

Edward Gibbon

The 历史
Decline
and Fall
of the
Roman
Empire

in six volumes
volume 6

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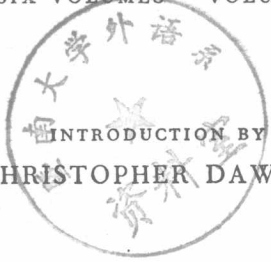
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EDWARD GIBBON

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Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire

IN SIX VOLUMES • VOLUME SIX



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EVERYMAN, I will go with thee,

and be thy guide,

In thy most need to go by thy side

EDWARD GIBBON

Born 27th April 1737 at Putney. Educated at Westminster School, Oxford, and privately at Lausanne. Toured Italy, 1764-5, and conceived the plan of his 'History'. Settled in London in 1772 and sat in Parliament from 1774 to 1783. Lived in Lausanne, 1784-93, and died in London 16th January 1794.

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THE HISTORY OF THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

CHAPTER LVII

The Turks of the House of Seljuk—Their Revolt against Mahmud, Conqueror of Hindostan—Togrul subdues Persia, and protects the Caliphs—Defeat and Captivity of the Emperor Romanus Diogenes by Alp Arslan—Power and Magnificence of Malek Shah—Conquest of Asia Minor and Syria—State and Oppression of Jerusalem—Pilgrimages to the Holy Sepulchre

FROM the isle of Sicily the reader must transport himself beyond the Caspian Sea to the original seat of the Turks or Turkmans, against whom the first crusade was principally directed. Their Scythian empire of the sixth century was long since dissolved, but the name was still famous among the Greeks and Orientals, and the fragments of the nation, each a powerful and independent people, were scattered over the desert from China to the Oxus and the Danube: the colony of Hungarians was admitted into the republic of Europe, and the thrones of Asia were occupied by slaves and soldiers of Turkish extraction. While Apulia and Sicily were subdued by the Norman lance, a swarm of these northern shepherds overspread the kingdoms of Persia; their princes of the race of Seljuk erected a splendid and solid empire from Samarcand to the confines of Greece and Egypt, and the Turks have maintained their dominion in Asia Minor till the victorious crescent has been planted on the dome of St. Sophia.

One of the greatest of the Turkish princes was Mamood or Mahmud,¹ the Gaznevide, who reigned in the eastern provinces of Persia one thousand years after the birth of Christ. His

¹ I am indebted for his character and history to D'Herbelot (*Bibliothèque Orientale*, *Mahmud*, p. 533-537), M. de Guignes (*Histoire des Huns*, tom. iii. p. 155-173), and our countryman Colonel Alexander Dow (vol. i. p. 23-83). In the two first volumes of his *History of Hindostan* he styles himself the translator of the Persian *Ferishta*; but in his florid text it is not easy to distinguish the version and the original.

father Sebectagi was the slave of the slave of the slave of the commander of the faithful. But in this descent of servitude the first degree was merely titular, since it was filled by the sovereign of Transoxiana and Chorasán, who still paid a nominal allegiance to the caliph of Bagdad. The second rank was that of a minister of state, a lieutenant of the Samanides,¹ who broke, by his revolt, the bonds of political slavery. But the third step was a state of real and domestic servitude in the family of that rebel, from which Sebectagi, by his courage and dexterity, ascended to the supreme command of the city and province of Gazna,² as the son-in-law and successor of his grateful master. The falling dynasty of the Samanides was at first protected, and at last overthrown, by their servants, and, in the public disorders, the fortune of Mahmud continually increased. For him the title of *Sultan*³ was first invented; and his kingdom was enlarged from Transoxiana to the neighbourhood of Ispahan, from the shores of the Caspian to the mouth of the Indus. But the principal source of his fame and riches was the holy war which he waged against the Gentoos of Hindostan. In this foreign narrative I may not consume a page, and a volume would scarcely suffice to recapitulate the battles and sieges of his twelve expeditions. Never was the Musulman hero dismayed by the inclemency of the seasons, the height of the mountains,

¹ The dynasty of the Samanides continued 125 years, A.D. 874-999, under ten princes. See their succession and ruin in the Tables of M. de Guignes (Hist. des Huns, tom. i. p. 404-406). They were followed by the Gaznevites, A.D. 999-1183 (see tom. i. p. 239, 240). His division of nations often disturbs the series of time and place.

² *Gaznah hortos non habet: est emporium et domicilium mercaturæ Indicæ.* Abulfedæ Geograph. Reiske, tab. xxiii. p. 349; D'Herbelot, p. 364. It has not been visited by any modern traveller.

³ By the ambassador of the caliph of Bagdad, who employed an Arabian or Chaldaic word that signifies *lord* and *master* (D'Herbelot, p. 825). It is interpreted *Αυτοκράτωρ*, *Βασιλεὺς Βασιλέων*, by the Byzantine writers of the eleventh century; and the name (*Σουλτανός*, Soldanus) is familiarly employed in the Greek and Latin languages, after it had passed from the Gaznevites to the Seljukides, and other emirs of Asia and Egypt. Ducange (Dissertation xvi. sur Joinville, p. 238-240, Gloss. Græc. et Latin.) labours to find the title of Sultan in the ancient kingdom of Persia: but his proofs are mere shadows; a proper name in the Themes of Constantine (ii. 11 [tom. iii. p. 61, ed. Bonn]), an anticipation of Zonaras, etc., and a medal of Kai Khosrou, not (as he believes) the Sassanide of the sixth, but the Seljukide of Iconium of the thirteenth century (De Guignes, Hist. des Huns, tom. i. p. 246).

[It is uncertain when the title "sultan" was first used, but it seems, at all events, to have been anterior to the time of Mahmud. It is mentioned by Halebi under the reign of Motawacel in the ninth century, but according to Ibn Chaldun it was first assumed by the Bowides. Vambéry thinks that the name of one of the sons of the Hungarian chief Arpad, *Zaltras* or *Zoltan*, was really his designation of rank—sultan.—O. S.]

the breadth of the rivers, the barrenness of the desert, the multitudes of the enemy, or the formidable array of their elephants of war.¹ The sultan of Gazna surpassed the limits of the conquests of Alexander; after a march of three months, over the hills of Cashmir and Thibet, he reached the famous city of Kinoge,² on the Upper Ganges, and, in a naval combat on one of the branches of the Indus, he fought and vanquished four thousand boats of the natives. Delhi, Lahor, and Multan were compelled to open their gates; the fertile kingdom of Guzarat attracted his ambition and tempted his stay; and his avarice indulged the fruitless project of discovering the golden and aromatic isles of the Southern Ocean. On the payment of a tribute the *rajahs* preserved their dominions, the people their lives and fortunes: but to the religion of Hindostan the zealous Musulman was cruel and inexorable; many hundred temples or pagodas were levelled with the ground, many thousand idols were demolished, and the servants of the prophet were stimulated and rewarded by the precious materials of which they were composed. The pagoda of Sumnat was situate on the promontory of Guzarat, in the neighbourhood of Diu, one of the last remaining possessions of the Portuguese.³ It was endowed with the revenue of two thousand villages; two thousand Brahmins were consecrated to the service of the deity, whom they washed each morning and evening in water from the distant Ganges; the subordinate ministers consisted of three hundred musicians, three hundred barbers, and five hundred dancing girls, conspicuous for their birth or beauty. Three sides of the temple were protected by the ocean, the narrow isthmus was fortified by a natural or artificial precipice, and the city and

¹ Ferishta (apud Dow, Hist. of Hindostan, vol. i. p. 49) mentions the report of a *gun* in the Indian army. But as I am slow in believing this premature (A.D. 1008) use of artillery, I must desire to scrutinise first the text and then the authority of Ferishta, who lived in the Mogul court in the last century.

[Millman says in his edition, "This passage is differently written in the various MSS. I have seen; and in some the word *tope*, gun, has been written for *nupth*, naphtha, and *toofung*, musket, for *khudung*, arrow. But no Persian or Arabic history speaks of gunpowder before the time usually assigned for its invention (A.D. 1317), long after which it was first applied to the purposes of war. Briggs' *Ferishta*."—O. S.]

² Kinoge, or Canouge (the old Palimbothra), is marked in latitude 27° 3', longitude 80° 13'. See D'Anville (*Antiquité de l'Inde*, p. 60-62), corrected by the local knowledge of Major Rennell (in his excellent *Memoir* on his Map of Hindostan, p. 37-43): 300 jewellers, 30,000 shops for the areca nut, 60,000 bands of musicians, etc. (Abulfed. *Geograph. tab.* xv. p. 274; Dow, vol. i. p. 16), will allow an ample deduction.

³ The idolaters of Europe, says Ferishta (Dow, vol. i. p. 66). Consul Abulfeda (p. 272) and Rennell's Map of Hindostan.

adjacent country were peopled by a nation of fanatics. They confessed the sins and the punishment of Kinoge and Delhi; but if the impious stranger should presume to approach *their* holy precincts, he would surely be overwhelmed by a blast of the divine vengeance. By this challenge the faith of Mahmud was animated to a personal trial of the strength of this Indian deity. Fifty thousand of his worshippers were pierced by the spear of the Moslems; the walls were scaled, the sanctuary was profaned, and the conqueror aimed a blow of his iron mace at the head of the idol. The trembling Brahmins are said to have offered ten millions sterling for his ransom; and it was urged by the wisest counsellors that the destruction of a stone image would not change the hearts of the Gentoos, and that such a sum might be dedicated to the relief of the true believers. "Your reasons," replied the sultan, "are specious and strong; but never in the eyes of posterity shall Mahmud appear as a merchant of idols." He repeated his blows, and a treasure of pearls and rubies, concealed in the belly of the statue, explained in some degree the devout prodigality of the Brahmins. The fragments of the idol were distributed to Gazna, Mecca, and Medina. Bagdad listened to the edifying tale, and Mahmud was saluted by the caliph with the title of guardian of the fortune and faith of Mohammed.

From the paths of blood, and such is the history of nations, I cannot refuse to turn aside to gather some flowers of science or virtue. The name of Mahmud the Gaznevide is still venerable in the East: his subjects enjoyed the blessings of prosperity and peace; his vices were concealed by the veil of religion; and two familiar examples will testify his justice and magnanimity. I. As he sat in the divan, an unhappy subject bowed before the throne to accuse the insolence of a Turkish soldier who had driven him from his house and bed. "Suspend your clamours," said Mahmud; "inform me of his next visit, and ourself in person will judge and punish the offender." The sultan followed his guide, invested the house with his guards, and, extinguishing the torches, pronounced the death of the criminal, who had been seized in the act of rapine and adultery. After the execution of his sentence the lights were rekindled, Mahmud fell prostrate in prayer, and, rising from the ground, demanded some homely fare, which he devoured with the voraciousness of hunger. The poor man, whose injury he had avenged, was unable to suppress his astonishment and curiosity; and the courteous monarch condescended to explain the motives of this singular behaviour. "I had reason to suspect that none, except one of my sons,

could dare to perpetrate such an outrage; and I extinguished the lights that my justice might be blind and inexorable. My prayer was a thanksgiving on the discovery of the offender; and so painful was my anxiety, that I had passed three days without food since the first moment of your complaint." II. The sultan of Gazna had declared war against the dynasty of the Bowides, the sovereigns of the western Persia; he was disarmed by an epistle of the sultana mother, and delayed his invasion till the manhood of her son.¹ "During the life of my husband," said the artful regent, "I was ever apprehensive of your ambition: he was a prince and a soldier worthy of your arms. He is now no more; his sceptre has passed to a woman and a child, and you *dare not* attack their infancy and weakness. How inglorious would be your conquest, how shameful your defeat! and yet the event of war is in the hand of the Almighty." Avarice was the only defect that tarnished the illustrious character of Mahmud; and never has that passion been more richly satiated. The Orientals exceed the measure of credibility in the account of millions of gold and silver, such as the avidity of man has never accumulated; in the magnitude of pearls, diamonds, and rubies, such as have never been produced by the workmanship of nature.² Yet the soil of Hindostan is impregnated with precious minerals: her trade, in every age, has attracted the gold and silver of the world; and her virgin spoils were rifled by the first of the Mohammedan conquerors. His behaviour, in the last days of his life, evinces the vanity of these possessions, so laboriously won, so dangerously held, and so inevitably lost. He surveyed the vast and various chambers of the treasury of Gazna; burst into tears; and again closed the doors, without bestowing any portion of the wealth which he could no longer hope to preserve. The following day he reviewed the state of his military force; one hundred thousand foot, fifty-five thousand horse, and thirteen hundred elephants of battle.³ He again wept the instability

¹ D'Herbelot, Bibliothèque Orientale, p. 527. Yet these letters, apophthegms, etc., are rarely the language of the heart, or the motives of public action.

² For instance, a ruby of four hundred and fifty miskals (Dow, vol. i. p. 53), or six pounds three ounces: the largest in the treasury of Delhi weighed seventeen miskals (Voyages de Tavernier, partie ii. p. 280). It is true that in the East all coloured stones are called rubies (p. 355), and that Tavernier saw three larger and more precious among the jewels de notre grand roi, le plus puissant et plus magnifique de tous les rois de la terre (p. 376).

³ Dow, vol. i. p. 65. The sovereign of Kinoge is said to have possessed 2500 elephants (Abulfed. Geograph. tab. xv. p. 274). From these Indian stories the reader may correct a note in my first volume; or from that note he may correct these stories.

of human greatness; and his grief was embittered by the hostile progress of the Turkmans, whom he had introduced into the heart of his Persian kingdom.

In the modern depopulation of Asia the regular operation of government and agriculture is confined to the neighbourhood of cities, and the distant country is abandoned to the pastoral tribes of Arabs, Curds, and *Turkmans*.¹ Of the last-mentioned people, two considerable branches extend on either side of the Caspian Sea: the western colony can muster forty thousand soldiers; the eastern, less obvious to the traveller, but more strong and populous, has increased to the number of one hundred thousand families. In the midst of civilised nations they preserve the manners of the Scythian desert, remove their encampments with the change of seasons, and feed their cattle among the ruins of palaces and temples. Their flocks and herds are their only riches; their tents, either black or white, according to the colour of the banner, are covered with felt, and of a circular form; their winter apparel is a sheepskin; a robe of cloth or cotton their summer garment: the features of the men are harsh and ferocious; the countenance of their women is soft and pleasing. Their wandering life maintains the spirit and exercise of arms; they fight on horseback; and their courage is displayed in frequent contests with each other and with their neighbours. For the licence of pasture they pay a slight tribute to the sovereign of the land; but the domestic jurisdiction is in the hands of the chiefs and elders. The first emigration of the Eastern Turkmans, the most ancient of their race, may be ascribed to the tenth century of the Christian era.² In the decline of the caliphs, and the weakness of their lieutenants, the barrier of the Jaxartes was often violated: in each invasion, after the victory or retreat of their countrymen, some wandering tribe, embracing the Mohammedan faith, obtained a free encampment in the spacious plains and pleasant climate of Transoxiana and Carizme. The Turkish slaves who aspired to the throne encouraged these emigrations, which recruited their armies,

¹ See a just and natural picture of these pastoral manners, in the history of William Archbishop of Tyre (l. i. c. vii. in the *Gesta Dei per Francos*, p. 633, 634), and a valuable note by the editor of the *Histoire Généalogique des Tatars*, p. 535-538.

² The first emigrations of the Turkmans, and doubtful origin of the Seljukians, may be traced in the laborious *History of the Huns*, by M. de Guignes (tom. i. *Tables Chronologiques*, l. v. tom. iii. l. vii. ix. x.), and the *Bibliothèque Orientale* of D'Herbelot (p. 799-802, 897-901), Elmacin (*Hist. Saracen.* p. 331-333 [4to ed., Lugd. B., 1625]), and Abulpharagius (*Dynast.* p. 221, 222).

awed their subjects and rivals, and protected the frontier against the wilder natives of Turkestan; and this policy was abused by Mahmud the Gaznevide beyond the example of former times. He was admonished of his error by a chief of the race of Seljuk, who dwelt in the territory of Bochara. The sultan had inquired what supply of men he could furnish for military service. "If you send," replied Ismael, "one of these arrows into our camp, fifty thousand of your servants will mount on horseback." "And if that number," continued Mahmud, "should not be sufficient?" "Send this second arrow to the horde of Balik, and you will find fifty thousand more." "But," said the Gaznevide, dissembling his anxiety, "if I should stand in need of the whole force of your kindred tribes?" "Despatch my bow," was the last reply of Ismael, "and, as it is circulated around, the summons will be obeyed by two hundred thousand horse." The apprehension of such formidable friendship induced Mahmud to transport the most obnoxious tribes into the heart of Chorasán, where they would be separated from their brethren by the river Oxus, and enclosed on all sides by the walls of obedient cities. But the face of the country was an object of temptation rather than terror; and the vigour of government was relaxed by the absence and death of the sultan of Gazna. The shepherds were converted into robbers; the bands of robbers were collected into an army of conquerors: as far as Ispahan and the Tigris Persia was afflicted by their predatory inroads; and the Turkmans were not ashamed or afraid to measure their courage and numbers with the proudest sovereigns of Asia. Massoud, the son and successor of Mahmud, had too long neglected the advice of his wisest Omrahs. "Your enemies," they repeatedly urged, "were in their origin a swarm of ants; they are now little snakes; and, unless they be instantly crushed, they will acquire the venom and magnitude of serpents." After some alternatives of truce and hostility, after the repulse or partial success of his lieutenants, the sultan marched in person against the Turkmans, who attacked him on all sides with barbarous shouts and irregular onset. "Massoud," says the Persian historian,¹ "plunged singly to oppose the torrent of gleaming arms, exhibiting such acts of gigantic force and valour as never king had before displayed. A few of his friends, roused by his words and actions, and that innate honour which inspires the brave,

¹ Dow, *Hist. of Hindostan*, vol. i. p. 89, 95-98. I have copied this passage as a specimen of the Persian manner; but I suspect that, by some odd fatality, the style of Ferishta has been improved by that of Ossian.

seconded their lord so well, that, wheresoever he turned his fatal sword, the enemies were mowed down or retreated before him. But now, when victory seemed to blow on his standard, misfortune was active behind it; for when he looked round he beheld almost his whole army, excepting that body he commanded in person, devouring the paths of flight." The Gaznevide was abandoned by the cowardice or treachery of some generals of Turkish race; and this memorable day of Zendekan¹ founded in Persia the dynasty of the shepherd kings.²

The victorious Turkmans immediately proceeded to the election of a king; and, if the probable tale of a Latin historian³ deserves any credit, they determined by lot the choice of their new master. A number of arrows were successively inscribed with the name of a tribe, a family, and a candidate; they were drawn from the bundle by the hand of a child, and the important prize was obtained by Togrul Beg, the son of Michael, the son of Seljuk, whose surname was immortalised in the greatness of his posterity. The sultan Mahmud, who valued himself on his skill in national genealogy, professed his ignorance of the family of Seljuk; yet the father of that race appears to have been a chief of power and renown.⁴ For a daring intrusion into the harem of his prince, Seljuk was banished from Turkestan: with a numerous tribe of his friends and vassals he passed the Jaxartes, encamped in the neighbourhood of Samarcand, embraced the religion of Mohammed, and acquired the crown of martyrdom in a war against the infidels. His age, of a hundred and seven

¹ The Zendekan of D'Herbelot (p. 1028), the Dindaka of Dow (vol. i. p. 97), is probably the Dandanekan of Abulfeda (Geograph. p. 345, Reiske), a small town of Chorasán, two days' journey from Marû, and renowned through the East for the production and manufacture of cotton.

² The Byzantine historians (Cedrenus, tom. ii. p. 766, 767 [p. 566, sq., ed. Bonn]; Zonaras, tom. ii. p. 255 [l. xvii. c. 25]; Nicephorus Bryennius, p. 21 [p. 26, ed. Bonn]) have confounded in this revolution the truth of time and place, of names and persons, of causes and events. The ignorance and errors of these Greeks (which I shall not stop to unravel) may inspire some distrust of the story of Cyaxares and Cyrus, as it is told by their most eloquent predecessors.

³ Willerm. Tyr. l. i. c. 7, p. 633. [In *Gesta Dei per Franc.* tom. i. fol. Hanov. 1611.] The divination by arrows is ancient and famous in the East.

⁴ D'Herbelot, p. 801. Yet after the fortune of his posterity, Seljuk became the thirty-fourth in lineal descent from the great Afrasiab emperor of Touran (p. 800). The Tartar pedigree of the house of Zingis gave a different cast to flattery and fable; and the historian Mirkhond derives the Seljukides from Alankavah, the virgin mother (p. 801, col. 2). If they be the same as the *Zalzuts* of Abulghazi Bahadur Khan (*Hist. Généalogique*, p. 148), we quote in their favour the most weighty evidence of a Tartar prince himself, the descendant of Zingis, Alankavah, or Alancu, and Oguz Khan.

years, surpassed the life of his son, and Seljuk adopted the care of his two grandsons, Togrul and Jaafar, the eldest of whom, at the age of forty-five, was invested with the title of Sultan in the royal city of Nishabur. The blind determination of chance was justified by the virtues of the successful candidate. It would be superfluous to praise the valour of a Turk; and the ambition of Togrul¹ was equal to his valour. By his arms the Gaznevites were expelled from the eastern kingdoms of Persia, and gradually driven to the banks of the Indus, in search of a softer and more wealthy conquest. In the West he annihilated the dynasty of the Bowides; and the sceptre of Irak passed from the Persian to the Turkish nation. The princes who had felt, or who feared, the Seljukian arrows bowed their heads in the dust; by the conquest of Aderbijan, or Media, he approached the Roman confines; and the shepherd presumed to despatch an ambassador, or herald, to demand the tribute and obedience of the emperor of Constantinople.² In his own dominions Togrul was the father of his soldiers and people; by a firm and equal administration Persia was relieved from the evils of anarchy; and the same hands which had been imbrued in blood became the guardians of justice and the public peace. The more rustic, perhaps the wisest, portion of the Turkmans³ continued to dwell in the tents of their ancestors; and, from the Oxus to the Euphrates, these military colonies were protected and propagated by their native princes. But the Turks of the court and city were refined by business and softened by pleasure: they imitated the dress, language, and manners of Persia; and the royal palaces of Nishabur and Rei displayed the order and magnificence of a great monarchy. The most deserving of the Arabians and Persians were promoted to the honours of the state; and the whole body of the Turkish nation embraced with fervour and sincerity the religion of Mohammed. The northern swarms of barbarians

¹ By a slight corruption Togrul Beg is the Tangroli-pix of the Greeks. His reign and character are faithfully exhibited by D'Herbelot (*Bibliothèque Orientale*, p. 1027, 1028) and De Guignes (*Hist. des Huns*, tom. iii. p. 189-201).

² Cedrenus, tom. ii. p. 774, 775 [p. 580, *sq.*, ed. Bonn]; Zonaras, tom. ii. p. 257 [l. xvii. c. 25]. With their usual knowledge of Oriental affairs, they describe the ambassador as a *sherif*, who, like the syncellus of the patriarch, was the vicar and successor of the caliph.

³ From William of Tyre I have borrowed this distinction of Turks and Turkmans, which at least is popular and convenient. The names are the same, and the addition of *man* is of the same import in the Persic and Teutonic idioms. Few critics will adopt the etymology of James de Vitry (*Hist. Hierosol.* l. i. c. 11, p. 1061 [*Gesta Dei p. Franc.*]), of Turcomani, quasi *Turci et Comani*, a mixed people.

who overspread both Europe and Asia have been irreconcilably separated by the consequences of a similar conduct. Among the Moslems, as among the Christians, their vague and local traditions have yielded to the reason and authority of the prevailing system, to the fame of antiquity, and the consent of nations. But the triumph of the Koran is more pure and meritorious as it was not assisted by any visible splendour of worship which might allure the pagans by some resemblance of idolatry. The first of the Seljukian sultans was conspicuous by his zeal and faith; each day he repeated the five prayers which are enjoined to the true believers; of each week the two first days were consecrated by an extraordinary fast; and in every city a mosch was completed before Togrul presumed to lay the foundations of a palace.¹

With the belief of the Koran, the son of Seljuk imbibed a lively reverence for the successor of the prophet. But that sublime character was still disputed by the caliphs of Bagdad and Egypt, and each of the rivals was solicitous to prove his title in the judgment of the strong, though illiterate, barbarians. Mahmud the Gaznevide had declared himself in favour of the line of Abbas; and had treated with indignity the robe of honour which was presented by the Fatimite ambassador. Yet the ungrateful Hashemite had changed with the change of fortune; he applauded the victory of Zendecan, and named the Seljukian sultan his temporal vicegerent over the Moslem world. As Togrul executed and enlarged this important trust, he was called to the deliverance of the caliph Cayem, and obeyed the holy summons, which gave a new kingdom to his arms.² In the palace of Bagdad the commander of the faithful still slumbered, a venerable phantom. His servant or master, the prince of the Bowides, could no longer protect him from the insolence of meaner tyrants; and the Euphrates and Tigris were oppressed by the revolt of the Turkish and Arabian emirs. The presence of a conqueror was implored as a blessing; and the transient mischiefs of fire and sword were excused as the sharp but salutary remedies which alone could restore the health of the republic. At the head of an irresistible force the sultan of Persia marched from Hamadan: the proud were crushed, the prostrate were spared; the prince of the Bowides disappeared; the heads of the

¹ Hist. Générale des Huns, tom. iii. p. 165, 166, 167. M. de Guignes quotes Abulmahasen, an historian of Egypt.

² Consult the Bibliothèque Orientale, in the articles of the *Abbassides*, *Caher*, and *Caiem*, and the Annals of Elmacin and Abulpharagius.