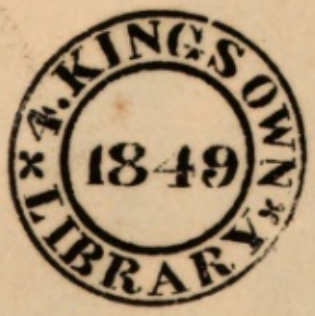
NARRATIVE OF A TOUR

THROUGH

ARMENIA, KURDISTAN, PERSIA,

AND

MESOPOTAMIA.



NARRATIVE

OF

A TOUR THROUGH

ARMENIA, KURDISTAN, PERSIA,

AND

MESOPOTAMIA.

WITH

OBSERVATIONS ON THE CONDITION OF MOHAMMEDANISM AND CHRISTIANITY IN THOSE COUNTRIES.

BY THE REV. HORATIO SOUTHGATE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

PERSIAN MIRZA.

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PREFACE.

THE Mission whose history is detailed in the following pages, was performed under the direction of the Foreign Committee of the Board of Missions of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America.

The author has found it impossible to embrace, in a publication of ordinary size, all the information which he has accumulated. He has, therefore, omitted the narrative of his journey through European Turkey, as well as of two excursions in the Western part of Asia Minor. He has withheld, moreover, from unwillingness unduly to extend the size of his work, an account of the recent and present reforms in Turkey, for which he had collected ample materials, and has confined himself to a few incidental notices of them, which will be found scattered in different parts of the narrative. He has, also, been compelled, for the same reason, to confine himself, in his survey of Mohammedanism, to the most essential points in its present character and condition, without indulging in speculative disquisitions upon the numerous topics of interest which they suggest, or carrying out the in-

formation detailed, in all its bearings upon the advancement of Christianity in the regions over which his survey extended.

While the author was pursuing his inquiries among the Mohammedans, he soon found his mind drawn, almost unconsciously, to the state of the Eastern Churches, and his interest became, at length, so deeply excited in their behalf, that he devoted to them all the attention which the more immediate duties of his work permitted. The information which he collected and the views which he formed, are, so far as his limits allowed, embraced in the following narrative.

With regard to the plan of the work, he has endeavoured to combine, as much as possible, incident with instruction, and to relieve the dulness of statistical information by the interest of personal experience and adventure. A map of the countries surveyed being indispensable in a work of this nature, much time and labour have been expended upon it. In constructing it, a valuable French map, the most accurate of any which had come under the notice of the author, was selected as a basis, and its authority followed in most parts which the writer did not survey. Along his own route, however, everything is original, excepting the latitude and longitude of the principal places. These were taken, in part, from the French map, and, in part, from the best English authorities.

In the explanation of foreign terms, the author has followed the course which he has always desired to see pursued in

works upon the East. He has explained them where they first occur, either by a brief definition in the text or by a note in the margin, excepting a few instances, in which they are explained by the context. In the most important cases, or where the meaning would not readily be remembered, the definition is repeated, or referred to, on the recurrence of the term. In the first instance, the original word is uniformly printed in Italics, which the reader may regard as an intimation to fix the meaning firmly in his memory.

Several items of information which could not conveniently be embraced in the narrative, are given in the Appendix, to which have been added some other pieces, particularly rules for the pronunciation of foreign terms, and a table of the distances travelled each day.

My acknowledgments for aid received in my work are, for the most part, made in the course of my narrative. I cannot, however, forbear to add in this place, the expression of my deep gratitude to the Committee, under which I went forth, for their hearty co-operation in all the plans and labours of my Mission, and also to the two Secretaries, the Rev. Dr. Milnor and the Rev. Dr. Vaughan, under the superintendence of the first of whom the work was commenced, and during the official term of the second, is now brought to a close. Nor may I forget to record the extraordinary liberality of a single congregation, the Church of St. Andrew, Philadelphia, by which a thousand dollars, annually, were contributed, for the space of three years, to the support of the Mission.

My work, with all its toil and suffering, and the deep interest which it has so long sustained in my breast, is now about to end. With these concluding words my labours terminate. There have already grown out of it, two Missions, one at Constantinople, and another among the Jacobite Christians of Mesopotamia, both which, I humbly believe, will be productive of rich and glorious results, if faithfully prosecuted and sustained. Other Missions may yet be established in the wide-spread field which I have been permitted to survey, and, perhaps, a new interest will be awakened in some hearts by the humble record which I now offer to the Church. I leave my work, therefore, with no other feelings than those of gratitude, joy, and encouragement, and with these feelings I turn to other labours in the same good cause.

H. S.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE work now offered to the English public was originally prepared with reference to its publication in this country. Hence the reader will find the Church of England frequently associated with the Episcopal Church of America, to which the author belongs. The obligations of the Reformed Churches of the West to the Episcopal Communions of the East rest both upon the mother and the daughter,—but not equally. The measure of Christian responsibility being that which we have, there must surely be demanded of the parent Church of Great Britain efforts far superior to any that may fairly be expected of her youthful daughter in America. I speak not of human demands, but of that which the Great Head of the Church Universal expects of us. And yet, I think, that I rightly interpret the sentiment of the American Church, when I say, that she is ready to follow closely in the steps of the English

Church in the sublime enterprise of re-uniting the dissevered members of the Body of Christ in a Primitive and Apostolic Communion. Such a consummation it is, in part, the design of the present work to promote, and the author gladly avails himself of the opportunity which his journey through England (on his return to the lands which have been the scene of his former travels and labours) affords him of presenting the results of his recent investigations to the English people, and especially to the members of the Established Church.

H. S.

London, June 25, 1840.

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Mohammed*, the founder of the religion which it is in part the design of these pages to delineate, was born at Mecca, an ancient city of Arabia, about A. D. 571. He was of the tribe of Koreish, the noblest in Arabia, and, if credit may be given to Oriental writers, he was a lineal descendant of Ishmael, the son of Abraham. The Mohammedan historians record that mighty prodigies accompanied his birth. The sacred fire of the Magi went out, the river Tigris overflowed its banks, and the prophet himself appeared surrounded with a light which illumined the country round about. His first act on entering the world was to fall upon his knees, raise his hands and face towards heaven, and repeat the Mussul-

* The orthography which I have adopted for the name of the false prophet is that which accords with the Eastern pronunciation and with the usage of European scholars.

man creed. The histories of his life abound in such legends as these.

His youthful years were spent in the humble occupation of a travelling merchant. At the age of 38, when his marriage with an opulent widow had raised him to an equality with the principal men of his city, he began to affect solitude, and spent much of his time in a retired cave. At the end of two years, according to the testimony of his biographers, the angel Gabriel appeared to him, and invested him with the high commission of an "Apostle of God to the black and the red," or, in other words, to all mankind. After this followed frequent pretended revelations, which appeared as circumstances called for them, and were always of such a character as the emergency demanded. This often rendered those of a late date contradictory to those which had gone before. Thus, while the weakness of his party confined him to pacific measures, his pretended revelations breathed only the spirit of peace and good-will: but when his followers had become numerous and able to cope with his enemies, there immediately appeared a command to spread his religion by the sword.

There is good evidence, however, that his motives at the first were not altogether unworthy of a religious reformer. His original design, doubtless, was to destroy the idolatry of the Pagan Arabs, and to reduce the corrupted faith of the Judaists and Christians of Arabia to the worship of one only God. The unity of the Deity must therefore be regarded as the grand point of his religion, as it was also the prime article of his creed. With success his ambition increased while his motives degenerated, and the successive circumstances of his mission led him to add to his spurious revelations much which had never before entered his imagination.

As the design of these volumes embraces only the *present* state of Mohammedanism, we need not dwell upon its early history, nor upon the endless questions to which it has given rise, but may pass at once to such a view of its doctrines and practices as will suffice to form a basis for our future observations *.

The revelations which Mohammed pretended to receive from heaven were at first communicated, as has been remarked, by parcels, as occasion served. These were committed to writing by amanuenses on scattered palm-leaves and skins, or were laid up in the memory of Mohammed's followers. Thus they remained at the time of his death. Abubekr, his successor, undertook to gather them together and to digest them into a single volume, which he committed to the custody of Hafsa, one of Mohammed's wives. The book was revised by Othman, the third Caliph, and the various copies reduced to one standard. It has since remained unchanged, and is generally known by the name which it bears on its own pages, *Al Koran*, or THE KORAN. The additions which have been made to it by Mussulman commentators, and which are now incorporated in the religion itself, will presently come under notice. Before proceeding to these, however, the reader may be pleased to know something more particularly of the book itself.

The appellation, *Koran*, is derived from an Arabic verb signifying *to read*, and may itself be interpreted *the reading*, or that which should be read. The import is the same with that of the Greek *Biblia* and the Hebrew *Mikra*, from the first of which the general title of our

*. Many biographies of Mohammed have been published in Europe at different periods. The most authentic are those by Prideaux and Gagnier. Of the various histories of the Saracenic conquests, one of the most approved is *Ockley's History of the Saracens*, published in England A.D. 1708.

Holy Scriptures is taken, while the second, derived from the same root with *Koran*, is the Jewish appellation of the Old Testament. The book is generally designated among the Mussulmans by some honourable title instead of its original name. Those most commonly in use are *Kelami Scherif*, Noble Discourse, and *Kitabi Aziz*, Holy Book. When its scattered parts were collected by Abubekr, they were divided into chapters which, in some copies now rarely to be found, were subdivided into verses after the manner of our own Scriptures. Another division sometimes seen in them, corresponds with that of the Psalms in the English and American Church Service, the whole being divided into thirty sections for the convenience of readers. Copies of this description are used in the imperial *turbehs*, or chapels of Constantinople, where the remains of the sultans are deposited. In some of these chapels a reader may be seen at any hour of the day, sitting upon the carpet with a large copy of the Koran before him, reading in the low, cantillating tone, and with the see-saw motion of the body always observed. In this way the Koran is read through daily by thirty readers, for the regular performance of which devotional and meritorious act the chapels are endowed.

The style of the Koran cannot be fairly judged by the insipid and incoherent form which it assumes even in the best translation. The purity, elegance, and peculiar music of the original, at which Mohammed aimed with the skill of one who knew well how to make his revelations enter the ears for which they were intended, are all lost when clothed in a foreign dress. To the Arab, however, these factitious excellences are its highest charm. He speaks of its divine language in enraptured terms, and the melody of its rhythm is like an intoxicat-

ing draught to him. He appeals to it, after the example of its author, as the grand miracle of his religion, and like him declares it to be inimitable*. I was inclined to regard this admiration as, in part at least, the product of religious enthusiasm, until it was confirmed to me by more disinterested witnesses. I have heard Christians of Mesopotamia, with whom the Arabic is vernacular, speak as fervently in praise of the literary beauties of the Koran as a Mussulman could do. A Chaldean of Mossoul described the flow of its words as a perfect melody†.

The attractiveness of their holy book, in respect to its excellences of style, is better appreciated by the Arabs than by the Turks or Persians, to the mass of whom its language is an unknown tongue. Yet the reverence with which it is regarded by the latter as a repository of divine oracles, is not diminished by their ignorance of its meaning. They hold it to be, according to its own declarations, "composed by God," "sent down from the Lord of all creatures," "a book of infinite value," "a revelation from a wise God." It is a copy from "the original, written in the preserved book," or the volume of divine decrees, kept in the seventh heaven‡. The requisition of its author, "None shall touch it except those who are clean," is generally, but not universally, observed. In repeated instances, I have witnessed its violation. Nor is it true, as has often been affirmed, that it is never permitted to be touched by an unbeliever, since I have freely opened and examined nu-

* Koran, chap. xvi.

† This same individual had been a prisoner of one of the desert tribes, the Nasari, I believe. He informed me that their language was purely classical Arabic, of which the Koran is the standard. Their superiority in this respect was the theme of their constant boast, and they spoke with deep contempt of the barbarous jargon of the cities.

‡ Koran, chaps. x. xli.

merous copies in mosques and *medressehs* (colleges), as well as others in the possession of private individuals. It is more difficult to procure one by purchase. In Constantinople this can hardly be accomplished, except by the aid of a Mussulman *; but in Persia, many were offered to me without disguise. Here, however, as in Turkey, the public knowledge of such a transaction might subject one to danger. The reason of this scruple I believe to be rather a fear, lest the book should be desecrated in the hands of an unbeliever, or sold for profit, like an article of merchandise, than, as might at first appear, the groundless jealousy of religious bigotry. The Turks, much more than the Persians, carry their regard for the Koran to the verge of superstition. They use it for divination, by drawing a decision from the first passage or word to which they may open. They inscribe its sentences upon the inner walls of their mosques, sometimes upon the exterior of their houses, and the ceilings of their rooms, on fountains, vestments, swords, banners, seals, &c.

The copies of the Koran which I have seen have been of various dimensions, from the size of the largest folio† to a volume two inches square. They are uniformly in manuscript, and the penmanship is often as regular and beautiful as the finest copper-plate engraving. Multitudes gain their livelihood by the labour of transcribing them. Some of the students in the medressehs defray in this manner a considerable part of the expenses of their education. I knew an old man in Tebriz, celebrated for his chirographical skill, who wrote a single copy, annually, and maintained himself with the proceeds.

* The same is true, in general, of commentaries and other works on religion.

† See Appendix, I.

There exists, among the Turks, a strong scruple both against printing and translating the Koran. This feeling is still more rife among the Arabs, who look upon its very words with superstitious reverence. In Persia, however, I have seen copies of translations in the language of the country. But even here the original was retained, and the translation was interlineary. Nor have I ever read or heard of a Mussulman translation made in any other manner*.

The Koran is to the Mussulmans what the Bible is to the Christian—a rule of faith and practice. Terms equivalent to these are in use among them, to signify the two great complements of religion. *Iman* is *faith;* and *Din*, though in familiar conversation used as a generic term for religion, in its theological sense signifies that part of religion contradistinguished from its theory, that is, its duties or *practice*. The proper and most commonly used term for the Mussulman religion is, *Al Islam*, or *Devotedness to God*†. Lest it should not occur to me to remark upon it hereafter, I will here say, that this comprehensive idea of religion seems to me to explain much which at first sight surprised me in Mussulman character. I have often, for instance, been struck with the peculiar reverence manifested by Mussulmans for the tombs and memories of devout men among the Christians. My surprise at this ceased when I became better acquainted with the genius of the religion, for, although it is essentially bigoted, a Mussulman's idea

* See Appendix, II.

† Prideaux translates it, *The Saving Religion;* Pocock, *Obedience God;* and Sale, *Resigning, or devoting one's self entirely to God and his Service.* From the same root with this word are derived, the *Muslim* and *Musliman*, which Western usage has converted into *Moslem* and *Mussulman*.

of it, as embodied in its name, leads him to venerate true devotion, wherever it exists.

It is well known that Islamism is now based upon many other authorities than the Koran. The latter is, as it has ever been, the only source of doctrine and religious observance; but the foundations which support the moral, civil, and political superstructure that has grown out of the religion, cover a far wider area. It is important at this point of our progress to look to their origin.

The seemingly complicated framework of the Mohammedan system, when viewed as embracing civil and political, as well as religious and moral, institutions, is, I believe, purely an accident. The original religion was most simple and easily understood. It is the same religion which now forms the faith and practice of the mass of uninstructed Mussulmans, and is that to which we shall have to look in estimating their present moral condition. Its elements, both of belief and precept, are extremely few and simple, and these it is which constitute the religion as it stands in the mind of a common Mussulman. It is by their fewness and simplicity, in co-operation with other causes, that they so easily retain their hold on the mind, and are so little exposed to corruption. The religion might never have presented any other aspect, even to a learned Mussulman, if its founder had not departed from the pacific mode of propagating it with which he commenced. The unsheathing of a carnal weapon gave it at once a secular character. Those who were subjected to it by the sword became civil and political as well as religious subjects. When it began to overthrow kingdoms by conquest, the necessity began to be imposed upon it of erecting a polity of its own, other-

wise it would have left the nations which it conquered without a civil government. Thus Mohammed became before his death a prince as well as a religious reformer, and the office went down to his successors invested with this double character.

The spiritual head became a ruler of nations. These two characters might have been easily maintained without the necessity of an extensive civil code, while the religion was confined to the deserts of Arabia, where government existed for the most part in patriarchal simplicity. But when, under the first caliph, it went abroad and penetrated into foreign lands, bearing the Koran in one hand and the sword in the other, an enlarged and complicated system became necessary. For this emergency the Koran had not provided; and herein is one remarkable evidence that Mohammed himself did not distinctly contemplate that wide extension of his religion to which it was destined. The caliphs first attempted to govern by the aid of the Koran alone, but this being insufficient, they extended the application of its precepts by glosses of their own, and to these added an entirely new set of laws, termed *Sunneh*, or Oral Law. These were distinguished from the Koranic code (which is styled *Farz*, as being of divine origin and obligation), in that they were oral and traditionary. They were, however, equally with the first, derived from the founder of the religion, being his unwritten sentiments uttered in ordinary conversation, his verbal decisions upon points proposed to him by his followers, inferences from his acts, and even from his silence, which it seems was then interpreted, as in modern times, to denote assent. They were held in different estimation according to their authenticity. Those which were gathered from the wives of Mohammed, or from his

personal attendants, friends, and cotemporaries, were regarded as of nearly equal obligation with the precepts of the Koran. Those which were added at a subsequent period, or on doubtful authority, were less binding, and received the distinct name of *Hadis*, a name which is also sometimes applied, in its literal sense of narration or *hearsay*, so as to cover the whole ground of traditionary law.

Before the traditions were collected into books, it was esteemed a highly meritorious act to commit them to memory or preserve them in writing. In this way, doubtless, many were kept and handed down for future use. The first individual who made an extensive collection of them was Zohari, who died at Damascus, A. H.* 124. This collection, a Mussulman writer affirms, comprised 600,000 traditions. Another, probably made with more discrimination, contained 5266. After these followed many others, of the authors of which D'Herbelot records twelve principal names. Many of these traditions, however, were so evidently drawn from the Talmud, with which the whole system remarkably corresponds, that it is believed they were palmed upon the Mohammedans by proselyted Jews. It may serve to show the minuteness with which Mussulman writers have treated of everything appertaining to their

* These letters will be understood as denoting the year of the Mussulman era, which begun with the *Flight* (*Hijreh*, commonly written *Hegira*) of Mohammed from Mecca to Medina, which happened the 16th of July, A.D. 622. The years of this era are lunar, and, of course, eleven days shorter than the solar year. I remember once to have fallen into a discussion with a Turkish friend upon the age of the late sultan, Mahmoud II., he affirming that he was fifty-five, while I insisted that he was some two years younger. The question was at last settled, as many more weighty ones might be, by a definition of terms. My friend was calculating by the lunar year, while I was thinking only of the solar.

religion, if I add, that at later periods several have written books for the purpose of discriminating between the true and false traditions; that the celebrated Noureddin, who flourished in the twelfth century as sultan of the Atabek dynasty of Syria, and whose name is mingled with the early history of the Crusades, erected a medresseh solely for instruction in these traditions; and that a great number, following that saying of Mohammed which promises a place among the first in paradise to him who shall teach forty traditions to the faithful, have sought this peculiar honour by writing books containing the requisite number, with extended commentaries upon them.

The Koran, therefore, with this body of traditions, to which time added vast accumulations, formed the basis of Mussulman legislation under the first caliphs. Their own decisions were added to the mass, forming a sort of common law. At the same time numerous schools were founded, in which the Koran was taught and explained by learned men. The first, however, who attempted to reduce these endless materials to system, and to comment upon them at large, was Abou Hanifeh, who was born at Koufah, A.H. 80, (A.D. 699), and died at Bagdad, A.H. 150, (A.D. 767). He was followed by Malek, who was born at Medina about A.H. 95, and died there about A.H. 179. After him came Al Shafeï, born at Gaza, in Palestine, A.H. 150, and died in Egypt, A.H. 204, (A.D. 819). Then followed another, called Ebn Hanbal, born probably at Bagdad, A.H. 164, where he died, A.H. 241, (A.D. 855). Among all the writers on the Koran and the traditions, these four were the most distinguished, both for the extent and completeness of their works, as well as their strict piety. On this account, and not by any means because they

were the only authors of their kind, they came at length to be regarded as the standards of religion, though, in the instance of Abou Hanifeh, this honour was denied him until after his death.

Neither of these men formed a code of legislation; but Al Shafeï was wont to discourse upon jurisprudence, and wrote a book for the purpose of reducing the civil and canonical law to system. At the time of Abou Hanifeh the catalogue of traditions was not full, great accessions having been made to it at subsequent periods. His writings were, therefore, distinguished by his constant appeal to reason in interpreting the Koran, and his disciples have thence been called *Rationalists*. The others, Al Shafeï in particular, relied more upon the simple word of what they considered to be revelation, and interpreted it more by tradition than by their own judgment. They were great friends of tradition, and, at their time, were the principal channels of its descent from one age to another. D'Herbelot supposes Al Shafeï to have attended upon the instruction of Malek in Egypt; but this is hardly possible, as Malek died, according to the latest calculation, A.H. 179, while Al Shafeï did not visit Egypt till A.H. 198. Doubtless, however, he received there the traditions of Malek, which he afterwards transferred to Hanbal, who in many things may be considered his disciple.

The labours of these four doctors are to be regarded as forming the basis of Mussulman legislation, and as finally determining what had been left unrevealed by Mohammed, or indefinitely or contradictorily expressed, or unsettled from the want of interpretation. The number, however, of the same class of writers who appeared during the first centuries of the Mussulman era was very large. Some of them attained nearly equal celebrity

with those whom we have named, and the works of many of them are still studied by Mussulman scholars. They are sometimes divided into six classes, distinguished by the periods in which they wrote and the nature of their labours. The number of the chief commentators in all these classes is about thirty. The object of their writings, for the most part, was, to compose differences between the first four *Imams* *, to decide between them when their discrepancies could not be reconciled, to resolve questions which they had left untouched, to carry out their decisions to a more extended application, and to deduce inferences from them. Their works, which are very voluminous and minute, form, with other treatises on religion, the chief part of Mohammedan literature.

Distinct from these is another class who have confined themselves to the interpretation of the Koran. They are so numerous that the mere titles of their works would fill a large volume†. This class includes not only those who have explained the sense of the Koran, but all who have written on the various collateral topics relating to it. These of themselves form a large body. Some have treated on particular words in the Koran, and some on certain solitary letters which stand at the heads of several of the chapters, and to which a cabalistic sense is given. Others have treated on the different versions of the book which existed when it was revised by Othman; others on the mode of reading it, and the state of soul and body prerequisite to that exercise; others have expatiated upon its excellences; and others still have paraphrased it. An entire book has been made of its names and titles. Indeed, the very number of its words have been counted, and found to be 77,639,

* See Appendix, III. † D'Herbelot.

and even its letters have been enumerated, 323,015, as well as the number of times each letter is used.

Until after the capture of Constantinople, A.D. 1454, magistrates and doctors of the law were compelled to plunge into this fathomless abyss of learning in order to draw out the knowledge necessary for their several professions. In A.D. 1470, a celebrated scholar formed from these materials an extensive code, which was soon superseded by another from the pen of the celebrated Ibrahim al Halebi, a native, as his surname denotes, of Haleb, or Aleppo. He flourished during the latter part of the 15th and the commencement of the 16th century, holding several important offices in the mosque of Mohammed II. at Constantinople. His work, which, from the variety, extent, and profundity of its learning, is entitled *Multeka*, or, The Confluence of Seas, appeared during the reign of Suliman I. It is a compend of all that had been written by previous commentators, and forms a complete religious, civil, political, criminal, and military code. Immediately on its publication it took the place which it still holds, as the great text-book of Turkish jurisprudence. Later authors have done no more than to improve the arrangement of its parts, a matter to which Al Halebi, like most Oriental writers, paid little attention.

The reader may think that sufficient has been said upon this part of my subject. My design, however, which has been not only to expose the basis of the Mohammedan religion, but to show with what minuteness its different parts have been explained, extended, and glossed upon by Mussulmans themselves, will not be fully answered without adverting to another class of treatises of a less speculative and abstruse character. They hold the same place among the Mohammedans that works on

practical religion hold among us; and, if I may judge from extracts which have at different times been read and explained to me by Mussulman friends, as well as from the translations of many of them in French and English, they are often worthy of the perusal of a Christian. The subjects of some of them are such as these: On moral duties—a very numerous and various class; On a religious life; On the graces of religion, such as humility, penitence, self-denial, and resignation; On spiritual or contemplative religion—presented in much the same manner with the old Christian writers on monastic life; Histories of the prophets, including, with others, some of the patriarchs and prophets of the Old Testament; On the names of God and their signification; On the divine attributes; On the dignity and duties of an Imam—corresponding in some measure to our own treatises on the duties and responsibilities of the ministerial office. To these may be added, compilations and abridgments of celebrated works on religion; biographies of holy men; short sayings, proverbs, and moral precepts—a mode of presenting thought most congenial to the Eastern mind; and, finally, religious manuals—the doctrinal and preceptive parts of religion. These last correspond very nearly to our articles of faith, excepting that they are the productions of single individuals, and have no binding authority aside from the truths which they inculcate.

Having glanced at the sources from which Islamism derives its support, we are now prepared to pass to a view of its doctrines and precepts as they are therein presented. For this purpose we cannot do better than offer entire, one of those religious manuals in use among the Mussulmans. In this way the religion will be presented in

the most succinct manner, and without the danger of a partial or unjust judgment. Two of these compends lie before me while I write. The following is a translation of one of them.

THE MUSSULMAN CATECHISM.

I.—OF THE GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF THE RELIGION.

In the name of God most merciful!

Praised be God who has conducted us to the Faith, and has established it as the seal of our entrance into the celestial Paradise, and as the veil between us and an eternal abode in the fires of Hell.

May the peace and favour of God rest upon Mohammed, the most excellent among men, and the *Imam* who directs his own in the right way; and not only upon him, but also upon his family and his glorious companions. And may that peace be perpetual to all men, and constantly increasing for ever and ever.

Know then that Faith is the chief element of *Islam*, as the Apostle Mohammed (upon whom be peace!) has declared.

Now Religion rests upon these five foundations: The confession of the true God, which consists in believing and confessing that, THERE IS NO GOD BUT GOD, AND MOHAMMED IS THE APOSTLE OF GOD *; The prescribed observance of prayers†; The giving of alms; The fast of the month Ramazan; and, The pilgrimage to Mecca, which is required of every one who is in a state to undertake it.

* See Appendix, IV.

† The observance of prayers includes the washings prerequisite to their right performance. Although, therefore, the duty of ablution has a distinct section devoted to it in the Catechism, it is not to be regarded as constituting a distinct article in the Symbol.

To begin with the confession of the true God, (which is properly that which we call FAITH,) it is needful to know that what we exact of a man who has arrived at the age of knowledge and understanding, is to believe in *God*, in his *Angels*, in his *Apostles*, in his *revelations*, in the *last day*, and in his *Decree* touching good and evil.

Now FAITH does not consist merely in being internally persuaded of the truth respecting all these points, but it is moreover necessary that the confession of the tongue make that persuasion to appear without by external signs *.

II.—OF FAITH IN GOD.

Faith in God consists in knowing truly with the heart, and confessing openly with the mouth, that the Most High God exists; that He is True, Permanent, and very Essence; that He is Eternal in relation to the past, having never begun, and Eternal also in relation to the future, since He is without the necessity of an end; that there appertaineth to Him neither place, time, figure, nor any outward form whatever—no motion, change, transposition, separation, division, fraction, or fatigue; that He is without equal and without parallel; that He is perfectly Pure, One, Everlasting, and Living; that He is Omniscient, Omnipotent, and Sovereign; that He hears, sees, speaks †, acts, creates, sustains; that He produces intelligently; that He causes to live and causes to die; that He gives beginning to all, and makes all to return to their original state, whenever He pleases; that

* Romans, x. 9, 10.

† This must be interpreted consistently with what precedes. The Doctrine of the incorporality of God is, next to that of His unity, the most prominent feature of Mohammedanism.

He judges, decrees, directs, commands, prohibits; that He conducts into the right way, and leads into error*; and that to Him belong Retribution, Reward, Punishment, Favour, and Victory.

It is necessary farther to believe, that all these eternal attributes are embraced in His essential Being, aud subsist in Him from everlasting to everlasting, without division or variation, yet so that it can neither be said that these attributes are Himself, nor that they are essentially different from Himself, since each of them is conjoined with another, as, for example, Life with Knowledge, and Knowledge with Power.

Now these attributes, such as we have described them in action, are, in the abstract, Life, Knowledge, Power, Will, Hearing, Seeing, Eternity (both anterior and posterior), Action, Creation, Sustentation, Intelligent Production, Impartation of Life, Causation of Death, the Formation and Restoration of Things, Wisdom, Decree, Direction to Good, Seduction to Evil, Retribution, Reward, Punishment, Favour, and Victory.

Such are the great and inestimable perfections of the Most High God, under which He is known and adored by the Faithful. Whoever dares to deny them, or to call them in question, whether in whole or in part, truly he is an Infidel.

O God, preserve Thou us from Infidelity!

III.—OF THE ANGELS.

As for that which concerns the necessary belief respecting Angels, our Faith will be complete, if we believe with the heart, and confess with the mouth, that the

* See Section VII. of this Catechism.

Most High God has servants or ministers*, to whom is given the name of Angels, who are perfectly free from all sin, who assist continually before God, who punctually execute His commands, and never disobey Him†.

Respecting their nature we are required to believe that their bodies are subtile, pure, and formed of light; that they neither eat, drink, nor sleep; that they have no sexual properties, nor carnal appetites, and are without father or mother‡.

As they are endowed with different forms, so they have also distinct functions. Some stand erect, others maintain an inclined posture, others are seated, and, with the forehead bowed down, adore the Creator. Some chant His praise and sing hymns to His glory; others laud and magnify Him after another manner §; and others still intercede with Him for the pardon of human sins. There are those among them who record our actions in their registers; there are others who protect us‖; others surround; and others still bear the Throne of God; or they are employed in yet other duties, all alike agreeable to the Deity.

Now it is necessary to believe in these Angels, although we know neither their names nor their diverse kinds. As it is one of the absolute conditions of Faith to love them without exception, so is it Infidelity to hate them all or any one among them. If any one, moreover, dares to say, that though there are Angels, they are distinguished, like ourselves, by sexes, or, admitting that they are without such distinction, is not careful to believe in them and love them, let him be regarded as an Infidel.

O God, preserve Thou us from Infidelity!

* Hebrews, i. 14. † Psalms, ciii. 20.
‡ Matt. xxii. 30. § Ps. ciii. 20, 21. ‖ Ps. xxxiv. 7.

IV.—OF THE SACRED BOOKS.

Faith in the Sacred Books consists in being persuaded with the heart, and confessing with the mouth, that there are illustrious books which God has sent from heaven to his prophets, and that they are uncreated and eternal.

In these books are contained the commandments of God and His prohibitions, His statutes, His promises, and His threatenings; the declaration of that which is permitted, and of that which is forbidden; of that which constitutes obedience, and of that which constitutes rebellion; and, finally, they exhibit the proofs of a retribution, both by reward and punishment.

All these books are the very Word of the Most High God, a Word which is read in the languages, written in the volumes, and kept in the hearts of men.

But this Word of God, since it exists in God himself, is quite distinct from the letters and words which represent it. Nevertheless these letters and these words are metaphorically called the *Word of God*, since they indicate the true Word; just as we are wont to call our Word that which truly indicates our internal thoughts, or, as one of our own poets has well expressed it,

> The inmost heart preserves the Word,
> While Language bears its voice abroad.

Yet it is only for man that language is necessary, for God knows well the heart, and all that is in it.

These Sacred Books are one hundred and four in number. Of these, Almighty God sent ten to Adam, fifty to Seth, thirty to Idris (Enoch), ten to Abraham, one to Moses, viz. the Law, or that which we call the

Pentateuch; one to Jesus, which is the Gospel*; one to David, which is the Book of Psalms; and one to Mohammed, which is the Koran.

Whoever disavows these books, or questions the divine character of all or any part thereof, though it be no more than a single chapter, or a single verse, or even a solitary word, surely such a one is an Infidel.

O God, preserve Thou us from Infidelity!

V.—OF THE APOSTLES OF GOD.

Faith, as it regards the Apostles of God, requires that we believe with the heart, and confess with the tongue, that the Most High God has had Prophets, or extraordinary men, whom He has sent to other men. These Prophets are true in all which they declare unto us, and we must render them an entire belief, whether they ordain certain things, or prohibit them, or announce to us the orders of Heaven, or make the Celestial Constitutions and Canons, or reveal to us hidden things, such as the nature, attributes, and works of God, the impartation and restoration of life, the trial of the Sepulchre, the Balance, the Sharp Bridge, the Fountain, the Intercession, Paradise and its delights, and Hell with its torments.

It is needful, too, to know that these prophets are exempt from all error and grievous sins, and are all zealous for one and the same Religion, which is *Islam*, although differing among themselves so far as regards the mode of their institutions. They are the Elect from among all creatures, inasmuch as they have been ho-

* The Doctrine of the Koran is, that Jesus, being a prophet, received the Gospel in like manner as other prophets received the revelations made to them.

noured with interviews with God himself, and with the descent of Angels unto them, while their ministry has been authorised by manifest miracles, entirely above the regular order of nature. Some among them have raised the dead, and have held conversation with beasts, trees, and other inanimate things, which, in turn, have paid them homage. These are prerogatives to which other men can never attain.

Furthermore, it should be known that God has established among them a certain subordination, by which one is exalted above another. Thus those among them who have exercised the office of Apostles are superior to those who have not exercised it, while those who have introduced new dispensations are in rank above those to whom this privilege has not been accorded.

The first of these prophets was Adam; but the last and most excellent of all was Mohammed, to whom may God be favourable, and vouchsafe His blessing, as also to all those who preceded him.

Among the first disciples of the Prophet, the most excellent of all, and he who approaches most nearly to the rank of a prophet, is Abubekr, after him Omar, next Othman, and lastly, Ali. After these four, in order of dignity, follow the six honourable companions of Mohammed—to wit, Telha, Alzabeir, Saad, Zaid, Abdurrahman, and Abou Obeida: next to them, the rest of his companions; and after these, the fortunate generation of men to whom Mohammed was sent. May God bless the Prophet, and divine favour rest on them all! Last of all come those who do good works, and whom we honour with the name of *Saints*.

The number of prophets, according to one tradition, is two hundred and eighty-four thousand, but according to another, only half as many. Among these, one

hundred and thirteen have exercised the functions of Apostles, and six have brought to man new revelations; namely, Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed. May God be propitious to one and all, and crown them with His favour!

Faith does not absolutely require an exact knowledge of the number of these extraordinary men, but it is essential to salvation to love them. He who loves them not, or who hates any one of them, must be ranked with Infidels. In like manner, whoever denies or questions the truth of any one of them, or rejects even one of their declarations, is already an Infidel.

O God, preserve Thou us from Infidelity!

VI.—OF THE LAST DAY.

Faith in the last day consists in believing with the heart, and confessing with the mouth, that there shall indeed be a last day, even that of the Resurrection, when Almighty God shall destroy and annihilate this world, and shall cause to perish all men and creatures which are found in it, excepting only certain things proper to be preserved. Such are, for instance, the Throne of Glory, and the Foundation on which it rests; and the ministering Spirit; and the Table of decrees, and the pen with which they are written; and Paradise and Hell, with all that they contain.

After this God shall restore all creatures which he had annihilated; he shall awaken them with the sound of the angelic trumpet; and, having reimparted to them vitality and intelligence, shall gather them into one place, where he shall examine them and demand an account of their past lives. To each one of them shall be given a book containing the record of his good or bad

actions, according to his character. They who receive the first are the good, who will hold their books in the right hand; the others are the wicked, who will hold their books in their left hands and behind their backs. Thereupon the Most High God will judge them in righteousness and equity, weighing in the Balance all their works, both good and bad, and rendering to every soul according to what he has done, whether it be good or evil.

Through His goodness and mercy some shall enter paradise, whilst others shall descend into hell. But no one of the Faithful* shall abide eternally in the tormenting fires of hell. They shall all enter into paradise after having undergone punishments proportioned to their transgressions. The Faithful once introduced into heaven shall dwell there for ever, while the Infidels precipitated into hell shall never go out therefrom.

In order that faith in the resurrection may be salutary and complete, it is absolutely necessary that it be contemplated with alarm. Let him, then, who shall look upon it with indifference or a feeling of security, him, too, who shall deny or doubt thereon, or who is impious enough to say, either with the mouth or in the heart, "I fear neither the resurrection nor hell, and I care not for paradise," let such a one be esteemed an Infidel.

O God, save us from Infidelity!

VII.—OF THE DECREES OF GOD.

Faith in the decrees of God requires us to believe with the heart, and confess with the mouth, that he has decreed not only things themselves, but also the mode

* The term in the original is exclusively applied to Mussulmans, who alone are embraced in this saving clause.

of their existence, so that there happens nothing in the world respecting either the situations or the operations of beings, nothing regarding good or evil, obedience or disobedience, faith or unbelief, sickness or health, poverty or riches, life or death, which is not embraced in the decree and ordinance of God, and does not emanate from his sovereign will and righteous judgment.

It is necessary, however, to remember that God has decreed obedience and faith in such manner that they are subjected not only to his ordinance, will, and decree, but also to his salutary direction, his good pleasure and his command; while, on the contrary, he has decreed disobedience and unbelief, and ordains, wills, and determines them, only in consistency with his disapprobation and prohibition of them; and this he does by abandoning men in his wrath, or by permitting them to be led away through temptation. In all this his salutary guidance, his good pleasure and his command do not concur.

Whoever, therefore, shall dare to say that God rejoices neither in the good deeds nor the faith of men, or that he has no aversion for evil and unbelief, or that good and evil proceed from him in such sort that he decrees and wills both with the same complacency, is surely an Infidel. The truth is, that God wills what is good, but in such a manner that the good always pleases him; while, though he also wills evil, it is in such a way that evil does not at all cease to be odious to him.

O gracious God, direct our steps in the right way!

VIII.—OF ABLUTIONS *.

Concerning the prescribed purifications it should be known that there are seven kinds of water proper for the purpose; viz., rain-water, sea-water, river-water, well-water, fountain-water, snow-water, and hail-water.

We acknowledge three principal ablutions or purifivations; the first, which we call *Ghousl*, is a kind of Immersion; the second, called *Vodou*, is chiefly for the hands and feet; and the third is the *Ablution with sand*, since, in that ablution, sand or earth is used instead of water.

1. *Of the washing of the body, called Ghousl.* The principles or rules of this corporal immersion are three in number. First, there must be the intention to render one's self pleasing to God. Secondly, the body must be cleansed from all its defilements, if such there be. Thirdly, the water must be made to pass over the hair and over all the external surface of the body.

Further, it must be remembered that our *Sunneh* requires of us these five acts in performing this ablution. First, that we repeat the accustomed formulary, *Bismillah*, &c., *In the name of God, Merciful and Gracious!* Secondly, that we wash the palms of the hands before the vessels are emptied. Thirdly, that the purification of the hands and feet be made before prayer, and after the accustomed forms. Fourthly, that the skin be rubbed with the hand to cleanse it from all filth. Fifthly, that these acts be continued without interruption to the end.

The occasions on which this corporal purification

* The preceding sections contain the articles of *belief*; this and the following sections those of *observance*. This distinction is generally observed by Mussulman writers.

becomes necessary are six in number. Of these, three are common to both sexes, and the others peculiar to one. [Most of the occasions mentioned in the original are of such a nature as renders them improper to be recorded. One of the first kind is *death* (the law and custom of the Mussulmans being to wash the corpse before burial), and one of the second is the same as was observed in like manner among the Jews *. The others will not bear to be repeated, or even remotely alluded to.]

2. *Of the purification called Vodou, which is for the hands and feet* †. This kind of ablution has six principles or sacred institutions. First, it must be performed with the intention of pleasing God. Secondly, the whole face must be washed. Thirdly, the hands must be washed, and the arms as high as the elbows, including the latter. Fourthly, certain parts of the head must be rubbed. Fifthly, the feet, including the heels, must be washed. Sixthly, the order to be observed is that in which the requisitions are here recorded.

To these institutions are to be added those of the *Sunneh*, which are ten in number. First, the washing must be preceded by the customary formula, *Bismillah*, &c., *In the name of God, Merciful and Gracious!* Secondly, the palm of the hand must be washed before the vessels are emptied. Thirdly, the face must be washed. Fourthly, water must be drawn through the nostrils. Fifthly, the head and ears must be rubbed. Sixthly, the beard, when it is thick and long, must be separated. Seventhly, the toes must be washed in due succession. Eighthly, the right hand must be washed before the left, and the same order observed with the feet. Ninthly, these several acts must be performed thrice. Tenthly,

* Leviticus, chap. xii. † This is the common ablution before prayer.

they must be continued without intermission to the end.

There are five occasions when this kind of lustration is required. [The first, second, fourth, and fifth cannot be mentioned. The third is when there has been a failure of memory or of reason, either through intoxication, insanity, or sickness. The cause of requiring ablution in these cases is, that there may have been, in such states, uncleanness contracted of which the individual was not aware.

Next follows in the original a specification of certain cases in which ablution is not of a religious obligation, but in which it should be performed for the sake of cleanliness. They are not, however, suitable for repetition here.]

3. *Of the purification with sand.* Concerning this mode of purification, which receives its name from its being performed with earth or sand instead of water, it is necessary to be informed that there are four prescriptions. First, it must be performed with the intention of pleasing God. Secondly, the face must be rubbed. Thirdly, the same must be done to the hands, and also to the arms as high as the elbow, including the latter. Fourthly, the order here prescribed must be exactly observed.

To these regulations are to be joined the requisitions of the *Sunneh*, which ordain that the ceremony commence with the formula, *Bismillah*, &c., that the right hand and the right foot have precedence of the left, and, lastly, that these acts be continued uninterrupted till the ceremony is completed.

IX.—OF PRAYER.

The sacred institutions regarding prayer and its accompanying rites are thirteen in number. 1. The intention, which precedes all. 2. The extolling of the name of God. 3. The formulary appointed for this purpose. [*God is great, God is great. There is no God but God. God is great, God is great. Praises are for him.*] 4. The upright posture, or the most erect carriage of the body. 5. The recitation of the first chapter of the Koran. 6. The inclination of the body towards the earth. 7. The return to the upright posture. 8. The adoration, or prostration of the face to the earth. 9. The posture of sitting. 10. The repetition of the sitting posture. 11. The final confession respecting Mohammed, the first (see above) having regard only to God. 12. The recitation of the formulary of that confession. 13. The observance of the order here set down.

The traditional (*Sunneh*) institution requires, in addition, these four things. 1. The announcement, or the invitation of the people to prayer. 2. The second announcement, differing in form from the first. 3. The first confession, regarding God. 4. The form of prayer which constitutes that first confession.

The conditions required of him who prepares himself to perform his devotions are five in number. 1. That the members of his body be free from all manner of impurity. 2. That he be clad in a clean garment. 3. That he be in a clean place, where there is no possibility of contracting any species of defilement. 4. That he know the exact times appointed for prayer, and observe them punctually. 5. That in the act of prayer he turn his face towards the *Keblah**.

* See Appendix, V.

The prayers to be offered each day are of five kinds. 1. The prayer of noon, which requires four inclinations of the body. 2. The afternoon prayer, which also requires four inclinations. 3. The vesper prayer, to be offered on the approach of evening. This requires three inclinations. 4. The night prayer, which requires four inclinations. 5. The morning prayer, which requires only two inclinations. In all, seventeen inclinations are required daily.

X.—OF ALMS.

Alms must be given out of five kinds of property: from our cattle; from our money; from our grain; from our fruits; and from our merchandise.

There are three kinds of cattle from which alms should be given, viz. camels, oxen, and sheep; and in order that this form of charity be executed in a lawful manner, six things are requisite. The giver must be a Mussulman; a free man; and the lawful owner of that which he bestows. His property in cattle must also have increased to a certain amount; he must have been its owner for the space of one year; and the cattle which he gives in charity must not be of those which labour for the tillage of his lands and which are needful to him, but of those which feed idly in his pastures.

[In bestowing *money*, the conditions required are the same in substance with those just recited.]

The conditions for the bestowal of charity in *grain*, are these; first, the grain must have grown upon land sown by man and not in a wild state; second, it must have been gathered into the granary; third, the bestower must be possessed of a certain quantity in order to be under obligation of charity.

The required alms in *fruit* consists of these two kinds, dates and grapes. [In order that they be lawfully made, the first four of the conditions of alms in *cattle* are required here.]

[Alms in *merchandise* are subjected to the same conditions with the first-mentioned.]

But it should be remembered, both with regard to all these kinds of charity now alluded to, as well as with regard to another kind, which is a sort of impost of charity, or capitation tax, imposed at the termination of the great fast of Ramazan, one of the fundamental principles is the *intention*, or the inward resolution to bestow such and such alms, as entirely due from us.

XI.—OF THE FAST.

Three things are requisite to render the fast lawful and pleasing to God. The person fasting must be a Mussulman; he must have arrived at the age of puberty; and must be in his right mind.

The fast itself is based on five divine institutions. 1. The intention of the heart. 2. Abstinence from food during the day. 3. Abstinence from drink. 4. Abstinence from every kind of lightness of conduct and impurity, such as a kiss, an embrace, &c. &c. 5. Abstinence from all intention to vomit.

Ten things there are which may render the fast null. First, when the individual intentionally causes anything to enter the head by either of the organs of sense, such, for instance, as water or an exquisite odour, or subtile essences of any kind, or when any substance whatsoever is made to descend into the stomach. [The second and third have reference to certain internal applications of medicine.] Fourth, the fast is broken when

anything is intentionally ejected by the mouth. [The fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth, cannot be repeated in decorous terms.] Ninth, when the individual is insane. Tenth, when he has fallen into apostasy.

XII.—OF THE PILGRIMAGE TO MECCA.

The divine institutes concerning the rites of this act of devotion, are five in number. First of all, there is required the *intention*, by which the devotee has inwardly resolved and religiously vowed to God to perform this pilgrimage. Secondly, in the course of the pilgrimage, he must tarry one day on the mountain of *Arafat*. Thirdly, he must shave or shear the hair of the head in the valley of *Mina*. Fourthly, he must make the circuit of the *Kaabah* seven times. Fifthly, he must run seven times from *Safa to Merva*.

The reader should here be apprised that the symbols of faith presented in the Catechism are those of the Sunneh Mussulmans, and that they do not fully represent the creed of the other great division of Mohammedanism. The principal point of difference, however, is that which relates to the rightful succession of the Apostolic office. In order, therefore, to complete our view of the articles of the Moslem faith, it is only necessary to draw from a catechism of the Shiah sect, so much as is necessary to show the peculiarities of their belief respecting this single point. For this purpose, I shall avail myself of a volume in my possession, entitled *Jumah Abasi*, or THE SUMMARY OF ABBAS. This volume, which I purchased during my residence in Tebriz, contains a compend of the moral theology of the Persians, who are the chief representatives of the Shiah sect. It receives its name

from having been compiled by order of Abbas, the Great. The author was one of the most distinguished theologians of Persia, and the writer of several celebrated works on the Mohammedan religion. He was a Mollah, or Doctor of the Law, and bore the magnificent title of *Sheikh Bahadin Mohammed, Jebel Ameli:* Sheikh Mohammed, the Honour of the Law, the Accumulator of Mountains. The book contains, in seventeen chapters, the canonical and ceremonial laws of the Shiah Mussulmans. It is the same work which furnished Chardin with the principal materials for his sketch of the religion of the Persians*.

In order, however, fully to understand the present differences of the two great sects of Mohammedans, it will be necessary to trace them to their origin. For reasons which cannot now be ascertained, Mohammed, in his last sickness, gave no instructions respecting his successor; for little credit is to be vouchsafed to the Persian legends on the subject. Ali himself acknowledged, just before his death, that the prophet did not appoint a successor†. Some of the Sunneh writers have testified that he requested his father-in-law, Abubekr, to conduct the public prayers in his stead, during his illness; but the circumstances which followed, would seem to show that little more credit is to be attached to their testimony than to that of the Shiahs. On the very day of his death a violent contention arose respecting the succession, which could hardly have taken place if Mohammed had, by word or act, signified his own wishes concerning it. The contest at length became so violent as to threaten a fatal rupture in the ranks of the Moslems. It was finally appeased by the prudence and moderation of Omar,

* Voyages du Chevalier Chardin, vol. iv. Amsterdam edition, 1735.

† Ockley, ii. 75.

himself one of the most prominent candidates. While the strife was still warm, he advanced to Abubekr, took his hand, and declared his allegiance to him as the Caliph, or successor, of Mohammed. This pacificatory act was followed by the others who were present, and Abubekr was chosen to the office by the unanimous voice of the company. I cannot learn that Ali was supported as a candidate at this meeting. At least he was not present on the occasion. But when the result was announced to him, he did not attempt to conceal his dissatisfaction at his own claims having been overlooked. These claims consisted in his being, by birth, a cousin of Mohammed, and his son-in-law by the marriage of his only surviving daughter, Fatima. He was also the first, out of Mohammed's own family, who embraced his religion. A considerable party adhered to the cause of Ali, and, even at this early period, the principles which have ever been the essential grounds of difference between the Sunnites and the Shiahs, were distinctly marked. The party of Ali contended that the Apostolic office was hereditary, and that their chief was entitled to it in right of his two-fold affinity to the prophet. Their opponents, who constituted the great majority of the Mussulmans, held, on the contrary, the opinion, that the succession must be determined by the voices of the whole company of the Faithful. It may have been the same conviction, which seems indeed most consonant with the equalising principles of his religion, that induced Mohammed to remain silent respecting his successor.

Some months after the occurrences just narrated, Ali formally professed allegiance to Abubekr, but neither he nor his party were believed to be sincere in their attachment. The Caliph, when about to die, nominated Omar his successor, and the choice was confirmed without op-

position. Omar, after a reign of about ten years, fell by the hand of an assassin, but refused in his last moments to nominate any one to take his place. To Ali he objected, that he was not of a sufficiently serious character to undertake so weighty a charge; and to his own son, that the responsibility of the office was too great to be borne by more than one member of the same family. He could be persuaded, therefore, to do no more than appoint a committee of six of the chief men among the Saracens, to whom the question should be referred after his decease. Ali was one of these, and did not hesitate to press his own claims. Nor would the others have been indisposed to elect him, if he had been willing to accede to the conditions proposed, which were, that he should govern in accordance with "the Book of God, the tradition of the prophet, and the determination of [the] two seniors *." To the first two he assented, to the last he demurred; and Othman, another of the company, was chosen in his stead.

On the assassination of Othman, after a reign of nearly twelve years, a violent dispute arose about the succession. The party of Ali had gradually increased during the first three caliphates, and at this moment the Arabians generally were in his favour. One of his most powerful enemies was Ayesha, the youngest wife of Mohammed and the daughter of Abubekr. She had from the first opposed the claim of Ali with extreme

* *Ockley*, i. 323.—Gibbon suggests that the *two Seniors* may have been Abubekr and Omar, the predecessors in the Caliphate. This is altogether probable, for as they had been the authors of numerous interpretations of the Koran and decisions upon it, the other electors could hardly fail to feel the importance of securing from Ali a formal recognition of their authority. In refusing to acknowledge it, he laid the foundation for the principal heresy which the Sunnites charge upon the Shiahs.

virulence, either from a natural desire to see the office conferred upon her father, or from her jealousy of Ali's wife, Fatima, who was a daughter of Mohammed by his first and most beloved spouse, Kadijah. Her hostility continued to the end of her life; and, although it did not prevent Ali from reaching the caliphate after the death of Othman, it occasioned him much trouble in his possession of it. Well would it have been for the valiant and generous, though unfortunate, Ali, if he could have avoided those dangerous honours which, now that they were pressed upon him, he would fain have declined. But those who feared that a wide and incurable rupture would ensue from these frequent dissensions, thrust the office upon him by entreaties and even threats. The course of his reign was as stormy as its commencement, until, at length, like his two immediate predecessors, he fell by a blow from an assassin, while engaged in his devotions at the mosque. Mussulman writers of both sects agree in the praise of Ali. He was distinguished for his bravery, and the appellation of the *Lion of God*, which is still often heard from the lips of the Persians, was conferred upon him before he attained the caliphate. He was noble and elevated in his views, and, if he was not qualified to gain or secure favour, the deficiency arose chiefly from his superiority to the base intrigues by which power is often won and sustained. He was a poet, and the most eloquent man of his time. Some of his writings are still extant, among which his *Moral Sentences* are the most distinguished. I will not detail the troubles of his reign, which was incessantly disturbed by the rebellious movements of his domestic foes. His principal enemy was Moawiyah, of the family of Ommia, of the tribe of the Koreish, who had held Syria under Othman, as his lieu-

tenant, and who retained the rule after Ali's accession and in spite of his power. Ali had fixed his seat of government at Koufah, on the Euphrates, which consequently became the great centre of those who were true to his interests. Hence it arose that while the western provinces fell off from him, those of the east remained faithful.

Ali was succeeded by his eldest son Hassan, a man of too quiet and retiring a spirit for those boisterous times. He held the reins of government only six months, and then resigned them to Moawiyah, who by that act became caliph and founder of the dynasty of the Ommiades. This happened A.H. 41, or on the 6th of May, A.D. 661. From that time, for a considerable period, the names of Ali and his descendants were publicly execrated by the Ommian caliphs, as afterwards by some of those of the dynasty of the Abassides. The remembrance of hostilities was kept alive by the continuance of the party which favoured the house of Ali. Their right to the supreme power was insisted upon, and for two hundred years after the abdication of Hassan, there remained a representative of that house to claim it. In the year 225 of the Hijreh was born the last descendant of Ali in the line which pretended to the caliphate. At the age of about nine years he suddenly disappeared in a manner which has never been satisfactorily accounted for. The party, however, survived, and the rights of the family of Ali were as warmly disputed during the next four centuries as they had been before it became extinct. Even Bagdad, the seat of the Abassian caliphs, was distracted by the dissensions of the two parties. The vezir of Mostazem, the last of that house, was himself a Shiah; and it was in revenge of some indignity offered to the Shiahs by one of the royal family,

that he invited Hologou, the Mogul Emperor, to Bagdad, and betrayed the city into his hands. The death of Mostazem, by the order of Hologou, put an end to the dynasty of the Abassides, A.D. 1258.

Such is the origin of the two great sects of *Islam*. That of the Shiahs has always been inferior in number to the other. It was first established in Persia as the national faith, A.D. 1500, by Shah Ismael, himself a real or pretended descendant of Ali. It has ever since maintained its predominance there. At the present moment it embraces the Persians, some of the Uzbek tribes of Tartary, and the Mussulmans of India; while the Sunneh sect comprises the Turkish tribes of the regions east of the Caspian, the Afghans, the Osmanlees, and the Arabs of Arabia, Syria, Egypt, and the northern coast of Africa. The Sunnites use the common prerogative of the majority, and style themselves *Orthodox*, while they confer upon the others the odious name of *Schismatics*. The word *Shiah* itself is an appellation bestowed by the Sunnites, and signifies not only a sectary, but one of an opprobrious character. It is never heard in Persia, for the Persians award to themselves the more honourable titles of *Friends of Ali*, *The Company of the Just*, &c.

It will now be perceived that the original and fundamental difference between the Sunnites and the Shiahs relates to the rights of the caliphate. The former hold it to be elective, the latter hereditary. The former admit the three caliphs who preceded Ali as lawful successors of their prophet; the latter reject them as usurpers, and execrate their memory. Both, however, start from the same fundamental principle, which is, that there must always be on earth a prophet of the true religion, or a deputy of a prophet, a vicar of God, the Imam of the Mussulmans, to exercise a jurisdiction both temporal

and spiritual. According to the Sunnites, this office is now vested in the Sultan of Turkey, who derives his right from Motavakkel Billah II., the last of those descendants of the Abassides who retained in Egypt the title of Caliph, with little more than the shadow of authority, and who was himself carried away prisoner by Selim I., Sultan of Turkey, on his return from the conquest of Egypt, in or about 1516. The Persians, on the contrary, declare Ali and his descendants, to the eleventh generation, to be the only rightful successors of Mohammed. These twelve they distinguish by the title of the *Twelve Imams*. The last, whose mysterious disappearance has been noticed, was, they say, removed by God on account of the wickedness of men, but will again appear in the last days, to restore the true religion, and rule as supreme head over the Mussulmans. In the meanwhile, there is on earth no visible Imam. The kings of Persia rule only as his temporary substitutes, and have borne, if they do not now bear, the title of *Lieutenants of the King of Persia*. At the time of my arrival in that country, in 1837, a report was in circulation, that the twelfth Imam had reappeared. A pretended reformer did indeed arise, boasting himself to be somebody, but the issue of his mission was not such as to revive the long deferred hope of the Persians.

There are some among the Shiahs who affirm that there must always be a *visible* Imam, and that he is to be found, as long as the true Imam is absent, among the most learned and holy of the Doctors of the Law. Though this opinion is not, I believe, extensively held in Persia, the want of a religious chief is one cause of the peculiar deference which is paid to men of high repute for learning and sanctity. This feeling is carried farther in Persia than in Turkey, although it is one of

the most prominent features of Mohammedanism in both countries. But in Persia, more particularly, the influence which the religious orders exerts upon the minds of the mass is truly remarkable, and forms one of the most important elements in a right judgment upon the practicability of introducing Christianity into the country. In this view I shall have occasion to recur to it again. I allude to it at present for the sake of remarking that this doctrine of a perpetually visible Imam, although theoretically embraced by few in Persia, seems to be generally adopted in practice. There is always one, or more, who claims to be the Head of the Mussulmans in the country. There is now an aged doctor in Shiraz, who is universally acknowledged to be the chief of the Sooffees, while the supreme direction of the conservative Shiahs (if so I may be permitted to distinguish those who are not avowedly infected by the lax tenets of Sooffeeism), is claimed by several among the learned devotees. The most distinguished is one Seid Mohammed Bakir, of Isfahan, whose influence is reputed superior to the authority of the Shah. The latter courts the good-will of the man who could, by a word, shake his throne to its foundation. The present Shah, however, is not the first who has condescended to seek the favour of these spiritual rulers of the people. His predecessor, Feth Ali Shah, was wont to receive them with distinguished honour, and to demean himself before them in the manner of an inferior. The leaders of the conservative and Sooffee parties maintain no friendly relations with each other. On one occasion the latter visited Tehran, the seat of the Shah, for the purpose of intriguing against the other. The Shah did not venture to listen to his suggestions, but as a token of regard for the Imam, or, perhaps, to rid himself in the easiest manner

of his importunity, dismissed him with a munificent present. The authority which these men, and many others of a lower grade, exert in Persia, depends upon no official rank, but upon the weight of their personal character; and it is one of those indications which exist in every religion, to show that, where men are not guided in their spiritual concerns by regularly constituted overseers, the wants of their moral nature lead them to seek for guides who rule their followers with the same authority, though without the safeguard of official responsibility.

But to return. The sketch which I have given of the original differences between the Sunnites and Shiahs leads at once to the difference in their respective creeds. To the first two articles of the Sunneh faith, respecting a belief in God and Mohammed, the Persians add their own dogma concerning Ali. Their whole creed runs thus: THERE IS NO GOD BUT GOD; MOHAMMED IS THE APOSTLE OF GOD; ALI IS THE VICAR OF GOD. The third article in the catechism thus reads: "It is necessary to confess, in the third place, the excellence of the companions of Mohammed according to their rank and order, acknowledging the most excellent of men, after Mohammed, to be Ali, then Hassan, then Hossein, &c. It is needful to have a right faith concerning all the Imams, and to esteem and honour them, even as God has done." I have given the creed both as I find it in the catechism, and as I used to hear it in the *Ezan*, or Call to prayer, from the mosque. This mingling of the name of Ali with those of God and Mohammed, to the exclusion of the first three caliphs, was peculiarly offensive to some Sunnites from Turkey, with whom I happened to lodge for a few days in one of the cities of Persia. Even my Christian interpreter,

a native of Constantinople, was highly incensed at such a departure from what he had been accustomed to regard as true Islamism. "Do you hear the dogs?" he said one day, as the voice of the Muezzin broke forth immediately over the place where we sat, "they are calling Ali the lieutenant of God."

It is the natural effect of controversy to drive men farther from the golden mean of truth, and to give a monstrous proportion to some single member of its system. Thus the Persians, by incessant contention for the rights of Ali, have practically made their faith in him the grand centre of their religion, and have contracted views hardly less gross than those of idolatrous pagans. By a very natural process of thought, they have passed from a simple defence of his political rights to panegyrics of a most hyperbolical character. They ascribe to him the highest virtues; a perfect sanctity, and supernatural endowments both of body and mind. Their books, too, are full of the most extravagant legends concerning his excellences and his acts which enthusiasm could create, or superstition believe. Some have carried these extravagances beyond the bounds of religion, as well as of reason, and, not content with ascribing to him the highest of human endowments, believe him to be possessed of those which are divine. These last form a distinct party in Persia, and bear a name implying their belief in the divinity of Ali. There is a village of them near the city of Kazvin, and others in the Western provinces. At Kermanshah, and among the Kurdish tribes in that vicinity, they are numerous, and their numbers are constantly increasing. They have no distinct organisation as a sect, but are known by this peculiarity in their belief. Their grand doctrine is, that Ali is an incarnation of the Deity. They give him

divine titles, and, I was credibly informed, worship him as God.

The common belief of the Persians falls hardly below the same level. In the vagueness of religious enthusiasm, they constantly use modes of expression, which are inapplicable to any being subject to the frailties and infirmities of man. The very formula by which they seek to avoid the imputation of calling Ali divine, savours of the impiety which they would avoid.

> I do not believe that Ali is God,
> Nor do I believe he is far from God.

These are, in literal translation, the words of the formula, and expressions tantamount to this are often on their lips. The name of Ali is more frequently heard than the name of Mohammed, and it is invoked in circumstances where a Sunnite would use that of the Deity. The Persian cries, *Ya Ali!* O Ali! when a Turk would exclaim, *Ya Allah!* O God! The same is true, with little qualification, of the regard which they bear for the other eleven Imams, and the manner in which they speak of them.

It is evident, from what has been said, that the original difference between the Sunnites and Shiahs was political rather than religious, relating simply to the right of succession. But a division on this point has entailed consequences more immediately affecting religious practice. The Shiahs, in refusing to acknowledge the first three Caliphs, reject the traditions of which they were the authors, their interpretations of the Koran, and also the precedents established by their judicial decisions. It is, on the contrary, from their attachment to these authorities, that the other sect have appropriated to themselves the title of *Sunnehi*, or Followers of Tra-

dition, a title which, of right, belongs no more exclusively to them than to the others.

The Persians acknowledge the authority of tradition, rejecting only so much as they believe to come from corrupt sources. Their religious usages and their jurisprudence have, with this exception, the same basis as those of the Turks, although they do not possess so extensive and thoroughly digested a code. The exception, however, is the cause of certain discrepancies in the ritual and worship of the two sects. These relate to such matters as the mode of ablution before prayers, and the different postures of the body during devotion; matters, it would seem, of too trivial concern to give occasion for discord, did we not consider that the very essence of superstition is, to magnify unduly things of little moment, and that no religion is more rigid in its forms than Mohammedanism. How these differences are in truth regarded, a single incident will serve to show.

I engaged, in Tebriz, a Persian servant, who was anxious to accompany me into Turkey. My interpreter, wishing to amuse himself, told him, that if he visited Turkey, he must wear Turkish clothing, sit cross-legged, and eat Turkish food, after the Turkish manner. "That," he said, "I will do." "You must also," added the interpreter, "perform your devotions like a Turk, washing your arms from the elbow, downward, instead of the reverse, and folding your arms in prayer instead of lifting them outspread." "That," he promptly replied, "I will not do!" and he was never afterwards solicitous to go with me into Turkey.

Such, in fine, are the differences which distinguish the two great sects of Mohammedans, and thence arises the implacable hostility with which they regard each other.

With this hatred the Turks are more deeply imbued than the Persians, not altogether because they are more bigoted, but because also they are more sincere in their attachment to their religion. The animosity on both sides is chiefly sustained by the religious orders, who anathematise each other with all the bitterness of fanatical zeal: nor are the Mollahs of Persia, in this respect, one whit behind those of Turkey. The greater prejudice of the Turk arises, not so much from regarding the Persians as a hostile sect, as from a knowledge of their practical neglect of the duties enjoined by their common religion. Whenever a Turk is heard to pour out his indignation against the *Barbarians**, it is oftener for their neglect of prayers, their addictedness to wine, and their want of truth, than for their sectarian views respecting the Caliphate, or their difference in certain articles of ceremonial usage. They charge them not so much with heresy in rejecting the first three successors of Mohammed, as of idolatry, in raising the fourth to a superhuman elevation.

But, aside from religious animosities, the natural differences of character between the two people are sufficient, at least, to prevent any close advances towards a friendly intercourse. In almost every respect they may be described as opposites. The Turk is sedate and grave; the Persian animated and volatile. The Turk is remarkable for sobriety of judgment; the Per-

* The word *Ajem* signifies, in general, the same with Βάρβαρος, and is used in precisely the same sense, as a distinctive appellation for all foreigners. But the Turks, like the Sunnites generally, apply it particularly to the Persians. They speak of them, indeed, under no other title, and obviously use it in the contemptuous sense which it conveys. Persians, in company with Turks, sometimes condescend to speak of themselves under the same invidious appellation; but their common national name is *Irani*, or People of Iran.

sian, for the extravagance of his imagination. The Turk (out of Constantinople) is perhaps the most honest man in the world; the Persian is, everywhere, the most deceptive. The Turk speaks the truth, even to his own damage; the Persian utters falsehood, without any apparent profit or motive. The Turk comes slowly to a conclusion; the Persian reaches it without premises. The Turk is full of a quick moral sense; the Persian seems often utterly destitute of a conscience. The Turk acts from principle; the Persian from impulse. The Turk is satisfied with his condition; the Persian never. The Turk has more feeling than sentiment; the Persian more sentiment than feeling. The Turk is kind to brutes; the Persian mercilessly cruel. The Turk loves the approbation of himself; the Persian covets the praise of others. The Turk, unless corrupted by power, is unskilled in intrigue; the meanest Persian is an adept in it. Even those things in which they appear alike arise from differences. Both, for instance, are fatalists; but the fatalism of the Turk is resignation; that of the Persian is recklessness. Both, are dreadful in their revenge; but with the Turk it arises from the depth of his feelings, which impart strength to his animosities; with the Persian it springs from a destitution of feeling, which renders his revenge thoughtless and unrelenting.

These contrarieties of character give new strength to religious hate, especially with the Turk, who regards with strong aversion temperaments and habits differing from his own. The more supple and affable Persian conceals dislike, if he has it, and, even in his own country, treats the Sunnite with more of outward respect and consideration than a Christian. He acknowledges him, at least in his presence, as a true Mussulman, and in this character gives him a cordial welcome. He ad-

mits him to the public baths, where a Christian seeks admittance in vain. He is even received to the house of the Persian, and partakes of his private hospitality. During my residence in Tebriz, my interpreter was accustomed to go abroad in a European dress, and was consequently taken for what he was—a Christian. But one day the thought struck him that he would try the effect of a change. Putting on, therefore, the Turkish garb, which he had worn before entering Persia, he went into the bazars among his old acquaintances. They rose as he saluted them, and hailed him with a cordiality they had never before shown. They invited him to sit upon their carpets, offered him a kalioun, and said, "You are a Mussulman, then, *Al hamd-u-lillah!* God be praised!" When, as sometimes happened on my journeys, we fell in company with Turks, who, however, are seldom seen in Persia, it was amusing to observe their inflexible calmness and reserve, in contrast with the profuse politeness of the Persians. The latter are more frequently met with in Turkey, especially in Constantinople, Erzroum, and other commercial towns near their own borders, and on the route of the great pilgrimage; but excepting in the capital and at Bagdad, they reside there with less of a feeling of security than a Turk preserves in Persia. In the bigoted city of Erzroum, shortly before my arrival in the summer of 1837, an excitement was raised against the Persian residents, which had nearly terminated in the destruction of them all. I was informed, by an English gentleman who witnessed the commotion, that some were actually murdered, and their corpses left in the streets!

Persians generally regard a journey in Turkey with dread, nor have I ever met with a Turk in Persia who did not feel himself a stranger in the land. It is enough,

indeed, to affect his humour, that for the most part, he does not find there his favourite *tchibouk* and coffee.

A sketch of the differences between the two sects that I have described, embraces all that is essential to a view of the divisions now existing in the bosom of Islamism. In former ages that bosom has, indeed, been riven with numerous feuds and schisms, some of which have arisen from religious controversy and others from political ambition. During the first centuries of its existence, and while Mussulman learning flourished under the patronage of the Caliphs, religious questions were discussed by the learned with all the proverbial virulence of theological hatred. The chief of these questions respected the origin of the Koran, the nature of God, predestination and free-will, and the grounds of human salvation. The question, whether the Koran was created or eternal, rent, for a time, the whole body of Islamism into twain, and gave rise to the most violent persecutions. It was finally settled by Motavakkel, the tenth Caliph of the Abassides, who granted a freedom of belief concerning it. Besides these religious contentions, which divided the Mussulmans into parties, but seldom gave birth to sects, there have sprung up, at different periods, avowed heresies, which flourished for a time, and, for the most part, died with their authors. Others, stimulated by ambition only, have reared the standard of revolt, and under cover of some new religious dogma, propounded only to shield a selfish design, have sought to raise themselves to power. Most of these, whether theological disputes, heresies, or civil rebellions cloaked under the name of religion, arose previous to the 16th century. They were, while they lasted, signs of remaining vitality and energy in the religion itself; and if they have now ceased, it is only because vitality and energy have de-

parted. Quiet may be harmony, or it may be death. It is the latter, I believe, which now pervades the mass of Islamism. I have never been struck with a more violent contrast than, when visiting the Mussulman schools in the East, has presented itself in the comparison between the intellectual activity which they once exhibited, and their present apathy and dulness. Those who have studied the present condition of Mohammedanism only at Constantinople, may demur to the truth of this remark. But no one will be hardy enough to affirm that the interest in Mussulman studies which exists even in the colleges of the Imperial City, is equal to such vigorous movements as characterised the earlier ages of Mohammedanism. There is, in these seminaries, a difference of views on some of the great points which have been noticed, but their influence is confined to the walls within which they are promulgated. Each teacher gives to his instructions the shade of his own peculiar opinions, but the interest in these differences does not, as formerly, go out from the schools to agitate the minds of the multitude.

In conversations of the learned, dogmatical and practical points are sometimes started, but I have more frequently heard of idle speculations upon some trivial point of ceremonial usage, and, in every case, such discussions seem to be undertaken rather to consume time or display learning, than from personal interest in the subjects of them.

It is unnecessary, therefore, to attempt to trace the remnants of old divisions in the present lethargic state of Islamism. But there is still perceptible, in one of the two great parties that I have described, certain differences which deserve, at least, a cursory notice. The four great doctors of the Sunneh sect are regarded by

the Sunnites as equally orthodox, since they agree in everything essential to the religion. On other points, however, they differ; in matters, for instance, relating to moral practices, to rites and worship and to civil and political administration. These differences are retained among the Sunnites, who now form four classes, distinguished by the names of the doctors to whose several interpretations they adhere. The Turks are, for the most part, followers of the first, or Hanifites. Especially is this true of the religious orders and men in civil authority, since the jurisprudence of the nation is conformed to the peculiarities of Hanifeh. Of the countries where the other classes prevail, I know no more than I have elsewhere set down. Sale says that the doctrine of Malek is chiefly followed in Barbary and other parts of Africa; that of Al Shafeï in Arabia and Persia; and that of Hanbal chiefly within the limits of Arabia*. All this, however, seemed to me a matter of so little practical importance, that I remember only two or three instances in which I made it a subject of conversation with Mussulmans. A remark of one of my informants I have preserved, to show the relations in which the four classes stand to each other. "They are," he said, "like four roads. Each one says, that his road is shortest and best, but all acknowledge that they lead to one and the same place." Still a Mussulman will generally perform his devotions in a mosque where prayers are offered by an Imam of his own persuasion. In the temple at Mecca, each class has its own oratory. The same distinction is observed in the principal mosque at Diarbekir, and that is the only place in which I have noticed it. But thus much may suffice upon a subject of so little importance to my present design.

* Preliminary Discourse, Sect. VIII.

TOUR THROUGH ARMENIA, &c.

CHAPTER I.

FROM NEW YORK TO CONSTANTINOPLE.

FAREWELL MEETING—INSTRUCTIONS—EMBARKATION—JOURNEY THROUGH FRANCE—VOYAGE THROUGH THE MEDITERRANEAN—THE ARCHIPELAGO—SYRA—ENGLISH AND AMERICAN MISSIONS—ISLANDS—THE TROAD—TURKISH PEASANT—ALEXANDRIA TROAS—ST. PAUL—STEAMERS—FIRST IMPRESSIONS—THE HELLESPONT—MUSSULMAN DEVOTIONS—ARRIVAL AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

I RECEIVED the final instructions of the Foreign Committee, at a public meeting in the Church of the Ascension, New-York, on the evening of Easter Sunday, April 3, 1836, the Bishop of New-York being present and presiding. In these instructions I was directed to consider Persia as the principal field of my mission, while I was left at liberty to extend my inquiries into Turkey, Syria, and Egypt. The course of my travels and the plan of my work were referred to my own judgment, from a well-grounded apprehension that specific directions upon points which must, in the main, be determined by circumstances, would tend to embarrass rather than to aid me. I was instructed, however, to consider the

two great objects of my inquiries to be "the actual moral and religious state of the inhabitants of the regions which I might visit, and the spots where missionary stations might be most advantageously established." I was directed to regard "personal travel and daily familiar intercourse with the people" as the principal means for attaining the objects of my mission, and was instructed to keep a regular journal of my travels and observations. The terms of intercourse with Christians of other denominations were defined in the kindly and judicious expressions of the venerable Bishop White, whose career had not then closed. Finally, I was pointed to the animating fact that I was going forth "not at the bidding of a private association, but as the messenger of a church recognising the obligation of the command of her divine Founder," and to this circumstance I was bidden to look for the hope of united and constant prayer in my behalf.

Thus prepared, I embarked at New-York, for France, on the twenty-fourth of April, and, after a passage of thirty-seven days, arrived at Havre, the thirty-first of May. Thence I proceeded to Paris, where I spent several days in procuring works for the study of the Oriental languages. From Paris I continued my journey two days to Chalons on the Saône, where I took passage in a steamer and descended the river in twelve hours to Lyons. There I embarked again the following morning on the Rhône and reached Avignon before night. Finding a coach ready to depart I secured a seat, and travelling all night, arrived at Marseilles the next morning.

Here I was so fortunate as to find a French brig ready to proceed to Constantinople. She had a small cabin on her deck, and was in every respect superior to most

of the vessels of her class in the Mediterranean. I took passage in her, and we left the harbour of Marseilles on the morning of the second of July. On the sixth we passed the island of Sardinia, and on the eighth were in sight of the high and broad bluff of Cape Bon, on the African coast. Nothing could exceed the delicious softness and purity of the atmosphere, during most of the voyage. On the tenth we ran along the southern shore of Sicily, and at half-past nine, on the morning of the fifteenth, passed Cape Matapan and entered the Archipelago. The four succeeding days we were beating against a strong north wind, which increased so much in violence that our captain was compelled to change his course and run into the port of Syra for safety. The town broke suddenly upon our view as we approached it, rising in an amphitheatre of hills which came down to the water's edge. All the islands which we had passed in the Archipelago had appeared barren and desolate, but on entering the harbour of Syra our eyes were greeted with all the signs of a flourishing commercial town. The little port was crowded with vessels of different nations, but chiefly French, Austrian and Greek.

The violence of the gale continuing, we were detained in port the two following days, which I spent in a most agreeable manner in the family of Dr. Robertson, of the American Episcopal Mission. Dr. R. was himself absent on a visit to the United States. Since his departure a popular excitement had arisen against the schools of the American and English missionaries, but had subsided without more serious consequences than the temporary suspension of the schools. The principal establishment was the institution of the Rev. Mr. Hildner, a missionary of the (English) Church Missionary

Society. It embraced six departments for learners of different grades, and, previous to the recent difficulties, had furnished instruction to 600 pupils of both sexes. Mr. H. had just returned from Athens, whither he had been to lay his complaints at the foot of the throne. His representations had been graciously received, and the reply to them had assured him of the royal favour and protection.

The only other missionary school was one for girls, under the superintendence of Mrs. Robertson, who had contrived to add the charge of it to the care of a large family. It had been re-opened since the cessation of the disturbances, but with the number of pupils reduced from eighty to thirty. The school was held in an old building which had formerly been occupied as a theatre, and some tattered remnants of finery were still hanging from the walls. Mrs. R. had caused it to be divided into three apartments by means of partitions of rough boards, and in each of these apartments part of the girls were sitting, some on benches and some on the floor.

The second day of my visit I dined with the Rev. Mr. Leeves, whose name is so widely known in connexion with efforts for the diffusion of the sacred Scriptures in the East. He was then engaged in a translation of the Old Testament into modern Greek, a work which has since been completed. A portion had already been published, of which he showed me a copy in elegant binding, intended as a present for the king of Greece. In the afternoon we went out to visit the printing establishment of the American Mission. On our way we passed the government schools, which were originally established by Dr. Korck, one of the earliest and most zealous friends of education in Greece. On his departure from

the island they were transferred to the patronage of the royal government, by which they are still sustained. The mode of instruction is nearly the same as formerly, and their national character is indicated by the blue and white striped flag of Greece suspended from the wall of the principal apartment. I found the missionary presses in a small low building, of a most humble exterior. One of them bore an inscription purporting that it was the gift of ladies in Hartford. The donors would have been gratified in witnessing its employment at the moment when I saw it. It was rapidly throwing off printed sheets of the translation of the Bible before mentioned. What human imagination can trace the future history of those sheets down to their latest results? What human foresight can predict all the consequences of a single act of pious benevolence on the part of a few friends of the kingdom of Christ?

The afternoon of the twentieth, word was sent me by the captain that the brig would sail at midnight. At nine in the evening I bade adieu to my friends in Syra, after commending ourselves and our common cause to God, and went on board, more depressed, I fear, for what I lost in parting from them, than thankful for what I had enjoyed in their company.

The removal of the American Mission from Syra since my visit, renders it unnecessary for me to describe a place whose central position and extensive commercial relations, have made it the most familiarly known of all the islands of the Archipelago. We did not finally leave the harbour till the night of the twenty-first, and when I awoke the following morning we were gliding with a light breeze through the passage between Tinos and Myconi. A town on the former was full in sight. The tower of the church could be distinguished rising

high above the other buildings, and I could distinctly hear its clock striking the hour of seven. Behind the town and on either side, the hills sloped gradually back, disclosing the finest view that I had yet seen in the Archipelago. Instead of the barren and dry surface which until now had everywhere met the eye, they were spread with verdure and the fresh brown of cultivated fields. We passed, during the day, within sight of Naxia, Nicaria, and Samos, and just as the sun went down, Scio and Ipsara were in view. The wind came round towards night and we made slow progress until Sunday, the twenty-fourth, when we passed Mitylene and came in sight of Lemnos and Tenedos. We were now near the entrance of the Dardanelles, and the scene around us the following morning reminded us of our approach to the royal city. There were no less than twenty square-rigged vessels within sight, all standing towards a single point. At 9 A.M., a breeze from the North sprang up, and freshened till noon, when the water presented a curious and lively scene. The vessels which had been lying motionless upon the glassy surface, changed their places and began to beat towards the Dardanelles. Their movements, as they tacked in different directions and crossed each other's track, seemed like the complicated play of some vast piece of machinery. At noon the coast of Asia was close upon our right. It presented a reach of plain extending on either hand as far as the eye could survey, beyond which rose a range of hills running parallel with the shore. The highest point was the green summit of Mount Ida. The plain in front was the Troad, or the plain of Troy; Tenedos was on our left, and over the plain to the south-east, were visible the ruins of Alexandria Troas, distant in appearance about two leagues.

We came to anchor three miles from the shore at 5 P.M. The following morning, the boat was sent to Tenedos for provisions, and returned in a few hours with melons, pears, eggs, and a live kid. In the afternoon it was again lowered, and the passengers, three in number, with the captain, embarked with the design of visiting the ruins. On reaching the shore and ascending the low bank which bounded the narrow strip of beach, a scene truly Oriental met the view. Before us lay an extensive and desert plain, upon which a large herd of camels were feeding. Most of the females were accompanied by their young. We went towards them in the hope of finding some one who could give us the necessary directions for reaching the ruins. We at length came upon a man asleep under a bush. As he was the first Asiatic whom I had seen, his image still remains in my memory with a freshness that only first impressions can impart. He wore upon his shoulders a sort of tunic, which was met at the waist by breeches of coarse cloth, and of ample dimensions, reaching to the knee. Below these, were tight leggins, made of plaited cord. His head was covered with a red cap, around which were wound several folds of white cotton. His feet were protected by a sort of sandal, formed of circular pieces of untanned skin, and confined by a leathern thong run through holes near the rim and gathered about the ankle. By his side lay a pipe, the stem of which was a round stick, the bowl of burnt clay, and the mouth-piece of a white and inferior kind of amber. His tunic was open, and exposed a huge neck and broad chest of the colour of polished mahogany. His upper lip and chin were covered with a thick, black beard. He was a Turkish peasant of Asia Minor, a character with which I afterwards became more familiar. We awoke him, but he

did not appear in the least surprised at the sight of men in a foreign dress, and, indeed, took little notice of us. One of our party addressed him in Greek, but he sluggishly shook his head to signify that he did not understand. We then endeavoured to communicate with him by signs, but this was equally ineffectual and we soon left him. Pursuing, as nearly as we could judge, the direction of the ruins as we had observed them from the water, we continued our walk for an hour, over the sandy plain, when our captain, whose huge frame was melting under the heat of the sun, and one of the passengers, who, deceived by the fine appearance of things from the brig, had undertaken the walk in his slippers, gave out, and the party returned to the ship.

The next day I obtained permission from the captain to renew the attempt, and one of the passengers offered to accompany me. The part of the plain which we traversed after landing, was a low sandy ground, overgrown with brambles, thorns, and straggling bushes, with here and there an old, stunted oak. We passed two wells, of one of which, the curb-stone was a fragment of a marble column of a blueish tinge. As we advanced, our way became more difficult, lying through a close growth of underwood, which concealed everything from our view. At length we came upon a ridge, which we at once conjectured to be the remains of the ancient wall. It was about twenty feet high, and of equal thickness at the base, the summit being rounded and covered with soil. We ascended it and walked along its top for a mile. Its breadth in some parts was much greater than where we first struck it. In some places it seemed to consist of terraces rising above each other, of which we could distinctly perceive the successive gradations. After following it a mile, we came to an open

area through which we could easily trace the direction of the wall. Here we soon met with more distinct marks of ruins than we had yet seen. They consisted chiefly of heaps of stones and masses of rock much worn by the action of the weather. In this part too, the lower portion of the wall was uncovered, so that its structure could be clearly perceived. It was composed of oblong blocks of stone laid in cement, which had nearly attained the consistency of the masses which it united. The ground was everywhere strewed with fragments of brick and earthen vessels.

The evening was now closing upon us, and we were compelled to abandon our search for the ruins which we had seen from the brig, and which we judged to be farther to the south. We struck off, therefore, in a straight line towards the sea, hoping to reach the shore before darkness came. As we broke our way through the wild bushes which obstructed our path, we suddenly scared a large owl from his rest. The sight of this inhabiter of ruins, the almost painful stillness which reigned, and the gathering gloom of night, gave an air of awful desolation to the spot.

My companion had undertaken the excursion in the thought that he was visiting the ruins of Troy, which is generally supposed by travellers to have stood at the other extremity of the plain, thirty miles to the north. But for me, the real interest of the place arose from its association with the labours of the earliest missionaries of the cross. It was here that the vision of the man of Macedonia appeared to Paul in the night, and it was here that he embarked for Neapolis, on the northern coast of the Ægean, whence he carried the gospel to Philippi, Thessalonica, Athens, and Corinth. (Acts xvi. 8. et seq.) It is probable that he also embarked

at this place on the eve of his second visit to Macedonia, (Acts, xx. 1,) and that it was then that he had come hither "to preach Christ's Gospel," and found "a door open unto him." (2 Cor. ii. 12.) He was here a third time on his return from Macedonia, accompanied by seven of the most distinguished of the disciples. With them and the Christians of the city, he celebrated the eucharist on the night before his departure, which was the night of the Lord's day, and continued preaching and conversing until the dawn, interrupted only by the accident which happened to one of his hearers, and the miracle which followed upon it. (Acts, xx. 4 et seq.) The interest attached to these associations was the motive which led me to the site of the city where the events occurred. Indeed, while standing upon the spot, it was grateful even to recollect that it was here the Apostle, in one of his missionary tours, left his cloak with his books and parchments. (2 Tim. iv. 13.)* The latter, Bishop Bull supposes to have been a kind of common-place book, which the Apostle used for the purpose of occasional records. They may have been memoranda of his travels and labours. The necessity of leaving behind him a part of his clothing and papers, is sometimes still experienced by the Eastern traveller. On reaching the shore we found the boat waiting for us, in which we embarked and soon reached the brig.

The two following days we were detained in the same position by the north wind, which rendered the Dardanelles absolutely inaccessible for merchant vessels. At that time there were from fifty to sixty lying near us at anchor, waiting, like ourselves, for a change of wind.

* See Appendix, VI.

During the summer months, the wind from the north continues to blow with little intermission, and proves a serious obstruction to the commerce of Constantinople. The same difficulty is encountered in the ascent of the Bosphorus from the city to the Black Sea, or is rather increased by the force of the current. At the time of my leaving Constantinople, in 1838, a small English steamer was employed in towing vessels through the Bosphorus, and the same advantage may ere this have been extended to the Dardanelles. At the time of my arrival, another English steamer was plying between Smyrna and Constantinople. She passed us on the morning of the thirtieth, having left Smyrna the preceding evening. We had now been detained five days at our anchorage, without any indication of a change of wind. I determined, therefore, with another of the passengers, to get on board the steamer. The captain ordered the boat to be manned, and we put off with the French flag flying from the stern. In a few minutes we were on board and shooting past the fleet of vessels at anchor.

My first impression of Turkish character was received in watching the composure of the camel-driver whom we surprised on the plains of Troy. The second was excited in coming upon the deck of the steamer. As we approached we had seen no one besides the captain and those of the crew who were ordered to help us on board, but on reaching the deck I found it crowded with Turks, some stretched at their length on carpets spread under the bulwarks, and others sitting with their legs crossed, demurely smoking. In a retired spot was a group of females, whose faces were veiled with the white *yashmak*, which concealed all the features except the eyes, and their persons covered with the uncomely

ferejeh, which as effectually hid the body. No one had risen to observe the cause of the detention of the boat; and when we entered, no curiosity was betrayed beyond a calm and indifferent glance as we passed along the deck.

The passage of the Hellespont has been so often described, and with so many and various conjectures respecting its ancient localities, that it will require no apology for a new traveller to leave it without remark. The objects which first recalled the remembrance of the events that once transpired on its shores, were two mounds of an oval shape on the promontory of Sigoeum, which are believed to be the tombs of Achilles and Patroclus. I saw another of the same description at the place where I landed in visiting the ruins of Alexandria Troas, and a fourth, partly destroyed, a mile or two farther to the south. If I may add another to the various explanations which have been given of the epithet *broad*, applied by Homer to the Hellespont, I would say that he may have alluded to that part immediately contiguous to the seat of the events which he portrays; for before passing the straits formed by the Island of Tenedos and the main, and just opposite to the site of Ilium, the Hellespont expands, as Homer elsewhere has it, *unbounded*. The true channel terminates at the promontory of Sigoeum, where now stands one of the Turkish forts which guard the passage of the Dardanelles. Before noon we stopped at Tchanak Kalesi, which is built nearly upon the site of the ancient Dardanus, and then continued our course through the narrow and winding passage between Sestos and Abydos. The general appearance of the Dardanelles is that of a large river flowing between banks everywhere pleasant, in some parts wooded, but on the whole far inferior in beauty to

those of the Bosphorus. At five, P.M., we touched at Gallipoli, to receive passengers.

Among those who now crowded the deck, was one whose actions I watched with such an interest as the first sight of a Mussulman at his prayers naturally excited. He was a middle-aged Turk, and, unlike most of the others, wore a beard, which is not, as I once supposed, a customary appendage of a Turkish face. Unlike the others, also, he was noisy and turbulent. He had spread his carpet upon a part of the deck reserved for the cabin passengers, and persisted in remaining there until he was removed by force. I was not then informed of the appointed hours of Mussulman devotions, but the frequency with which his own were repeated, seemed to me to have something supererogatory in it. Whenever the moment for them came, he arose, and taking his carpet, spread it upon the spot from which he had been ejected, apparently in the thought that the sacredness of his business would save him from interruption at such a time. He then commenced his prostrations and silent prayers, but not with that perfect abstraction which I had been accustomed to associate with the devotions of Mussulmans. In those parts of the prayers where the worshipper pauses on his knees, he looked complacently around him, as if to observe whether he was seen of others. The time that he spent in this manner was almost the only moment in which his voice was not heard in vociferation, for it was literally true that he would rise from his prayers to quarrel, and leave quarrelling to pray. Others performed their devotions in a less ostentatious manner, excepting that some who by change of place had lost the bearing of the *Keblah*, commenced them by inquiring of the captain the direction of the holy city.

On leaving Gallipolis we entered the sea of Marmara. Night had set in when we reached the island of that name, and when I came on deck the next morning, the boat was passing the *Seven Towers*, which stand in the extreme angle of the wall of Constantinople. The remainder of our course skirted the wall, and at half-past six, on the morning of the 31st of July, the anchor was cast in the harbour of the city.

CHAPTER II.

CONSTANTINOPLE.

STUDY OF THE TURKISH—ITS USE—RIGHT JUDGMENT OF EASTERN CHARACTER—LODGINGS—HASSUNA D' GHIZ—TEACHERS OF TURKISH—TURKISH HONESTY—PILGRIMAGE TO MECCA—SULTAN'S PORTRAITS—MOHAMMEDAN AVERSION TO PICTURES—THE ROYAL SCHOOLS—IGNORANCE OF FOREIGN LANGUAGES AMONG THE TURKS—COMPARISON OF ENGLISH AND FRENCH LABOURS IN ORIENTAL LITERATURE—THE PLAGUE—ITS CHARACTER—FATALITY—PRECAUTIONS AGAINST IT—EFFECTS OF ITS APPEARANCE IN A FAMILY—FEELINGS OF THE TURKS RESPECTING IT—IGNORANCE A CAUSE OF NEGLECTING PRECAUTIONS—ITS INFLUENCE ON MISSIONARY OPERATIONS.

My object at Constantinople was the study of the Oriental languages preparatory to my tour. My inquiries soon satisfied me that during the time which I expected to devote to it, I could not embrace so wide a range as I had contemplated. The acquisition of the Arabic alone would require months, and even years, of toil. Besides that, its colloquial use was almost unknown in Constantinople and in most of the countries through which I was to travel. The Turkish, on the contrary, is everywhere spoken throughout the vast dominions of the Sultan, by Christians as well as Mussulmans. It is everywhere the language of government, and generally of trade. It is heard in the bazars even of Bagdad, of Syria, and of Egypt, and it is the vernacular tongue of the northern and western provinces of Persia. I chose it, therefore, in preference to any other, and I never afterwards found

reason to repent of my choice. It proved to be the only language which was spoken by some individuals in every town and village through which I passed. In Mesopotamia the Arabic would have done me better service, as would the Kurdish in Kurdistan; but in neither of these countries, so far as I penetrated them, was I ever at a loss to find those with whom I could communicate. The day will come, and, perhaps, is not far distant, when missionaries in the East will devote themselves more than now to itinerant labours, like those of the Apostles. The Turkish will then be found the only language which will afford a medium of communication with all the various kindreds of people scattered through Asiatic and European Turkey.

My instructions had pointed me to the necessity of daily and intimate intercourse with the people, as the grand means of accomplishing the objects of my mission. The necessity of such a course is apparent to all, but the real importance of my instructions in this particular, I did not appreciate until I found myself in the midst of an Eastern population. At the end of my first month's residence in Constantinople, I might have promulgated my opinions on Turkish institutions and customs with the utmost confidence. At the end of three months, I began to perceive the fallacy of most of my conclusions, and when six months had passed, I found that I knew next to nothing of the object of my study. But one useful lesson I had learned. I saw that my first judgments had been inaccurate, because they had been formed from a false position. I had begun to study the East with a Western mind. I had applied a standard of judgment which necessarily presented a false measurement. Maturer observation showed me the incorrectness of my results, and led me at once to the cause. I had

assumed the office of a judge without having learned the rules of right judgment. I was framing opinions upon the institutions and character of a people of whose peculiar genius I knew nothing. My mind was in utter confusion, which only increased as I proceeded. I was compelled, therefore, to retrace my steps and to take the humble position of a learner before I presumed to exercise the office of a judge. From that moment my determination was fixed. I resolved to throw myself among the people, and to retire as much as possible from the influence of Western associations, by departing from Western habits and society. I determined to discard my own prejudices, and to endeavour to penetrate beneath those of the people of whom I wished to learn. This was at first a personal sacrifice which I deeply felt, but the object that I had in view seemed to be worthy of it. I reflected that Christian research had been almost entirely unknown among the Mussulmans of Turkey. Her agricultural and commercial resources had been elaborately developed, the manners and customs of her people had been variously and accurately delineated, but the great question of her intellectual and moral regeneration had never been answered or asked. I endeavoured, therefore, to place myself in the position of an unprejudiced inquirer, to consider that my only object was to learn the truth, to throw off those antipathies which the Christian world has too freely cherished against the followers of Mohammed, and to regard them as men and immortal.

In accordance with my general plan, I endeavoured to obtain lodgings in a Turkish family, or at least in a Turkish quarter, but the result of the attempt showed how difficult a task I had undertaken. Among the few native friends that I had made, most of whom were

Christians, there was no one who could be induced to act as my agent in the matter. The proposal, they said, was utterly preposterous. My residence would not be endured among the habitations of Turks, much less in their households. Before my departure from the country, two years subsequent to this date, I had acquired friends who, I believe, would have admitted me to this intimacy, but at the time of which I now speak, I was a stranger and dependent on the good offices of native Christians, who, seldom maintaining themselves private intercourse with the Turks, are, for the most part, neither willing nor able to introduce others to it. I adopted, therefore, the only course that remained to me, and retained the lodgings which I already occupied in the Frank quarter of Pera, and in the house of one of that numerous class in the Levant, who are natives of the country, but, on the paternal side, of foreign parentage. In particularizing the body, I do not mean to question their respectability. Towards the friend to whom I have alluded, it would be ungrateful, as well as unjust. He had the means, which, in my own case, he faithfully used, of aiding me to pass the precincts within which I was determined to stand. During the few months which I then spent at Constantinople I formed acquaintances with Mussulmans, which subsequently, in several instances, ripened into friendships, and now form some of the most pleasant reminiscences of my life. To one only my thoughts never revert without a pang.

Hassuna d' Ghiz was an Arab by birth, but had been partly trained in France, whose language he spoke with fluency. There, too, he had received enough of the light of European learning to give an enlarged and elevated range to his naturally strong mind. After various

reverses of fortune, he had been called to Constantinople to assume the editorial care of the Royal Gazette, upon the decease of its first and very able editor, Blacque. It was in this station that I knew him. As a Mussulman, he could hardly have fallen into a sphere of higher usefulness. Free himself from the narrow prejudices of his religion, he was qualified to be an able coadjutor in recommending and defending the great work of reform commenced by his master. He had already laboured well and successfully in this department. Both by his pen and his tongue he had ably advocated the royal schemes of improvement, aiming chiefly to show them to be consonant with the doctrines of Islamism. His ground was a weak one, but he defended it manfully. I have never seen an Oriental so thoroughly imbued with a generous ambition for improvement. But it was of short duration. While the plague was raging in the city during the winter of 1836-37, I inquired one day for D' Ghiz. He was ill. The next day he was in his grave. I make this record of his fate that it may quicken others as it quickened me; for nothing has ever more strongly operated to deepen my desire for the salvation of the Mussulmans than the recollection of so noble a mind, so generous and devoted a heart, going down amidst the darkness of Mohammedanism.

As my object required only a colloquial knowledge of the language, I began to learn phrases before I had committed to memory the letters of the alphabet, and I had even gone over with my teacher the principal formularies of the grammar, before I was able to distinguish one character from another. He taught me the declensions by verbal dictation, and I recorded the examples which he added, in English characters. In the mean time I enlarged daily my number of phrases, which I put care-

fully on record, and committed to memory at leisure. This system of instruction continued three months, when I found myself master of the common forms of grammar and of a little treasure of set speeches, besides the power, still in an infant growth, of framing others. Proud of my acquisitions, I ventured to engage a second teacher, who was a Turk, and knew no language besides his own. My first had been a Frank, a native of Constantinople, and so far as his knowledge went, a skilful instructer. Most of the professional teachers of Turkish in Constantinople, and they are but few, are of this character. Turks seldom engage in the business, and, indeed, are not to be sought at the outset, both because they have no language besides their own in which to communicate with the pupil, and because, even of their own, they possess no systematic knowledge. Admirable as is the symmetry of the Turkish language, perfect as is the uniformity of its structure; regular, free from anomaly, and philosophical as are its forms, it has remained to this day in the original without a grammar. Its order and beauty appear a pure accident. A Turk knows it as he learns it in childhood. His pride is in the perfectness of his pronunciation, and in his knowledge of those proprieties of language which form the ceremonial of society. And well it may be, for the speech of a Turk is never heard from the mouth of an alien. There may be fluency and grammatical accuracy, but there is always a defective knowledge of idioms, or, at the best, a difference of accent and tone which betrays at once to a Turk a foreign tongue.

My new teacher was what was once a stranger character among the Mussulmans than at the present day, an intemperate and unprincipled Turk. Imagining, from all that I had read and heard, that the word of a

Turk was as good as a bond, I concluded my contract with Izzet Effendi by paying him in advance two months' stipend, to relieve him, as he said, from the immediate pressure of want. By dint of daily remonstrances, I extorted, in the space of two months, the number of lessons which should have been given in one, when he abandoned me altogether, leaving me, however, the comfort of having learned for my future benefit, that a Turk may be a rogue. The lesson was afterwards repeated often enough to teach me, that the virtue most commonly attributed to the Turkish character is far from being a universal one. This, however, may be safely affirmed, that, as a nation, they are true in word, upright in dealings, and faithful to promises. The exceptions are chiefly to be traced to accidental causes. A Turk in power is generally contaminated by the corrupt and mercenary system which reigns in the high places of authority. Oppression renders the poor peasant of the interior, false as well as indolent. Traffic, at least in Constantinople, is polluted by contact with European trickery and fraud, and many a Turkish tradesman in the capital can cheat with as great dexterity as a foreigner. On the whole, however, the word of a Turk is more to be trusted than that of a native Christian. This, too, is, I believe, an accidental circumstance, to be attributed mainly to the influence of servitude and oppression on the moral character. Nor is the honesty of the Turk always worthy of the name of virtue. As he is seldom acquisitive in disposition or ambitious to improve his condition, he is free from the temptation of resorting to illicit means. His honesty, like most of his virtues, is often negative, an apathetic abstinence from what is wrong, rather than a chosen and hearty practice of what is right. Truth, however, requires me to add, that I have

never known a Mussulman sincere in his faith, and devout and punctual in his religious duties, in whom moral rectitude did not seem an active quality and a living principle.

As my aim in every part and period of my mission was to avoid old paths, and to add something to the sum total of knowledge, respecting the countries that I traversed, my reader will not expect me to go over the common-places of a description of the Imperial City of the East. To me it was only a brief resting-place in my passage to the regions beyond. The pictures of its romantic beauty still linger in my mind, and the fascination of its novel scenes and manners is still fresh in my imagination. Probably to every one who will follow in these pages the steps of my pilgrimage, these are familiar themes. But the *incidents* and *events* portrayed by each successive witness are ever new. Upon such of these, therefore, as, during my residence, I found most worthy of record, I may be permitted, for a moment, to dwell.

The next day after my arrival, I witnessed the departure of a vessel crowded with pilgrims to Mecca. Her destination was to some port on the coast of Syria, whence the pilgrims would proceed to Damascus, the great place of rendezvous for all the Asiatic devotees who visit the *Kaabah*. From that city they depart in a body, at the close of Ramazan, the month of the annual Mohammedan fast, and reach Mecca in season for the ceremonies of the pilgrimage at the *Kourban Bairam**, seventy days after. Five solar months still remained before the time of departure from Damascus, and yet a crowd of pilgrims were already leaving Constantinople. The solution was, that some of the poorer sort were intending

* Feast of Sacrifice.

to make the pilgrimage, as the Koran permits*, a source of pecuniary, as well as religious profit, by engaging in traffic on the way; while others, in the true spirit of Orientals, were expecting to waste ten or twelve months on what might be accomplished in half the time. The great body of the annual pilgrims from Constantinople, however, perform the journey by land. They assemble at Scutari, on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, whither the magnificent presents annually made by the Sultan are sent in a procession of boats from his palace at Beshik Tash, on the European side. This is the common order, but in the year of my own residence at Constantinople, a steamer was employed for the purpose. The occasion calls out a splendid pageant, and the presents themselves are of extraordinary value.

The scene of the departing pilgrims seemed to me, at the moment, at least, a small proof of the remaining vigour of Islamism; but it was followed in a few days by another, which looked more like decay. On the 4th of August, it was announced that a portrait of the Sultan was to be presented to the cavalry-barracks near Pera, and I thought the occasion worthy of attention. A similar honour had already been conferred on several public buildings, and it was intended that others still should share it. Before my final departure from Constantinople, in the summer of 1838, a woful misrepresentation of the royal features was to be seen in most, if not all, the barracks, in several of the public offices, and in the cabins of some of the ships of war. Upon the day of which I speak, the Sultan himself was expected to be present, and the crowd collected to witness the ceremony was

* Chap. ii.

immense. There were pointed out to me representatives of twelve different nations, among whom were Turks, Arabs, Persians, Greeks, Armenians, Jews, and Circassians, distinguished by their different garbs and features. Then came the races of Europe, homogeneous, at least in their outward man; and here and there appeared a solitary American. I was astonished at the throngs of Turkish women, and to see them moving about at liberty, excepting some of those belonging to the harems of the great, who were seated in gaudy *arabas*, drawn by grey oxen, and furnished with the richest hangings and cushions,—as every traveller has described. I remember well how inconsistent this female publicity, though it was publicity in a close veil, appeared with my previous idea of Turkish seclusion. It is more, however, to be marked in Constantinople than in any other city of the Empire.

After the crowd had remained for hours in the most exemplary endurance of a hot sun and clouds of dust, the approach of the cavalcade was announced by the roar of cannon, and long trains of cavalry and infantry soon appeared followed by the Serasker Pasha, the commander-in-chief of the army. He was a short and stout personage, with an intelligent face and a silvery beard, the same that now holds the first place in the councils of the new Sultan. After him came a beautiful carriage drawn by four horses, moving in solemn state in the van of the Sultan's body-guard. The crowd bent eagerly forward to catch a glimpse of the royal person. But he was not there. The interior was occupied only by the likeness of himself, the portrait for which all this stir and ceremony had been created, laid carefully upon luxurious cushions, and covered with a rich cloth. The procession entered beneath the arch

that led to the interior court of the barracks, where the act of presentation was performed. It consisted simply of a prayer offered by an Imam, at the close of which the multitude responded with a loud AMEN.

I went away from the scene lost in reflection. 'Here,' I said to myself, 'is a palpable violation of the commands of the Koran, and a gross outrage upon the prejudices of Mussulmans, perpetrated by the acknowledged head of the religion and the avowed successor of its founder. And it is just such as would most scandalize serious and devout Mohammedans. It is the representation of the human form, which is of all most offensive to them; and even that is not a work of fancy, which would be regarded with greater indulgence, but an actual resemblance of a living person; and to aggravate the insult to religion as much as possible, without commanding adoration, this painted resemblance is conveyed along the public ways, with military pomp and amidst the roar of cannon, consecrated by the sacred forms of religion and set up before the eyes of all men. Even to the subjects of a Christian prince, such an act would appear like an aspiration to divine honours; but to a Mussulman, it must seem downright idolatry.'

I subsequently learned that what I anticipated was true. This innovation of the Sultan had given serious offence to the more rigid Mussulmans, one of whom ventured even to utter his remonstrances in one of the public buildings, and before the portrait itself. What was the motive of the Sultan in thus running athwart the prejudices of his people I will not pretend to divine, though various and manifold were the conjectures to which the matter gave rise in the circles of Pera. It may be well, however, to add, that this prejudice,

founded originally on the extreme jealousy of idolatry, which Mohammed, in imitation of the great Jewish legislator, felt, or pretended to feel, is by no means common to all Turks, and is subsiding in the minds of the multitude. The number is not small who have paintings and engravings in their possession, though they are not always free to exhibit them. In some few instances, I have seen them in Turkish shops and cafés. In one of the latter, in Stamboul, which I used to visit for the sake of finding a company almost exclusively Mussulman, the walls were literally covered with pictures. Among them were representations of mosques, battles and dervishes, while, shame to add, others presented indecent scenes of the most infamous description. The last were, without exception, European engravings. I can hardly credit my own record made at the time, when I add, the keeper of the café was an Emir and a Haji, a descendant of Mohammed himself, and one who had performed the great pilgrimage to the place of his birth.—I have seen paintings exhibited for sale by a Turk in the court of one of the imperial mosques of Constantinople. A crowd was always gathered around them, examining them with the most eager curiosity, for, notwithstanding religious prohibitions, a Turk's delight in pictures, when he suffers himself to look upon them, is like the extravagant fondness of a child. One day, as I was standing near, a Mussulman, whose neatly and peculiarly formed turban marked him as belonging to the religious orders, while its colour of green distinguished him as a descendant of his prophet, approached and commenced a violent declamation against the pictures, pronouncing them unlawful and commanding that they should be removed. I passed the place the next day, but they were no more to be seen. I have repeatedly witnessed scenes like

this, in my solitary intrusions into places frequented by Mussulmans; but what I have said is enough for the subject.

From innovations like that to which I have just alluded, and which seems at least of doubtful utility, my attention was soon drawn to others of a different character. After the overthrow of the Janissaries had left the Sultan free to prosecute the work of reform without other let or hinderance than the jealousy of the *Oulema*,* he established in and around the capital six or seven schools, intended, I believe, exclusively for the instruction of the army. Here, as in nearly all his changes, he aimed chiefly at military improvement. As late as the summer of 1838, he had not attempted any general diffusion of knowledge among his subjects. The two principal schools, and indeed the only ones where the European system of instruction was to a considerable extent introduced, were those at Dolma Baghtcheh and Scutari, both in the immediate vicinity of the city. In each of these there were school-rooms upon the Lancasterian plan and lecture-rooms. With the school at Dolma Baghtcheh, were connected a printing and lithographic press, an hospital and a book-bindery. European maps, with the names re-written in Turkish characters, were suspended from the walls; and the apartments were furnished with globes, orreries and most of the ordinary apparatus for instruction. On the 8th of September, 1836, I attended, with a company of friends, an examination of both the schools at the barracks of Dolma Baghtcheh. It was confined to algebra, arithmetic, drawing and penmanship, in all of which the appearance of the scholars was as creditable as is com-

* *Oulema*, plural of *alim*, a learned man.

monly witnessed on like occasions at schools or colleges in New-England.

I afterwards became more intimately acquainted with the discipline and general conduct of these institutions; but I cannot add that maturer knowledge gave me greater confidence in their utility, as they were then conducted. They are intended to be institutions of a superior order, while the science of education is utterly unknown. They are committed to native hands wholly incompetent to the task of directing so strange an establishment. They are modelled after European patterns, while they are managed by men, as is every Turk, uninstructed in European learning and destitute of European experience. They are, therefore, without a settled organization. They pass from hand to hand, and the system of control changes with the change of governors. There is no trained and experienced mind to regulate the branches of instruction, to test the competency of teachers, or to arrange the various parts into one orderly system. Hence changes have been hastily adopted, some departments have been so much curtailed as to be nearly inefficient, and little, of permanent utility, has been accomplished. Yet the design is noble and praiseworthy, and the institutions themselves are at least omens of good. Nor is it a cause for discouragement, that at the first they are productive of no great results. The object being good, the time must come when experience shall have taught the proper means for attaining it, and success will be ensured.

The two schools to which particular allusion has been made, embraces a wider range of instruction than the others. They are intended to impart what is equivalent, to use our homely New-England phrase, to a good English education, besides instruction in military science.

The others are designed exclusively for the latter object, and, excepting two of them, are devoted to the navy. When the schools commenced, there was an almost entire destitution of the requisite text-books. Some of a temporary and imperfect character have been prepared and are used in manuscript. Others have been translated, almost exclusively from the French, and printed at the royal presses. It is curious to observe in the books on military science, the large admixture of French words which are transferred unchanged, except in the characters which express them, from the original to the translation, in order to supply the extreme deficiency of scientific terms in Turkish. In most instances these volumes have been translated by Turks, and some of them are of very great value.

Having alluded to the use of foreign languages, I will here add, that there are but few among the Turks who read or speak any language besides their own. The knowledge of French, however, is becoming more and more common, especially in the army. Most of those who have visited Europe can converse in some one of its languages. I have met with several who spoke German, and with one who spoke English. By far the greater part, however, acquire the French in preference to any other, both on account of the greater facility of acquisition, of its more general utility, and of the numerous aids which the French scholars have provided in the form of grammars, lexicons, chrestomathies, and even phrase-books. In English, on the contrary, there is no good grammar of the Turkish, no fit lexicon, nor any other auxiliary to the acquisition of the language, that I have been able to discover. In every respect, indeed, the Oriental labours of the French far surpass those of the English, both in extent and accuracy. In philology

a comparison can hardly be instituted. The French geographies and maps surpass all others. Their translations from the Eastern languages are more numerous. Their works, illustrative of the Mohammedan religion, have been multiplied to a far greater extent. Their researches into Eastern antiquities have been more patient and profound.

The English press has, indeed, excelled in books of travels, but most of them are of such a character as affords no ground for boast. The desire to amuse has superseded, in such works, the desire to instruct. Truth has been disregarded in the endeavour to interest. Opinions have been hazarded, on the most superficial survey. The delusions concerning the East imposed upon the Western world by former travellers, later ones have not had the hardihood to dispel. On the contrary, they have increased and multiplied the evil. To sustain and satisfy the public avidity for the romantic and the marvellous, scenes, incidents, and events—nay, in one or two instances within my own knowledge, narrations of whole tours, never performed, have been fabricated, and palmed upon the Western world.

One of the greatest obstacles to a peaceful and comfortable residence in Constantinople is, the frequent visitation of the plague. That which befel the city in the fall of 1836 was almost unprecedented in the fury and extent of its ravages. It had commenced before my arrival, and gradually increased till the end of November, when it again declined, and at the time of my departure, the following June, was supposed to be nearly extinct. I will not undertake to speculate upon the causes or nature of this terrible destroyer. It has sometimes been attributed to the filthiness of the city, but Constantinople is, at all times, more cleanly than the