Koran. Slaves and beasts of burden were placed under his guardianship, and he protected them from ill-treatment on the part of their masters. The Moḥtasib was also commissioned to prevent public scandals, such as the sale of wine; to forbid Christians and Jews from building houses higher than those of the Faithful; and to enforce their wearing on their dress a distinctive mark (*Ghiyár*).

Besides the offices already described, there existed three others which require mention—those of the Marshals of the Nobility (*Niḳábat al-Ashráf*), of the Imáms, and of the Emírs of the Pilgrimage.

The Marshals of the Nobility were appointed in the different provinces either by the Caliph, by his representatives, or by the Grand Marshal. Their functions were to superintend the descendants of the family of the Prophet, who formed the nobility of Islam, and to keep a register of all the births and deaths which occurred in the families of the members of this nobility. In every province there were two Marshals, one for the family of ʿAlí, the other for the ʿAbbásids.

Imám.

The duty of the Imám was to recite the public prayers in the mosque. He was appointed by the Caliph or his representatives, and chose in his turn his *Mo'edhdhins*, who called the Faithful to prayer from the tops of the minarets. In the Friday prayers it was the duty of the Imám to invoke publicly the blessings of Heaven on the reigning Caliph.

Leader of the Hajj.

The leadership of the yearly pilgrimage to the temple of Mecca was considered a great honour. It was almost always the Caliph himself or one of his near relatives who assumed the function of Amír al-Ḥajj. The duties of this leader of the pilgrimage were—1. To escort the pilgrims in safety on their journeys to Mecca and back; 2. To direct the religious ceremonies during the sojourn of the pilgrims at the Holy City.

Such, briefly stated, was the organization of the Moslem State. Let us now say a few words on its religion.

Religion.

We need not now recur to the subject of the doctrines of Mohammed, which are treated of in their own place; but it is important to show what they became after the time of the Prophet, and what movements they aroused in Islam. The diversity of the conquered races was of itself sufficient to introduce, in the course of ages, serious modifications of the earlier religion.

But, from the very first, the Koran contained within itself the germs of discord. As long as men were content to adopt its teachings without discussion, orthodoxy might boast of maintaining itself unbroken. But as soon as they sought to examine deeply into its meaning, difficulties arose, which necessarily led the strongest minds into doubt and uncertainty. In particular, the conception of God, predestination, and free-will, as presented by the Koran, could not bear examination. As early as the first century of the Flight a theological school was founded at Baṣra, the most renowned master of which, Ḥasan al-Baṣrí, introduced the critical study of dogmas. His disciples, who were for the most part Persians, could not fail soon to discover that the Koran often contradicted itself, and especially that it left many dogmatic difficulties unresolved. One of the disciples of Ḥasan, Wáṣil b. ʿAṭá, set forth his scruples publicly, departing on three points from the orthodox doctrine The Koran affirms the attributes of God; Wáṣil b. ʿAṭá denied them; because, he says, if the attributes of God are eternal, they constitute in some sort so many deities. We ought not therefore to affirm the existence of an attribute—that of justice, for example—but simply to affirm that God is essentially just. The Koran admits the doctrine of predestination; Wáṣil rejected it, as incompatible with the theory of rewards and punishments in another life, which presumes absolute free-will in man. The Koran speaks only of paradise and hell; Wáṣil admitted a purgatory. The sect founded by Wáṣil received the name of Moʿtazilite (dissident), or Ḳadarite, that is to say, which recognizes in man a power (*Ḳadar*) over his own actions. Another sect, that of the Jabarites (Partisans of *constraint*) agreed with the Moʿtazilites on the question of the attributes, but were diametrically opposed to them on that of free-will. The Jabarites denied to man the slightest share in his own actions, and believed the very smallest actions of men to be the effect of predestination. The Koran, not concerning itself with the contradiction involved, admits at the same time the responsibility of man and the absolute predestination of his actions. The Jabarites rejected all responsibility, and believed that man is predestined from all eternity to paradise or to hell, for no other reason than that God has so willed it. A third sect, that of the Ṣifatites (Partisans of the *Attributes*), contended energetically against the two former. Keeping to the text of the sacred book, they alleged, for example, that when it is said in the Koran that God is *seated* on his throne, the expression must be taken literally. They thus fell into the grossest anthropomorphism, a doctrine which was very far from the ideas of Mohammed. In the face of these heterodox sects, the orthodox made but a poor figure. Rejecting, in their commentaries on the Koran, the explanations alike of the Moʿtazilites, of the Jabarites, and of the Ṣifatites, but acknowledging their inability to refute them systematically, they merely opposed to them a declaration that the Koran was neither to be explained allegorically nor always taken literally; and they concluded that, where two contradictory expressions could not be reconciled, a mystery must be admitted to exist, which it would be vain to attempt to fathom. But they did not always keep within the limits of discussion. Under the reign of ʿAbd al-Melik they succeeded in bringing about a persecution of the sectaries.

Moʿtazilites. Jabarites.

The Moʿtazilites, the Jabarites, and the Ṣifatites were dangerous only to the Church. Other sects arose, which put the State itself in peril. It will be remembered that, at the time of the dispute between ʿAlí and Moʿáwiya, twelve thousand of the partisans of the former deserted him. These revolters, or Khárijites, originated one of the most formidable sects which ever existed in Islam. The Khárijites rejected in principle the Caliphate and the Imámate. At all events, they did not acknowledge the exclusive right of the Ḳoraish to the Caliphate, but declared that, if it was absolutely necessary to elect a Caliph, his origin was of little consequence, provided he fulfilled his duties conscientiously and exactly. We have seen for what a length of time they kept the Omayyads in check. When they had been put down in Asia, they passed into Africa, and there made numerous proselytes among the Berbers, disposed as these were, by their independent character, to adopt with enthusiasm the principle of anarchy. The most terrible, however, of the militant sects which were formed in the bosom of Islam was that of the Shíʿites. Originally the Shíʿites were simply the partisans of ʿAlí and of his descendants. In the course of time, when the whole of Persia had adopted the cause of the family of ʿAlí, Shíʿism became the receptacle of all the religious ideas of the Persians, and Dualism, Gnosticism, and Manicheism, were to be seen reflected in it. Even in the lifetime of ʿAlí, a converted Jew, named ʿAbdalláh b. Sabá, had striven to introduce foreign elements into Islam. Thus, he alleged that ʿAlí was to be adored as an incarnation of the Deity. These ideas, though rejected with horror by ʿAlí himself, and by the greater part of the first Shíʿites, gradually made way; and all the direct descendants of ʿAlí became veritable deities in

Khárijites.

the eyes of their respective partisans. A further distinction between the Shíʿites and other sects is, that they introduced the practice of giving the Koran an allegorical interpretation. This system permitted them to see in the sacred book whatever meaning they chose, and was carried out at a later date, as we shall see, by the founder of the Ismailian sect.

Under the ʿAbbásids it seemed for a moment that the Shíʿite doctrines were about to triumph. We know, in fact, that the founder of that dynasty gave himself out as the heir of the house of ʿAlí. But reasons of State prevailed, and the ʿAbbásids, false to their first professions, on the whole supported orthodoxy. Under their reign were established the four orthodox sects — Málikite, Ḥanafite, Sháfiʿite, and Ḥanbalite, which even at this day divide between them the whole Moslem world. They are named after their founders—Málik, Abú Ḥanífa, Sháfiʿí, and Ibn Ḥanbal. These sects only differ from each other on a few points of civil and religious jurisprudence. They agree on questions of dogma. It was not, however, without difficulty that orthodoxy succeeded in obtaining the victory. Under Ma'mún and other Caliphs several doctors, as we have seen, were persecuted for believing that the Koran was the uncreated word of God. From the time of Motawakkil, however, orthodoxy regained the upper hand. Still, this reaction would not have lasted long, in face of the advance in science which marked the accession of Ma'mún to power, if the orthodox had had no other defensive weapons than material force and the assent of the majority. As philosophy made its way in Islam, thanks to the translations from Greek authors, which were made principally during the Caliphate of Ma'mún, it called forth in men's minds a movement of scientific curiosity which might have been fatal to orthodoxy. In the tenth century of our era a society of encyclopedists was formed at Baṣra, who, under the name of Ikhwán al-Ṣafá, or Brothers of Purity, put forth a number of very curious treatises, in which all sorts of physical and metaphysical questions were discussed and resolved in a scientific manner.[1] There is no doubt that these lucid and attractive writings would have led to a great religious revolution, if the orthodox had not understood the danger of their position, and applied themselves also to the study of philosophy, for the purpose of employing it in the service of the faith. It was thus that, towards the middle of the tenth century, a certain Abú 'l-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarí, a descendant of that Abú Músá al-Ashʿarí who had formerly acted the part of arbitrator in the dispute between Moʿáwiya and ʿAlí, struck out a system in which religion appeared to be reconciled with philosophy; a system which was naturally sure to attract all commonplace minds—that is to say, the greater number. Ashʿarism, or philosophic theology (Kalám), was adopted with enthusiasm by the triumphant orthodox doctors, and thenceforth pure philosophy and the heterodox sects ceased to extend their influence.[2]

The creation, however, of this philosophical theology had not done away with all dangers for orthodoxy. We have seen above that the Shíʿa were divided into several sects, each holding for one of the direct descendants of ʿAlí, and paying him the reverence due to a deity. One of these sects, called the Ismailian, because it acknowledged Ismáʿíl, the seventh Imám or Pontiff of the posterity of ʿAlí, as its chief, was the source of the greatest disorders in the Moslem empire, and was not far from being triumphant in Asia, as it was for a long time in Egypt. The Ismailians, like all the other Shíʿites, believed in the coming of a Messiah, whom they called the Mahdí, and who, according to them, was one day to appear on earth, in order to establish the reign of justice and equity, and to take vengeance on the oppressors of the family of ʿAlí. They also believed in a God of far more elevated character than the God of the Koran, one who was unapproachable by human reason, and who had created the universe, not directly, but by the intermediate action of a sublime being, the Universal Reason, produced by an act of God's will. The Universal Reason, in its turn, had produced the Universal Soul, which, on its part, had given birth to primitive Matter, to Space, and to Time. These five principles were the causes of the universe. Man, emanating from them, had a tendency to reascend towards his source. The chief end of his being was to attain to perfect union with the Universal Reason.[3] But, left to himself, man would have been powerless to attain this end. The Universal Reason and the Universal Soul therefore became incarnate among men, in order to guide them towards the light. These incarnations were no other than the prophets in all ages, and, in the last period, the Imáms of the posterity of ʿAlí. In the second half of the ninth century, a Persian, born in Susiana and named ʿAbdalláh b. Maimún al-Ḳaddáḥ, nourished the dream of destroying Islam, and thought these doctrines, suitably modified, likely to be highly useful in carrying out his purpose. He devised a system at once religious, philosophical, political, and social, in which, as he thought, all beliefs were to meet and mingle, but—and in this consisted its originality—a system so graduated to suit different degrees of intelligence, that the whole world should become one vast Masonic association. The chief of the Ismailians, the Imám Ismáʿíl, having died, ʿAbdalláh asserted that his son Mohammed b. Ismáʿíl was to succeed him as the founder of this new religion, which it was ʿAbdalláh's mission to announce to the world. Since the creation of the world, as ʿAbdalláh asserted, there had been six religious periods, each marked by an incarnation of the Universal Reason in the person of a prophet. Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed had been the prophets of these periods. Their mission had been to invite men to accept more and more perfect forms of religion. The seventh and last religion, and the most perfect of all, was that of Mohammed b. Ismáʿíl, the true Messiah. The Ismailians, as may be imagined, readily embraced the theories of ʿAbdalláh. In addressing other sects and religions, ʿAbdalláh used special arguments with each. With the philosophers he dwelt on the philosophical principles of his doctrine. The conversion of Christians, Moslems, or Jews, was a more difficult task. ʿAbdalláh had established several degrees of initiation, and it was only by slow degrees, and with the most minute precautions, that he gained a mastery over the mind of the future proselyte. His curiosity was first aroused by allegorical interpretations of the Old Testament, the Gospels, and the Koran, and by proposing to him religious problems which could not be solved by any of the existing religions. The solution of these problems was not to be given to him till he should have signed a compact, and sworn never to reveal the mysteries with which he was made acquainted. If he took this pledge, he thenceforward belonged, body and soul, to the sect; and woe to him if he made any attempt to withdraw himself from the authority of his chiefs! The compact signed, the newly-initiated disciple had to make a certain payment, which went to swell the treasury of the sect. The secret society

[1] The most important have been translated into German by Prof. Dieterici.

[2] See Houtsma, *De Strijd over het dogma in den Islâm tot op el-Ash'ari*; and Spitta, *Zur Geschichte Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Ašʿarî's.*

[3] It need hardly be said that all these doctrines were borrowed from Gnosticism and from Neo-Platonism. See on the Ismailian sect Guyard, *Fragments relatifs à la doctrine des Ismaéliens*, and *Un grand-maître des Assassins au temps de Saladin.*

founded by 'Abdalláh soon had a great number of members, and its missionaries spread themselves over the Moslem world. Towards 887 A.D. an Ismailian, Ḥamdán, surnamed Karmaṭ, founded the branch sect of the Carmathians, whose exploits have been recorded above. The Ismailian preachers also made numerous proselytes in Africa and in Egypt; and in A.D. 909, 'Obaid Alláh, a descendant of the founder of the sect, but who passed as a member of the family of 'Alí, founded the Fáṭimite dynasty. Under the Fáṭimite Caliph Ḥákim, a new religion sprang out of Ismailism, that of the Druses, so called from its inventor, a certain Darazí or Dorzí. This religion differs little from Ismailism, except that it introduces the dogma of the incarnation of God himself on earth, under the form of the Caliph Ḥákim. This heresy did not survive the reign of Ḥákim in Egypt. When the Fáṭimite Caliph Mostanṣir ascended the throne, he re-established the Ismailian belief; and the Druses, driven from Egypt, took refuge in the Lebanon, where they still exist. As for the Egyptian Ismailians, they disappeared at the time of the conquest of that province by the pious and orthodox Ayyúbite Saladin. This, however, was not a final deliverance of Islam from that formidable heresy. A hundred years before the return of Egypt to orthodoxy, a Persian named Ḥasan Ṣabbáḥ, who had been initiated into Ismailism at Cairo, in the household of the Caliph Mostanṣir, had founded at Alamút, on the southern shores of the Caspian Sea, that Persian branch of the Ismailians known to all the world under the name of the Assassins,[1] who held in check the most powerful princes of Islam, till they were destroyed by the Mongol invasion. From Persia, Ḥasan Ṣabbáḥ succeeded in filling Syria with his Assassins, and every one knows the part they played during the Crusades. The Assassins of Syria have never entirely disappeared. Even at this day some are to be found in the Lebanon. There are also some representatives of the sect in Persia, in India, and even in Zanzibar; but since the 13th century they have become completely inoffensive.

To conclude this sketch of the development of religious beliefs, it remains to say a few words on one of the most remarkable manifestations of Islam—its mysticism, or Ṣúfism. In principle, mysticism is rather a mode of practising religion than a distinct religion; it depends on the character of the believer's mind, and adapts itself to all dogmas.[2] It is the especial tendency of tender and dreamy spirits. Thus among the Moslems it is a woman who is considered to have founded mysticism. This woman, named Rabí'a, lived in the first century of the Hijra, and was buried at Jerusalem. Her doctrine was simply the theory of Divine love. She taught that God must be loved above all things, because he alone is worthy of love; and that everything here below must be sacrificed in the hope of one day attaining to union with God. These views were too similar to the Neo-Platonic ideas respecting the union of the human intellect with the Universal Reason not to have an attraction for the Gnostics, who abounded in the Shí'ite sects. Mysticism therefore made great progress in Persia, and assumed the character of a sect towards the year 200 of the Flight. A certain Abú Sa'íd b. Abí 'l-Khair was the first who advised his disciples to forsake the world and embrace a monastic life, in order to devote themselves exclusively to meditation and contemplation; a practice which may very probably have been borrowed from India. The disciples of Abú Sa'íd wore a garment of wool (*Ṣúf*), whence they received the name of Ṣúfís. Ṣúfism spread more and more in Persia, and was enthusiastically embraced by those who wished to give themselves up undisturbed to philosophical speculation. Thus, under the colour of Ṣúfism, opinions entirely subversive of the faith of Islam were professed. In its first form Ṣúfism was quite compatible with Moslem dogma. It was satisfied to profess a contempt for life, and an exclusive love of God, and to extol ascetic practices, as the fittest means of procuring those states of ecstasy during which the soul was supposed to contemplate the Supreme Being face to face. But by degrees, thanks to the adepts whom it drew from the ranks of heterodoxy, Ṣúfism departed from its original purpose, and entered on discussions respecting the Divine nature, which in some cases finally led to Pantheism. The principal argument of these Pantheistic Ṣúfís was that God being one, the creation must make a part of his being; since otherwise it would exist externally to him, and would form a principle distinct from him; which would be equivalent to looking on the universe as a deity opposed to God. In the reign of Moḳtadir, a Persian Ṣúfí named Ḥalláj, who taught publicly that every man is God, was tortured and put to death. After this the Ṣúfís showed more caution, and veiled their teachings under oratorical phrases. Moreover, it was not all the Ṣúfís who pushed logical results so far as to assert that man is God. They maintained that God is all, but not that all is God. Ṣúfism exists in Persia even in our own day.

The Hadíth.

Málik and the school of Medina.

It has been explained that, under the 'Abbásids, four orthodox sects were established, and that these sects differed among themselves principally with regard to jurisprudence. The law of Islam is one of its most original creations, and can only be compared in history with the development of Roman law. The laws laid down by Mohammed in the Koran might suffice for the Arabs as long as they were confined within the bounds of their peninsula. When their empire was extended beyond these limits, it was inevitable that this first code should become insufficient for their wants. As early as the time of the first four Caliphs it was necessary, in giving judgment on the new cases which presented themselves, to have recourse to analogy, and to draw inspiration from decisions given by Mohammed, but not recorded in the Koran. The first fountains, therefore, of law were, besides the sacred book, the traditions of Mohammed, or *Ḥadíth*, the collective body of which constitutes the *Sunna*, or custom. These traditions were for a long time preserved only in the memory of the companions of Mohammed, and of those to whom they had been orally communicated. But at the beginning of the second century of the Flight the need was felt of fixing tradition in writing; and it was at Medina that the first collection of them was made. It was due to the jurisconsult Málik b. Anas. He rejected from his collection with the greatest care all traditions which appeared doubtful, and only preserved about seventeen hundred, which he arranged in the order of their subjects. To this collection he gave the name of *Mowaṭṭa*, or Beaten Path.[3] After him came the celebrated Bokhárí, the compiler of the *Ṣaḥíḥ*,[4] in which he brought together about seven thousand traditions, carefully chosen. The *Ṣaḥíḥ* has continued to be the standard work on the subject of tradition.

The traditions did not always supply the means of deciding difficult causes. The first four Caliphs were often obliged to have recourse to their own judgment in the administration of justice. Their decisions (*'Áthár*) were also collected at Medina, and helped to swell the store of juridical matter.

[1] From *Hashíshín*, or eaters of *Ḥashísh*—that is, *Cannabis Indica*.
[2] See Guyard, "'Abd ar-Razzák et son traité de la prédestination et du libre arbitre," *Journ. asiat.*, Feb.-Mar. 1873; Dozy, *Het Islamisme*, 2d ed. 1880.
[3] Published at Tunis, in India, and at Cairo, A.H. 1280, with the commentary of Zarḳání.
[4] Krehl's edition (Leyden) is still unfinished. An edition, fully vocalised, in 8 vols., appeared at Búláḳ, A.H. 1296.

In 'Irák another school of law was formed, which is distinguished from that of Medina by a greater degree of independence. While the lawyers of Medina held strictly to the Koran, the traditions of the Prophet, and the 'Áthár, those of 'Irák admitted, in addition to these, the deductive or analogical method (*Ḳiyás*), according to which it was lawful to create precedents, provided there was no departure from the spirit of the sacred book, from the traditions of the Prophet, or from the corresponding decisions of the first four Caliphs. Ibn Abí Laila, who filled the office of judge in 'Irák under the caliphate of Manṣúr, was one of the first to apply this system. His renown, however, was eclipsed by that of his contemporary Abú Ḥanífa, who worked out a complete system of jurisprudence, with which his name has continued to be connected (Ḥanifite law). Fifty years after the death of Abú Ḥanífa, Sháfi'í, a pupil of Málik, appeared at Baghdád, and founded in his turn an intermediate system, in which he endeavoured to hold an equal balance between the purely traditional and the deductive methods. The fourth system reputed orthodox is that of Ibn Ḥanbal, a pupil of Sháfi'í. Ibn Ḥanbal strove above all things to bring back religious observances to their primitive purity. His doctrine was a kind of puritanism. As may be supposed, each of these systems has been subsequently developed and commented on in a multitude of works, even the names of which it is impossible to enumerate. In order, however, to give some idea of what a Moslem treatise on jurisprudence is, we shall point out the principal subjects contained in it. It treats successively—1. Of Purification (ablutions commanded by the law, purification of women, circumcision, etc.); 2. Of Prayer as commanded by the law; 3. Of Funerals; 4. Of Tithe and Almsgiving; 5. Of the legal Fast; 6. Of the Pilgrimage to Mecca; 7. Of Commercial and other transactions; 8. Of Inheritance; 9. Of Marriage and Divorce; 10. Of the Faith; 11. Of Crimes and Misdemeanours; 12. Of Justice; 13. Of the Imámate or spiritual power, and of the Caliphate or temporal power. It is thus a complete code, religious, civil, penal, and governmental, that Moslem treatises on jurisprudence set before us; a code which embraces and foresees all the circumstances both of public and private life.

Science and letters.

The development of science and literature runs parallel with the development of law. Before the time of Mohammed the Arabs had been distinguished only by a rare poetical talent. Islam was the signal for the springing up of all the sciences and of literature. While the study of the dogmas and ordinances of the Koran was producing theology and jurisprudence, the necessity of preserving the exact text of the sacred book, and of teaching the new converts the language of the Prophet, was giving birth to grammar and lexicography. The first school of grammar was established at Baṣra. The first attempts at grammar are generally attributed to a certain Abú 'l-Aswad al-Do'alí, who was tutor to the children of Ziyád, the brother of Mo'áwiya. According, however, to some authors, the honour of having discovered the first elements of grammar ought to be attributed to a Persian, named 'Abd al-Raḥmán b. Hormuz. Be this as it may, a foreign influence must be recognized at the very commencement of this science. The vowel marks, for instance, were imitated from those of the Syriac. The division of the parts of speech into nouns, verbs, and particles was indirectly borrowed from Greek grammar. Yet the Moslems, once in possession of the principles of grammar, knew how to develop and apply them in an admirable manner. A perfect galaxy of grammarians arose in the track of Abú 'l-Aswad; a rival school to that of Baṣra was established at Cufa, and grammar attained its highest degree of perfection under the first 'Abbásids; as is shown by the voluminous treatise of Síbawaihi, known under the name of *Kitáb*,[1] or the Book *par excellence*.

In lexicography, the Arabs were at first content to explain the rarer words of the Koran, of the traditions, and of the ancient poems; and to collect lists of terms applying to the same object, as the camel, the horse, the sword, etc. Thus small collections were formed, which served afterwards for the composition of dictionaries. The first dictionary properly so called, composed in Arabic, appears to have been the *Kitáb al-'Ain* of Khalíl b. Aḥmed al-Faráhidí, a contemporary of Hárún al-Rashíd. After him came Jauharí, whose *Ṣaḥáḥ* may still be consulted with profit. The celebrated Zamakhsharí composed a dictionary of metaphors under the title of *Asás al-Balágha*. Lastly, Tha'álibí, in the 11th century of our era, drew up his *Fiḳh al-Logha*,[2] a work specially devoted to synonyms. The accessory branches of philology gave occasion to some important works. The ancient poems and proverbs were collected and commented on. Thus Abú Tammám formed his Anthology, called Ḥamása (*q.v.*), and Maidání his collection of proverbs (*Kitáb amthál al-'Arab*).[3] The study of poetry, with special regard to its rhythm, led Khalíl b. Aḥmed, already mentioned as a grammarian and lexicographer, to the conception of prosody. He wrote the first treatise on that science, which served as a model to all subsequent writers on metre.[4] Pure literature remained confined to poetry. It was not that the Arabs were without any conception of the romance, the tale, or the novel. The adventures of Antar, the romances of Dhú 'l-Himma and of Sáif al-Yazan, the Thousand and one Nights, and various collections of stories and novels, such as the *Faraj ba'da 'l-Shidda* and the compilation of Biḳá'í, well known by the extracts which Kosegarten has given in his Chrestomathy;—all these show clearly that the Arabs were not devoid of imagination, at least if, as we believe, these tales and romances were not pure and simple imitations from the Persian. It must be acknowledged, however, that these few productions do not, any more than the *Maḳámát* of Hamadhání and of Ḥarírí, constitute a very important literature. The drama, the epic, the romance of character, were absolutely unknown to the Arabs. Poetry, on the other hand, an endowment of the ancient Arabs, continued to live and flourish as long as the Eastern Caliphate lasted. We may count poets by the hundred, eminent in every department of that art: in descriptive, erotic, martial, and philosophic poetry; in odes, in satires, etc. The great collection entitled *Kitáb al-Aghání*,[5] compiled by Iṣfahání, contains a choice of the finest poems, accompanied by very instructive notices of the poets, and of the circumstances under which they composed such and such pieces. Besides this, many Díwáns, or complete editions of the works of poets, have come down to us. They bear the celebrated names of Nábigha, of 'Antara, of Ṭarafa, of Zohair, of 'Alḳama, of Amraalḳais, of Shanfara, of Labíd, in the pre-Islamic period (see Mo'allaḳát); of Jarír, Akhṭal, and Farazdaḳ,[6] in the Omayyad period; and of Abú Nowás,[7] Abú 'l-'Atáhiya, Moslim,[8] Motanabbí (*q.v.*), and Abú 'l-'Alá,[9] in the period of the 'Abbásids. And this list contains only the most illustrious names.

[1] The first part of which has just been published by H. Derenbourg (Paris, 1882).
[2] Published by Roshaid Dahdah.
[3] Translated by Freytag (Bonn, 1838-43), with the Arabic text of the proverbs.
[4] See Freytag, *Arabische Verskunst*.
[5] Published at Búláḳ, A.H. 1285 (20 vols.) See also Kosegarten, *Ali Ispahanensis liber cantilenarum*, tom. i. Greifswald, 1840.
[6] See Caussin de Perceval in the *Journal asiatique*, 2d ser., vols. xiii. xiv.
[7] See Ahlwardt, *Die Weingedichte des Abu Nuwas* (Greifswald, 1861), and, for a Cairo edition, *Z. D. M. G.*, xxi. 674.
[8] Edited by De Goeje.
[9] See Rieu, *De Abul-Alæ vita et carminibus*, and Kremer in *Z. D. M. G.*, xxix., xxx., xxxi.

With the accession of the 'Abbásids to power, Moslem culture entered on a path fruitful in scientific progress. The second Caliph of that family, Manṣúr, was surrounded by Syrian Christians of great learning, and equally well acquainted with the Greek, Syriac, and Arabic languages, and took advantage of their abilities to have a number of foreign books translated into Arabic. Thanks to him, the writings of Aristotle, Ptolemy, and Euclid spread a taste for science among the Moslems. The Caliph Ma'mún was one of those who most encouraged translations from the Greek. In this way the Moslems became acquainted with the most important productions of the ancient world. Plato, the works of the Alexandrian school, those of Hippocrates, Dioscorides, and Galen, were familiar to them. Through the Persians many Indian writings also became accessible to them, such as the fables of Bidpai,[1] and certain treatises on astronomy and algebra. The study of philosophy in all its branches was at one time in fashion, and, to appreciate the success with which it was cultivated in Islam, we need only recall the great names of Al-Kindí, Al-Fárábí, Ibn Síná (Avicenna), Ibn Bájá (Avempace), and Ibn Roshd (Averroes), whose scientific teaching swayed the Middle Ages, and led to the revival of learning in the West.

In history and geography the Moslems distinguished themselves. The taste for history had been developed among them by the necessity of collecting all traditions relating to the Prophet, and by that of preserving their own genealogies. The study of geography was a result of their conquests. One of their most ancient historical productions was the biography of Mohammed, composed by Mohammed b. Isḥáḳ under the caliphate of Manṣúr. Wákidí, another author of the 8th century of our era, compiled a history of the first Moslem conquests. At a later period, Baládhorí wrote on the same subject his *Kitáb Fotúḥ al-Boldán*.[2] General history also soon became a subject of study, and, in the 9th century after Christ, Ibn Ḳotaiba compiled his *Kitáb al-Ma'árif*,[3] a treatise on universal history. In the 10th century two great historians flourished, Ṭabarí and Mas'údí, by the first of whom we have a very extensive chronicle,[4] and by the second a general history, entitled *Morúj al-Dhahab* (see MAS'ÚDÍ). After them came a perfect galaxy of well-known historians and biographers, such as Hamza of Iṣfahán, Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳá, Nowairí, Maḳrízí, Abú 'l-Fidá, Abú 'l-Faraj, Al-Makín, Ibn al-Athír, Soyúṭí, and Ibn Khaldún,[5] not to speak of many others who compiled local chronicles and histories, such as those of Mecca, Medina, Damascus, and Baghdád. As biographers, Nawawí and Ibn Khallikán[6] are celebrated. The history of physicians and philosophers, by Ibn Abí Osaibíya, deserves to be placed in the first rank, side by side with the history of religions and sects by Shahrastání.[7]

The Moslems were not less active in the study of geography. In the 9th century, Ya'ḳúbí wrote his *Kitáb al-Boldán*, or Book of Countries, in which he described the principal cities of the Moslem empire.[8] After him, Ibn Khordádhbeh composed his *Kitáb al-Masálik wal-Mamálik*, or Book of Roads and Provinces, in which his principal object is to point out the different routes, and to give an account of the revenues derived from every province.[9] His contemporary Ḳodáma soon after published his treatise on the work of clerks, in which, after a notice of the various government offices, he gives a description of the provinces of the empire with an account of the post-routes, their stages and distances, and of the revenues of each province. Aḥmed b. Abí Ya'ḳúb al-Ya'ḳúbí wrote a description of Asia Minor and Ifriḳiya. Several of the writings of the historian Mas'údí also afford highly valuable information on geography. To Yáḳút we owe a great geographical dictionary under the title of *Mo'jam al-Boldán*.[10] Lastly, Iṣṭakhrí, Ibn Ḥauḳal, Moḳaddasí, Bérúní, Bakrí, Zamakhsharí, Edrísí, and Abú 'l-Fidá have left us important treatises, narratives of travels, and geographical dictionaries.[11] Among the literature of voyages and travels we must also mention the curious *Chain of Histories* associated with the name of the merchant Solaimán and the narratives of Násiri Khosrú,[12] of Ibn Jobair,[13] and of IBN BATÚTA (*q.v.*).

Astronomy and cosmography.

The sciences connected with geography, such as astronomy and cosmography, were also cultivated by the Moslems. As early as the reign of Manṣúr, the Sanscrit treatise on astronomy entitled *Siddhanta* had been translated into Arabic. Under Ma'mún, two observatories were founded, one at Baghdád, the other at Damascus, and two degrees of the terrestrial meridian were measured by order of that Caliph. Al-Khárizmí, librarian to Ma'mún, composed his *Rasm al-Arḍ*, or configuration of the earth, in which the name of every place was accompanied by its latitude and longitude. Astronomical tables were drawn up by Yaḥya, Habash, Abú Ma'shar (Abumazar), and Al-Battání (Albategni). Treatises on astronomy were composed by Al-Farghání and Al-Kindí. Al-Battání, of whom we have just spoken, was the author of important works on the obliquity of the ecliptic and on the precession of the equinoxes. We may mention in the last place the curious writings of Dimashḳí and Ḳazwíní on general cosmography, embracing several physical sciences.[14]

Mathematics.

The study of mathematics was carried very far. The Moslems not only received arithmetic, geometry, trigonometry, and algebra from the Greeks and Hindus, but themselves gave a further development to those sciences. The works of Al-Khárizmí served as guides to those learned men in Europe who first turned their attention to algebra in the 16th century.

Physical science.

The sciences of physics and chemistry, on the other hand, remained in their infancy. In physical science we can only mention a few works on Optics. As for Music, its study was limited to the practical, and though we may name the important treatise of Al-Fárábí on the theory of Music—a treatise itself drawn entirely from Greek sources—we must acknowledge that Acoustics, properly so called, are not at all taken into consideration by him. Chemistry, considered as an exact science, continued unknown to the Moslems; yet they cultivated Alchemy with eagerness, in their search after the transmutation of metals, and Alchemy is the mother of Chemistry. Medicine, in the hands of the Arabs, remained such as they had borrowed it from the Greeks. As their religion forbade dissection, the Moslems were never able to rise above a rude empiricism. They contented themselves with adding to their

[1] Translated from the Arabic by Knatchbull.
[2] Edited by De Goeje (Leyden, 1866).
[3] Edited by Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1850).
[4] In course of publication at Leyden, edited by De Goeje, with the assistance of J. Barth, Th. Nöldeke, P. de Jong, E. Prym, H. Thorbecke, S. Frænkel, I. Guidi, D. H. Müller, M. Th. Houtsma, S. Guyard, and V. Rosen.
[5] Most of these have been published by Gottwaldt, Ahlwardt, Reiske, Pocock, Erpenius, Tornberg.
[6] The former has been edited by Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1842-47), the latter translated into English by Mac Guckin de Slane (Lond. 1843-71).
[7] Published by Cureton (Lond. 1842-46), and translated into German by Haarbrücker (Halle, 1850-51).
[8] Edited by A. W. Th. Juynboll and De Goeje (Leyden, 1860-61).
[9] Published and translated by Barbier de Meynard.
[10] Edited by Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866-70).
[11] Published, and some translated, by De Goeje, Sachau, Wüstenfeld, De Grave, Jaubert, Dozy, Amari and Schiaparelli, Reinaud, and De Slane. The last volume of Abú 'l-Fidá's Geography is now in the press.
[12] Published and translated by Schefer (Paris, 1881).
[13] Edited by W. Wright (Leyden, 1852).
[14] Published and translated by Mehren, Wüstenfeld, and Ethé.

own prescriptions, which they pretended to have received from the Prophet, those of the Greek physicians. The works of Avicenna prove this; and Ibn al-Baiṭár's treatise on the pharmacopœia also shows how small a part observation played in Arabian medicine.[1] Zoology, botany, and mineralogy made no greater progress; but they were at least among the subjects which attracted the attention of learned Moslems. The great treatise by Damírí, entitled *Ḥayát al-Ḥaiwán*, or *Life of Animals*, is of interest mainly from the legends it contains;[2] and the treatise on mineralogy by Taifashí interests us principally by the details it gives on the origin of precious stones and the art of cutting them. It would be unjust to conclude this sketch without adding that the Moslems possess also a great number of technical treatises on the art of war, on military engines, and the Greek fire, on falconry and hunting, and on certain industries, such as those of glass, pottery, and metals. They have also written on magic, on the interpretation of dreams, and on sleight of hand. These works have as yet been very little investigated. We shall no doubt find in them interesting revelations on the history of the industrial arts, and on the history of superstitions.

With an empire so vast as that of the Moslems, we may easily conceive how extensive their commerce and industry must have been. Commerce had at all times been held in honour by the Arabs. Long before the days of Mohammed, the Ḳoraish annually sent caravans, laden with all the products of Yemen, into Syria. Maritime commerce also was already flourishing in Chaldæa in the 5th century of our era. The city of Ḥíra was frequented by ships coming from the Red Sea, from India, and even from China. Obolla was the emporium for the merchandise of India. It was principally thither that teakwood was brought, which served for the construction of ships and houses. Thus the Arabs, when they conquered Chaldæa, found maritime commerce in full activity there, and took advantage of it. Under the 'Abbásids, Baṣra supplanted Ḥíra and Obolla, and became the principal port. The history of Sindibád (Sinbad the Sailor) shows how active foreign commerce was under the 'Abbásids, and with what courage the Arab sailors confronted danger. Moslem colonies were established all along the coasts of Persia and India, and Moslem voyagers did not fear to venture as far as the China Seas. On the West, the commercial movement was not less active. Caravans laden with the products of Spain left Tangier, traversed the whole of Northern Africa, and reached Syria, Arabia, and Mesopotamia. Others passed through Asia Minor, Armenia, Persia, Khorásán, and Turkestán, as far as the frontiers of China, while the route of others again was along the eastern coast of Africa, whence they brought back ivory and black slaves. Thus the silks of China, and the spices, camphor, steel, and precious woods of India, were poured into the empire, while the Moslems exported their glass, their dates, their cotton stuffs, their refined sugar, and their wrought tools, to those countries. The manufacture of glass was an industry of old standing among them. The glass of Syria was celebrated, and we know that flint-glass and enamels were also made at Baghdád. Dates were cultivated principally in the neighbourhood of Basra, and also in Persia and Khúzistán. Refined sugar also came from the coast of Persia. As regards steel, the manufacture of armour and weapons was the speciality of the people of 'Irák, of Baḥrain, of 'Oman, and of Yemen. The Syrians had the credit of forging excellent sword-blades. In Syria too were made mirrors of polished steel. The weaving of various stuffs formed an important branch of industry. The striped stuffs of Yemen, and the tissues of Baghdád, Herát, Tawwaj, and Fasá, enjoyed a high repute. Damascus was renowned for the silk fabrics which have taken their name from that city. The silks of Yemen, of Egypt, and of Cufa, had also a high reputation. Tunis produced gauze, and muslin figured with gold. Egypt manufactured brocade, Armenia supplied satin. The carpet manufacture under the Caliphs had already reached the excellence which it has maintained to our own days. At that time the carpets most valued came from Fársistán and Ṭabaristán. Jewellery and trinkets found numerous outlets, as may be supposed. This traffic was principally carried on in the East by the Jews.

We know that the religion of the Prophet forbade any representation of the human figure. This prohibition does not appear to have been long observed, for we find that the walls of palaces and of the houses of the rich were covered with paintings. There was a school of painting at Baṣra, and a historian gives us the names of two painters of high celebrity in their art—Ibn 'Azíz and Ḳoṣair.

The manufacture of paper was carried on very extensively, a fact which is easily explained when we think of the literary activity of the Moslems. The Arabs originally used parchment. For this, after the conquest of Egypt, they substituted papyrus, which was itself supplanted by paper, when the Arabs had opened communications with China. Paper mills were established in several of the provinces, and at Baghdád itself. Simultaneously with the appearance of this precious substance, the art of binding became one of the most flourishing industries, as did also the trades of the shoemaker, the saddler, and the dyer, etc. etc. Retail commerce, lastly, undertook the distribution of the products of agriculture and industry. In almost all the cities of the empire markets were held, where the fruiterer and grocer (*Baḳḳál*), the butcher (*Jazzár*), the armourer (*Saiḳal*), the bookseller (*Warráḳ*), and the druggist and perfumer (*'Aṭṭár*), offered their wares for sale.[3] (ST. G.)

PART III.—THE KORAN

THE Koran (Ḳo'rán) is the foundation of Islam. It is the sacred book of more than a hundred millions of men, some of them nations of immemorial civilization, by all whom it is regarded as the immediate word of God. And since the use of the Koran in public worship, in schools and otherwise, is much more extensive than, for example, the reading of the Bible in most Christian countries, it has been truly described as the most widely-read book in existence. This circumstance alone is sufficient to give it an urgent claim on our attention, whether it suit our taste and fall in with our religious and philosophical views or not. Besides, it is the work of Mohammed, and as such is fitted to afford a clue to the spiritual development of that most successful of all prophets and religious personalities. It must be owned that the first perusal leaves on a European an impression of chaotic confusion,—not that the book is so very extensive, for it is not quite so large as the New Testament. This impression can in some degree be modified only by the application of a critical analysis with the assistance of Arabian tradition.

To the faith of the Moslems, as has been said, the Koran is the word of God, and such also is the claim which the book itself advances. For except in sur. i.—which is

[1] The treatise has been translated into French by Dr. Leclerc.
[2] Printed at Búlák, A.H. 1292.
[3] For further information on Moslem civilization, see Kremer's important work, *Culturgeschichte des Orients unter den Chalifen*, Vienna, 1875-77.