mosque, it was the Cadi who performed this duty. The assistants of the Cadi were Notaries (*Shohad*), Secretaries (*Omanā*), and Deputies (*Nayibin*). If the Cadi died, his subordinates lost their offices *ipso facto*. On the other hand, the death of a Caliph did not nullify the powers of the Cadi; but it was necessary that he should be confirmed by the new sovereign.

The Court of Appeal (*Nazar al-Mazalim*) was instituted to take cognizance of those causes in which the parties concerned appealed from the judgment of the Cadi. The sittings of this court were presided over by the Caliph in person. It was established by the Omayyad 'Abd al-Melik. The last Caliph who sat in public to examine appeal cases was Mohtadi. After him a special judge was appointed to the function of president of the Court of Appeal.

Besides the Judges there were Inspectors (*Mohtasib*), charged with the police of the markets and the care of morals. The Mohtasib's duty was to take care that weights and measures were not falsified, and that buyers were not deceived as to the quality of the goods sold. He had the power of inflicting summary punishment on delinquents, but only in the case of flagrant offences. If the person charged denied the facts, he was to be brought before the Cadi. As regards morals, the Mohtasib took care that widows and divorced women should not remarry before the expiration of the legal period prescribed by the

<sup>1</sup> The principal offences were—apostasy, neglect of religious duties, refusal to pay taxes, theft, adultery, outrages, and murder. The penalties were imprisonment, fines, corporal punishment, and death.

Court of Appeal.