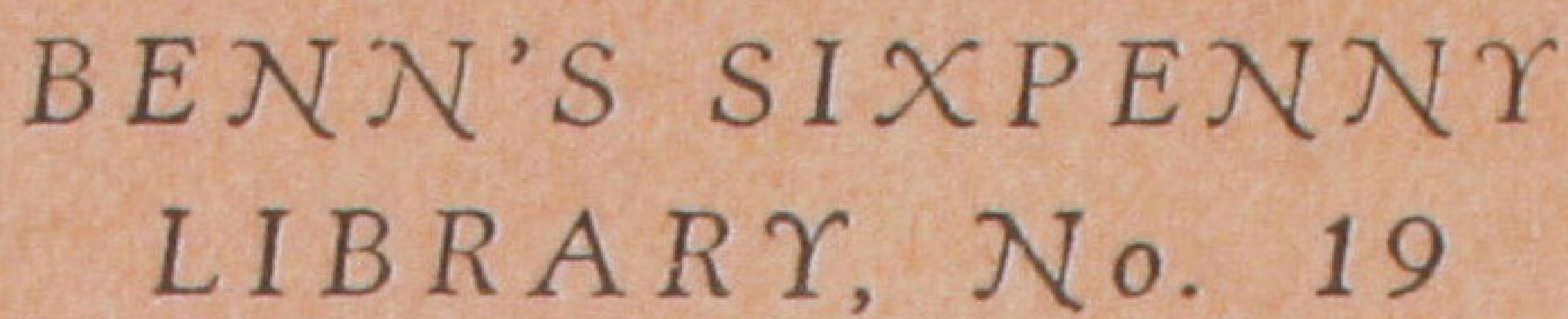

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The Arabic word *Islám,* which means "submission to the will of God," is employed to denote both the Muhammadan religion and the Muhammadan world. It is as if in English we only had one word to denote Christianity and Christendom. One who professes Islám is called a Muslim. The present sketch is concerned with the history of the Muhammadan world, and only incidentally with Islám as a religion; its object being to give a brief survey of the rise of the Arabian religion in the seventh century; of the conquests of the outer world by the newly converted Arabs; of the foundation of the Arab Caliphate, and of the subsequent establishment of non-Arab Islámic states.

In view of the limitations of space imposed, the narrative is devoted to the great conquerors who founded Islámic dynasties rather than to the detailed history of their kingdoms. In the case of existing Islámic states like Persia, Turkey, Morocco, and Afghanistan no attempt has been made to bring events down to modern times, seeing that such matters belong rather to the special history of these countries than to the story of Islám as a whole.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
	INTRODUCTORY NOTE	3
I.	MUHAMMAD AND HIS MISSION	5
II.	THE FIRST FOUR CALIPHS	10
III.	THE OMAYYAD CALIPHS	15
IV.	THE ABBÁSID CALIPHS	23
V.	THE DYNASTIES OF SPAIN, NORTH AFRICA, AND EGYPT	28
VI.	THE EASTERN PROVINCES AND THE RISE OF THE TURKS	39
VII.	THE KHWÁRAZM-SHÁHS—THE MONGOLS—THE IL-KHÁNIDS	48
VIII.	TAMERLANE—THE SAFAVIDS	55
IX.	THE DYNASTIES OF INDIA	59
X.	THE ATÁBEGS—THE MAMLÚKS—THE OTTOMAN TURKS—AFGHANISTAN	73
	NOTE	79
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	80

ISLÁM

CHAPTER I

MUHAMMAD AND HIS MISSION

THE map of Arabia offers few salient features, for it has no rivers and no high mountains and very few towns of importance, and so much of it is desert. Roughly speaking, it stretches in the north from the Gulf of Akaba to the Euphrates in the north-east. Three-fourths of its frontier is seaboard, its shores being washed by the Red Sea on the west, the Gulf of Aden on the south, and the Persian Gulf on the east.

At the beginning of the seventh century, Yemen and part of the Hadhramaut were in the possession of the Persians, while the Syrian frontier was ruled over by the Gassanids under the suzerainty of the Byzantine Emperor. The whole Peninsula was inhabited by Arabs, but the Hejaz contained large Jewish colonies which had been driven out of Palestine. The majority of the Arabs of Arabia were heathen, and believed in a supreme God called Allah, who had created and who ruled the world. He had no temples in his honour, and no priests to serve him. Next to Allah came the *jinns* (or spirits), who had fixed habitations in stones, trees, or statues. Each Arab tribe had its special *jinn* or *jinns*. Mekka was the principal religious centre of West Central Arabia, and possessed an old temple called the Ka'ba (or Cube), round which the tribe of Quraysh had built a city in the fifth century of our era. The Ka'ba did not belong to the Quraysh, but was the common pantheon of many tribes, and contained 360 idols. The most sacred object it con-

tained was the Black Stone, which is still venerated by the Muslims. Hence the importance of the city of Mekka and of the tribe of Quraysh, which had the guardianship of the Ka'ba.

At the beginning of the seventh century, when the religion of the Arabs was little more than a degraded fetishism, there suddenly appeared an Arab of the tribe of Quraysh named Muhammad, inspired with the idea of reducing the number of Arabian gods to one, and of compelling his fellow-countrymen to recognise his mission as divine. The new Prophet, being a townsman and a merchant whose business had taken him into foreign countries, had often had opportunities of meeting Jews, Christians, and Zoroastrians. Islám owed much of its success to the fact that so large a part of its doctrines were derived from these three great religions. The Prophet is instructed by God to say: "I am no apostle of new doctrines, and I do not know what will happen to me or to you. I follow naught, save what has been revealed to me. For I am only a public admonisher" (Qorán xlvi., 8).

Muhammad, the son of 'Abdalláh, the son of 'Abd-al-Muttalib, the son of Háshim, the son of 'Abd Manáf, is said to have been born in A.D. 571. Of his early life down to the age of forty we know very little. At the age of twenty-four he married Khadija, widow of a rich merchant, in whose service he had made caravan journeys into Syria and South Arabia. By this marriage Muhammad had six children, of whom we need only mention the youngest daughter Fátima. After the death of Khadija he married a young girl called 'Ayesha, the daughter of Abu Bakr.

About the year A.D. 610 Muhammad, who was given to solitary wanderings, one day had a dream, in which it seemed to him that someone said to him: "Recite in the name of thy Lord, who created man—and teaches man by the pen what he does not know." Muhammad was deeply impressed by this dream, which may be regarded as the beginning of his

mission. Thereafter he began to receive these dream messages with recurring frequency, and they were recorded or remembered by Muhammad as the Word of God delivered to him by the Angel Gabriel. Thus was created what came to be known as the Qorán, or "the reading," which was only brought together after the Prophet's death.

The whole of his own family, including his adopted sons 'Alí and Zayd, and many of his intimate friends immediately believed that Muhammad had received a divine mission. The most important of these friends was Abu Bakr, a wealthy merchant, who belonged to the tribe of Taym. The complete faith which this honourable man placed in Muhammad and his mission was not only an invaluable source of encouragement to Muhammad, but is a most important testimony to the genuineness of the Prophet's mission.

In all, the first band of the Faithful are said to have numbered forty-three persons. Among these were several slaves, and mention may be made of an Ethiopian named Bilál, who, by reason of his loud voice, became the first *Muezzin* to call to prayer in Islám. The whole Muslim Confession of Faith is contained in the words: *"There is no Deity but Allah, and Muhammad is the Prophet of Allah."*

The public feeling against the new religion often took an active form, and the Muslims were mocked and persecuted. Indeed, they were soon obliged to hold their meetings in a private house. But the turning-point in these first years of the mission was the conversion of 'Omar, the son of Khattáb, who had hitherto been one of the strongest opponents of Islám. This young man of twenty-six already commanded so much respect among his townsmen for his bravery and decision of character that from the day of his acceptance of Islám the Faithful were able to perform their prayers in public. The importance of the rôle played by 'Omar in the history of Islám cannot be overrated. It was he who spurred the Prophet on to action, and

encouraged him to undertake the conversion of all Arabia; and to resort to force of arms where peaceful methods failed. It was 'Omar, moreover, who initiated the invasion and conquest of the outer world by the Arabs.

Towards the end of A.D. 619 two great misfortunes befell the Prophet. Within a few weeks he lost first his faithful Khadija, to whom he had been married for twenty-four years, and then his uncle and staunch defender Abu Tálib, who enjoyed such respect in Mekka that no one dared to attack his nephew. On the death of Abu Tálib, however, Muhammad's position in Mekka became one of such grave danger that he was, we are told, afraid to leave his own house. He was peremptorily ordered to give up his public preaching, and to cease from attacking the idolatry of his compatriots. In the meantime, however, during the annual pilgrimage which brought Arabs from far and near to Mekka, he had succeeded in converting a number of pilgrims to the New Faith, and notably some inhabitants of the town of Yathrib (afterwards called al-Medína, or The Town). With them he formed a secret alliance in A.D. 620; but no sooner was it noised abroad that he had thus betrayed his own home and his tribe, than further residence in Mekka became impossible for him. He, therefore, resolved to migrate to Yathrib and seek the protection of its inhabitants; but the number of converts he had succeeded in making during the pilgrimage was not sufficient to guarantee the support of the whole tribe. In A.D. 622 a secret meeting was held during the last days of the pilgrimage between the Muslims of Mekka and the envoys from Yathrib; as a result of which the former migrated to the latter city, where they were received with open arms by the local converts. It is from this event—known as the *Hijra, i.e.,* the Migration or Flight of the Prophet—that the Muhammadan era dates.

The Muslim year is lunar, and thus their months

and festivals occur at constantly shifting periods, according to the solar year. It is useful to remember that the Hijra year A.D. 700 corresponds to the Christian year A.D. 1300. The companions of the Flight were known as the Muhájirín; the Muslims of Yathrib as the Ansár or Helpers.

Space will not permit of our entering into the details of the years of constant warfare in which the Prophet was engaged during the remaining ten years of his life. He himself is reported to have said: "All the cities and towns which are conquered were taken by force. Medína alone was conquered by the Qorán."

The outstanding battles were those of Badr (January, 624) and of Ohod (January, 625). The resort to arms for the fulfilling of his mission was forced on Muhammad from the moment that he was compelled to flee with his slender following from his native town: and thus the reforming religion was given at the outset a militant character, which it retained so long as there were countries too weak to withstand the arms and prestige of Islám. The national weapon of the Arabs was the sword, used either on horseback or on foot. The lance had been imported from India and enjoyed a secondary popularity to the sword. Arabia was famous for its bows and arrows, but the early Arabs rather despised these long-range weapons just as to-day they dislike the rifle. During the ten years of life that remained to him after the flight to Medína, he took part in no less than twenty-seven battles and organised forty-seven expeditions.

When, in A.D. 632, Muhammad died, practically all the Arabs had been compelled to accept Islám; but there were many backsliders, and even some rivals who at once seized the opportunity offered to rebel; and it took the famous General Khálid ibn Walíd and others many months to quell these disturbances; and fierce battles were fought, in which many leading Muslims perished, notably at Yamáma (in A.D. 633). Within a year of the Prophet's death, however, Islám

was finally established amongst all the Arabs of the Peninsula.

It was a collision of the Muslims with the Arab tribes on the northern border that ultimately led to conflict with the Byzantines and the Persians. Both these powers were in a state which rendered them ill-fitted to cope with a new enemy. The Emperor Heraclius, who had just gained a victory over the Persians after an exhausting struggle, had many troubles to deal with at home and in the north of the shrunken Eastern Empire; whilst the Persian Empire of the Sásánians was in a state of disruption.

CHAPTER II

THE FIRST FOUR CALIPHS

It will be seen from what precedes that Muhammad the Prophet had, by the time of his death, become the uncrowned King of Arabia. To what extent Muhammad himself realised that he had founded a secular state which required governing, and not merely a religion which required a pontiff, it is difficult to judge. However this may be, he left no instructions regarding a successor, and on his death in A.D. 632 the Faithful found themselves in an awkward predicament. After much discussion Muhammad's old and faithful friend Abu Bakr was chosen as the first Caliph—*i.e., Khalífa,* or successor to the Prophet of God.

During Abu Bakr's reign of two years the organised invasion of the neighbouring lands was initiated, a policy which did more to consolidate Islám among the Arabs than all the internal wars; for not only did it provide occupation for a restless congeries of men experienced in warfare, with the prospect of limitless

booty, but also added to the prestige of the new religion.

On the death of Abu Bakr, 'Omar succeeded to the Caliphate without opposition, and to his ten years at the head of Islám belong most of the great early conquests. He seems to have realised that the consolidation of the Arabs as a national unity was essential to their success in this far-flung adventure, and used a restraining hand when he felt that the Arabian armies were progressing too rapidly. The invading troops might secure and divide loot to their hearts' content, but they were forbidden to acquire landed property. The conquered were given the choice of embracing Islám or of paying a poll-tax called *jizia.* All land was either made state property or was restored to the old owners, subject to a perpetual tribute which provided pay for the army.

The outstanding general in these days was Khálid, the son of Walíd, who became known as "the Sword of Allah," and was sent first against the Persians and then against the Romans. The earliest triumphs were the battle of the Chains, which opened the road to Persia, and the battle of the Yarmuk (Hieromax River), which caused Heraclius finally to abandon Syria (636). At the end of A.D. 637 was fought the great battle of Qádisiya, in which the Persians were so completely defeated that they abandoned all their western possessions, and withdrew to Persia proper, and the Muslims became masters of Iráq, including the Persian capital of Ctesiphon on the Tigris.

Already in A.D. 635 Damascus had fallen, and 'Omar now established two new cities of Basra and Kúfa, which, peopled with Arab immigrants, were destined to play such an important part in the early history of the Caliphate, becoming the centres both of revolution and of learning. Medína remained the capital of the Islámic state, and into the city poured the incalculable wealth derived from the *jizia* and the taxation of newly conquered lands.

Arabia was, however, rapidly beginning to lose its importance in the new Islámic state, and the need for some new administrative centre was clearly indicated, from which the expeditions eastwards and westwards could be controlled, though Mekka, of course, remained the unchallenged religious centre of Islám. The incursions into the Roman Empire were brought to a temporary end by the conquest of Syria; but the victory of Qádisiya was only the beginning of the Persian Campaign, and hostilities continued between the Muslim armies and those of the Chosroes until A.D. 641, when in the great battle of Nihávand the Persians, after a most stubborn resistance, were finally crushed, and the last Sásánian king, Yezdijerd III., fled from the field—only to perish miserably in a remote corner of his realm after ten years spent in hiding.

The Muslims were now undisputed masters of Syria and Persia, including Mesopotamia and Iráq. The population they had thus subdued were either Christians or Zoroastrians; and as soon as a town or district succumbed, the choice lay with the inhabitants either to accept Islám or to retain their old religion and pay the *jizia* or poll-tax.

Towards the end of the year A.D. 639 an army of some four thousand men, under the command of 'Amr ibn al-'Asi, was sent against Egypt, which was conquered from the Romans with comparative ease in less than two years; and 'Amr was appointed the first Muslim governor of this new province.

The debt of Islám to 'Omar cannot be overestimated. He had precisely the qualities which were needed at this critical stage: great administrative abilities, a powerful personality, and a strong will. He met his death at the hand of a Persian workman in A.D. 644, and was succeeded in the Caliphate by another of the Prophet's sons-in-law, 'Othman, who belonged to the tribe of Quraysh and the family of Omayya. He was nearly seventy years of age when he assumed this

office, for which, even by temperament, he was quite unfitted.

The armies of Islám continued, indeed, in their progress eastwards and westwards, notwithstanding many disasters, and in North Africa Tripoli was reached. In A.D. 649 the Muslims won their first naval victory by the capture of Cyprus. Basra and Kúfa, which had rapidly grown into large cities, were a constant source of trouble to the Caliph, for—as one governor reported—"Noble birth passed for nothing; and the Bedouins were altogether out of hand." In Medína and Mekka things fared badly, owing to 'Othman's policy of reserving all posts and emoluments for the Omayyads, which gave offence to all those other Mekkans who had helped the Prophet in the early days—notably the Háshimite family.

'Othman was powerless to resist the opposition that their men now offered, and was finally besieged and killed in his own house, after a reign of twelve years, in A.D. 656.

The revolutionaries now set up as Caliph, 'Alí, the cousin and son-in-law of the Prophet, who—unlike his predecessors—did not command general allegiance. Many leading Mekkans were opposed to his appointment, including 'Ayesha, the Prophet's widow, who, with others, fled to Basra, and there raised the standard of revolt. This revolt he quelled without much difficulty, but more serious trouble was awaiting 'Alí in Syria, where Mu'áwiya, the Omayyad governor appointed by 'Othman, had made himself practically independent on the death of that Caliph. 'Alí tried to depose this powerful governor, but received only a haughty reply; and his authority was ignored throughout Syria. An open conflict was now inevitable; and 'Alí, for political motives, transferred the seat of his government to Kúfa; and shortly after began to collect an army with which to attack Syria. The fateful field of Siffin, south-east of Aleppo, witnessed a series of inconclusive battles, which continued for two months,

and were brought to an end by a deed of arbitration on the basis of the Qorán, for which an umpire was chosen from each side, one of them being 'Amr, the conqueror of Egypt. The two umpires arrived at a decision which left matters very much as they were before, and though the rival claimants had withdrawn their troops, further hostilities were inevitable.

'Alí's reign was one long series of troubles and disasters; and so broken was his spirit that he again came to terms with Mu'áwiya, and each agreed to respect the territories of the other. This state of affairs naturally troubled the minds of many Muslims, more especially amongst the so-called Khárijites, a body of ultra-theocratic republicans who maintained that the best man possible should always be chosen—even if he were a negro.

In A.D. 661 three men of the Khárijite party formed a resolution to rid Islám of the three men who were mainly responsible for the existing situation—namely, 'Alí, Mu'áwiya, and 'Amr, who had been so unfair an umpire, and was a likely claimant to the Caliphate. On a given Friday each of the three conspirators was respectively to strike down his man, in the mosques of Kúfa, Damascus, and Fostat (old Cairo). 'Alí was mortally wounded; Mu'áwiya recovered from his wounds; and 'Amr escaped only because indisposition prevented his attending prayers that day.

'Alí, by his wife Fátima, the Prophet's daughter, had two sons: Hasan and Husayn. On his father's death Hasan, the elder, was at once proclaimed Caliph by the people of Kúfa. Hasan, who does not appear to have inherited any of the qualities of his father or grandfather, at the end of six months withdrew from Kúfa to Medína; and the commander he left in charge of his army, having no one to fight for, laid down his arms and paid homage to Mu'áwiya.

CHAPTER III

THE OMAYYAD CALIPHS

Mu'áwiya, on the death of 'Othman in 656, had, as we have seen, become independent ruler of the West, and on the abdication of Hasan, in 661, he became undisputed Caliph of all Islám, and was called the Commander of the Faithful. His dynasty is so called after his great-grandfather Omayya, who was grandson of 'Abd-Menáf, and, consequently, a cousin of 'Abd al-Muttalib, the grandfather of the Prophet.

During this reign the Muslims gained absolute sway over all the countries between the Oxus, the Indus, and the Persian Gulf, while in Northern Africa they made rapid progress under the leadership of Okba, who, in A.D. 670, founded the settlement of Kairowán in Southern Tunisia, and fortified it strongly against the Berbers. He was, however, driven out of the new city a few years later by a combined Roman and Berber army.

In this same year, A.D. 670, the first expedition was sent against Constantinople, without achieving any tangible results; and further vain attempts on the Byzantine capital were made almost yearly.

After a prosperous reign of nineteen years Mu'áwiya died, and from his death-bed sent final recommendations to his son Yezíd, warning him that the chief rivals he had to fear were 'Abdulláh ibn Zobayr and Husayn, the son of the Caliph 'Alí. Both these men were at the time in Mekka, and both, no doubt, aspired to the Caliphate. On the death of Mu'áwiya, Husayn was at once invited to Kúfa, whose inhabitants promised him their support, and he, in spite of the warnings of the Mekkans, accepted, and set out together with his family for that city. On his way he learned that his cousin Muslim, who had been sent in

advance, had been put to death by Yezíd's orders. It was too late for him to turn back, and being met at Kerbela with orders to retire, he there pitched his camp, having with him less than one hundred and fifty men. And now followed the tragedy which to this day on every 10th of Muharram stirs the hearts of all good Muslims, and forms the subject of that heart-rending Passion Play, which is performed with ever-fresh exaltation and even self-inflicted violence where-ever there is a Shi'a community. The little band, comprising nearly all those in whose veins the blood of the Prophet flowed, fought on till there was not a man left alive. Husayn, felled by an arrow, was trampled to death by the cavalry, and his head, together with seventy other heads, was thrown at the feet of the governor who had been responsible for the tragedy. Two sons and two daughters of Husayn who had escaped the carnage were afterwards kindly received by Yezíd, who, in a moment fatal for his house and later for the house of 'Abbás, sent them to Medína.

The Shi'a Movement, the claim of 'Alí's family to rule over Islám, thanks to the tragedy of Kerbela and the return to Medína of Husayn's children, now became a living reality, and has ever since split the Muslim world into two irreconcilable factions—the Sunni and the Shi'a.

Originally the Shi'a Movement was purely a political one in favour of 'Alí and his descendants (the name being a contraction of *Shi 'at 'Alí*, or the Party of 'Alí); but its adherents soon began to formulate theories and beliefs which had nothing to do with the succession and very little to do with orthodox Islám. An allegorical interpretation was given to the Qorán. One of the most important features of their teaching was the belief in the "coming" of a promised Mahdí, or Messiah, who would one day appear on earth in order to establish the reign of justice and equity, and to take vengeance on the oppressors of the family of 'Alí. The

first three Caliphs are regarded as usurpers and duly cursed by good Shi'as, while no execrations are bad enough for Yezíd.

The most important sects which grew out of Shi'ism were the Isma'ilis, or "Seveners," who recognised in Isma'il, seventh in descent from 'Alí, their last Pontiff, or Imám, and looked to the ultimate coming of his son Muhammad as the promised Mahdí. Another sect of Shi'as, called the "Twelvers," believe that there have been twelve Imáms of the house of 'Alí, of whom the last, also called Muhammad, is said to have disappeared under mysterious circumstances. The religion of the "Twelvers" is to-day the state religion of Persia, each occupant of the throne being the *locum tenens* pending the reappearance of the hidden Imám.

In Africa the armies, during the reign of 'Abd al-Malik, met with many reverses, but in A.D. 693 the largest force yet despatched to Africa was sent under the command of Hasan ibn Nu'mán, who marched from Kairowán to Carthage. In the neighbourhood of Constantine he was for five years held in check by a woman known as *Káhina,* or "the Priestess," who took command of the Berbers. Ultimately Káhina was slain, and her sons, with their army, accepted Islám, a course their mother had herself recommended to them. The opposition of the Berbers was now finally broken (A.D. 703). The important part played by the Berbers in the history of Islám should not be forgotten. It was they who won the first battle in Spain under Tárik; it was they who upheld Islám in Spain and in North Africa, and, finally, it was they who won Egypt for the Fátimids.

The arms of Islám had meanwhile taken a new direction to the south-east, under command of Muhammad ibn Qásim, who, crossing the Indus, marched through Sind, and took the rich city of Multan, which yielded untold treasure to the Muslims (A.D. 711). It is unlikely that at this juncture further invasion into India was feasible, and this first adventure ended with the recall

of Muhammad ibn Qásim, owing to the death of the Caliph al-Walíd.

'Abd al-Malik died in A.D. 705 after a reign of twenty-one years. He was, on the whole, a successful ruler. He had continually three large expeditions in the field, constant revolts in Iráq, and an administration to establish or reform. It was he who first established a national mint, the Muslims having hitherto been content to use Persian or Roman coinage.

'Abd al-Malik was succeeded by al-Walíd (one of four sons, who all succeeded to the Caliphate in turn). During the ten years of al-Walíd's reign Islám reached its farthest limits in the West, and almost its farthest limits of conquest in the East. His reign also saw the beginning of the Abbásid Movement, which, within a few years of his death, was to bring the house of Omayya to an end.

In Africa the victorious Muslims, having extended their conquests as far as Fez, Tangier, and Ceuta, were already beginning to cast covetous eyes on Spain.

An opportunity offered when, in the year A.D. 709, the son of the Gothic King of Spain invited the aid of the Arabs in the recovery of his father's throne, which had been usurped by Roderick. This invitation was sent through a certain Count Julian, a Greek who, as governor of Tangier, had submitted to the Muslims, and was now in command of Ceuta. The Embassy was sent to Tárik, the new Muslim Governor of Tangier, who, in turn, sent it on to Musa ibn Nusayr at Kairowán, who then obtained the permission of the Caliph Walíd to send an expedition into Spain. These details are significant as illustrating the organisation that already existed in the Islámic State. In 710 a party of five hundred Berbers was sent to reconnoitre the country, and in the following year Tárik and Count Julian landed at Gibraltar, which name is a corruption of Jebel Tárik, or Tárik's Hill. Tárik's progress was so rapid—Malaga, Granada, Cordova, and Toledo all in turn submitted to his arms—that in 712 Musa be-

came either jealous or apprehensive, and himself set out for the Spanish mainland at the head of a large force, including many Arabs. His progress was not quite so rapid as that of his lieutenant. He took Seville, and on reaching Salamanca ordered Tárik to join him, and shortly after, Roderick being killed, Musa entered Toledo in triumph and proclaimed the Caliph of Damascus sole ruler of the Peninsula. In A.D. 714, being recalled by the Caliph, he returned to Damascus, leaving his son 'Abd ul-'Azíz as Governor, with Seville as his headquarters. But ere he reached Damascus Walíd had died, and his brother Sulayman reigned in his stead.

We must now look again to the East, where the remarkable progress begun under 'Abd al-Malik had been steadily continued. The appointment of Qutayba ibn Muslim in A.D. 704 marks, however, a new epoch; for though the Arabs had now been for many years masters of Khurásán, with Merv as the capital, their hold on the country beyond the Oxus was but slight. It was Qutayba who first brought the country lying between the Oxus and the Jaxartes under the rule of the Caliph. Adding to his Arab troops thousands of the local inhabitants whom he invited to join in the Holy War, he set out on a triumphant career of conquest, and in the course of a few years had conquered Bukhárá, Samarqand, Khwárazm (Khiva), Farghána, and Tashkent as far as the mountains which separate Russian from Chinese Turkestan.

The outstanding event of the Caliph Sulayman's reign was his great attack on Constantinople by land and by sea, the second effort of the Muslims to win this coveted prize. The siege continued for three years, and was repelled mainly owing to the use of "Greek fire," which was employed with equal effect by sea and land, in battles or in sieges. The importance of the failure of the Muslims to take Constantinople cannot be over-estimated. It was the Byzantine Emperors who made it impossible for the Arabs to

sweep over Europe as they had swept over Syria and Egypt. Many centuries later it was again the Emperors of Constantinople who saved Europe from the Seljuqs. Professor Bury has well said that "if the Eastern Empire had not been mortally wounded and reduced to the dimensions of a petty state by the greed and brutality of the Western brigands who called themselves Crusaders, it is possible that the Turks might never have gained a footing in Europe." During the siege the Caliph Sulayman died, presumably from over-eating, and was succeeded by Walíd's grandson, 'Omar II., who, after an equally brief reign, was succeeded by another of 'Abd al-Malik's sons, Yazíd II. In A.D. 724 the fourth son, Hishám, came to the throne of the Omayyads. He was the last distinguished ruler of his house. He reigned for nineteen years (A.D. 724-743), and it was while he held his high office in Damascus that the Muslim armies came within an ace of making themselves masters of France.

In A.D. 720 the governor appointed over Spain by 'Omar II. crossed the Pyrenees and took possession of Narbonne: but at Toulouse he was defeated and killed; and the attention of the Muslims in Spain was now turned to avenging this defeat. The Pyrenees were again crossed, and Carcassonne, Nîmes, and Autun were taken. The main body of the Muslim forces was composed of Berbers, to whom the Arabs owed their initial successes in Spain. These men were, however, treated as inferiors by the proud Arabs, and one of their chiefs, resenting this, made an alliance with Odo, King of Aquitaine. A veteran warrior, 'Abdur-Rahmán, was thereupon despatched with an enormous force and overran the land as far as Poitiers, having penetrated into Gascony by the Valley of Roncevalles: his detachments overspread the Kingdom of Burgundy as far as Lyons and Besançon.

On the possibilities involved by this invasion of France, I cannot do better than quote from the pages of Gibbon: "A victorious line of march had been pro-

longed above a thousand miles from the Rock of Gibraltar to the banks of the Loire; the repetition of an equal space would have carried the Saracens to the confines of Poland and the Highlands of Scotland: the Rhine is not more impassable than the Nile or Euphrates, and the Arabian fleet might have sailed without a naval combat into the mouth of the Thames. Perhaps the interpretation of the Qorán would now be taught in the schools of Oxford, and her pulpits might demonstrate to a circumcised people the sanctity and true revelation of Mahomet. From such calamities was Christendom delivered by the genius and fortune of one man."

In October, A.D. 732, Charles Martel, the illegitimate son of King Pepin of Burgundy, collecting his forces, sought and found the enemy in the midst of France between Tours and Poitiers. The battle was hotly contested, but at last the invaders were driven back, leaving 'Abdur-Rahmán dead on the field. So hasty was the retreat of the Muslim forces that on the following day every man of them had disappeared. Though this battle really decided the fate of France, the attack was twice renewed by the Muslims under Okba, the son of Hajjáj, but each was in turn repelled. Hishám died A.D. 743, and with him ended the glory of the Omayyads.

Meanwhile events were passing in Khurásán, which, within seven years of Hishám's death, were to bring about the downfall of his house.

In the reign of Hishám, Muhammad, the great-grandson of the Prophet's uncle 'Abbás, who was living in retreat in the south of Palestine, began to advance his claims to the Caliphate and to direct Shi'a propaganda. This Muhammad, whose two sons became the first two Abbásid Caliphs, devoted his attention primarily to Khurásán, where his missionaries were instructed to undermine the authority of the Omayyads by abusing their misrule and by holding out promises of a Saviour from the house of the

Prophet who would restore Islám to its original purity. In the year A.D. 743 he purchased a young slave, aged twenty, named Abu Muslim, who should act as his confidential agent in Khurásán. And so successful were he and his assistants that in A.D. 747 Ibráhím, son of Muhammad the Abbásid pretender, determined to raise the black banner in Khurásán without further delay. They chose black as their colour in contra-distinction to the white banner of the Omayyads.

The Shi'ites were induced to make common cause with the pretender on the plea that the only object of the movement was to secure the Caliphate for a member of the Prophet's own family, while the Khárijites were only too glad to give expression to their disapproval of Omayyad misrule. Nasr ibn Sayyár, who had governed Khurásán loyally for the past ten years, being unable to cope with this menacing situation, implored the Caliph to send reinforcements; and since no such help was forthcoming he deemed the struggle useless, and retired from Merv to Nishapur with such troops as remained faithful to him, only to be pursued and defeated by Qahtaba, the famous general, under Abu Muslim. The Omayyad Caliph at last awoke to the gravity of the situation and sent a large Syrian army against Qahtaba, but it was too late, and after a series of victories the Abbásid troops entered Kúfa, where the head of the house, Abu'l-'Abbás, was brought from seclusion as the promised Mahdí. The last of the Omayyads of Damascus fled to Egypt, where he was captured and slain, A.D. 750.

CHAPTER IV

THE ABBÁSID CALIPHS

The first measure of Abu'l-'Abbás was to exterminate every member of the house of Omayya. From this terrible slaughter there escaped one grandson of the Caliph Hishám named 'Abd-ur-Rahmán, who fled eventually to Spain, where he founded the Omayyad Dynasty in that country. (See below, p. 29.)

The reign of Abu'l-'Abbás lasted less than five years, during which risings took place in every quarter of the Empire, except in Khurásán where Abu Muslim wielded unlimited power.

On the death of Abu'l-'Abbás in A.D. 754 his brother, al-Mansúr became Caliph, and one of his first acts was the murder of Abu Muslim, who had really been the main cause of the rise to power of the new dynasty, but was feared on account of his prestige in Khurásán; and it was only by bribery that Abu Muslim's officers were kept from rising in revenge for their master's cruel death.

Al-Mansúr now turned his attention to the building of his new capital, and we may take the completion of Baghdad in A.D. 766 as the beginning of a new era in Islám. For with the advent of the Abbásids and the transfer of the Court to Iráq a totally new influence came into operation. The Abbásids owed their rise to power to the support of the Persians of Khurásán, and everything Persian now became the fashion, and the Caliphs aspired to emulate the magnificence and luxury of the old kings of Irán. The Court even adopted Persian dress.

The ten years' reign of al-Mahdí, who assumed the Caliphate on the death of his father, al-Mansúr, in A.D. 775, was singularly free from battle or murder in comparison with the reigns of those who preceded him. This Caliph had two sons, both of whom suc-

ceeded him; the elder, al-Hádí, only survived his father by one year, and in A.D. 786, Hárún al-Rashíd, the most famous though not the greatest of the Caliphs of Baghdad, came to the throne.

Allusion must also be made to a rising in Medína in favour of a descendent of 'Alí, who was proclaimed Caliph. The pretender was killed while rashly making the pilgrimage to Mekka: a cousin of his, named Idrís, fled into Africa, and it was this Idrís who in A.D. 788 founded the Idrísid Dynasty in Morocco, which lasted nearly two hundred years.

Hárún holds a quite unique place among Muslim heroes, especially among English-speaking peoples: this we owe to the *Arabian Nights* in the first instance, and to our own literature in the second. The two phrases "The Great Hárún al-Rashíd" and "Barmecide Feast" have a fixed place in our literary education; and Hárún's only rivals in the field of English letters are possibly Saladin and Tamerlane.

The real history of Hárún is not especially rich in incident. His reign of twenty-three years (A.D. 786-809) was comparatively uneventful, thanks mainly to the wisdom and good counsel of his Chief Ministers the Barmecides (Barmakids).

Yahya, who became Hárún's Prime Minister, was the son of Khálid, who had been Chief of the Exchequer to the first Abbásid Caliph: his two sons, Fadl and Ja'far, held important posts, and all were on terms of great intimacy with Hárún the Just. Although the name of this Caliph is so closely associated with that of Baghdad, Hárún actually spent very little time in this town. He spent much of his time in travel, and paid several visits to Khurásán and to Egypt: he performed the pilgrimage to Mekka nine times—for he was a very strict Muslim and observed minutely all the ordinances regarding prayer and fasting—and invaded the Roman territories in Asia Minor on no less than eight occasions.

It is during this reign that we first hear of the

employment of Turks in military command; and from this time on the Turks begin to play an increasingly important part in the Muslim Army.

Hárún is brought nearer to the West in our thoughts by the fact that he exchanged embassies with Charlemagne, and the elephants he included in his gifts to the great emperor were probably the first to be brought into Europe.

The story of the fall of the Barmecides must be mentioned, even in this brief summary, because of its proverbial place in our language. Curiously enough, the actual cause which led Hárún to turn against this family with such suddenness, to murder his most intimate friend Ja'far, to imprison his father and his brother and to confiscate all their property, has never been established, though, naturally enough, many stories have been woven round this tragedy which has cast so black a stain on the memory of Hárún the Just.

The expression "Barmecide Feast" has nothing to do with Hárún, but is merely taken from an *Arabian Night,* in which one of the Barmecides serves up a series of empty dishes to a hungry man to test his sense of humour.

To Hárún must also be given much of the credit for that liberal encouragement of letters, arts, and science which made the Court of the Abbásids the centre of the highest culture, to which the learned and the gifted flocked from East and West.

The manufacture of paper, the secret of which the Muslims had learnt from the Chinese in Turkestan, was in this reign established in Baghdad. Hitherto either parchment or papyrus had been employed for writing.

Hárún had three sons, and his intention was that while Amín, the elder, should succeed to the Caliphate, Ma'mún, the second son, should have absolute charge of Khurásán, and should be next in succession to his brother. It was while Hárún was leading an expedition into Khurásán, where a serious revolt had taken

place, that he succumbed to a malady at Tús. Ma'mún had been sent in advance to occupy Merv. Amín, on the news of his father's death, recalled the army to Baghdad, and struck Ma'mún's name from the succession. Ma'mún retaliated by stopping all postal communication between Baghdad and Khurásán, and assumed the title of Caliph over the Muslim territories of the East. Amín next sent a force of fifty thousand men to attack Ma'mún, which was defeated by Ma'mún's capable Persian General, Táhir, who followed up this victory by marching on Baghdad, to which he laid siege and which he took by storm in A.D. 813 after a twelve months' investment. Amín, in a vain attempt to escape, was finally slain by a party of Persian soldiers.

Ma'mún, now undisputed Caliph, instead of removing to Baghdad made Merv his capital, a step which naturally gave great offence to the people of the West.

Not till A.D. 817 did Ma'mún set out for Baghdad. Táhir was appointed to the Viceroyalty of the East in A.D. 820, and although he died two years later, seeing that his descendants succeeded him in this governorship during a period of fifty-six years, he may be fitly regarded as the founder of a dynasty in Khurásán, the first Persian dynasty to govern since the fall of the Sásánids in A.D. 641. The rise of this dynasty will be dealt with in Chapter VI. on the Eastern provinces.

The next Caliph, Mu'tasim, was also a son of Hárún. He was chiefly famous for having instituted a personal bodyguard of three thousand Turks, and for having built the royal residence of Sámarrá, a few miles above Baghdad, where he established himself, leaving his son Wáthiq in charge of Baghdad (A.D. 836). From this time on the Caliphs became mere puppets in the hands of their Turkish pretorians.

The last years of the Caliph Muqtadir, who was twice deposed and finally killed by one of his own

generals (A.D. 908-932), saw the rise of a Persian family named Buwayh, or Búya, belonging to the country of Daylam on the south-west of the Caspian, who, though Shi'as, gained such influence over the Caliph that they practically usurped his functions. Further reference to the Buwayhids will be found in Chapter VI.

Under the next Caliph, Rádí (934-940), the Empire was practically reduced to the province of Baghdad, and the worldly power of the Caliphate was a mere shadow, although his nominal authority was recognised by all orthodox Muslim rulers. Khurásán and Transoxiana, Southern Persia, Kirman, Media, Mesopotamia, Azarbaiján, Egypt, Arabia, Africa, and Spain were all in the hands of various independent sovereigns.

The Caliphate of Baghdad came altogether to an end with the defeat and death of Mosta'sim at the hands of Hulagu, the grandson of Chingiz Khan the Mongol, in A.D. 1256.

One member of the Abbásid family escaped to Egypt, which was in the hands of the Mamlúk Sultans, and made an abortive attempt to regain Baghdad, but was defeated and killed ere he reached that city. His descendants of a collateral line for two hundred and fifty years were more or less prisoners in Cairo of the Mamlúk Sultans, but enjoyed the title of Caliph and were paraded on State occasions. The last of the line of pseudo-Caliphs was carried off to Constantinople by Salim the Turk, after his conquest of Egypt in A.D. 1517. (See p. 76.)

CHAPTER V

THE DYNASTIES OF SPAIN, NORTH AFRICA, AND EGYPT

Spain at the time of the Mussulman conquest was Christian rather in name than in fact. This country was the last country within the Roman Empire to cling to paganism; and, under the Visigoths, little trouble seems to have been taken to convert the people. Slavery and serfdom existed on an extensive scale, and the lower classes were downtrodden and ignorant. It is easy to understand that in these circumstances the call to Islám fell on willing ears; for the creed was simple, there was no priesthood, and every Muslim slave had a chance of becoming a freedman. In any case the Spaniards were only exchanging one alien rule for another.

From 418 down to the Arab invasion, Spain had been ruled by the Visigoths, who held their Court at Toulouse and had their Spanish headquarters in Toledo. Not till the sixth century was their rule firmly established there. The throne was elective, and after the establishment of the Catholic belief the power seems to have been shared between the king and the bishops.

A very noticeable feature was the persecution of the Jews, who in spite of this continued to thrive and to hold their own, and because of this contributed largely to the rapid successes of the Arabs, who, as we have seen elsewhere, practised toleration towards all who would pay the *jizia*. The Spanish Christians living under Arab rule received the name of Muzarabes—*i.e., Must'aribín,* or the Arabicised.

On the departure of Musa ibn Nusayr in A.D. 714 (see above, p. 19) the newly acquired province fell into a state of hopeless disorder due to the rivalry among the Arab tribal representatives and the absence of a

really capable leader, and the constant quarrels between the Arabs and the Berbers. Governors were regularly appointed by the Dasmascus Caliphs, but their authority was more or less ignored. Civil war and the decline of the Omayyad Caliphate were reflected in all the outlying lands of Islám.

The situation for the Muslims in Spain was suddenly saved, twenty-three years after they had been driven back over the Pyrenees, by the arrival of one of the only Omayyad princes to escape from the general slaughter of his house, by name ‘Abd-ur-Rahmán, the son of the Caliph, Mu‘áwiya.

After five years' adventurous life in North Africa, during which he in vain attempted to win over the Berbers, he found himself in A.D. 755 in Ceuta, in the direst straits, accompanied only by his faithful freedman Badr. He now sent Badr over the sea to Spain to discover whether the local Arab chiefs would welcome the arrival of the grandson of the Caliph Hishám. Badr's mission met with such success that the young prince, then aged twenty-four, was able to land near Malaga, where he was greeted as their king by the assembled chiefs. In the following year he received the homage of nearly all the Muslims in Spain, and thus, within six years of the fall of the Omayyads of Damascus, was founded the Omayyad Dynasty of Cordova, which endured for over two hundred and fifty years.

‘Abdur-Rahmán I. took the titles of Amír and Sultan, but the title of Caliph was only assumed two centuries later by ‘Abdur-Rahmán III., the greatest monarch of his line. Only once did the Ábbásid Caliphs make an attempt to wrest Spain from its new masters, when, in A.D. 763, ‘Alá ibn Mughith was sent to raise a rebellion which was quickly and ruthlessly suppressed by ‘Abdur-Rahmán. We are told that the heads of ‘Alá and his chief companions were cut off, embalmed, and put in a bag, each head being labelled with the name and rank of the victim: to this parcel

were added the black flag of the Abbásids, the diploma appointing 'Alá Viceroy of Spain, and a document containing a short account of his defeat. This ghastly gift for the Caliph was carried by a merchant from Cordova to Baghdad, and on opening it Mansúr, who was not noted for his squeamishness, was moved to say: "I thank God for setting a sea between me and such an enemy!"

In A.D. 778, 'Abdur-Rahmán was faced by the most serious crisis of his thirty years' reign. Three Arab chiefs in the north, bent on the downfall of the Omayyad Amír, had gone to meet the Emperor Charlemagne in Paderborn and had concluded with him an alliance against the Muslim ruler of Spain. All was ready for the invasion of Spain by the Franks, but while the Emperor was still on the other side of the Pyrenees a new rebellion in Saxony demanded his immediate return to Germany, and the Amír of Cordova had only to deal with the revolting Arabs and Berbers. The Frankish troops, which under the romantic Roland of Brittany had crossed the Pyrenees, were in their withdrawal all but annihilated by the Bask mountaineers in the famous valley of Roncevalles.

It was during the reign of 'Abdur-Rahmán I. that there arose in the north of Spain the little Christian state of the Asturias with its capital at Oviedo, which by the middle of the ninth century seems to have been firmly established, and this was the thin edge of the wedge which gradually worked its way into the heart of Moorish Spain, and by the thirteenth century had reduced the limits of this proud state to the kingdom of Granada.

By the middle of the tenth century this little state had become the kingdom of Leon: a separate kingdom of Navarre was next established, and later both these principalities were merged into the two great states of Castile and Aragon respectively. A glance at the map of Spain will show that one-third of the

Peninsula had already been recovered by the Christians during the rule of the Omayyads of Cordova. From Coimbra to Barcelona an irregular line may be drawn to show the northern frontier of this outlying province of Islám, which included the Emirates of Seville, Granada, Cordova, Badajos, including more than half of modern Portugal, Toledo, Valencia, and Saragossa. Only two other names need be mentioned in connection with this one great Muslim dynasty that ever ruled in Spain—namely, 'Abdur-Rahmán III. and the great vezir al-Mansúr. It was during the long reign of 'Abdur-Rahmán III. (A.D. 912-961) that this house reached the apogee of its glory. "In spite of innumerable obstacles he had saved Andalusia both from itself and from foreign rule. He had given to it internal order and prosperity and the consideration and respect of foreigners. A numerous and well-disciplined army, perhaps the best in the world, gave him a preponderance over the Christians of the north. The most haughty sovereigns were eager for his alliance. Ambassadors were sent to him by the Emperor of Constantinople and by the sovereigns of Germany, Italy, and France."

The other name we have to mention is that of al-Mansúr (Almansor) the great minister who was destined to play a more important part in the history of Spain than any of the Caliphs. An administrator by inheritance and training, and a learned doctor of the law, he determined also to master the art of war, and became a great general. He is said to have conducted no less than fifty campaigns against the Christians, and the three important towns of Leon, Pamplona, and Barcelona were each captured by him in turn. His position was far greater than that of the two Caliphs whom he served, and he could no doubt have, had he chosen, usurped the supreme power; but he seems to have been contented with the enjoyment of public esteem and hero-worship.

With the death of al-Mansúr the power of the

Omayyads began rapidly to decline; and at the beginning of the eleventh century Moorish Spain again became a prey to factions and adventurers, and a number of petty dynasties arose in the various Emirates, the most important of which was that of the Abbadids of Seville. In the meantime, the Christian states of Aragon and Castile were rapidly growing in power; and so threatening did they appear to the Muslims that the Abbadid Prince of Granada appealed for aid to the Almorávid ruler of Morocco.

To this period belongs the Cid Campeador, Don Ruy Diaz, or Rodrigo, who, as an historical personage, played a part which entitled him to small fame and no honour, but as a hero of romance is the centre of a vast literature. He was, indeed, a free-lance who in accordance with the chances of booty fought alternately for the Moors and the Spaniards; and, as is so often the case with popular heroes, it would have been happier for all lovers of romance if his real life had been less accessible to the historian.

We must now leave Spain and take a rapid survey of what had been passing in North Africa since the recall of Musa ibn Nusayr to Damascus in A.D. 714.

NORTH AFRICA.—When in A.D. 754 the Caliph Mansúr ascended the throne he wrote to 'Abdur-Rahmán, the Viceroy in Kairowán, demanding him to take the oath of allegiance. This he refused, and issued a circular letter commanding all Muslims in the west to refuse obedience to the Abbásid Caliph. Such was the beginning of the independence of the *Maghrib* (or West), and several years elapsed before the Abbásid general al-Aghlab was able to enter Kairowán and re-establish the authority of the Caliph.

In A.D. 788 an independent 'Alid Dynasty known as the Idrísids had been founded in Morocco. In A.D. 787, the Governor-General of Africa (*i.e.*, Tunisia) died and was succeeded by Ibráhím, the son of Aghlab. In A.D. 800 the Caliph Hárún made him Governor of the whole of the African province, from the frontiers of

Egypt up to Morocco, where the authority of the Idrísids was not challenged.

The Aghlabid domination of one hundred years in Africa was a period of naval triumphs for Islám. They continually harried the coasts of Italy, France, Corsica, Malta, and Sardinia, and in A.D. 827 conquered Sicily. Their piratical sailors, known as the Corsairs, were the terror of the Mediterranean, and they even sailed up the Tiber within a few miles of Rome.

FÁTIMIDS. — The establishment of the Fátimid Dynasty, first in Africa and afterwards in Egypt, was the outcome of a very important sectarian movement which, originating in the reign of the 11th Abbásid Caliph (892-902), laid waste the Muslim Empire for two centuries.

In the second half of the ninth century a certain Persian named 'Abdulláh began to preach the Isma'ílí doctrine, and to institute a sort of secret society into which one could only enter after the strictest initiation, and from which one could never again withdraw owing to solemn oaths taken. 'Abdulláh soon had a great number of members, and missionaries were sent all over the Muslim world.

From the Isma'ilís sprang a branch which, from its founder Qarmat, became known as the Qarámita, or Carmathians, who, rapidly spreading in Iráq, Syria, and Eastern Arabia, kept in check all the armies which were sent against them.

Finally, at the end of the ninth century, there arose a man named 'Ubaydullah, who, though actually descended from 'Abdulláh, the Persian Isma'ílí mentioned above, gave himself out as a direct descendant of 'Alí through his wife Fátima. One of this man's missionaries it was who, after gaining a numerous following among the susceptible Berbers, had wrested Tunisia from the Aghlabids. This was in A.D. 909.

'Ubaydullah took the title of al-Mahdí and claimed

to be Caliph and Amír of the Faithful. He soon made himself master of all North Africa excepting Idrísid Morocco. He founded the city of Mahdíya on the coast of Tunisia and made it the Fátimid capital, and fifty years later his great-grandson al-Mu'izz became master of Egypt and founded Cairo.

Egypt.—The advent of the Fátimids to the kingdom of Egypt and Syria finally deprived the Caliphs of Baghdad of those two rich provinces, and cut them off from all connection with the west. Khurásán had long passed from their hands, and their possessions now were small in comparison with the empire of the Fátimids, which stretched from the Orontes to the borders of Morocco.

Although the Fátimids reigned in Cairo down to the time of their overthrow by the great Saladin in A.D. 1171, they did not manage to retain their hold over their western provinces.

Politically, the influence of the Fátimids extended far beyond the confines of their empire, for it was Fátimid propaganda which led to the establishment of the Isma'ilís in Persia and Syria, who were destined to play such a terrifying rôle during the three succeeding centuries under the leadership of their chief, who was known as the Old Man of the Mountain (*Shaykh ul-Jabal*).

It is not easy to account for the untiring efforts which were expended in spreading the cause of the Fátimids, which was obviously prompted by the desire to hold what they had gained, which, after all, required money and arms rather than religious adherents.

The Almorávids.—As a result of the removal of the Fátimids to Cairo, two of their African lieutenants set up local dynasties and a number of Berber chiefs made themselves independent. And, finally, in the middle of the eleventh century a new teacher appeared, in the person of a Berber named 'Abdullah ibn Yásín, who founded the dynasty of the Almorávids (a corruption of *al-murábitín* or monks of the *ribát* or frontier

monastery). He conquered practically the whole of Morocco, and it was his cousin Yúsuf, the son of Tashfin, who built the city of Marrákush, from which Morocco has its name.

It was this Yúsuf who in A.D. 1086 was invited by the Muslims in Spain, notably the Abbadids of Seville, to come and help them against the Christian princes: in response to their appeals he made two expeditions into Spain. He not only helped his co-religionists, but took the opportunity of annexing Spain to his African Empire. The Almorávids were probably the first Berbers to be really converted to Islám, and so fanatical were they that during the sixty years that they ruled over Spain the Christian inhabitants, who under all other Muslim rulers before and after were treated with tolerance, became the objects of persecution.

THE ALMOHADES.—At the beginning of the twelfth century another Berber preacher arose named Ibn Túmart, who founded a sect which in A.D. 1130 became a dynasty called the Almohades, a corruption of *Muwahhidín*, or Unitarians.

The first chief of the Almohades, in the course of fifteen years, conquered Morocco and finally put an end to the Almorávids, and at the same time gained possession of all Moorish Spain. He ultimately extended his conquests as far as the frontiers of Egypt. His successors were mainly occupied in repelling the attacks of the Christians in Spain, and in A.D. 1212 the Almohades suffered a disastrous defeat at Las Navas, and were driven out of the Peninsula.

THE NASRIDS OF GRANADA.—A number of petty kingdoms had sprung up during the eleventh and twelfth centuries in Valencia, Saragossa, etc., but the last dynasty worthy of mention is that of the Nasrids in Granada, which lasted from the middle of the thirteenth century down to the final expulsion of the Moors by Ferdinand and Isabella in A.D. 1492, when their last king, Abu 'Abdulláh Muhammad, better

known as Boabdil (*el rey chico*), fled from the city he loved so well. We are told that as he cast a last longing glance on the Alhambra, on a spot still known as "The Moor's last sigh," he burst into tears, and his mother upbraided him, saying: "Do not weep like a woman just because you have not the courage to defend yourself like a man!"

Travellers in Morocco have all heard how, in many households, there are preserved to this day the keys which the Moorish refugees brought away with them from Spain at the end of the fifteenth century; and Arabic works, written as late as the seventeenth century, in speaking of Spain utter pious prayers for a speedy return.

The Arabs in Spain (*Retrospect*).—For nearly eight hundred years the religion of the Arabian Prophet had exercised its influence in Spain, during which it had given her all that was best in Muhammadan culture. A hundred glorious monuments still stand to bear witness to the artistic genius and architectural skill of the Arabs, but the greatest service they rendered was not to Spain only but to the whole world; for it was they who by their Universities and their encouragement of letters and learning kept alive Greek philosophy and science, and thus paved the way during Europe's Dark Ages for the Great Renaissance.

One has only to recall the names of such scholars as Averroes, Maimonides the Jew, Abu Meron the Christian, and Ibn Jubayr of Valencia, one of the greatest travellers and geographers.

North Africa—Morocco (*the Marínids*).—Morocco alone of the North African Muslim states has always preserved her independence, until comparatively recent times when she became a bone of contention among the European powers; but even now she has her own dynasty and her own capital.

From the thirteenth to the middle of the fifteenth century she was governed by the Marínids, and for a further period of eighty years by the Wat'asids. In

1544 began the rule of the *Sharífs,* who claimed descent from Hasan the son of 'Alí. In 1664 another branch of the Sharífs began to rule over Morocco, and with certain interruptions have continued down to the present day.

Tunis.—From 1228 to 1534 Tunis was governed by a dynasty known as the Hafsids, whose founder was appointed Viceroy of Tunis by the Almohades. This was a period of peace and prosperity, during which active commercial relations were maintained with the Italian maritime republics.

In 1534 the famous Barbary Corsair Khayr ud-Din Barbarossa conquered Tunis on behalf of the Sultan of Turkey, Sulayman I. (see p. 76 below). In the following year the Emperor Charles V. restored the Hafsid King and placed a Spanish garrison at La Goletta, between Carthage and the town of Tunis, which was finally driven out again in 1574. From this last date down to 1881 Tunis was a province of the Ottoman Empire, under a *Dey,* but in 1705 the Turkish soldiery elected their own Bey. In 1881 the French occupied Tunis, and have ever since exercised suzerainty over that country, which is still nominally ruled over by a Bey.

Algiers.—In 1516 Algiers was captured by Uruj Barbarossa, an adventurer from Lesbos, who three years later appointed his brother Khayrud-Dín, Beglerbeg, or Governor-General, of the province on behalf of the Ottoman Sultan. In 1551 Tripoli, conquered from the Knights of St. John by another Corsair named Dragut, was also added to the Ottoman Empire.

Algiers was governed by a series of Pashas appointed from Constantinople down to 1671, when, as in Tunis, the Turkish soldiery elected a Dey from their own number, whose power rivalled that of the Pasha. In 1710 the two offices were united in that of the Dey, and this was the form of government when Algiers was conquered by the French in 1830.

Egypt and Syria (*the Fátimids*).—We have seen that by the removal of the seat of the Government from Tunisia to Egypt in A.D. 972 the Fátimids lost their provinces in the Maghrib. They, however, received the allegiance of Syria and the Hejaz, and thus the *Khutba* of a Shi'a Caliph came to be read in the mosques of Mekka and Medína.

The Carmathians still continued to give trouble, and in 973, having captured Damascus from the Fátimid Governor, invaded Egypt. Here they were utterly routed by the Caliph al-Mu'izz, and their power was finally broken.

The next Caliph, Nizár, who assumed the title of al-'Azíz billáh, deserves mention on account of his strenuous activities in the direction of Fátimid propaganda, which led to the establishment of the Isma'ilí Assassins in Persia (see below, p. 51). His son *al-Hákim bi amr Illáh,* who reigned from A.D. 996 to 1021, was a still more remarkable man. He was subject to fits of madness which sometimes took the form of homicidal mania, but in his lucid moments he was a liberal patron of art and science. He, moreover, founded a new cult in which he occupied the central place as an emanation of the Deity. This led to his being adopted by the Druses of the Lebanon, who still revere and worship him.

He both erected and destroyed public buildings; and he is credited with the restoration of the Dome of the Rock and with the destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

The history of the Fátimids from this point is uninspiring. In 1031 the great Seljuqs had appeared on the scene, and after Tughril's triumphant entry into Baghdad in 1055 the nominal supremacy of the Abbásid Caliphs was re-established in Western Asia, and the jurisdiction of the Fátimids was limited to Egypt; and fifty years later that strange storm of wild fanaticism called the Crusades burst with all its fury over the Near East; and, finally, in 1171, Saláh

ud-Dín (Saladin), having made himself master of Egypt, caused the *Khutba* to be read in the name of the Abbásid Caliph of Baghdad, and Egypt once more became Sunni instead of Shi'a.

CHAPTER VI

THE EASTERN PROVINCES AND THE RISE OF THE TURKS

THE TÁHIRIDS.—Under the last Omayyads and the first great Abbásids the Eastern Provinces comprised Khurásán, Transoxiana, Seistan, and Tabaristán, including Daylam and Mázandarán on the south of the Caspian Sea.

We have seen above (p. 26) that when the Caliph Ma'mún moved from his new capital Merv to the old capital Baghdad, he gave the management of the Eastern Provinces of the Caliphate to Táhir, the Persian: and from this date the history of the Caliphate tends to become a series of incidents in the history of Persia or of Central Asia.

Táhir only lived to hold his appointment for two years (820-822), and on his death was succeeded by his son Talha, who ruled over the countries, while his brother 'Abdulláh fought the Caliph's battles in Mesopotamia and Egypt. In Transoxiana a family now came into prominence which was destined to lay the foundations of independent Persian rule in the Eastern Provinces—namely, the Sámánids. Various members of this family, who claimed to be of old and noble Persian stock, were placed in charge of subdivisions of the Oxus country, and the subordinate posts were handed on from father to son in the Sámánid, just as the governorship of the Eastern Provinces passed from father to son in the Táhirid

family. These countries now enjoyed a period of peace and prosperity lasting over fifty years. The nominal authority of the Caliph was recognised, and these Persian governors being more addicted to the arts of administration than to those of war, devoted themselves to the material and spiritual advancement of the inhabitants.

THE SAFFÁRIDS.—In the meantime a revolt of the Khárijites broke out in Seistan: and among the local "volunteers" who joined them was a certain Ya'qúb, the son of Layth, who was by trade a coppersmith, whence the name of Saffárids by which he and his two successors are known.

His career is one of the most remarkable in the annals of Islám.

Beginning as a common soldier in a land of outlaws, he first drove the Táhirids out of Seistan and Khurásán and extended his power over practically the whole of modern Persia, and even threatened the Caliph in Baghdad in A.D. 879.

It was Ya'qúb who first brought Islám to Kabul, which hitherto had remained Buddhist.

His brother 'Amr, who succeeded him, made terms with the Caliph and was confirmed in the Governments of Khurásán, Fars, Kurdistan, and Seistan, which he continued to enjoy for twelve years, when he was attacked by the Sámánid ruler of Transoxiana and made prisoner. His grandson succeeded him in Seistan only, and the rest of Ya'qúb's conquests fell to the Sámánids.

THE SÁMÁNIDS.—We have seen that the family of Sámán held important posts under the Táhirids already in the reign of the Caliph Ma'mún. During the revolt and supremacy of the Saffárids Transoxiana, which had not submitted to them, was practically cut off from Baghdad, and the Sámánid Isma'il made himself virtual ruler of this country (A.D. 892).

It was Isma'il who, at the instigation of the Caliph, in A.D. 903, drove the Saffárids out of Khurásán and

became ruler of all the Persian provinces gained by Ya'qúb ibn Layth.

Under this prince and his successors, Samarqand and Bukhárá became the centres of civilisation, learning, art, and scholarship for a large part of the Muhammadan world.

It was at the Court of the Sámánids that modern Persian poetry came into being and the first of their great poets, the blind Rúdakí, flourished under the Sámánid Nasr ibn Ahmad, who reigned from A.D. 913 to 942.

During the first two centuries of Arab supremacy over Persia the language of the country was relegated to the background, very much as Anglo-Saxon was ousted by French during the rule of the Norman kings. Islám had been very extensively accepted by the Persians, and with it the language of the Qorán: and although Persian, no doubt, continued to be spoken by the people, Arabic was adopted by the intelligentsia of Persia both for religious and secular writings. Many of the most notable poets belonging to the Arabic Parnassus were Persian bred and born.

This Persian dynasty was eventually brought to an end by the Turks, who, in the second half of the tenth century, suddenly attained a new prominence. We have already seen that the Caliphs had made use of the prisoners taken in their wars on the frontiers of Turkestan by forming a Pretorian guard, and high military commands had been given to many of these men who, as prisoners, began by being bought and sold as slaves. In the Eastern Provinces, the Persian and Arab governors had also learnt to appreciate the military qualities of the Turks, and the Sámánids had employed them as provincial governors. The first of these Turks to rise to great eminence was a commander-in-chief in Khurásán named Alptegin, who, having been deprived of his command, withdrew to Ghazna, and there founded a small independent kingdom. He was eventually succeeded by a slave in

his service named Sebuktegin, who had risen to high rank and married his master's daughter. Sebuktegin accepted the position of vassal to the Sámánids, though he had received a formal recognition from the Caliph of Bagdad as King of Ghazna: such was the rise of the first Turk who became a ruler in Islám.

Meanwhile, a new enemy had appeared on the eastern frontier in the shape of the Ilek Kháns of Turkestan. Hitherto the Turks had only been on the defensive against the forces of Islám. The westward movement of the Ilek Kháns into Transoxiana represents the first appearance of the Turks as invaders of Islámic territory. To save himself from the attacks of the Ilek Kháns the Sámánid king was obliged to call upon his vassal for assistance, and, finally, as a reward for these services, Sebuktegin was made governor of Khurásán, and a few years later, by a treaty concluded between Sebuktegin and the Ilek Khán, the former became master of all the provinces south of the Oxus, while the latter was allowed to occupy the basin of the Jaxartes. The helpless representative of the Sámánids had no say in the matter, and found his kingdom reduced to Transoxiana and Khwárazm (Khiva).

In the year A.D. 999 two events of outstanding importance in the history of Islám occurred. Sebuktegin died and was succeeded by his famous son Mahmúd, and the Ilek Khán captured and occupied Bukhárá. This latter event involved the final extinction of the Sámánids.

Mahmúd at once proceeded to a division of the spoil with the Ilek Khán, the larger share falling to himself, after which he set about that career of conquest in the south and the west, which has made his name one of the most famous in Oriental history.

Mahmúd, the son of Sebuktegin, during a reign of thirty years, was incessantly engaged in military campaigns, north and west and south: in 1008 he totally defeated the Ilek Khán, who had invaded Khurásán; in 1017 he marched into Khwárazm and set up his

own nominee as local governor; he made many successful expeditions into the northern and southern provinces of Persia, and in 1026 he received diplomas from the Abbásid Caliph, in which he was recognised as Supreme Ruler of the East, and the legitimate successor of the Sámánids.

But it was always on India that his heart was set, and he is said to have invaded that country no less than twelve times. He actually led an army across the deserts of Rajputana and penetrated as far as Somnath in the southern corner of the Kathiawar Peninsula and destroyed the local Hindu temple. Mahmúd was thus the first Turkish general to reach the sea. His marvellous energy and physical endurance fill one with wonder: he seems to have indulged in conquest almost as a hobby, and although he was able to bequeath to his successor a vast empire extending from the Punjab frontier to Khiva in the north and Isfahan and Rayy in the west, he did not give himself time to consolidate his conquests in India or to prevent the Turkomans from settling in the rich provinces of the Oxus. It must be remembered that his raids into India, unlike his other expeditions, were carried out against "infidels and idol worshippers," and therefore had the character of a Holy War: and prepared the ground for subsequent Muslim invaders. His destruction of Hindu temples won him the title of the "Idol-breaker."

Almost as remarkable as his soldierly activity was his patronage of learning and letters. Although by origin a Turk and the son of a slave, he displayed such interest in the Persian literary revival and gathered round him so many distinguished poets that the glory of Turkish Ghazna quite eclipsed the fame of Persian Bukhárá. It was for Mahmúd that the great Persian epic, the *Shahnáma,* or Book of Kings, containing the story of the pre-Islámic kings and heroes of Irán, was written by the poet Firdawsí.

Mahmúd died in A.D. 1030, and his son Mas'úd,

during a reign of ten years, was confronted with the threefold problem of holding his possessions in India, keeping in order the minor states which had arisen in Persia and staving off the encroachments of the Ghuzz Turks, who were overrunning the whole of Transoxiana and Khurásán.

In the middle of the tenth century it looked as if the Persian renaissance were about to have far-reaching effects throughout the eastern and central provinces of Islám. For apart from the establishment of the national Sámánid Dynasty in the East, the Caliphs, as we have seen, had become mere puppets in the hands of the Persian Buwayhids, who were masters of many provinces of Persia, but it was precisely at this juncture that the Turks suddenly appeared in the rôle of invaders.

THE SELJUQS.—We have seen that the first counter-attack on the Arabs came from an adventurer in Seistan, the second from a Turk in Ghazna, the third from the Ilek Kháns, of Turkestan. The attack of the Seljuqs, of which we are about to speak, was on a very much larger scale, and its results were far-reaching and lasting, for it involved not merely a conquest, but also a world migration.

Among the numerous bands of Turks which had, during the Sámánid period, filtered into Transoxiana, the majority belonged to the horde of the Ghuzz. Among these Ghuzz was a petty chieftain named Seljuq. His famous grandsons, Tughril Beg and Chaghrí Beg, are first heard of as helping the Sámánids against the Ilek Khán. During the reign of Sultan Mahmúd many other groups of Ghuzz crossed the Oxus into Khurásán: and only towards the close of his reign did the Ghaznavid Sultan, suddenly alive to the danger of their growing power, send an army against them, the result of which was to scatter these hordes over northern Persia.

The Ghuzz continued, however, to flow into Khurásán, and in A.D. 1035, while Mas'úd was in

Tabaristan, the Seljuq brothers also crossed the Oxus with their army, and in A.D. 1037, while Mas'úd was away in India, they made themselves masters of the principal cities of Khurásán: and it was now that Tughril Beg, leaving his brother in charge of Khurásán, set out on his unchecked career of conquest in the west. For nowhere did he meet with organised opposition. The petty kingdoms in northern Persia had no bond of union; the Buwayhids, though still controlling the Caliph of Baghdad, had been exhausted by their wars with Sultan Mahmúd and were constantly quarrelling with each other, and thus in A.D. 1054 Tughril was able to march against Baghdad, which he entered in the following year. The Caliph (al-Qaym) received him with every honour and seated him on his throne. No doubt the Caliph was delighted to be rescued by a good Sunni from the hands of the Shi'a Buwayhids: and it was Tughril who revived this dying state and enabled it to last for another two hundred years.

Tughril was now an old man of nearly seventy, and having spent twenty consecutive years campaigning in Persia, he now cried a halt to his military exploits and settled down in his capital of Rayy. In spite of his age and of his phenomenal successes, his ambition was still unsatisfied, for though he had given his niece in marriage to the Caliph, he had set his heart on receiving the Caliph's daughter in marriage as a final culmination of his glorious career. In spite of his invidious position, the proposal of an alliance with this uncouth Turk was repugnant to this aristocratic Arab, and the negotiations for the marriage dragged on over several years. Finally, in A.D. 1063, when all had been settled, the reluctant princess learnt—presumably to her great relief—while on the road to Rayy that Tughril had died.

Though the Turks were past masters in the art of war, and had their traditional methods of tribal organisation, they were confronted with an entirely

new problem when they found themselves responsible for the good government of the western Islámic provinces, which had settled populations in town and country and distinct classes of administrators, land-owners, and soldiers. Like the conquering Arabs before them they had the wisdom to call in the Persians and to appoint them to the highest administrative offices in the state. For letters and learning and the arts the Turks cared not at all, but thanks to the great influence of their Persian ministers the disaster to Islámic culture, which the Turkish invasion seemed bound to bring in its train, was happily averted, and under the immediate successes of Tughril Beg, both Persian and Arab letters flourished.

The greatest service, however, which the Seljuqs rendered to Islám was the reuniting of Middle Asia from Afghanistan to the Mediterranean under one sovereign, which made it possible for the Muslims to check the progress first of the Byzantine Emperors and later of the Crusaders.

The Great Seljuqs—that is to say, the Seljuq Sultans who ruled over and at times extended the Empire conquered by Tughril Beg—in the course of their hundred years' rule, produced no less than four sovereigns of great talent. After Tughril came his nephew Alp Arslán, the son of Chaghrí Beg, who began his career as a highly successful Governor of Khurásán. During his reign of ten years (1063-1073) he was mainly occupied with the consolidation of the Empire; and his most notable feat of arms was his victory at Manzikert over the Emperor Diogenes Romanus in A.D. 1071, which led to the subsequent foundation of a Seljuq Dynasty in Rúm, or Asia Minor. He also recovered Aleppo and the Holy Cities from the Fátimids of Egypt. He was succeeded by his son Malik Sháh, who was, in some respects, the most eminent ruler of his line.

But the fame of both these kings pales before that of the great minister who served them so faithfully

and so ably, Nizám ul-Mulk. This man stands out as one of the finest figures in Muslim history. Himself a distinguished man of letters and the author of an invaluable and delightful *Book of Government,* he founded colleges, known after him as *Nizámiyya,* in Baghdad, Nishapur, and elsewhere. He was a liberal patron of literature and science, and he appointed a committee of astronomers to revise the calendar. His connection with 'Omar Khayyám is well known to all readers of FitzGerald's translation of *Ruba'iyyát,* where we are also told that the great vezir ultimately perished at the hand of an emissary of Hasán-i-Sabbáh, the head of the Isma'ilí Assassins.

Sultan Sinjar, the last of the Great Seljuqs, was also a man of rare distinction. After governing Khurásán with firmness and justice for twenty years, he was called to the throne in Baghdad in A.D. 1119, which he occupied for forty years, during which he gained many victories and suffered severe reverses. He was finally defeated by Turkish rebels in Khurásán—that is, in that province where his great ancestors had begun their world-conquest exactly one hundred years after the triumphant entry of Tughril into Baghdad: and with him perished the Empire.

In the meantime, however, four semi-independent Seljuq dynasties had come into being in Rúm, Kerman, Syria, and Iráq, which survived the main dynasty for varying periods, the Seljuqs of Rúm lasting down to the end of the thirteenth century.

In addition to these a number of petty kingdoms had sprung up in Syria and Asia Minor, which were destined to play an important rôle in the wars of the Crusaders.

THE SELJUQS OF RÚM.—The dynasty of Seljuqs of Rúm, or Asia Minor, was founded by a Seljuq who was not descended, like the other dynasties bearing this name, from Chaghrí Beg, but from another son of the original Seljuq. His name was Sulayman ibn Qutulmish, and after Alp Arslán's successful campaign

against Diogenes Romanus (see p. 46 above), he had remained in Asia Minor with a large army. In A.D. 1081, Alexius Comnenus, who had meanwhile succeeded to the Byzantine throne, found himself in such dire straits that he appealed to Sulayman for aid, which the latter gave: and in 1081 established himself in Nicæa as independent Sultan.

It was Sulayman's son, Qilij Arslán (1092-1106), who first came into conflict with the Crusaders.

Space will not permit me to describe the struggles of the Crusaders against the various Seljuq princes and commanders. From the point of view of Islám the Crusades are of slight importance: the story resolves itself into the loss and recapture of Jerusalem. The Crusades, indeed, had very little direct influence on the system of the Islámic state, and hardly any at all on her religion or culture.

CHAPTER VII

THE KHWÁRAZM-SHÁHS—THE MONGOLS —THE IL-KHÁNIDS

THE province of Khwárazm (Khorazmia), the modern Khiva, bordered on the south by Khurásán, on the east by the Oxus, and on the west by the Caspian, had already under the Sámánids had governors who bore the title of Khwárazm-Sháh. One of the first acts of Sultan Mahmúd's reign was his appointment to this governorship of his own nominee. In the reign of Malik-Sháh, another man from Ghazna, a slave, named Anushtegin, who had been cup-bearer to the Seljuq Sultan, was appointed to govern Khwárazm: and it was either he or his son Atsiz who founded the independent dynasty of Khwárazm-Sháhs, which was destined for one hundred years to play the leading rôle in the history of Middle Asia.

The last years of Sultan Sinjar's reign were almost entirely taken up with troubles on his eastern frontiers and in Khurásán. Apart from the rebellions of the Ghuzz in Khurásán, and the repeated revolts of Atsiz, there now arrived on the frontiers of Transoxiana a new enemy, in the shape of the Qara-Khitái Turks, who had been driven westwards out of Central Asia by the pressure of the Chinese and the Mongols.

These Turks were strangers to Islám, and their progress through the Muslim Transoxiana and their defeat of Sultan Sinjar in A.D. 1141 represent the first serious reverses which Islám had suffered in the east at the hands of Unbelievers. Their chief who was called *Gúr-Khán*, or Universal Lord, had among his followers members of Turkish tribes which professed Christianity, and it was this victory over the Seljuqs which gave rise in Europe to the rumour that the enemies of the Crusaders in the west had been defeated by Christians in the east under Prester John.

This victory had far-reaching effects: it not only brought about the ultimate fall of Sinjar and with him of his dynasty, it also opened the road to power to the Khwárazm-Sháh, and to the Ghúrid princes in the mountains between Herat and Ghazna, who stood in the same relation to the Ghaznavids as the Khwárazm-Sháhs to Sinjar (see below, p. 60), and while the Ghúrids were taking possession of Khurásán, defeating the last Ghaznavid and establishing a kingdom of Delhi, the Khwárazm-Sháhs were capturing all the lands east and west which had been in the hands of the last Great Seljuq.

The greatest of these Sháhs was 'Alá ud-Dín Muhammad (1199-1220), who drove the Ghúrids out of Khurásán, completed the conquest of Persia, recaptured Bukhárá and Samarqand, driving the Gúr-Khán of the Qara-Khitáis back on to his own country. In 1214 he invaded Afghanistan and captured Ghazna.

We have observed that previous conquerors like Sultan Mahmúd and Tughril had been recognised by

the Abbásid Caliphs of Baghdad. The Caliph Násir, however, who had been a partisan of the Ghúrids, refused to allow 'Alá ud-Dín to have his name read with his own in the *Khutba,* and by this foolish act, led the Khwárazm-Sháh to adopt the Shi'a heresy and to nominate for the Caliphate a descendant of 'Alí, who was in Transoxiana. His first march on Baghdad was frustrated by the severity of the winter, and his further progress was brought suddenly to an end by the appearance on his northern frontier of Chingiz Khán.

The Khwárazm-Sháh, after defeating the Qara-Khitáis (in 1206), had committed the fatal error of handing over all lands beyond the Jaxartes to a Turkish chieftain of the tribe of Naiman.

This Naiman chieftain had, in 1207, been driven westwards by the Mongols, under Chingiz Khán, and had taken refuge with the Gúr-Khán. During the next ten years Chingiz Khán was occupied with subduing China, and it was not till 1217 that he began his great westward migration.

The invincible Mongol, having himself besieged and captured Bukhárá and Samarqand, now divided his forces into three huge armies under the princes, which swept over Khwárazm, Khurásán, Afghanistan, Azarbaiján, Georgia, and Southern Russia, and still had men enough to carry on the further reduction of China.

Though space compels us to pass immediately to the capture of Baghdad by Hulagu, the grandson of Chingiz, in 1258, it is, nevertheless, impossible to omit all reference to the character of this terrible invasion by the Mongols, which threw the whole of the known world into a panic, and with reason.

In comparing the behaviour of the Mongols with that of the Ghuzz, we must remember that the latter had already been converted to Islám, and were therefore invading the country of their co-religionists, whereas the Mongols had no respect for any religion

at all, and, having achieved their initial successes, carried all before them by what for want of a better or a worse word can only be called *Schrecklichkeit.*

The accounts of their cruelty and wholesale destruction, which have come down to us from contemporary sources, strain our powers of belief. Town after town which had been famous for its great buildings, its mosques, its colleges and its pleasure-gardens, was levelled to the ground, never again to revive. As they moved forward they left only desert wastes behind them.

In A.D. 1224 Chingiz Khán again withdrew to Mongolia, and not till thirty years later was Middle Asia again to suffer the horrors of a Mongol invasion. Chingiz had died in 1227, and his son and successor, Ogotai, in 1241. It was the death of this second Mongol Emperor that unexpectedly saved Europe from being entirely overrun by the Mongolian hordes, who had penetrated as far as East Prussia and now suddenly withdrew. During this thirty years' respite the eastern Muslim provinces remained in a state of complete disorder and anarchy. The only redeeming figure is that of 'Alá ud-Dín's brave son, Jalál ud-Dín Mangubirni, who led a life of amazing adventures, during which he spent two years in India trying to establish himself there. For a time he held Azarbaiján, but, deserted by most of his following, he finally perished in Kurdestan in 1231.

It was Mangu Khán, a grandson of Chingiz, who, in A.D. 1253, sent Hulagu with a vast army to complete the conquest of the Islámic West. No sooner had Hulagu crossed the Oxus than he was met and welcomed by a number of princes and governors from all sides, including the Christian King of Georgia. One of Hulagu's first undertakings was the extermination of the Isma'ilí Assassins, whose almost impregnable mountain fortress of Alamut, founded by Hasán-i-Sabbáh, he captured and destroyed. His road through Persia was no doubt made easier by the fact

that the Khwárazm-Sháh had so recently subdued the country, which fell after a siege of forty days.

He now advanced on Baghdad, and on January 18, 1258, a date full of fateful memories for Islám, Hulagu Khán was able to pitch his tent within the residence of the Abbásids, and on February 10, the Caliph Musta'sim gave himself up to the Mongolian Khán. The next day orders were issued for the sack of the city and the massacre of its inhabitants. Thus ended the rule of the Abbásid Caliphs of Baghdad. Thirty-seven in number, they had nominally reigned for five hundred years.

The great difference between the Arab conquests and other world conquests is the fact that the dismemberment of their empire did not mean the collapse of their system. With the solitary exception of Spain and the islands of the Mediterranean, all the countries conquered in the name of the Caliph have remained ever since the home of Islám. The living results of the Islámic invasions are still to be seen in the Mosques of Fez, Constantinople, Kashghar, and Delhi, not to mention the lands like Malaya, China, and Central Africa, where the Faith has penetrated by peaceful propaganda.

Having thus completed one of the most terrible deeds recorded in the history of the world, Hulagu continued his Western march in the hope of subduing the remaining Muhammadan states. Crossing the Euphrates he carried havoc and slaughter into Mesopotamia and Syria. In Aleppo alone he put fifty thousand people to the sword. But even the Mongol resources in men were nearing an end, for at the same time they were fighting in China and invading Southern Europe, and Hulagu now at last met an enemy who was prepared to stand up against him in the person of the Mamlúk Sultan Baybars of Egypt. On the field of Ayn Jâlût, near Nazareth (A.D. 1260), the Mongols met with their first defeat, and thus Egypt, Arabia, and Asia Minor were saved from sharing the fate of Baghdad.

In 1259 Mangu Khán was succeeded by his brother, the famous Kubilai Khán (of Xanadu fame), who shortly after conferred on Hulagu the title of Il-Khán, or Provincial Khán of Persia, a name by which the dynasty of Hulagu and his successors is known.

Hulagu, dying in 1265, was succeeded by his son Abáqá, who also suffered a defeat at the hands of Sultan Baybars in 1277.

The Mongols had hitherto shown themselves either indifferent or tolerant towards all religions. They themselves professed a kind of half-hearted Buddhism. They had, however, like the Seljuqs, been quick to appreciate the administrative genius of the Persians, and gathered round them men of science, poets, and historians: and the sixty years of Il-Khánid rule in Persia was rich in literary achievement. The wonder is that those cultivated Persians like Juwayní and Rashíd ud-Dín, the historians, could bring themselves to serve the men who had laid waste their country and destroyed so many libraries.

During the rule of the Il-Khánids Persia enjoyed something more nearly approaching peace and quiet than she had known for centuries.

The accession of Gházán (1295-1304), the Seventh Il-Khánid, who adopted Muhammadanism with strong Shi'ite proclivities, marks the definite triumph of Islám over Mongol heathenism and the beginning of the re-construction of Persian independence. His conversion was regarded with disfavour by many of the Mongols, and led to rebellions, which Gházán suppressed with a ruthless hand. He was constantly engaged in war with the Mamlúks of Egypt with varying success, but finally, in 1303, his forces were entirely defeated by the Egyptians, and one can picture the exultation of the inhabitants of Cairo when they beheld, being led through the city as prisoners, one thousand six hundred of these terrible Mongols each bearing, slung round his neck, the head of one of his dead comrades. Gházán

never recovered from the vexation and shame of this defeat, and died in the following year.

It is, indeed, curious to realise that less than fifty years after the merciless destruction of all that Islámic culture stood for by Hulagu, his great-grandson should, as a devout Muslim, devote so much time and money to precisely the contrary object, though Ghází̇n could not, of course, bring back the dead to life!

Ghází̇n was succeeded in 1305 by his brother Uljaytu, who had been baptized into the Christian Church as a child, but was afterwards converted to Islám by his wife. He corresponded with various European Courts, and some of the letters on both sides are extant, but he seems to have hidden from Pope Clement V., Philip le Bel, and Edward II. the fact that he had renounced Christianity.

The power of Il-Khánids may be said to have ended with the death of Abu Sa'id, the son and successor of Uljaytu, in 1335. Between this date and the first invasion of Khurásán by Tamerlane in 1380, Middle Asia was ruled over by a number of petty chiefs and provincial governors, of whom the most powerful were the Jalayrs of Iráq. Space will not permit us to follow the varying fortunes of all these petty dynasties and tribes, such as the Muzaffarids of Fars and Kirman (1313-1393), the Sarbadárids of Khurásán (1337-1381), the Kurts of Herat (1245-1389), and the Turkomans of the Black Sheep and of the White Sheep in Azarbaijan.

Transoxiana from 1227 to 1358 had been ruled over by Chaghatay Khán, son of Chingiz Khán, and his descendants. Although this dynasty does not loom very large in the picture of Mongol domination, the name Chaghatay is perhaps more famous to-day than that of any other son of Chingiz Khán, as it has given its name not only to the dialect of Turkish, which is spoken and written in Turkestan, but also to the Great Mughals of Delhi as an alternative appellation.

This is a period of perpetual anarchy, and although

politically it is unedifying, it happens to have been very remarkable for the quantity and quality of the poets and writers which it produced. The famous Persian lyricist, Háfiz, for example, belonged to the court of the Muzaffarids.

CHAPTER VIII

TAMERLANE—THE SAFAVIDS

AFTER a respite of only one hundred and fifty years the Middle East was again destined to be overrun by a ruthless conqueror carrying hordes of strangers with him. In natural savagery there was not probably much to choose between Tughril, Hulagu, and Tamerlane, but the fact that the first and the third were Muslims certainly put some check on their behaviour in Muslim countries, if only in regard to sacred buildings and holy men.

Tamerlane (Tímúr-i-Lang, or The Lame Tímúr), who claimed relationship with the family of Chingiz Khán, was born in 1336. As a young man he was given the government of a district in Transoxiana, and eventually became vezir to two successive Chaghatay Kháns, whose authority he completely usurped, and in 1380, at the age of forty-four, he set out on his amazing career of conquest. Already by 1360 he had so greatly distinguished himself that he received the title of *Sáhib-Qirán,* or Lord of the Happy Conjunction, by which he is generally referred to in Persian histories.

For the next twenty years he spent his summers in raids into Persia or Afghanistan, carrying all before him, usually putting all his prisoners to the sword and making pyramids of their bodies or minarets of their heads, and returning to his beloved capital, Samarqand, for the winter. One after the other the princes

of Persia and the neighbouring countries were subdued, and they and their people treated with the utmost barbarity by this glorified highway robber, who, in the winter, would devote his attention to the beautifying of his capital and its environs by the labours of engineers and architects "gathered from every clime and country from East to West." To follow in detail these expeditions is not our business in this place, but it may be mentioned that the materials at the disposal of the historian are ample, and the fullest biography of Tamerlane, called the *Zafar Náma,* or "Book of Victory," has been accessible, if in a somewhat abridged form, both in French and in English since the beginning of the eighteenth century.

The two campaigns which concern us most here are his expedition into India (1398) and his so-called Seven Years' War with the Ottoman Sultan Báyazid, which actually only lasted five years (1399-1404).

Crossing the Indus in September, 1398, he marched on Delhi, taking a south-easterly route in order to join his grandson, who had captured Multan in the previous year. His biographer tells us that on his victorious progress through the Panjab he became so burdened with prisoners that on nearing Delhi he caused one hundred thousand of them to be put to death in cold blood. Gibbon, who for some reason or other tries to whitewash Tamerlane, totally ignores this act of sheer barbarity, and dismisses the horrors enacted a few days later in Delhi with the remark that "the order or licence of a general pillage or massacre polluted the festival of his victory."

It is strange to think that such a glorified marauding expedition, which had no other motive but loot and led to nothing but death and destruction, should have been carried out by the ancestor of those very men who were to raise Hindustan to a height of prosperity and power which surpassed that reached under any of her previous Muslim rulers.

In the meanwhile Tamerlane became embroiled

with the Mamlúk Sultan of Egypt, Násir, who had unlawfully detained Tamerlane's ambassador in Cairo, and this addition to his potential foes was probably a matter of congratulation for such an omnivorous campaigner as this. After subduing the principal towns of Syria, he turned his attention to Baghdad.

This unfortunate city after a short siege was again sacked, and turned into "a smoking charnel-house."

A heated correspondence was meanwhile passing between Sultan Báyazid and the conqueror, in which each accused the other of violating his territory: and the opening of hostilities was merely a question of time. It is interesting to note that Tamerlane refrained from attacking Báyazid in the first instance because the latter was still engaged in the blockade of Constantinople, and as a good Muslim he could not be justified in interfering with his Holy War against the Christians; a precisely similar reluctance was shown by Humáyun in regard to Sultan Bahádur (see below, p. 66). However, at the beginning of 1402 he could brook delay no longer, and in July of that year was fought the memorable battle of Angora, in which the Ottomans were utterly defeated and Báyazid was taken prisoner. The legend perpetuated by Marlowe of the Ottoman Sultan being confined in a cage and carried about with the conqueror wherever he went is most probably apocryphal. One cannot help wondering whether Marshal Ney had this legend in his mind when he undertook to bring back Napoleon in a cage in March, 1815.

Tamerlane in 1404 turned his eyes on China, where he hoped to spread the true faith and enrich himself and his army, but on reaching Otrar fell ill, and in February, 1404, died at the age of seventy-one.

His conquests at this time extended from the Ganges to the Bosphorus, and from the Persian Gulf to the Jaxartes, but Egypt and Arabia eluded his grasp as they had previously eluded that of the Seljuqs and the Mongols.

As soon as the Great Conqueror was dead, Ottomans, Jalayrs, and Turkomans began to recover their lost provinces in the west.

His son Sháh Rukh managed for a while (1404-1447) to maintain the power and dignity of the Empire, but after his death the dominions were split up into petty principalities, which made way for the Safavids in Persia and the Shaybanids in Transoxiana.

Shaybaníds (1500-1599).—It was Muhammad Shaybaní, a Mongol by descent, who founded the Uzbeg kingdom in Transoxiana, which was ruled by several successive dynasties. These Uzbegs were a constant source of annoyance and danger to the Safavid kings on their eastern frontiers.

Safavids (1502-1736).—We cannot here follow the fluctuating successes of the various princes who ruled over Persia during the century following Tamerlane's death, but must pass immediately to the rise of the Great Safavid Dynasty, which revived the ancient glories of Persia and gave her an independent and national status which she had never really enjoyed since the overthrow of the Sásánian Chosroes in the seventh century.

There was a certain Shi'a family who had, during the fourteenth century, acquired a reputation for sanctity, and the most celebrated among them was a certain Shaykh, Safi ud-Dín of Ardabíl. From this saint was descended, in the fifth generation, Sháh Isma'il who, first entering on a career of conquest at the age of thirteen in 1499, three years later defeated the Turkomans and set himself up as king in Tabriz. Within the next few years he made himself master of Khurásán, including Herat. On the west his frontier marched with that of the Ottomans, and his Shi'a propaganda embittered the religious antagonism between the Shi'a Persians and the Sunni Turks, which continued down to the beginning of the seventeenth century. They were also engaged in continual wars against the Uzbegs on the north-eastern frontier.

Sháh Isma'il, in spite of a signal defeat at the hands of the Turks in 1514 (see below, p. 74), during a reign of twenty-two years managed to introduce a sort of national unity into Persia and to establish the Shi'ite belief, which had always been so dear to its native inhabitants. It is for this reason that he came to be regarded as both hero and saint.

Tahmasp, who succeeded his father in 1524, reigned for fifty-two years, and in spite of many losses to the Ottomans—including Baghdad and the holy places of the Shi'ites, Nejef, and Kerbela—he managed to maintain the honour of his kingdom. It was this king who received the Indian Emperor Humáyun during his exile from India (see p. 67).

The greatest of the Safavids, however, was Sháh 'Abbás I. (1587-1629), whose reign was celebrated for the revival of arts and literature, the development of public works, and an enlightened foreign policy, which brought him into relations with his three equally renowned contemporaries Queen Elizabeth, the Emperor Akbar, and Sulayman the Magnificent.

The chief ambition of his life was to recover from the Ottomans those provinces which had been lost to them by his predecessors, especially Azarbaiján and Georgia. In order to effect this he desired to ally himself with the Christian princes of Europe, who for their part were only too thankful to find someone who would share with them the task of suppressing the powerful Turk.

CHAPTER IX

THE DYNASTIES OF INDIA

After the recall of Muhammad ibn Qásim (see above, p. 17) the Muslims retained some foothold on the west bank of the Indus. but they were in such small

numbers compared with the Hindus that they were gradually merged into the native population and entirely lost touch with the Caliph of Baghdad. In Mansúra they openly adopted Hinduism. Sultan Mahmúd had, therefore, the twofold object in his repeated invasions of India of winning back the former conquests of the Arabs and of extending the realms of Islám.

It should be remembered that the Muslim kingdoms of India never at any time stretched southwards beyond Golkonda on the east and Mysore on the west. The English were the first people to attempt the rule of the whole of the Indian Peninsula from Cape Cormorin to Peshawar; and, apart from this, there is no record in Indian history prior to the rule of the British Raj of any period of as much as ten years without internal warfare. Since 1858 very few shots have been fired in anger in the whole length and breadth of India.

THE GHÚRIDS.—The dynasty founded by Sultan Mahmúd (see p. 42) was in A.D. 1155 driven out of Ghazna by one of these Ghúrid kings who had risen to power in Eastern Afghanistan between Herat and Ghazna, and for a while the Ghaznavids settled in Lahore. The last king of this house was defeated and killed by the brother of the Ghúrid king, who conquered many important cities, including Kanauj and Delhi, between the years A.D. 1175 and 1194, whereby the Ghúrids became virtual masters of Hindustan. In A.D 1202 this Ghúrid king died and was succeeded by his brother Muhammad who had carried out these conquests. In A.D. 1206, Muhammad the Ghúrid was murdered and his throne passed to his slave, Qutb ud-Dín Aï-bek (or Moon-Lord), who became the first of the so-called "Slave kings" of Delhi.

The real history of Islám in India begins with his accession to the throne, although already in 1195, while Muhammad the Ghúrid was conquering upper India, a certain Muhammad, ibn Bakhktiyar, entering Bihar, had conquered Bengal, where he established

himself as independent king with Gaur (Lakhnawtí) as his capital. This conqueror and first Muslim Governor of Bengal belonged to the Afghan-Turkish tribe of Khalj, of which we shall hear again.

The Slave kings of Delhi ruled from 1206 to 1287. The most distinguished of them was Altamish (more correctly Il-tutmish or World-Grasper) who, during his reign of twenty-five years, conquered Sind, made Bengal subordinate to Delhi, and drove off the redoubtable Jalál ud-Dín, the son of Muhammad Khwárazm-Sháh, who aimed at establishing himself in Hindustan after being driven across the Hindu Kush by the Mongols. The authority of Il-tutmish extended over the whole of India north of the Vindhya Mountains; and he was the first Muslim ruler in India to be recognised as such by the Caliph of Baghdad. He died in A.D. 1235.

After a year of dispute regarding his successor among his sons and grandsons, the choice fell on his daughter Razía, who, as S. Lane-Poole says, "was the only woman who ever sat on the throne of Delhi until Queen Victoria figuratively took her seat there in 1858." After a short and disturbed reign she was taken prisoner and killed by the Hindus. We shall see below that Núr Jahán, the famous wife of the Mughal Emperor Jahánjir, was *de facto* ruler during most of her husband's reign (see p. 70).

In A.D. 1290 the Slave Dynasty was ousted by Jalál ad-Dín Fírúz who belonged to the tribe of Khaljis, from which this dynasty received its name. The most remarkable man of this house, which only ruled over Hindustan for thirty years, was the nephew of the founder, 'Alá ud-Dín (1295-1315), who distinguished himself not only as a general in the field, but also as an administrative and a religious reformer.

It is interesting to note that after the defeat and death of the Caliph of Baghdad in 1258 (see p. 52) the sovereigns of Delhi had continued to write the name of this Caliph on their coins down to the accession of

'Alá ud-Dín, who was the first Muslim ruler in India to style himself Caliph on his coins. His conquests included the Dekkan and the strong Rajput fortress of Chitor. There was constant rivalry at Delhi among the representatives of the various Turkish and Afghan tribes, which persisted and was accountable for the various changes of dynasty down to the time of the Mughals.

The Khaljis were succeeded by another Turkish dynasty known as the Tughluqids, which was founded by a slave named Tughluq. The second ruler of this line, Muhammad ibn Tughluq, was one of the most remarkable men that ever ruled in Muslim India. Though full of original ideas he seems to have been totally lacking in reasoning power, and thus, with the best of intentions, he attempted drastic reforms which were from the first doomed to failure. He took the whole administration into his own hands, and though he was much given to discussion of spiritual and material problems he never listened to the counsels or warnings of the wise. He found, for example, that in spite of the immense wealth that had flowed into the coffers of Delhi from the rich provinces of Northern India, the finances of the state had been seriously depleted by vast military undertakings and the greed of the Turkish and Afghan nobility: he, therefore, one fine day issued an order that in future gold coins should be struck in copper, and that this new currency should be accepted at the gold standard by all his subjects on pain of death. This ridiculous innovation naturally led to endless troubles both with the army, who had to accept their salaries at the old rate, and with the cultivators, who had to sell their produce at the new rate and pay taxes at the old. The troubles thus caused at the capital, and the notion that the recently acquired Dekkan provinces could not be efficiently ruled from far-away Delhi, suggested to this thick-headed genius the absurd plan of removing the seat of the government to Deogir, one hundred and fifty