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THE

KORAN;

COMMONLY CALLED

The Alcoran of Mohammed:

Tranſlated from the original Arabic.

WITH

EXPLANATORY NOTES,

TAKEN FROM THE

MOST APPROVED COMMENTATORS.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

A PRELIMINARY DISCOURSE.

BY

GEORGE SALE,
GENT

VOL. I.

A NEW EDITION.

Nulla falſa doctrina eſt, quæ non aliquid veri permiſceat
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TO

THE READER.

I IMAGINE it almoſt needleſs either to make an apology for publiſhing the following Tranſlation, or to go about to prove it a Work of uſe as well as curioſity. They muſt have a mean opinion of the Chriſtian Religion, or be but ill-grounded therein, who can apprehend any danger from ſo manifeſt a forgery: and if the religious and civil inſtitutions of foreign nations are worth our knowledge, thoſe of Mohammed, the law-giver of the Arabians, and founder of an empire, which, in leſs than a century, ſpread itſelf over a greater part of the world than the Romans were ever maſters of, muſt needs be ſo; whether we conſider their extenſive obtaining, or our frequent intercourſe with thoſe who are governed thereby. I ſhall not here inquire into the reaſons why the law of Mohammed has met with ſo unexampled a reception in the world, (for they are greatly deceived who imagine it to have been propagated by the ſword alone,) or by what means it came to be embraced by nations which never felt the force of the Mohammedan arms; and even by thoſe which ſtripped the Arabians of their conqueſts, and put an end to

the ſovereignty, and very being, of their Khalîfs: yet it ſeems as if there was ſomething more than what is vulgarly imagined, in a religion which has made ſo ſurpriſing a progreſs. But whatever uſe an impartial verſion of the Korân may be of in other reſpects, it is abſolutely neceſſary to undeceive thoſe, who, from the ignorant or unfair Tranſlations which have appeared, have entertained too favourable an opinion of the original, and alſo to enable us effectually to expoſe the impoſture, none of thoſe who have hitherto undertaken that province, not excepting Dr. Prideaux himſelf, having ſucceeded to the ſatisfaction of the judicious, for want of being complete maſters of the controverſy. The writers of the Romiſh communion, in particular, are ſo far from having done any ſervice in their refutations of Mohammediſm, that, by endeavouring to defend their idolatry, and other ſuperſtitions, they have rather contributed to the increaſe of that averſion which the Mohammedans in general have to the Chriſtian Religion, and given them great advantages in the diſpute. The Proteſtants alone are able to attack the Korân with ſucceſs; and for them, I truſt, Providence has reſerved the glory of its overthrow. In the mean time, if I might preſume to lay down rules to be obſerved by thoſe who attempt the converſion of the Mohammedans, they ſhould be the ſame which the learned and

and worthy biſhop Kidder * has preſcribed for the converſion of the Jews, and which may, *Mutatis Mutandis*, be equally applied to the former, notwithſtanding the deſpicable opinion that writer, for want of being better acquainted with them, entertained of thoſe people, judging them ſcarce fit to be argued with. The firſt of theſe rules is, To avoid compulſion; which, though it be not in our power to employ at preſent, I hope will not be made uſe of when it is. The ſecond is, To avoid teaching doctrines againſt common ſenſe, the Mohammedans not being ſuch fools (whatever we may think of them) as to be gained over in this caſe. The worſhipping of images, and the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, are great ſtumbling-blocks to the Mohammedans; and the church which teacheth them is very unfit to bring thoſe people over. The third is, To avoid weak arguments. for the Mohammedans are not to be converted with theſe or hard words. We muſt uſe them with humanity, and diſpute againſt them with arguments that are proper and cogent. It is certain that many Chriſtians, who have written againſt them, have been very defective this way: many have uſed arguments that have no force, and advanced propoſitions that are void of truth. This method

* In his Demonſtr. of the Meſſias, Part III. chap. ii.

is ſo far from convincing, that it rather ſerves to harden them. The Mohammedans will be apt to conclude we have little to ſay, when we urge them with arguments that are trifling or untrue. We do but loſe ground when we do this; and, inſtead of gaining them, we expoſe ourſelves and our cauſe alſo. We muſt not give them ill words neither; but muſt avoid all reproachful language, all that is ſarcaſtical and biting: this never did good from pulpit or preſs. The ſofteſt words will make the deepeſt impreſſion; and if we think it a fault in them to give ill language, we cannot be excuſed when we imitate them. The fourth rule is, Not to quit any article of the Chriſtian Faith to gain the Mohammedans. It is a fond conceit of the Socinians, that we ſhal upon their principles, be moſt like to prevail upon the Mohammedans: it is not true in matter of fact. We muſt not give up any article to gain them: but then the church of Rome ought to part with many practices, and ſome doctrines. We are not to deſign to gain the Mohammedans over to a ſyſtem of dogmas, but to the ancient and primitive faith. I believe nobody will deny but that the rules here laid down are juſt. The latter part of the third, (which alone my deſign has given me occaſion to practiſe,) I think ſo reaſonable, that I have not, in ſpeaking of Mohammed or his Korân, allowed myſelf to

uſe

uſe thoſe opprobrious appellations, and unmannerly expreſſions, which ſeem to be the ſtrongeſt arguments of ſeveral who have written againſt them. On the contrary, I have thought myſelf obliged to treat both with common decency, and even to approve ſuch particulars as ſeemed to me to deſerve approbation: for how criminal ſoever Mohammed may have been in impoſing a falſe religion on mankind, the praiſes due to his real virtues ought not to be denied him: nor can I do otherwiſe than applaud the candour of the pious and learned Spanhemius, who, though he owned him to have been a wicked impoſtor, yet acknowledged him to have been richly furniſhed with natural endowments, beautiful in his perſon, of a ſubtle wit, agreeable behaviour, ſhewing liberality to the poor, courteſy to every one, fortitude againſt his enemies, and, above all, a high reverence for the name of GOD; ſevere againſt the perjured, adulterers, murderers, ſlanderers, prodigals, covetous, falſe witneſſes, &c. a great preacher of patience, charity, mercy, beneficence, gratitude, honouring of parents and ſuperiors; and a frequent celebrator of the divine praiſes *.

Of

* Id certum, naturalibus egregiè dotibus inſtructum Mohammedem, forma præſtanti, ingenio callido, moribus facetis, ac præ ſe ferentem liberalitatem in egenos, comitatem in ſingulos, fortitudinem in hoſtes, ac, præ cæteris, reverentiam divini nominis.—Severus fuit in perjuros, adulteros,

Of the ſeveral Tranſlations of the Korân now extant, there is but one which tolerably repreſents the ſenſe of the original; and that being in Latin, a new verſion became neceſſary, at leaſt to an Engliſh reader. What Bibliander publiſhed for a Latin tranſlation of that book, deſerves not the name of a tranſlation, the unaccountable liberties therein taken, and the numberleſs faults, both of omiſſion and commiſſion, leaving ſcarce any reſemblance of the original. It was made near ſix hundred years ago, being finiſhed in 1143, by Robertus Retenenſis, an Engliſhman, with the aſſiſtance of Hermannus Dalmata, at the requeſt of Peter, abbot of Clugny, who paid them well for their pains.

From this Latin verſion was taken the Italian of Andrea Arrivabene, notwithſtanding the pretences in his dedication, of its being done immediately from the Arabic*, wherefore it is no wonder if the tranſcript be yet more faulty and abſurd than the copy†.

adulteros, homicidas, obtrectatores, prodigos, avaros, falſos teſtes, &c. Magnus idem patientiæ, charitatis, miſericordiæ, beneficentiæ, gratitudinis, honoris in parentes ac ſuperiores præco, ut et divinarum laudum. Hiſt Eccleſ. Sec. vii. c. vii. lem 5 & 7.

* His words are Queſto libro, che già havevo à commune utilità di molti fatto dal proprio teſto Arabo tradurre nella noſtra volgar lingua Italiana, &c. And afterwards, Queſto è l'Alcorano di Macometto, il quale, come ho gia detto, ho fatto dal ſuo idioma tradurre, &c.

† V. Joſ. Scalig. Epiſt. 361 & 362, & Selden. de ſucceſſ. ad leges Ebræor. p. 9.

About

About the end of the fifteenth century, Johannes Andreas, a native of Xativa, in the kingdom of Valencia, who, from a Mohammedan doctor, became a Christian priest, translated not only the Korân, but also its glosses, and the seven books of the Sonna, out of Arabic into the Arragonian tongue, at the command of Martin Garcia*, bishop of Barcelona, and inquisitor of Arragon. Whether this translation were ever published or not, I am wholly ignorant: but it may be presumed to have been the better done for being the work of one bred up in the Mohammedan religion and learning; though his refutation of that religion, which has had several editions, gives no great idea of his abilities.

Some years within the last century, Andrew du Ryer, who had been consul of the French nation in Egypt, and was tolerably skilled in the Turkish and Arabic languages, took the pains to translate the Korân into his own tongue: but his performance, though it be beyond comparison preferable to that of Retenensis, is far from being a just translation; there being mistakes in every page, besides frequent transpositions, omissions, and additions‡, faults unpardonable in a work of this

* J. Andreas, in Præf. ad Tractat. suum de Confusione Sectæ Mahometanæ.

‡ V. Windet, de vita functorum statu, Sect. 9.

nature.

nature. And what renders it ſtill more incomplete is, the want of Notes to explain a vaſt number of paſſages, ſome of which are difficult, and others impoſſible to be underſtood, without proper explications, were they tranſlated ever ſo exactly; which the author is ſo ſenſible of, that he often refers the reader to the Arabic commentators.

The Engliſh verſion is no other than a tranſlation of Du Ryer's, and that a very bad one; for Alexander Roſs, who did it, being utterly unacquainted with the Arabic, and no great maſter of the French, has added a number of freſh miſtakes of his own to thoſe of Du Ryer; not to mention the meanneſs of his language, which would make a better book ridiculous.

In 1698, a Latin tranſlation of the Korân, made by father Lewis Marracci, who had been confeſſor to pope Innocent XI. was publiſhed at Padua, together with the original text, accompanied by explanatory notes and a refutation. This tranſlation of Marracci's, generally ſpeaking, is very exact; but adheres to the Arabic idiom too literally to be eaſily underſtood, unleſs I am much deceived, by thoſe who are not verſed in the Mohammedan learning. The notes he has added are indeed of great uſe; but his refutations, which ſwell the work to a large volume, are of little or none at all, being often unſatisfactory, and ſometimes imper-

impertinent. The work, however, with all its faults, is very valuable; and I ſhould be guilty of ingratitude, did I not acknowledge myſelf much obliged thereto; but ſtill being in Latin, it can be of no uſe to thoſe who underſtand not that tongue.

Having, therefore, undertaken a New Tranſlation, I have endeavoured to do the Original impartial juſtice, not having, to the beſt of my knowledge, repreſented it, in any one inſtance, either better or worſe than it really is. I have thought myſelf obliged, indeed, in a piece which pretends to be the Word of God, to keep ſomewhat ſcrupulouſly cloſe to the text, by which means the language may, in ſome places, ſeem to expreſs the Arabic a little too literally to be elegant Engliſh: but this, I hope, has not happened often; and, I flatter myſelf, that the ſtyle I have made uſe of will not only give a more genuine idea of the original, than if I had taken more liberty, (which would have been much more for my eaſe,) but will ſoon become familiar. for we muſt not expect to read a verſion of ſo extraordinary a book with the ſame eaſe and pleaſure as a modern compoſition.

In the Notes my view has been briefly to explain the Text, and eſpecially the difficult and obſcure paſſages, from the moſt approved commentators, and that generally in their own words; for whoſe opinions, or expreſſions, where liable

liable to cenſure, I am not anſwerable; my province being only fairly to repreſent their expoſitions; and the little I have added of my own, or from European writers, being eaſily diſcernible. Where I met with any circumſtance which I imagined might be curious or entertaining, I have not failed to produce it.

The Preliminary Diſcourſe will acquaint the reader with the moſt material particulars proper to be known previouſly to the entering on the Korân itſelf, and which could not ſo conveniently have been thrown into the Notes. And I have taken care, both in the Preliminary Diſcourſe and the Notes, conſtantly to quote my authorities and the writers to whom I have been beholden; but to none have I been more ſo, than to the learned Dr. Pocock, whoſe Specimen Hiſtoriæ Arabum, is the moſt uſeful and accurate work that has been hitherto publiſhed concerning the antiquities of that nation, and ought to be read by every curious inquirer into them.

As I have had no opportunity of conſulting public libraries, the manuſcripts of which I have made uſe throughout the whole Work, have been ſuch as I had in my own ſtudy, except only the Commentary of al Beidâwi, and the Goſpel of S. Barnabas. The firſt belongs to the library of the Dutch church in Auſtin Friars, and for the uſe of it I have been chiefly indebted to the

reverend

reverend Dr. Bolton, one of the miniſters of that church: the other was very obligingly lent me by the reverend Dr. Holme, rector of Hedley, in Hampſhire: and I take this opportunity of returning both thoſe gentlemen my thanks for their favours. The merit of al Beidâwi's commentary will appear from the frequent quotations I have made thence; but of the Goſpel of S. Barnabas, (which I had not ſeen when the little I have ſaid of it in the Preliminary Diſcourſe *, and the extract I had borrowed from Mr. de la Monnoye and Mr. Toland †, were printed off) I muſt beg leave to give ſome further account.

The book is a moderate quarto, in Spaniſh, written in a very legible hand, but a little damaged towards the latter end. It contains two hundred and twenty-two chapters of unequal length, and four hundred and twenty pages; and is ſaid, in the front, to be tranſlated from the Italian, by an Arragonian Moſlem, named Moſtafa de Aranda. There is a preface prefixed to it, wherein the diſcoverer of the original MS. who was a Chriſtian monk, called Fra Marino, tells us, that having accidentally met with a writing of Irenæus, (among others,) wherein he ſpeaks againſt S. Paul, alledging, for his authority, the Goſpel of S. Barnabas,

* Sect. IV. p. 74. † In not. ad cap. iii. p. 43.

he

he became exceeding desirous to find this gospel; and that God, of his mercy, having made him very intimate with pope Sixtus V. one day, as they were together in that pope's library, his holiness fell asleep, and he, to employ himself, reaching down a book to read, the first he laid his hand on proved to be the very gospel he wanted. Overjoyed at the discovery, he scrupled not to hide his prize in his sleeve, and, on the pope's awaking, took leave of him, carrying with him that celestial treasure, by reading of which he became a convert to Mohammedism.

This Gospel of Barnabas contains a complete history of Jesus Christ, from his birth to his ascension; and most of the circumstances in the four real gospels are to be found therein; but many of them turned, and some of them artfully enough, to favour the Mohammedan system. From the design of the whole, and the frequent interpolations of stories and passages wherein Mohammed is spoken of, and foretold by name, as the messenger of God, and the great prophet who was to perfect the dispensation of Jesus, it appears to be a most barefaced forgery. One particular I observe therein, induces me to believe it to have been dressed up by a renegade Christian, slightly instructed in his new religion, and not educated a Mohammedan, (unless the fault be imputed to the Spanish, or, perhaps, the Italian translator, and

and not to the original compiler;) I mean the giving to Mohammed the title of Meſſiah, and that not once or twice only, but in ſeveral places; whereas the title of the Meſſiah, or, as the Arabs write it, al Masîh, i. e. Chriſt, is appropriated to Jeſus in the Korân, and is conſtantly applied by the Mohammedans to him, and never to their own prophet. The paſſages produced from the Italian MS. by Mr. de la Monnoye, are to be ſeen in this Spaniſh verſion almoſt word for word.

But to return to the following Work. Tho' I have freely cenſured the former tranſlations of the Korân, I would not, therefore, be ſuſpected of a deſign to make my own paſs as free from faults: I am very ſenſible it is not: and I make no doubt but the few who are able to diſcern them, and know the difficulty of the undertaking, will give me fair quarter. I likewiſe flatter myſelf that they, and all conſiderate perſons, will excuſe the delay which has happened in the publication of this Work; when they are informed, that it was carried on at leiſure times only, and amidſt the neceſſary avocations of a troubleſome profeſſion.

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THE

Preliminary Diſcourſe.

SECTION I.

Of the Arabs before Mohammed; or, as they expreſs it, in the Time of Ignorance: their Hiſtory, Religion, Learning, and Cuſtoms.

THE Arabs, and the country they inhabit, which themſelves call Jezîrat al Arab, or the Peninſula of the Arabians, but we Arabia, were ſo named from Araba, a ſmall territory in the province of Tehâma[a]; to which Yarab, the ſon of Kahtân, the father of the ancient Arabs, gave his name, and where, ſome ages after, dwelt Iſmael, the ſon of Abraham by Hagar. The Chriſtian writers for ſeveral centuries ſpeak of them under the apellation of Saracens, the moſt certain derivation of which word is from Shark, the Eaſt, where the deſcendants of Joctan, the Kahtân of the Arabs, are placed by Moſes[b], and in which quarter they dwelt in reſpect to the Jews[c]. Arabia, whence named.

The name of Arabia (uſed in a more extenſive ſenſe) ſometimes comprehends all that large tract of land bounded by the river Euphrates, the Perſian Gulph, the Sindian, Indian, and Red Seas, and part of the Its extent.

[a] Pocock Specim Hiſt Arab 33 [b] Geneſ x 30 [c] See Pocock Specim 33, 34

Mediterranean; above two thirds of which country, that is, Arabia properly ſo called, the Arabs have poſſeſſed almoſt from the flood, and have made themſelves maſters of the reſt, either by ſettlements, or continual incurſions, for which reaſon the Turks and Perſians at this day call the whole Arabiſtân, or The Country of the Arabs.

But the limits of Arabia, in its more uſual and proper ſenſe, are much narrower, as reaching no farther northward than the Iſthmus, which runs from Aila to the head of the Perſian Gulph, and the borders of the territory of Cûfa, which tract of land the Greeks nearly comprehended under the name of Arabia the Happy The eaſtern geographers make Arabia Petræa to belong partly to Egypt, and partly to Shâm or Syria, and the deſart Arabia they call the deſarts of Syria[d].

And diviſion

Proper Arabia is by the oriental writers generally divided into five provinces[e], viz. Yaman, Hejâz, Tehâma, Najd, and Yamâma, to which ſome add Bahrein, as a ſixth, but this province the more exact make part of Irâk[f] others reduce them all to two, Yaman and Hejâz, the laſt including the three other provinces of Tehâma, Najd, and Yamâma.

The province of Yaman

The province of Yaman, ſo called either from its ſituation to the right hand, or ſouth of the temple of Mecca, or elſe from the happineſs and verdure of its ſoil, extends itſelf along the Indian Ocean from Aden to Cape Raſalgat; part of the Red Sea bounds it on the weſt and ſouth ſides, and the province of Hejâz on the north[g] It is ſubdivided into ſeveral leſſer provinces, as Hadramaut, Shihr, Omân, Najrân, &c. of which Shihr alone produces the frankinceſe[h]. The metropolis of Yaman is Sanaa, a very ancient city, in former times called Ozal, and much celebrated for its delightful ſituation, but the prince at preſent reſides about five leagues northward from thence, at a

[d] Golius ad Alfragan 78, 79 [e] Strabo ſays, Arabia Felix was, in his time, divided into five kingdoms, l 16, p 1129 [f] Gol ad Alfragan 79 [g] La Roque, Voyage de l'Arab heur 121 [h] Gol. ad Alfragan 79 87

place

place no leſs pleaſant, called Hiſn Almawâheb, or The Caſtle of Delights [i].

This country has been famous from all antiquity for the happineſs of its climate, its fertility and riches [k], which induced Alexander the Great, after his return from his Indian expedition, to form a deſign of conquering it, and fixing there his royal ſeat, but his death, which happened ſoon after, prevented the execution of this project [l]. Yet, in reality, great part of the riches which the ancients imagined were the produce of Arabia, came really from the Indies, and the coaſts of Africa, for the Egyptians, who had engroſſed that trade, which was then carried on by way of the Red Sea, to themſelves, induſtriouſly concealed the truth of the matter, and kept their ports ſhut, to prevent foreigners penetrating into thoſe countries, or receiving any information thence; and this precaution of theirs on the one ſide, and the deſarts, unpaſſable to ſtrangers, on the other, were the reaſon why Arabia was ſo little known to the Greeks and Romans. The delightfulneſs and plenty of Yaman are owing to its mountains, for all that part which lies along the Red Sea, is a dry, barren deſart, in ſome places 10 or 12 leagues over, but in return bounded by thoſe mountains, which being well watered, enjoy an almoſt continual ſpring, and, beſides coffee, the peculiar produce of this country, yield great plenty and variety of fruits, and, in particular, excellent corn, grapes, and ſpices. There are no rivers of note in this country, for the ſtreams which at certain times of the year deſcend from the mountains, ſeldom reach the ſea, being for the moſt part drunk up and loſt in the burning ſands of that coaſt [m].

The ſoil of the other provinces is much more barren than that of Yaman, the greater part of their territories being covered with dry ſands, or riſing

[i] Voyage de l'Arab. heur. 232. [k] V. Dionyſ. Periegeſ. v. 927, &c.
[l] Strabo l. 16. p. 1132. Arrian. 161. 168. 153. [m] Voy. de l'Arab. heur. 121.

into rocks, interſperſed here and there with ſome fruitful ſpots, which receive their greateſt advantages from their water and palm-trees.

The province of Hejâz

The province of Hejâz, ſo named becauſe it divides Najd from Tehâma, is bounded on the ſouth by Yaman and Tehâma, on the weſt by the Red Sea, on the north by the deſarts of Syria, and on the eaſt by the province of Najd[n]. This province is famous for its two chief cities Mecca and Medina, one of which is celebrated for its temple, and having given birth to Mohammed; and the other for being the place of his reſidence for the laſt ten years of his life, and of his interment.

Mecca deſcribed

Mecca, ſometimes alſo called Becca, which words are ſynonymous, and ſignify a place of great concourſe, is certainly one of the moſt ancient cities in the world it is by ſome[o] thought to be the Meſa of the ſcripture[p], a name not unknown to the Arabians, and ſuppoſed to be taken from one of Iſmael's ſons[q]. It is ſeated in a ſtony and barren valley, ſurrounded on all ſides with mountains[r]. The length of Mecca from ſouth to north is about two miles, and its breadth from the foot of the mountain Ajyad, to the top of another called Koaikaân, about a mile[s]. In the midſt of this ſpace ſtands the city, built of ſtone cut from the neighbouring mountains[t]. There being no ſprings at Mecca[u], at leaſt none but what are bitter and unfit to drink[w], except only the well Zemzem, the water of which, though far the beſt, yet cannot be drank for any continuance, being brackiſh, and cauſing eruptions in thoſe who drink plentifully of it[x], the inhabitants are obliged to uſe rain-water which they catch in ciſterns[y]. But this not being ſufficient, ſeveral attempts were made to bring water thither from other places by aqueducts, and particularly about Mohammed's time, Zobair, one of the

[n] V Gol ad Alfrag 98 Abulfeda Deſcr Arab p 5 [o] R Saadias in verſion Arab Pentat Sefer Juchain 135 b [p] Gen x 30 [q] Gol ad Alfrag 82 See Gen xxv 15 [r] Gol ib 98 See Pitt's Account of the Religion and Manners of the Mohammedans, p 96 [s] Sharif al Edriſi apud Poc Specim 122 [t] Ibid [u] Gol ad Alfragan 99 [w] Sharif al Edriſi ubi ſupra, 124. [x] Ibid & Pitt's ubi ſupra, p 107 [y] Gol ad Alfrag 99

principal

principal men of the tribe of Koreish, endeavoured at a great expence to supply the city with water from Mount Arafat, but without success, yet this was effected not many years ago, being begun at the charge of a wife of Solimân the Turkish emperor[z]. But long before this another aqueduct had been made from a spring at a considerable distance, which was, after several years labour, finished by the Khalîf al Moktader[a].

The soil about Mecca is so very barren as to produce no fruits but what are common in the deserts, though the prince, or Sharîf, has a garden well planted at his castle of Marbaa, about three miles westward from the city, where he usually resides Having therefore no corn or grain of their own growth, they are obliged to fetch it from other places[b], and Hasham, Mohammed's great-grandfather, then prince of his tribe, the more effectually to supply them with provisions, appointed two caravans to set out yearly for that purpose, the one in summer, and the other in winter[c] these caravans of purveyors are mentioned in the Korân The provisions brought by them were distributed also twice a year, viz in the month of Rajeb, and at the arrival of the pilgrims They are supplied with dates in great plenty from the adjacent country, and with grapes from Tayef, about sixty miles distant, very few growing at Mecca. The inhabitants of this city are generally very rich, being considerable gainers by the prodigious concourse of people of almost all nations at the yearly pilgrimage, at which time there is a great fair, or mart, for all kinds of merchandise They have also great numbers of cattle, and particularly of camels however, the poorer sort cannot but live very indifferently in a place where almost every necessary of life must be purchased with money Notwithstanding this great sterility near Mecca, yet you are no sooner out of its territory, than you meet on all sides with plenty of good

[z] Gol ad Alfrag 99 [a] Sharif al Edrisi ubi supr [b] Idem ib
[c] Poc Spec 51

ſprings and ſtreams of running water, with a great many gardens and cultivated lands [d].

The temple of Mecca, and the reputed holineſs of this territory, will be treated of in a more proper place

Medina

Medina, which till Mohammed's retreat thither was called Yathreb, is a walled city, about half as big as Mecca [e], built in a plain, ſalt in many places, yet tolerably fruitful, particularly in dates, but more eſpecially near the mountains, two of which, Ohod on the north, and Air on the ſouth, are about two leagues diſtant Here lies Mohammed interred [f] in a magnificent building, covered with a cupola, and adjoining to the eaſt ſide of the great temple, which is built in the midſt of the city [g].

The province of Tehâma

The province of Tehâma was ſo named from the vehement heat of its ſandy ſoil, and is alſo called Gaur from its low ſituation it is bounded on the weſt by the Red Sea, and on the other ſides by Hejâz and Yaman, extending almoſt from Mecca to Aden [h].

The province of Najd

The province of Najd, which word ſignifies a riſing country, lies between thoſe of Yamâma, Yaman, and Hejâz, and is bounded on the eaſt by Irâk [i].

[d] Sharif al Edriſi ubi ſupra, 125 [e] Id Vulgo Geogr Nubienſis, 5

[f] Though the notion of Mohammed's being buried at Mecca has been ſo long exploded, yet ſeveral modern writers, whether through ignorance or negligence I will not determine, have fallen into it I ſhall here take notice only of two One is Dr Smith, who, having lived ſome time in Turkey, ſeems to be inexcuſable that gentleman, in his Epiſtles De Moribus ac inſtitutis Turcarum, no leſs than thrice mentions the Mohammedans viſiting the tomb of their prophet at Mecca, and once his being born at Medina, the reverſe of which is true (See Ep 1 page 22 Ep 2 page 63 and 64) The other is the publiſher of the laſt edition of Sir J Mandevile's travels, who, on his author's ſaying very truly (p 50) that the ſaid tomb was at Methone, (i e Medina), undertakes to correct the name of the town, which is ſomething corrupted, by putting, at the bottom of the page, Mecca The Abbot de Vertot, in his hiſtory of the order of Malta, (vol 1 p 410 ed 8vo) ſeems alſo to have confounded theſe two cities together, though he had before mentioned Mohammed's ſepulchre at Medina However, he is certainly miſtaken, when he ſays that one point of the religion, both of the Chriſtians and Mohammedans, was to viſit, at leaſt once in their lives, the tomb of the author of their reſpective faith Whatever may be the opinion of ſome Chriſtians, I am well aſſured the Mohammedans think themſelves under no manner of obligation in that reſpect [g] Gol ad Alfragan 97 Abulfeda Deſcr Arab p 40 [h] Gol, ubi ſup 95 [i] Ib 94

The

The province of Yamâma, alſo called Arûd from its oblique ſituation in reſpect of Yaman, is ſurrounded by the provinces of Najd, Tehâma, Bahrein, Oman, Shihr, Hadramaut, and Saba. The chief city is Yamâma, which gives name to the province. it was anciently called Jaw, and is particularly famous for being the reſidence of Mohammed's competitor, the falſe prophet Moſeilama[k]. The province of Yamâma.

The Arabians, the inhabitants of this ſpacious country, which they have poſſeſſed from the moſt remote antiquity, are diſtinguiſhed by their own writers into two claſſes, viz. the old loſt Arabians, and the preſent The Arabs divided into two claſſes

The former were very numerous, and divided into ſeveral tribes, which are now all deſtroyed, or elſe loſt and ſwallowed up among the other tribes, nor are any certain memoirs or records extant concerning them[l], though the memory of ſome very remarkable events, and the cataſtrophe of ſome tribes, have been preſerved by tradition, and ſince confirmed by the authority of the Korân. The ancient Arabs

The moſt famous tribes amongſt theſe ancient Arabians were Ad, Thamûd, Taſm, Jadîs, the former Jorham, and Amalek

The tribe of Ad were deſcended from Ad, the ſon of Aws[m], the ſon of Aram[n], the ſon of Sem, the ſon of Noah, who after the confuſion of tongues ſettled in al Ahkâf, or the winding ſands in the province of Hadramaut, where his poſterity greatly multiplied The firſt king was Shedâd, the ſon of Ad, of whom the eaſtern writers deliver many fabulous things, particularly that he finiſhed the magnificent city his father had begun, wherein he built a fine palace, adorned with delicious gardens, to embelliſh which he ſpared neither coſt nor labour, propoſing thereby to create in his ſubjects a ſuperſtitious veneration of himſelf as a God[o] This garden or paradiſe was called the garden of Irem, and The tribe of Ad

[k] Gol ad Alfrag 95 [l] Abulfarag p 159 [m] Or Uz, Gen x 22, 23 [n] V Kor cap 89 Some make Ad the ſon of Amalek, the ſon of Ham, but the other is the received opinion See D'Herbel 51 [o] V Lund 498

is mentioned in the Korân[p], and often alluded to by the oriental writers The city, they tell us, is ſtill ſtanding in the deſarts of Aden, being preſerved by Providence as a monument of divine juſtice, though it be inviſible, unleſs very rarely, when God permits it to be ſeen, a favour one Colabah pretended to have received in the reign of the Khalîf Moâwiyah, who ſending for him to know the truth of the matter, Colabah related his whole adventure, that, as he was ſeeking a camel he had loſt, he found himſelf on a ſudden at the gates of this city, and entering it, ſaw not one inhabitant, at which being terrified, he ſtayed no longer than to take with him ſome fine ſtones which he ſhewed the Khalîf[q].

The deſcendants of Ad in proceſs of time falling from the worſhip of the true God into idolatry, God ſent the prophet Hûd (who is generally agreed to be Heber[r]) to preach to and reclaim them But they refuſing to acknowledge his miſſion, or to obey him, God ſent a hot and ſuffocating wind, which blew ſeven nights and eight days together, and entering at their noſtrils, paſt through their bodies[s], and deſtroyed them all, a very few only excepted, who had believed in Hûd, and retired with him to another place[t]. That prophet afterwards returned into Hadramaut, and was buried near Haſec, where there is a ſmall town now ſtanding called Kabr Hûd, or the Sepulchre of Hûd Before the Adites were thus ſeverely puniſhed, God, to humble them, and incline them to hearken to the preaching of his prophet, afflicted them with a drought for four years, ſo that all their cattle periſhed, and themſelves were very near it, upon which they ſent Lokmân (different from one of the ſame name who lived in David's time) with ſixty others to Mecca to beg rain, which they not obtaining, Lokmân with ſome of his company ſtaid at Mecca, and thereby eſcaped deſtruction, giving riſe to a tribe

[p] Cap 89 [q] D'Herbel 51 [r] The Jews acknowledge Heber to have been a great prophet, Seder Olam, p 2 [s] Al Beidâwi [t] Poc Spec 35, &c

called

called the latter Ad, who were afterwards changed into monkeys[u].

Some commentators on the Korân[w] tell us theſe old Adites were of prodigious ſtature, the largeſt being 100 cubits high, and the leaſt 60, which extraordinary ſize they pretend to prove by the teſtimony of the Korân[x].

The tribe of Thamûd were the poſterity of Thamûd, the ſon of Gather[y], the ſon of Aram, who falling into idolatry, the prophet Sâleh was ſent to bring them back to the worſhip of the true God. This prophet lived between the time of Hûd and of Abraham, and therefore cannot be the ſame with the patriarch Selah, as Mr d'Herbelot imagines[z]. The learned Bochart with more probability takes him to be Phaleg[a]. A ſmall number of the people of Thamûd hearkened to the remonſtrances of Sâleh, but the reſt requiring, as a proof of his miſſion, that he ſhould cauſe a ſhe-camel big with young to come out of a rock in their preſence, he accordingly obtained it of God, and the camel was immediately delivered of a young one ready weaned, but they, inſtead of believing, cut the hamſtrings of the camel, and killed her, at which act of impiety God being highly diſpleaſed, three days after ſtruck them dead in their houſes by an earthquake and a terrible noiſe from heaven, which, ſome[b] ſay, was the voice of Gabriel, the archangel, crying aloud, Die all of you Sâleh, with thoſe who were reformed by him, were ſaved from this deſtruction, the prophet going into Paleſtine, and from thence to Mecca[c], where he ended his days. The tribe of Thamûd

This tribe firſt dwelt in Yaman, but being expelled thence by Hamyar, the ſon of Saba[d], they ſettled in the territory of Hejr, in the province of Hejâz, where their habitations, cut out of the rocks, mentioned in the Korân[e], are ſtill to be ſeen, and alſo the crack of

[u] Poc Spec 36 [w] Jallalo'ddin & Zamakhſhari [x] Kor c 7 [y] Or Gether V Gen x 23 [z] D'Herbel Bibl Orient 740 [a] Bochart, Geogr Sac [b] See D'Herbel 366 [c] Ebn Shohnah [d] Poc Spec 57 [e] Kor cap 15

the

the rock whence the camel iſſued, which, as an eye-witneſs[f] hath declared, is 60 cubits wide. Theſe houſes of the Thamudites being of the ordinary proportion, are uſed as an argument to convince thoſe of a miſtake who make this people to have been of a gigantic ſtature[g].

The tragical deſtructions of theſe two potent tribes are often inſiſted on in the Korân, as inſtances of God's judgment on obſtinate unbelievers.

The tribes of Taſm and Jadis.

The tribe of Taſm were the poſterity of Lûd, the ſon of Sem, and Jadîs, of the deſcendants of Jether[h]. Theſe two tribes dwelt promiſcuouſly together under the government of Taſm, till a certain tyrant made a law, that no maid of the tribe of Jadîs ſhould marry, unleſs firſt deflowered by him[i]; which the Jadiſians not enduring, formed a conſpiracy, and inviting the king and chiefs of Taſm to an entertainment, privately hid their ſwords in the ſand, and in the midſt of their mirth fell on them, and ſlew them all, and extirpated the greateſt part of that tribe. however, the few who eſcaped obtaining aid of the king of Yaman, then (as is ſaid) Dhu Habſhân Ebn Akrân[k], aſſaulted Jadîs, and utterly deſtroyed them, there being ſcarce any mention made from that time of either of thoſe tribes[l].

The tribes of Jorham and Amalek

The former tribe of Jorham (whoſe anceſtor ſome pretend was one of the 80 perſons ſaved in the ark with Noah, according to a Mohammedan tradition[m]) was contemporary with Ad, and utterly periſhed[n]. The tribe of Amalek were deſcended from Amalek, the ſon of Eliphaz, the ſon of Eſau[o], though ſome of the oriental authors ſay Amalek was the ſon of Ham the ſon of Noah[p], and others the ſon of Azd the ſon of Sem[q]. The poſterity of this perſon rendered themſelves

[f] Abu Muſa al Aſhari [g] V Poc Spec 37 [h] Abulfeda [i] A like cuſtom is ſaid to have been in ſome manors in England, and alſo in Scotland, where it was called Cullage or Cullage, having been eſtabliſhed by K Ewen, and aboliſhed by Malcolm III See Bayle's Dict Art Sixte IV Rem H
[k] Poc Spec 60 [l] Ib 37, &c [m] Ib p 38 [n] Ebn Shohnah
[o] Gen. xxxvi 12 [p] V D'Herbelot, p 110 [q] Ebn Shohnah

very

very powerful[r], and before the time of Joſeph, conquered the lower Egypt under their king Walîd, the firſt who took the name of Pharaoh, as the eaſtern writers tell us[s]; ſeeming by theſe Amalekites to mean the ſame people which the Egyptian hiſtories call Phœnician ſhepherds[t]. But after they had poſſeſſed the throne of Egypt for ſome deſcents, they were expelled by the natives, and at length totally deſtroyed by the Iſraelites[u].

The preſent Arabians, according to their own hiſtorians, are ſprung from two ſtocks, Kathân, the ſame with Joctan, the ſon of Eber[w], and Adnân, deſcended in a direct line from Iſmael, the ſon of Abraham and Hagar. The poſterity of the former they call al Arab al Ariba[x], i e the genuine or pure Arabs, and thoſe of the latter al Arab al Moſtâreba, i e naturalized or inſititious Arabs, though ſome reckon the ancient loſt tribes to have been the only pure Arabians, and therefore call the poſterity of Kahtân alſo Mótareba, which word likewiſe ſignifies inſititious Arabs, though in a nearer degree than Moſtâreba, the deſcendants of Iſmael being the more diſtant graff. The preſent Arabians

The poſterity of Iſmael have no claim to be admitted as pure Arabs, their anceſtor being by origin and language an Hebrew, but having made an alliance with the Jorhamites, by marrying a daughter of Modad, and accuſtomed himſelf to their manner of living and language, his deſcendants became blended with them into one nation. The uncertainty of the deſcents between Iſmael and Adnân, is the reaſon why they ſeldom trace their genealogies higher than the latter, whom they acknowledge as father of their tribes; the deſcents from him downwards being pretty certain and uncontroverted[y].

[r] V Numb xxiv 20 [s] Mirât Caînât [t] V Joſeph cont Apion l i [u] V Exod xvii 18, &c 1 Sam xv 2, &c Ib xxvii 8, 9 1 Chron iv 43 [w] R Saad in verſ Arab Pentat Gen x 25 Some writers make Kahtan a deſcendant of Iſmael, but againſt the current of oriental hiſtorians See Poc Spec 39 [x] An expreſſion ſomething like that of St Paul, who calls himſelf an Hebrew of the Hebrews Philip iii 5 [y] Poc Spec p 40

The

The genealogy of theſe tribes being of great uſe to illuſtrate the Arabian hiſtory, I have taken the pains to form a genealogical table from their moſt approved authors, to which I refer the curious

Beſides theſe tribes of Arabs, mentioned by their own authors, who were all deſcended from the race of Sem, others of them were the poſterity of Ham by his ſon Cuſh, which name is in ſcripture conſtantly given to the Arabs and their country, though our verſion renders it Ethiopia, but, ſtrictly ſpeaking, the Cuſhites did not inhabit Arabia properly ſo called, but the banks of the Euphrates and the Perſian gulph, whither they came from Chuzeſtân, or Suſiana, the original ſettlement of their father[z] They might probably mix themſelves in proceſs of time with the Arabs of the other race, but the eaſtern writers take little or no notice of them

Their government

The Arabians were for ſome centuries under the government of the deſcendants of Kahtân, Yárab, one of his ſons, founding the kingdom of Yaman, and Jorham, another of them, that of Hejâz

The kingdom of the Hamyarites in Yaman.

The province of Yaman, or the better part of it, particularly the provinces of Saba and Hadramaut, was governed by princes of the tribe of Hamyar, though at length the kingdom was tranſlated to the deſcendants of Cahlân, his brother, who yet retained the title of king of Hamyar, and had all of them the general title of Tobba, which ſignifies ſucceſſor, and was affected to this race of princes, as that of Cæſar was to the Roman emperors, and Khalîf to the ſucceſſors of Mohammed There were ſeveral leſſer princes who reigned in other parts of Yaman, and were moſtly if not altogether ſubject to the king of Hamyar, whom they called the great king, but of theſe hiſtory has recorded nothing remarkable, or that may be depended upon[a].

The firſt great calamity that befel the tribes ſettled in Yaman was the inundation of Aram, which happened ſoon after the time of Alexander the Great, and is fa-

The inundation of Aram

[z] V Hyde Hiſt Rel veter Perſar p 37, &c [a] Poc Spec p 65, 66

mous

mous in the Arabian hiſtory. No leſs than eight tribes were forced to abandon their dwellings upon this occaſion, ſome of which gave riſe to the two kingdoms of Ghaſſân and Hira. And this was probably the time of the migration of thoſe tribes or colonies which were led into Meſopotamia by three chiefs, Becr, Modar, and Rabîa, from whom the three provinces of that country are ſtill named Diyar Becr, Diyar Modar, and Diyar Rabîa[b] Abdſhems, ſurnamed Saba, having built the city from him called Saba, and afterwards Mareb, made a vaſt mound or dam[c], to ſerve as a baſon or reſervoir to receive the water which came down from the mountains, not only for the uſe of the inhabitants, and watering their lands, but alſo to keep the country they had ſubjected in greater awe by being maſters of the water This building ſtood like a mountain above their city, and was by them eſteemed ſo ſtrong, that they were in no apprehenſion of its ever failing. The water roſe to the height of almoſt 20 fathom, and was kept in on every ſide by a work ſo ſolid, that many of the inhabitants had their houſes built upon it Every family had a certain portion of this water diſtributed by aqueducts But at length God being highly diſpleaſed at their great pride and inſolence, and reſolving to humble and diſperſe them, ſent a mighty flood, which broke down the mound by night while the inhabitants were aſleep, and carried away the whole city with the neighbouring towns and people[d].

The tribes which remained in Yaman after this terrible devaſtation, ſtill continued under the obedience of the former princes, till about 70 years before Mohammed, when the king of Ethiopia ſent over forces to aſſiſt the Chriſtians of Yaman againſt the cruel perſecution of their king Dhu Nowâs, a bigotted Jew, whom they drove to that extremity, that he forced his horſe into the ſea, and ſo loſt his

[b] V Gol ad Alfrag p 232 [c] Poc Spec p 57 [d] Geogr Nubienſ p 52

life

life and crown[e], after which the country was governed by four Ethiopian princes ſucceſſively, till Seif, the ſon of Dhu Yazan, of the tribe of Hamyar, obtaining ſuccours from Khoſrû Anuſhirwân, king of Perſia, which had been denied him by the emperor Heraclius, recovered the throne, and drove out the Ethiopians, but was himſelf ſlain by ſome of them who were left behind. The Perſians appointed the ſucceeding princes till Yaman fell into the hands of Mohammed, to whom Bazan, or rather Badhân, the laſt of them, ſubmitted, and embraced his new religion[f].

This kingdom of the Hamyarites is ſaid to have laſted 2020 years[g], or, as others ſay, above 3000[h], the length of the reign of each prince being very uncertain

The kingdoms of Ghaſſan and Hira

It has already been obſerved, that two kingdoms were founded by thoſe who left their country on occaſion of the inundation of Aram they were both out of the proper limits of Arabia. One of them was the kingdom of Ghaſſân. The founders of this kingdom were of the tribe of Azd, who ſettling in Syria Damaſcena, near a water called Ghaſſân, thence took their name, and drove out the Dajaamian Arabs of the tribe of Salîh, who before poſſeſſed the country[i], where they maintained their kingdom 400 years, or as others ſay 600, or as Abulfeda more exactly computes 616. Five of theſe princes were named Hâreth, which the Greeks write Aretas and one of them it was whoſe governor ordered the gates of Damaſcus to be watched to take St. Paul[k]. This tribe were Chriſtians, their laſt king being Jabalah, the ſon of al Ayham, who on the Arabs ſucceſſes in Syria profeſſed Mohammediſm under the Khalîf Omar, but receiving a diſguſt from him, returned to his former faith, and retired to Conſtantinople[l].

[e] See Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p 61 [f] Poc Spec p 63, 64.
[g] Abulfeda [h] Al Jannâbi & Ahmed Ebn Yuſuf [i] Poc Spec p 76.
[k] 2 Cor xi 32 Acts ix 24 [l] V Ockley's Hiſt of the Saracens, Vol 1. p 174

The

The other kingdom was that of Hira, which was founded by Malec, of the deſcendants of Cahlân,[m] in Chaldea or Irâk; but after three deſcents the throne came by marriage to the Lakhmians, called alſo the Mondars, (the general name of thoſe princes), who preſerved their dominion, notwithſtanding ſome ſmall interruption by the Perſians, till the Khalîfat of Abubecr, when al Mondar al Maghrûr, the laſt of them, loſt his life and crown by the arms of Khaled Ebn al Walîd This kingdom laſted 622 years eight months[n]. Its princes were under the protection of the kings of Perſia, whoſe lieutenants they were over the Arabs of Irâk, as the kings of Ghaſſân were for the Roman emperors over thoſe of Syria[o].

Kingdom of the Jorhamites in Hejaz

Jorham the ſon of Kahtân reigned in Hejâz, where his poſterity kept the throne till the time of Iſmael, but on his marrying the daughter of Modad, by whom he had twelve ſons, Kidar, one of them, had the crown reſigned to him by his uncles the Jorhamites[p], though others ſay the deſcendants of Iſmael expelled that tribe, who retiring to Johainah, were, after various fortune, at laſt all deſtroyed by an inundation[q].

Of the kings of Hamyar, Hira, Ghaſſân, and Jorham, Dr Pocock has given us catalogues tolerably exact, to which I refer the curious[r].

The ſubſequent Government there to the time of Mohammed

After the expulſion of the Jorhamites, the government of Hejâz ſeems not to have continued for many centuries in the hands of one prince, but to have been divided among the heads of tribes, almoſt in the ſame manner as the Arabs of the deſart are governed at this day. At Mecca an ariſtocracy prevailed, where the chief management of affairs, till the time of Mohammed, was in the tribe of Koraiſh; eſpecially after they had gotten the cuſtody of the Caaba from the tribe of Khozâah[s].

[m] Poc Spec p 66 [n] Ib p. 74. [o] Ib & Procop in Perſ apud Photium, p 71, &c [p] Poc Spec p 45 [q] Ib p 79 [r] Ib p 55 ſeq [s] V Ib p 41 and Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p 2

Beſides

Beſides the kingdoms which have been taken no-notice of, there were ſome other tribes, which in latter times had princes of their own, and formed ſtates of leſſer note, particularly the tribe of Kenda[t]. but as I am not writing a juſt hiſtory of the Arabs, and an account of them would be of no great uſe to my preſent purpoſe, I ſhall wave any further mention of them.

Of the Government of Arabia in ſucceeding times

After the time of Mohammed, Arabia was for about three centuries under the Khalîfs his ſucceſſors But, in the year 325 of the Hejra, great part of that country was in the hands of the Karmatians[u], a new ſect, who had committed great outrages and diſorders even in Mecca, and to whom the Khalîfs were obliged to pay tribute, that the pilgrimage thither might be performed of this ſect I may have occaſion to ſpeak in another place Afterwards Yaman was governed by the houſe of Thabateba, deſcended from Alı, the ſon-in-law of Mohammed, whoſe ſovereignty in Arabia ſome place ſo high as the time of Charlemagne. However it was the poſterity of Alı, or pretenders to be ſuch, who reigned in Yaman and Egypt ſo early as the tenth century. The preſent reigning family in Yaman is probably that of Ayub, a branch of which reigned there in the 13th century, and took the title of Khalîf and Imâm, which they ſtill retain[w]. They are not poſſeſſed of the whole province of Yaman[x], there being ſeveral other independent kingdoms there, particularly that of Fartach. The crown of Yaman deſcends not regularly from father to ſon; but the prince of the blood royal who is moſt in favour with the great ones, or has the ſtrongeſt intereſt, generally ſucceeds[y].

The governors of Mecca and Medina, who have always been of the race of Mohammed, alſo threw off their ſubjection to the Khalîfs, ſince which time four principal families, all deſcended from Haſan, the ſon of Alı, have reigned there under the title of Sharîf,

[t] V Poc Spec p 79, &c
[u] V Elmacin in vita al Râdi
[w] Voyage de l'Arabie heur p 255
[x] Ib 153 273
[y] Ib 254

which

which ſignifies noble, as they reckon themſelves to be on account of their deſcent. Theſe are Banu Kâder, Banu Mûſa Thani, Banu Haſhem, and Banu Kitâda[z], which laſt family now is, or lately was, on the throne of Mecca, where they have reigned above 500 years. The reigning family at Medina are the Banu Haſhem, who alſo reigned at Mecca before thoſe of Kitâda[a].

The kings of Yaman, as well as the princes of Mecca and Medina, are abſolutely independent,[b] and not at all ſubject to the Turk, as ſome late authors have imagined[c]. Theſe princes often making cruel wars among themſelves, gave an opportunity to Selim I. and his ſon Solimân, to make themſelves maſters of the coaſts of Arabia on the Red ſea, and of part of Yaman, by means of a fleet built at Sues but their ſucceſſors have not been able to maintain their conqueſts, for, except the port of Jodda, where they have a Baſha whoſe authority is very ſmall, they poſſeſs nothing conſiderable in Arabia[d]

Thus have the Arabs preſerved their liberty, of which few nations can produce ſo ancient monuments, with very little interruption, even from the very deluge, for, though very great armies have been ſent againſt them, all attempts to ſubdue them were unſucceſsful. The Aſſyrian or Median empires never got footing among them[e]. The Perſian monarchs, though they were their friends, and ſo far reſpected by them as to have an annual preſent of frankincenſe[f], yet could never make them tributary[g], and were ſo far from being their maſters, that Cambyſes, on his expedition againſt Egypt, was obliged to aſk their leave to paſs through their territories[h], and when Alexander had ſubdued that mighty empire, yet the Arabians had ſo little apprehenſion of him, that they alone, of all the neighbouring nations, ſent no ambaſſadors to him, either firſt or laſt, which, with a deſire of poſſeſſing ſo rich

The free dom of t Arabs

[z] Voyage de l'Arab heur p 143 [a] Ib 145 [b] Ib 143 148
[c] V D'Herbel Bibl Orient p 477 [d] Voyage de l'Arab heu p 148
[e] Diodor Sic l 2 p 131 [f] Herodot l 3 c 97 [g] Idem, ib c 91 Diodor ubi ſup [h] Herodot l 3 c 8 & 98

a country, made him form a deſign againſt it, and, had he not died before he could put it in execution[l], this people might poſſibly have convinced him that he was not invincible and I do not find that any of his ſucceſſors, either in Aſia or Egypt, ever made any attempt againſt them[k]. The Romans never conquered any part of Arabia properly ſo called; the moſt they did was to make ſome tribes in Syria tributary to them, as Pompey did one commanded by Sampſiceramus or Shams' alkerâm, who reigned at Hems or Emeſa[l], but none of the Romans, or any other nations that we know of, ever penetrated ſo far into Arabia as Ælius Gallus under Auguſtus Cæſar[m], yet he was ſo far from ſubduing it, as ſome authors pretend[n], that he was ſoon obliged to return without effecting any thing conſiderable, having loſt the beſt part of his army by ſickneſs and other accidents[o]. This ill ſucceſs probably diſcouraged the Romans from attacking them any more, for Trajan, notwithſtanding the flatteries of the hiſtorians and orators of his time, and the medals ſtruck by him, did not ſubdue the Arabs, the province of Arabia, which it is ſaid he added to the Roman empire, ſcarce reaching farther than Arabia Petræa, or the very ſkirts of the country And we are told by one author[p], that this prince marching againſt the Agarens, who had revolted, met with ſuch a reception that he was obliged to return without doing any thing.

Of the religion of the ancient Arabs

The religion of the Arabs before Mohammed, which they call the ſtate of ignorance, in oppoſition to the knowledge of GOD's true worſhip revealed to them by their prophet, was chiefly groſs idolatry, the Sabian religion having almoſt over-run the whole nation, though there were alſo great numbers of Chriſtians, Jews, and Magians, among them

[l] Strabo, l 16 p 1076 1132
[k] Vide Diodor Sic ubi ſupra
[l] Strabo, l 16 p 1092
[m] Dion Caſſius, l 53 p m 516,
[n] Huet Hiſt du commerce & de la navigation des anciens, c 50
[o] See the whole expedition deſcribed at large by Strabo, l 16 p 1126, &c
[p] Xiphilin epit

I ſhall

I ſhall not here tranſcribe what Dr Prideaux[q] has written of the original of the Sabian religion, but inſtead thereof inſert a brief account of the tenets and worſhip of that ſect. They do not only believe one God, but produce many ſtrong arguments for his unity, though they alſo pay an adoration to the ſtars, or the angels and intelligences which they ſuppoſe reſide in them, and govern the world under the ſupreme Deity They endeavour to perfect themſelves in the four intellectual virtues, and believe the ſouls of wicked men will be puniſhed for 9000 ages, but will afterwards be received to mercy. They are obliged to pray three times[r] a day, the firſt, half an hour or leſs before ſun-riſe, ordering it ſo that they may, juſt as the ſun riſes, finiſh eight adorations, each containing three proſtrations[s]. the ſecond prayer they end at noon, when the ſun begins to decline, in ſaying which they perform five ſuch adorations as the former and the ſame they do the third time, ending juſt as the ſun ſets They faſt three times a year, the firſt time 30 days, the next nine days, and the laſt ſeven They offer many ſacrifices, but eat no part of them, burning them all. They abſtain from beans, garlick, and ſome other pulſe and vegetables[t]. As to the Sabian Kebla, or part to which they turn their faces in praying, authors greatly differ, one will have it to be the north[u], another the ſouth, a third Mecca, and a fourth the ſtar to which they pay their devotions[w] and perhaps there may be ſome variety in their practice in this reſpect. They go on pilgrimage to a place near the city of Harran in Meſopotamia, where great numbers of them dwell, and they have alſo a great reſpect for the temple of Mecca, and the pyramids of Egypt[x], fancying theſe laſt to be the ſepulchres of Seth, and of Enoch and Sabi his two ſons, whom they look on as the

[q] Connect of the Hiſt of the Old and New Teſt p 1 b 3 [r] Some ſay ſeven See D'Herbelot p 726 and Hyde, de rel vet Perſ p 128 [s] Others ſay they uſe no incurvations or proſtrations at all V Hyde, ibid [t] Abulfarag Hiſt Dynaſt p 281, &c [u] Idem, ib [w] Hyde, ubi ſupra p 124, &c [x] D Herbel ubi ſupra

firſt propagators of their religion, at theſe ſtructures they ſacrifice a cock and a black calf, and offer up incenſe[y]. Beſides the book of Pſalms, the only true ſcripture they read, they have other books which they eſteem equally ſacred, particularly one in the Chaldee tongue which they call the book of Seth, and is full of moral diſcourſes This ſect ſay, they took the name of Sabians from the above-mentioned Sabi, though it ſeems rather to be derived from צבא Saba[z], or the hoſt of heaven, which they worſhip[a] Travellers commonly call them Chriſtians of St. John the Baptiſt, whoſe diſciples alſo they pretend to be, uſing a kind of baptiſm, which is the greateſt mark they bear of Chriſtianity. This is one of the religions, the practice of which Mohammed tolerated, (on paying tribute,) and the profeſſors of it are often included in that expreſſion of the Korân, Thoſe to whom the ſcriptures have been given, or literally, People of the book.

The idolatry of the Arabs then, as Sabians, chiefly conſiſted in worſhipping the fixed ſtars and planets, and the angels and their images, which they honoured as inferior deities, and whoſe interceſſion they begged as their mediators with God For the Arabs acknowledged one ſupreme God, the Creator, and Lord of the univerſe, whom they called Allah Taâla, the moſt high God, and their other deities, who were ſubordinate to him, they called ſimply al Ilahât, i e the goddeſſes, which words the Grecians not underſtanding, and it being their conſtant cuſtom to reſolve the religion of every other nation into their own, and find out gods of theirs to match the other's, they pretend the Arabs worſhipped only two deities, Orotalt and Alilat, as thoſe names are corruptly written, whom they will have to be the ſame with Bacchus and Urania, pitching on the former as one of the

[y] See Greave's Pyramidogr p 6 7 [z] V Poc Spec p 138

[a] Habet Ibn Korrah, a famous aſtronomer, and himſelf a Sabian, wrote a treatiſe in Syriac, concerning the doctrines, rites, and ceremonies of this ſect, from which, if it could be recovered, we might expect much better information than any taken from the Arabian writers V Abulfarag ubi ſupra

greateſt

greateſt of their own gods, and educated in Arabia, and on the other, becauſe of the veneration ſhewn by the Arabs to the ſtars[b].

That they acknowledged one ſupreme God, appears, to omit other proof, from their uſual form of addreſſing themſelves to him, which was this, I dedicate myſelf to thy ſervice, O God! I dedicate myſelf to thy ſervice, O God! Thou haſt no companion, except thy companion of whom thou art abſolute Maſter, and of whatever is his[c] So that they ſuppoſed the idols not to be ſui juris, though they offered ſacrifices and other offerings to them, as well as to God, who was alſo often put off with the leaſt portion, as Mohammed upbraids them Thus when they planted fruit trees, or ſowed a field, they divided it by a line into two parts, ſetting one apart for their idols, and the other for God if any of the fruits happened to fall from the idol's part into God's, they made reſtitution, but if from God's part into the idol's, they made no reſtitution So when they watered the idol's grounds, if the water broke over the channels made for that purpoſe, and ran on God's part, they dammed it up again, but if the contrary, they let it run on, ſaying, they wanted what was God's, but he wanted nothing[d]. In the ſame manner, if the offering deſigned for God happened to be better than that deſigned for the idol, they made an exchange, but not otherwiſe[e]

It was from this groſs idolatry, or the worſhip of inferior deities, or companions of God, as the Arabs continue to call them, that Mohammed reclaimed his countrymen, eſtabliſhing the ſole worſhip of the true God among them, ſo that, how much ſoever the Mohammedans are to blame in other points, they are far from being idolaters, as ſome ignorant writers have pretended

The worſhip of the ſtars the Arabs might eaſily be led into, from their obſerving the changes of weather

[b] V Herodot l 3 c 8 Arrian p 161, 162 & Strab l 16
[c] Al Shahreſtani [d] Nodhm al dorr [e] Al Beidawi

to happen at the riſing or ſetting of certain of them[f], which after a long courſe of experience induced them to aſcribe a divine power to thoſe ſtars, and to think themſelves indebted to them for their rains, a very great benefit and refreſhment to their parched country this ſuperſtition the Korân particularly takes notice of[g]

The ancient Arabians and Indians, between which two nations was a great conformity of religions, had ſeven celebrated temples, dedicated to the ſeven planets, one of which in particular, called Beit Ghomdân, was built in Sanaa, the metropolis of Yaman, by Dahac, to the honour of al Zoharah, or the planet Venus, and was demoliſhed by the Khalîf Othman[h], by whoſe murder was fulfilled the prophetical inſcription ſet, as is reported, over this temple, viz Ghomdân, he who deſtroyeth thee, ſhall be ſlain' The temple of Mecca is alſo ſaid to have been conſecrated to Zohal, or Saturn[k]

Though theſe deities were generally reverenced by the whole nation, yet each tribe choſe ſome one as the more peculiar object of their worſhip

Thus as to the ſtars and planets, the tribe of Hamyar chiefly worſhipped the ſun, Miſam[l], al Debarân or the bull's eye, Iakhm and Jodâm, al Moſhtari or Jupiter, Tay, Sohail or Canopus, Kais, Sirius or the dog-ſtar, and Aſad, Otâred or Mercury[m] Among the worſhippers of Sirius, one Abu Cabſha was very famous, ſome will have him to be the ſame with Waheb, Mohammed's grandfather by the mother, but others ſay he was of the tribe of Khozâah This man uſed his utmoſt endeavours to perſuade the Koreiſh to leave their images and worſhip this ſtar, for which reaſon Mohammed, who endeavoured alſo to make them leave their images, was by them nicknamed the ſon of Abu Cabſha[n] The worſhip of this ſtar is particularly hinted at in the Korân[o]

[f] V Poſt [g] V Poc Spec p 163 [h] Shahreſtani [i] Al Jannabi [k] Shahreſtani [l] This name ſeems to be corrupted, there being no ſuch among the Arab tribes Poc Spec p 130 [m] Abulfarag p 160 [n] Poc Spec p 132 [o] Cap 53

Of

Of the angels or intelligences which they worſhipped, the Korân[p] makes mention only of three, which were worſhipped under female names[q], Allât, al Uzza, and Manah. Theſe were by them called goddeſſes, and the daughters of GOD, an appellation they gave not only to the angels, but alſo to their images, which they either believed to be inſpired with life by GOD, or elſe to become the tabernacles of the angels, and to be animated by them, and they gave them divine worſhip, becauſe they imagined they interceded for them with GOD

Allât was the idol of the tribe of Thakîf, who dwelt at Tayef, and had a temple conſecrated to her in a place called Nakhlah This idol al Mogheirah deſtroyed by Mohammed's order, who ſent him and Abu Sofiân on that commiſſion in the ninth year of the Hejra[s]. The inhabitants of Tayef, eſpecially the women, bitterly lamented the loſs of this their deity, which they were ſo fond of, that they begged of Mohammed, as a condition of peace, that it might not be deſtroyed for three years, and, not obtaining that, aſked only a month's reſpite, but he abſolutely denied it[t] There are ſeveral derivations of this word which the curious may learn from Dr Pocock[u] it ſeems moſt probably to be derived from the ſame root with Allah, to which it may be a feminine, and will then ſignify the goddeſs.

Al Uzza, as ſome affirm, was the idol of the tribes of Koreiſh and Kenânah[w], and part of the tribe of Salim[x] others[y] tell us it was a tree called the Egyptian thorn, or Acacia, worſhipped by the tribe of Ghatfân, firſt conſecrated by one Dhâlem, who built a chapel over it, called Boſs, ſo contrived as to give

[p] Poc Spec Cap 53 [q] Ibid

[s] Dr Prideaux mentions this expedition, but names only Abu Sofian and, miſtaking the name of the idol for an appellative, ſuppoſes he went only to diſarm the Tayefians of their weapons and inſtruments of war See his life of Mahomet p 98 [t] Abulfeda Vit Moham p 127 [u] Spec p 90

[w] Al Jauhari, apud eund p 91 [x] Al Shahreſtani, ib [y] Al Firauzabadi, ib

a ſound when any perſon entered. Khâled Ebn Walîd, being ſent by Mohammed in the eighth year of the Hejra to deſtroy this idol, demoliſhed the chapel, and cutting down this tree or image, burnt it he alſo ſlew the prieſteſs, who ran out with her hair diſhevelled, and her hands on her head as a ſuppliant. Yet the author who relates this, in another place ſays, the chapel was pulled down, and Dhâlem himſelf killed by one Zohair, becauſe he conſecrated this chapel with deſign to draw the pilgrims thither from Mecca, and leſſen the reputation of the Caaba The name of this deity is derived from the root azza, and ſignifies the moſt mighty

Manah was the object of worſhip of the tribes of Hodhail and Khozâah[y], who dwelt between Mecca and Medina, and, as ſome ſay[a], of the tribes of Aws, Khazraj, and Thakîf alſo This idol was a large ſtone[b], demoliſhed by one Saad in the eighth year of the Hejra, a year ſo fatal to the idols of Arabia. The name ſeems derived from mana, to flow, from the flowing of the blood of the victims ſacrificed to the deity, whence the valley of Mina[c] near Mecca had alſo its name, where the pilgrims at this day ſlay their ſacrifices[d]

Before we proceed to the other idols, let us take notice of five more, which with the former three are all the Korân mentions by name, and they are Wadd, Sawâ, Yaghûth, Yaûk, and Naſr Theſe are ſaid to have been antedeluvian idols, which Noah preached againſt, and were afterwards taken by the Arabs for gods, having been men of great merit and piety in their time, whoſe ſtatues they reverenced at firſt with a civil honour only, which in proceſs of time became heightened to a divine worſhip[e].

[y] Al Jauhari [a] Al Shahreſtani, Abulfeda, &c [b] Al Beidawi, al Zamakhſhari [c] Poc Spec 91, &c [d] Poc Spec 91, &c [e] Koran c 71 Comment Perſic V Hyde, de rel vet Perſ p 133

Wadd

Wadd was ſuppoſed to be the heaven, and was worſhipped under the form of a man by the tribe of Calb in Daumat al Jandal [f].

Sawâ was adored under the ſhape of a woman by the tribe of Hamadan, or, as others [g] write, of Hodhail in Rohat. This idol lying under water for ſome time after the deluge, was at length, it is ſaid, diſcovered by the devil, and was worſhipped by thoſe of Hodhail, who inſtituted pilgrimages to it [h].

Yaghûth was an idol in the ſhape of a lion, and was the deity of the tribe of Madhaj and others who dwelt in Yaman [i]. Its name ſeems to be derived from ghatha, which ſignifies to help.

Yaûk was worſhipped by the tribe of Morâd, or, according to others, by that of Hamadan [k], under the figure of a horſe. It is ſaid he was a man of great piety, and his death much regretted, whereupon the devil appeared to his friends in a human form, and, undertaking to repreſent him to the life, perſuaded them, by way of comfort, to place his effigies in their temples, that they might have it in view when at their devotions. This was done, and ſeven others of extraordinary merit had the ſame honour ſhewn them, till at length their poſterity made idols of them in earneſt [l]. The name of Yaûk probably comes from the verb âka, to prevent or avert [m].

Naſr was a deity adored by the tribe of Hamyar, or at Dhû'l Khalaah in their territories, under the image of an eagle, which the name ſignifies.

There are, or were, two ſtatues at Bamiyân, a city of Cabul in the Indies, 50 cubits high, which ſome writers ſuppoſe to be the ſame with Yaghûth and Yaûk, or elſe with Manah and Allât, and they alſo ſpeak of a third ſtanding near the others, but ſomething leſs, in the ſhape of an old woman, called Neſrem or Neſr. Theſe ſtatues were hollow within

[f] Al Jauhari, al Shahreſtani o'ddin. [g] Idem, al Firauzabâdi, & Safi. [h] Al Firauzab. [i] Shahreſtani. [k] Al Jauhari. [l] Al Firauzabâdi. [m] Poc Spec 94.

for

for the ſecret giving of oracles[n], but they ſeem to have been different from the Arabian idols. There was alſo an idol at Sûmenat in the Indies, called Lât or al Lât, whoſe ſtatue was 50 fathoms high, of a ſingle ſtone, and placed in the midſt of a temple ſupported by 56 pillars of maſſy gold this idol Mahmûd Ebn Sebectcghin, who conquered that part of India, broke to pieces with his own hands[o].

Beſides the idols we have mentioned, the Arabs worſhipped alſo great numbers of others, which would take up too much time to have diſtinct accounts given of them, and, not being named in the Korân, are not ſo much to our preſent purpoſe, for, beſides that every houſekeeper had his houſehold god, or gods, which he laſt took leave of, and firſt ſaluted, at his going abroad and returning home[p], there were no leſs than 360 idols[q], equalling in number the days of their year, in and about the Caaba of Mecca, the chief of whom was Hobal[r], brought from Belka in Syria into Arabia by Amru Ebn Lohai, pretending it would procure them rain when they wanted it[s] It was the ſtatue of a man made of red agate, which having by ſome accident loſt a hand, the Koreiſh repaired it with one of gold he held in his hand ſeven arrows without heads or feathers, ſuch as the Arabs uſed in divination[t] This idol is ſuppoſed to have been the ſame with the image of Abraham[u], found and deſtroyed by Mohammed in the Caaba, on his entering it, in the eighth year of the Hejra, when he took Mecca[w], and ſurrounded with a great number of angels and prophets, as inferior deities, among whom, as ſome ſay, was Iſmael with divining arrows in his hand alſo[x]

Aſâf and Nayelah, the former the image of a man, the latter of a woman, were alſo two idols brought with Hobal from Syria, and placed the one on mount Safâ, and

[n] See Hyde, de rel vet Perſ p 132 [o] D'Herbelot, Bibl Orient p 512 [p] Al Moſtatraf [q] Al Jannab [r] Abulfed Shahreſt &c [s] Poc Spec 95 [t] Safio'ddin [u] Poc Spec 97 [w] Abulfeda [x] Ebn al Athir al Jannab &c

the

the other on mount Merwa. They tell us Aſâf was the ſon of Amru, and Nayelah the daughter of Sahâl, both of the tribe of Jorham, who committing whoredom together in the Caaba, were by God converted into ſtone[y], and afterwards worſhipped by the Koreiſh, and ſo much reverenced by them, that, though this ſuperſtition was condemned by Mohammed, yet he was forced to allow them to viſit thoſe mountains as monuments of divine juſtice[z].

I ſhall mention but one idol more of this nation, and that was a lump of dough worſhipped by the tribe of Hanîfa, who uſed it with more reſpect than the Papiſts do theirs, preſuming not to eat it till they were compelled to it by famine[a].

Several of their idols, as Manah in particular, were no more then large rude ſtones, the worſhip of which the poſterity of Iſmael firſt introduced, for as they multiplied, and the territory of Mecca grew too ſtrait for them, great numbers were obliged to ſeek new abodes, and on ſuch migrations it was uſual for them to take with them ſome of the ſtones of that reputed holy land, and ſet them up in the places where they fixed, and theſe ſtones they at firſt only compaſſed out of devotion, as they had accuſtomed to do the Caaba But this at laſt ended in rank idolatry, the Iſmaelites forgetting the religion left them by their father ſo far, as to pay divine worſhip to any fine ſtone they met with[b]

Some of the pagan Arabs believed neither a creation paſt, nor reſurrection to come, attributing the origin of things to nature, and their diſſolution to age Others believed both, among whom were thoſe who, when they died, had their camel tied by their ſepulchre, and ſo left without meat or drink to periſh, and accompany them to the other world, leſt they ſhould be obliged at the reſurrection to go on foot, which was reckoned very ſcandalous[c]. Some believed a metempſychoſis, and that of the blood near

Their notions of a future ſtate

[y] Poc Spect 98 [z] Korân, cap 2 [a] Al Moſtatraf al Jauhari [b] Al Moſtatraf al Jannabi [c] Abulfarag p 160

the

the dead perſon's brain was formed a bird named Hamâh, which once in a hundred years viſited the ſepulchre, though others ſay, this bird is animated by the ſoul of him who is unjuſtly ſlain, and continually cries Oſcûni, Oſcûni, i. e. give me to drink, meaning of the murtherer's blood, till his death be revenged, and then it flies away. This was forbidden by Mohammed[d].

I might here mention ſeveral ſuperſtitious rites and cuſtoms of the ancient Arabs, ſome of which were aboliſhed and others retained by Mohammed, but I apprehend it will be more convenient to take notice of them hereafter, occaſionally, as the negative or poſitive precepts of the Korân, forbidding or allowing ſuch practices, ſhall be conſidered

Let us now turn our view from the idolatrous Arabs, to thoſe among them who had embraced more rational religions

The Magian religion embraced by ſome of their tribes,

The Perſians had, by their vicinity and frequent intercourſe with the Arabians, introduced the Magian religion among ſome of their tribes, particularly that of Tamim[e], a long time before Mohammed, who was ſo far from being unacquainted with that religion, that he borrowed many of his own inſtitutions from it, as will be obſerved in the progreſs of this work I refer thoſe who are deſirous to have ſome notion of Magiſm, to Dr Hyde's curious account of it[f], a ſuccinct abridgment of which may be read with much pleaſure in another learned performance[g]

And alſo the Jewiſh,

The Jews, who fled in great numbers into Arabia, from the fearful deſtruction of their country by the Romans, made proſelytes of ſeveral tribes, thoſe of Kanânah, al Hareth Ebn Caaba, and Kendah[h] in particular, and in time became very powerful, and poſſeſſed of ſeveral towns and fortreſſes there But the Jewiſh religion was not unknown to the Arabs at leaſt above a century before Abu Carb Aſad, taken

[d] V Poc Spec p 135 [e] Al Moſtatraf [f] In his Hiſt relig vet Perſar [g] Dr Prideaux's Connect of the hiſt of the Old and New Teſt part I book 4 [h] Al Moſtatraf

notice

notice of in the Korân[l], who was king of Yaman, about 700 years before Mohammed, is said to have introduced Judaism among the idolatrous Hamyarites. Some of his successors also embraced the same religion, one of whom, Yusef, surnamed Dhu Nowâs[k], was remarkable for his zeal, and terrible persecution of all who would not turn Jews, putting them to death by various tortures, the most common of which was throwing them into a glowing pit of fire, whence he had the opprobrious appellation of the Lord of the pit. This persecution is also mentioned in the Korân[l].

And Christian

Christianity had likewise made a very great progress among this nation before Mohammed. Whether St. Paul preached in any part of Arabia, properly so called[m], is uncertain, but the persecutions, and disorders, which happened in the eastern church soon after the beginning of the third century, obliged great numbers of Christians to seek for shelter in that country of liberty; who being for the most part of the Jacobite communion, that sect generally prevailed among the Arabs[n]. The principal tribes that embraced Christianity, were Hamyar, Ghassân, Rabiâ, Taghlab, Bahrâ, Tonûch[o], part of the tribes of Tay and Kodâa, the inhabitants of Najrân, and the Arabs of Hira[p]. As to the two last, it may be observed, that those of Najrân became Christians in the time of Dhu Nowâs[q], and very probably, if the story be true, were some of those who were converted on the following occasion, which happened about that time, or not long before The Jews of Hamyar challenged some neighbouring Christians to a public disputation, which was held sub dio for three days, before the king and his nobility, and all the people, the disputants being Gregentius, bishop of Tephra, (which I take to be Dhafâr,) for the Christians, and Herbanus for the Jews. On the third day, Herbanus, to end

[l] Al Mostatraf Chap 50 sec VI [l] Chap 85 p 149 [o] Al Mostatraf apud Poc Spec p 63

[k] See before, p 10 & Baron. annal [m] See Galat i 17 [n] Abulfarag [p] Vide Poc Spec p 137 [q] Al Jannab

the diſpute, demanded that Jeſus of Nazareth, if he were really living, and in heaven, and could hear the prayers of his worſhippers, ſhould appear from heaven in their ſight, and they would then believe on him, the Jews crying out with one voice, Shew us your Chriſt, alas, and we will become Chriſtians. Whereupon, after a terrible ſtorm of thunder and lightning, Jeſus Chriſt appeared in the air, ſurrounded with rays of glory, walking on a purple cloud, having a ſword in his hand, and an inеſtimable diadem on his head, and ſpoke theſe words over the heads of the aſſembly. Behold I appear to you in your ſight, I, who was crucified by your fathers. After which the cloud received him from their ſight. The Chriſtians cried out, Kyrie eleeſon, i. e. Lord, have mercy upon us: but the Jews were ſtricken blind, and recovered not till they were all baptized[r].

The Chriſtians at Hira received a great acceſſion by ſeveral tribes, who fled thither for refuge from the perſecution of Dhu Nowâs. Al Nooman, ſurnamed Abu Kabûs, King of Hira, who was ſlain a few months before Mohammed's birth, profeſſed himſelf a Chriſtian on the following occaſion. This prince, in a drunken fit, ordered two of his intimate companions, who, overcome with liquor, had fallen aſleep, to be buried alive. When he came to himſelf, he was extremely concerned at what he had done, and, to expiate his crime, not only raiſed a monument to the memory of his friends, but ſet apart two days, one of which he called the unfortunate and the other the fortunate day, making it a perpetual rule to himſelf, that whoever met him on the former day, ſhould be ſlain, and his blood ſprinkled on the monument, but he that met him on the other day, ſhould be diſmiſſed in ſafety, with magnificent gifts. On one of thoſe unfortunate days, there came before him accidentally an Arab, of the tribe of Tay, who had once entertained this king

[r] V Gregentii diſput cum Herbano Judæo

when

when fatigued with hunting, and ſeparated from his attendants. The king, who could neither diſcharge him, contrary to the order of the day, nor put him to death, againſt the laws of hoſpitality, which the Arabians religiouſly obſerve, propoſed, as an expedient, to give the unhappy man a year's reſpite, and to ſend him home with rich gifts, for the ſupport of his family, on condition, that he found a ſurety for his returning at the year's end to ſuffer death. One of the prince's court, out of compaſſion, offered himſelf as his ſurety, and the Arab was diſcharged. When the laſt day of the term came, and no news of the Arab, the king, not at all diſpleaſed to ſave his hoſt's life, ordered the ſurety to prepare himſelf to die. Thoſe who were by, repreſented to the king, that the day was not yet expired, and therefore he ought to have patience till the evening but, in the middle of their diſcourſe, the Arab appeared The king, admiring the man's generoſity, in offering himſelf to certain death, which he might have avoided by letting his ſurety ſuffer, aſked him, what was his motive for his ſo doing, to which he anſwered, that he had been taught to act in that manner by the religion he profeſſed, and al Nooman demanding what religion that was, he replied, the Chriſtian. Whereupon the king deſiring to have the doctrines of Chriſtianity explained to him, was baptized, he and his ſubjects; and not only pardoned the man and his ſurety, but aboliſhed his barbarous cuſtom[s]. This prince, however, was not the firſt king of Hira who embraced Chriſtianity, al Mondar, his grandfather, having alſo profeſſed the ſame faith, and built large churches in his capital[t].

Since Chriſtianity had made ſo great a progreſs in Arabia, we may conſequently ſuppoſe they had biſhops in ſeveral parts, for the more orderly governing of the churches. A biſhop of Dhafâr has been already named, and we are told that Najrân was alſo a biſhop's ſee[u]. The Jacobites (of which ſect we have obſerved

[s] Al Meidani, & Ahmed Ebn Yuſef, apud Poc Spec p [illegible] [t] Abulfeda ap eund p 74 [u] Saho ddin apud Poc Spec p 13

the

the Arabs generally were) had two biſhops of the Arabs ſubject to their Mafriân, or metropolitan of the eaſt; one was called the biſhop of the Arabs abſolutely, whoſe ſeat was for the moſt part at Akula, which ſome authors make the ſame with Cûfa[w], others a different town near Baghdâd[x]. The other had the title of biſhop of the Scenite Arabs, of the tribe of Thaalab in Hira, or Hirta, as the Syrians call it, whoſe ſeat was in that city. The Neſtorians had but one biſhop, who preſided over both theſe dioceſes of Hira and Akula, and was immediately ſubject to their patriarch[y].

Theſe were the principal religions which obtained among the ancient Arabs, but as freedom of thought was the natural conſequence of their political liberty and independence, ſome of them fell into other different opinions. The Koreiſh, in particular, were infected with Zendiciſm[z], an error ſuppoſed to have very near affinity with that of the Sadducees among the Jews, and, perhaps, not greatly different from Deiſm, for there were ſeveral of that tribe, even before the time of Mohammed, who worſhipped one god, and were free from idolatry[a], and yet embraced none of the other religions of the country.

The Arabs different way of life

The Arabians before Mohammed were, as they yet are, divided into two ſorts, thoſe who dwell in cities and towns, and thoſe who dwell in tents. The former lived by tillage, the cultivation of palm-trees, breeding and feeding of cattle, and the exerciſe of all ſorts of trades[b], particularly merchandiſing[c], wherein they were very eminent, even in the time of Jacob The tribe of Koreiſh were much addicted to commerce, and Mohammed, in his younger years, was brought up to the ſame buſineſs; it being cuſto-

[w] Abulfarag in Chron Syriac, MS [x] Abulfeda, in deſcr Iracæ [y] Vid Aſſemani Bibl Orient T II in Diſſert de Monophyſitis & p 459 [z] Al Moſtatraf apud Poc Spec p 136 [a] V Reland de Relig Moham p 270 & Millium de Mohammediſmo ante Moham p 311 [b] Theſe ſeem to be the ſame whom Mr La Roque calls Moors Voy dans la Paleſtine, p 110 [c] See Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p 6

mar-

mary for the Arabians to exerciſe the ſame trade that their parents did[d]. The Arabs who dwelt in tents, employed themſelves in paſturage, and ſometimes in pillaging of paſſengers, they lived chiefly on the milk and fleſh of camels, they often changed their habitations, as the convenience of water and of paſture for their cattle invited them, ſtaying in a place no longer than that laſted, and then removing in ſearch of another[e]. They generally wintered in Irâk, and the confines of Syria This way of life is what the greater part of Iſmael's poſterity have uſed, as more agreeable to the temper and way of life of their father, and is ſo well deſcribed by a late author[f], that I cannot do better than refer the reader to his account of them.

The Arabic language is undoubtedly one of the moſt ancient in the world, and aroſe ſoon after, if not at, the confuſion of Babel. There were ſeveral dialects of it, very different from each other the moſt remarkable were that ſpoken by the tribe of Hamyar and the other genuine Arabs, and that of the Koreiſh. The Hamyaritic ſeems to have approached nearer to the purity of the Syriac than the dialect of any other tribe, for the Arabs acknowledge their father Yarab to have been the firſt whoſe tongue deviated from the Syriac (which was his mother-tongue, and is almoſt generally acknowledged by the Aſiatics to be the moſt ancient) to the Arabic. The dialect of the Koreiſh is uſually termed the pure Arabic, or, as the Korân, which is written in this dialect, calls it, the perſpicuous and clear Arabic, perhaps, ſays Dr Pocock, becauſe Iſmael, their father, brought the Arabic he had learned of the Jorhamites nearer to the original Hebrew. But the politeneſs and elegance of the dialect of the Koreiſh is rather to be attributed to their having the cuſtody of the Caaba, and dwelling in Mecca, the centre of Arabia, as well more remote from intercourſe with foreigners, who might corrupt their language,

The language, learning, accompliſhment, &c before Mohammed

[d] Strabo l 16 p 1129 [e] Idem, ibid p 1084 [f] La Roque, Voyage dans la Paleſtine, p 109, &c

as frequented by the Arabs from the country all around, not only on a religious account, but alſo for the compoſing of their differences, from whoſe diſcourſe and verſes they took whatever words or phraſes they judged more pure and elegant, by which means the beauties of the whole tongue became transfuſed into this dialect. The Arabians are full of the commendations of their language, and not altogether without reaſon, for it claims the preference of moſt others in many reſpects, as being very harmonious and expreſſive, and withal ſo copious, that, they ſay, no man, without inſpiration, can be perfect maſter of it in its utmoſt extent, and yet they tell us, at the ſame time, that the greateſt part of it has been loſt, which will not be thought ſtrange, if we conſider, how late the art of writing was practiſed among them For though it was known to Job[g], their countryman, and alſo to the Hamyarites (who uſed a perplexed character called al Moſnad, wherein the letters were not diſtinctly ſeparate, and which was neither publicly taught, nor ſuffered to be uſed without permiſſion firſt obtained) many centuries before Mohammed, as appears from ſome ancient monuments, ſaid to be remaining in their character; yet the other Arabs, and thoſe of Mecca in particular, were, for many ages, perfectly ignorant of it, unleſs ſuch of them as were Jews, or Chriſtians[h] Morâmer Ebn Morra of Anbar, a city of Irâk, who lived not many years before Mohammed, was the inventor of the Arabic character, which Baſhar the Kendian is ſaid to have learned from thoſe of Anbar, and to have introduced at Mecca but a little while before the inſtitution of Mohammediſm Theſe letters of Morâmer were different from the Hamyaritic, and though they were very rude, being either the ſame with, or very much like the Cufic[i], which character is ſtill found in inſcriptions, and ſome ancient books,

[g] Job xix 23 &c 24 [h] See Prideaux's life of Mahomet, p 29, 30
[i] A ſpecimen of the Cufic character may be ſeen in Sir J Chardin's travels, vol III p 119

yet

yet they were thoſe which the Arabs uſed for many years, the Korân itſelf being at firſt written therein, for the beautiful character they now uſe, was firſt formed from the Cufic by Ebn Moklah, Wazîr (or Viſir) to the Khalîfs al Moktader, al Kâher, and al Râdi, who lived about 300 years after Mohammed, and was brought to great perfection by Ali Ebn Bowâb[k], who flouriſhed in the following century, and whoſe name is yet famous among them on that account; yet, it is ſaid, the perſon who completed it, and reduced it to its preſent form, was Yakût al Moſtáſemi, ſecretary to al Moſtáſem, the laſt of the Khalîfs of the family of Abbâs, for which reaſon he was ſurnamed al Khattât, or the ſcribe

The accompliſhments the Arabs valued themſelves chiefly on, were, 1 Eloquence, and a perfect ſkill in their own tongue, 2. Expertneſs in the uſe of arms and horſemanſhip, and, 3 Hoſpitality[l]. The firſt they exerciſed themſelves in, by compoſing of orations and poems. Their orations were of two ſorts, metrical, or proſaic, the one being compared to pearls ſtrung, and the other to looſe ones They endeavoured to excel in both, and whoever was able, in aſſembly, to perſuade the people to a great enterpriſe, or diſſuade them from a dangerous one, or gave them other wholeſome advice, was honoured with the title of Khâteb, or orator, which is now given to the Mohammedan preachers They purſued a method very different from that of the Greek and Roman orators, their ſentences being like looſe gems, without connection, ſo that this ſort of compoſition ſtruck the audience chiefly by the fulneſs of the periods, the elegance of the expreſſion, and the acuteneſs of the proverbial ſayings, and ſo perſuaded were they of their excelling in this way, that they would not allow any nation to underſtand the art of ſpeak-

[k] Ebn Khalican Yet others attribute the honour of the invention of this character to Ebn Moklah's brother, Abdallah al Haſan, and the perfecting of it to Ebn Amid al Katib, after it had been reduced to near the preſent form by Abd'alhamîd V D'Herbel Bibl Orient p 590, 108, & 194

[l] Poc Orat ante Carmen Tograi, p 10

ing in public, except themſelves and the Perſians; which laſt were reckoned much inferior in that reſpect to the Arabians[m]. Poetry was in ſo great eſteem among them, that it was a great accompliſhment, and a proof of ingenuous extraction, to be able to expreſs one's ſelf in verſe with eaſe and elegance, on any extraordiary occurrence, and even in their common diſcourſe they made frequent applications of celebrated paſſages of their famous poets. In their poems were preſerved the diſtinctions of deſcents, the rights of tribes, the memory of great actions, and the propriety of their language, for which reaſons an excellent poet reflected an honour on his tribe, ſo that, as ſoon as any one began to be admired for his performances of this kind in a tribe, the other tribes ſent publicly to congratulate them on the occaſion; and themſelves made entertainments, at which the women aſſiſted, dreſſed in their nuptial ornaments, ſinging to the ſound of timbrels the happineſs of their tribe, who had now one to protect their honour, to preſerve their genealogies and the purity of their language, and to tranſmit their actions to poſterity[n]; for this was all performed by their poems, to which they were ſolely obliged for their knowledge and inſtructions, moral and œconomical, and to which they had recourſe, as to an oracle, in all doubts and differences[o]. No wonder then, that a public congratulation was made on this account, which honour they yet were ſo far from making cheap, that they never did it but on one of theſe three occaſions, which were reckoned great points of felicity, viz. on the birth of a boy, the riſe of a poet, and the fall of a foal of generous breed. To keep an emulation among their poets, the tribes had, once a year, a general aſſembly at Ocadh[p], a place famous on this account, and where they kept a weekly mart or fair, which was held on our ſunday[q]. This annual meeting laſted a whole

[m] Poc Spec 161 [n] Ebn Raſhik, apud Poc Spec 160
[o] Poc Orat præfix Carm. Tograi, ubi ſupra [p] Idem, Spec p 159
[q] Geogr Nub p 51

month, during which time they employed themselves, not only in trading, but in repeating their poetical compositions, contending and vying with each other for the prize, whence the place, it is said, took its name[r]. The poems that were judged to excel, were laid up in their king's treasuries, as were the seven celebrated poems, thence called al Moallakât, rather than from their being hung up on the Caaba, which honour they also had by public order, being written on Egyptian silk, and in letters of gold; for which reason they had also the name of al Modhahabât, or the golden verses[s].

The fair and assembly at Ocadh were suppressed by Mohammed, in whose time, and for some years after, poetry seems to have been in some degree neglected by the Arabs, who were then employed in their conquests, which being completed, and themselves at peace, not only this study was revived[t], but almost all sorts of learning were encouraged and greatly improved by them. This interruption however occasioned the loss of most of their ancient pieces of poetry, which were then chiefly preserved by memory, the use of writing being rare among them, in their time of ignorance[u]. Though the Arabs were so early acquainted with poetry, they did not at first use to write poems of a just length, but only expressed themselves in verse occasionally, nor was their prosody digested into rules, till some time after Mohammed[w], for this was done, as it is said, by al Khalîl Ahmed al Farâhîdi, who lived in the reign of the Khalîf Harûn al Rashîd[x].

[r] Poc Spec 159 [s] Ibid & p 381 Et in calce Notar in Carmen Tograi, p 233 [t] Jallalo'ddin al Soyuti, apud Poc Spec p 159, &c, [u] Ib 160 [w] Ib 161 Al Safadi confirms this by a story of a Grammarian, named Abu Jaafar, who sitting by the Mikyas or Nilometer in Egypt, in a year when the Nile did not rise to its usual height, so that a famine was apprehended, and dividing a piece of poetry into its parts or feet, to examine them by the rules of art, some who passed by, not understanding him, imagined he was uttering a charm to hinder the rise of the river, and pushed him into the water, where he lost his life [x] V Clericum de Prosod Arab p 2

The exerciſe of arms and horſemanſhip they were in a manner obliged to practiſe and encourage, by reaſon of the independence of their tribes, whoſe frequent jarrings made wars almoſt continual, and they chiefly ended their diſputes in field battles, it being an uſual ſaying among them, that God had beſtowed four peculiar things on the Arabs, that their turbans ſhould be to them inſtead of diadems, their tents inſtead of walls and houſes, their ſwords inſtead of entrenchments, and their poems inſtead of written laws[y]

Hoſpitality was ſo habitual to them, and ſo much eſteemed, that the examples of this kind among them exceed whatever can be produced from other nations Hatem, of the tribe of Tay[z], and Haſn, of that of Fezârah[a], were particularly famous on this account: and the contrary vice was ſo much in contempt, that a certain poet upbraids the inhabitants of Waſet, as with the greateſt reproach, that none of their men had the heart to give, nor their women to deny[b]

Nor were the Arabs leſs propenſe to liberality after the coming of Mohammed, than their anceſtors had been I could produce many remarkable inſtances of this commendable quality among them[c], but ſhall content myſelf with the following Three men were diſputing, in the court of the Caaba, which was the moſt liberal perſon among the Arabs One gave the preference to Abdallah, the ſon of Jaafar, the uncle of Mohammed, another to Kais Ebn Saad Ebn Obâdah; and the third gave it to Arâbah, of the tribe of Aws. After much debate, one that was preſent, to end the diſpute, propoſed that each of them ſhould go to his friend, and aſk his aſſiſtance, that they might ſee what every one gave, and form a judgment accordingly This was agreed to and Abdallah's friend, going to him, found him with his foot in the

[y] Pocock, in calce Notar ad Carmen Tograi [z] V Gentii Notas in Guliſtan Sheikh Sadi, p 486, &c [a] Poc Spec p 48 [b] Ebn al Hobeirah, apud Poc in Not ad Carmen Tograi, p 107 [c] Several may be found in D'Herbelot's Bibl Orient particularly in the articles of Haſan the ſon of Ali, Maan, Fadhel, and Ebn Yahya

ſtirrup,

ſtirrup, juſt mounting his camel for a journey, and thus accoſted him. Son of the uncle of the apoſtle of GOD, I am travelling, and in neceſſity Upon which Abdallah alighted, and bid him take the camel with all that was upon her, but deſired him not to part with a ſword, which happened to be fixed to the ſaddle, becauſe it had belonged to Ali, the ſon of Abutaleb. So he took the camel, and found on her ſome veſts of ſilk, and 4000 pieces of gold, but the thing of greateſt value was the ſword The ſecond went to Kais Ebn Saad, whoſe ſervant told him that his maſter was aſleep, and deſired to know his buſineſs The friend anſwered that he came to aſk Kais's aſſiſtance, being in want on the road Whereupon the ſervant ſaid, that he had rather ſupply his neceſſity than wake his maſter, and give him a purſe of 7000 pieces of gold, aſſuring him that it was all the money then in the houſe He alſo directed him to go to thoſe who had the charge of the camels, with a certain token, and take a camel, and a ſlave, and return home with them When Kais awoke, and his ſervant informed him of what he had done, he gave him his freedom, and aſked him why he did not call him, for, ſaid he, I would have given him more. The third man went to Arâbah, and met him coming out of his houſe, in order to go to prayers, and leaning on two ſlaves, becauſe his eye-ſight failed him. The friend no ſooner made known his caſe, but Arâbah let go the ſlaves, and, clapping his hands together, loudly lamented his misfortune, in having no money, but deſired him to take the two ſlaves, which the man refuſed to do, till Arâbah proteſted that, if he would not accept of them, he gave them their liberty, and, leaving the ſlaves, groped his way along by the wall On the return of the adventurers, judgment was unanimouſly, and with great juſtneſs, given by all who were preſent, that Arâbah was the moſt generous of the three.

Nor were thoſe the only good qualities of the Arabs, they are commended by the ancients for being

moſt exact to their words[d], and reſpectful to their kindred[e]. And they have always been celebrated for their quickneſs of apprehenſion and penetration, and the vivacity of their wit, eſpecially thoſe of the deſert[f].

As the Arabs have their excellencies, ſo have they, like other nations, their defects and vices Their own writers acknowledge that they have a natural diſpoſition to war, bloodſhed, cruelty, and rapine, being ſo much addicted to bear malice, that they ſcarce ever forget an old grudge which vindictive temper, ſome phyſicians ſay, is occaſioned by their frequent feeding on camels' fleſh, (the ordinary diet of the Arabs of the deſert, who are therefore obſerved to be moſt inclined to theſe vices,) that creature being moſt malicious and tenacious of anger[g], which account ſuggeſts a good reaſon for a diſtinction of meats

The frequent robberies committed by theſe people on merchants and travellers, have rendered the name of an Arab almoſt infamous in Europe this they are ſenſible of, and endeavour to excuſe themſelves by alledging the hard uſage of their father Iſmael, who being turned out of doors by Abraham, had the open plains and deſerts given him by God for his patrimony, with permiſſion to take whatever he could find there And, on this account, they think they may, with a ſafe conſcience, indemnify themſelves, as well as they can, not only on the poſterity of Iſaac, but alſo on every body elſe, always ſuppoſing a ſort of kindred between themſelves and thoſe they plunder And, in relating their adventures of this kind, they think it ſufficient to change the expreſſion, and inſtead of, I robbed a man of ſuch a thing, to ſay, I gained it[h]. We muſt not however imagine that they are the leſs honeſt for this among themſelves, or towards thoſe whom they

[d] Herodot l 3 c 8 [e] Strabo, l 16 p 1129 [f] V D'Herbel Bibl Orient p 121 [g] V Poc Spec p 87 Bochart Hierozoic l 2 c 1 [h] Voyage dans la Paleſt p 220, &c

receive

receive as friends, on the contrary, the ſtricteſt probity is obſerved in their camp, where every thing is open, and nothing ever known to be ſtolen[i].

The ſciences the Arabians chiefly cultivated before Mohammediſm, were three, that of their genealogies and hiſtory, ſuch a knowledge of the ſtars as to foretel the changes of weather, and the interpretation of dreams[k]. They uſed to value themſelves exceſſively on account of the nobility of their families, and ſo many diſputes happened on that occaſion, that it is no wonder if they took great pains in ſettling their deſcents. What knowledge they had of the ſtars, was gathered from long experience, and not from any regular ſtudy, or aſtronomical rules[l] The Arabians, as the Indians alſo did, chiefly applied themſelves to obſerve the fixed ſtars, contrary to other nations, whoſe obſervations were almoſt confined to the planets, and they foretold their effects from their influences, not their nature; and hence, as has been ſaid, aroſe the difference of the idolatry of the Greeks and Chaldeans, who chiefly worſhipped the planets, and that of the Indians, who worſhipped the fixed ſtars The ſtars or aſteriſms they moſt uſually foretold the weather by, were thoſe they call Anwâ, or the houſes of the moon. Theſe are 28 in number, and divide the zodiac into as many parts, through one of which the moon paſſes every night as ſome of them ſet in the morning, others riſe oppoſite to them, which happens every 13th night, and, from their riſing and ſetting, the Arabs, by long experience, obſerved what changes happened in the air, and at length, as has been ſaid, came to aſcribe divine power to them[m], ſaying that their rain was from ſuch and ſuch a ſtar which expreſſion Mohammed condemned, and abſolutely forbade them to uſe it in the old ſenſe, unleſs they meant no more by it, than that God had ſo ordered the

[i] Voyage dans la Paleſt p 213, &c [k] Al Shahreſtani, apud Pocock Orat ubi ſup p 9 & Spec 164 [l] Abulfarag p 161 [m] V Hyde in not. ad Tabulas ſtellar fixar Ulugh Beigh, p 5

ſeaſons,

ſeaſons, that when the moon was in ſuch or ſuch a manſion or houſe, or at the riſing or ſetting of ſuch and ſuch a ſtar, it ſhould rain or be windy, hot or cold[n].

The old Arabians therefore ſeem to have made no farther progreſs in aſtronomy, which ſcience they afterwards cultivated with ſo much ſucceſs and applauſe, than to obſerve the influence of the ſtars on the weather, and to give them names, and this it was obvious for them to do, by reaſon of their paſtoral way of life, lying night and day in the open plains The names they impoſed on the ſtars, generally alluded to cattle and flocks, and they were ſo nice in diſtinguiſhing them, that no language has ſo many names of ſtars and aſteriſms as the Arabic; for, though they have ſince borrowed the names of ſeveral conſtellations from the Greeks, yet the far greater part are of their own growth, and much more ancient, particularly thoſe of the more conſpicuous ſtars diſperſed in ſeveral conſtellations, and thoſe of the leſſer conſtellations which are contained within the greater, and were not obſerved or named by the Greeks[o].

Thus have I given the moſt ſuccinct account, I have been able, of the ſtate of the ancient Arabians before Mohammed, or, to uſe their expreſſion, in the time of ignorance. I ſhall now proceed briefly to conſider the ſtate of religion in the caſt, and of the two great empires which divided that part of the world between them, at the time of Mohammed's ſetting up for a prophet, and what were the conducive circumſtances and accidents that favoured his ſucceſs.

[n] V Poc Spec p 163, &c [o] V Hyde ubi ſup p 4

SECTION

SECTION II.

Of the State of Chriſtianity, particularly of the Eaſtern Churches, and of Judaiſm, at the Time of Mohammed's appearance: and of the methods taken by him for the eſtabliſhing his Religion, and the circumſtances which concurred thereto.

The corrupt ſtate of Chriſtianity after the third century

IF we look into the eccleſiaſtical hiſtorians even from the third century, we ſhall find the Chriſtian world to have then had a very different aſpect from what ſome authors have repreſented, and ſo far from being indued with active graces, zeal, and devotion, and eſtabliſhed within itſelf with purity of doctrine, union, and firm profeſſion of the faith[p], that, on the contrary, what by the ambition of the clergy, and what by drawing the abſtruſeſt niceties into controverſy, and dividing and ſubdividing about them into endleſs ſchiſms and contentions, they had ſo deſtroyed that peace, love, and charity from among them, which the goſpel was given to promote, and, inſtead thereof, continually provoked each other to that malice, rancour, and every evil work, that they had loſt the whole ſubſtance of their religion, while they thus eagerly contended for their own imaginations concerning it, and, in a manner, quite drove Chriſtianity out of the world, by thoſe very controverſies in which they diſputed with each other about it[q]. In theſe dark ages it was, that moſt of thoſe ſuperſtitions and corruptions we now juſtly abhor in the church of Rome, were not only broached, but eſtabliſhed; which gave great advantages to the propagation of Mohammediſm The worſhip of ſaints and images, in particular, was then arrived at ſuch a ſcandalous

[p] Ricaut's State of the Ottoman empire, p 187

[q] Prideaux's pref to his life of Mahomet.

pitch,

pitch, that it even ſurpaſſed whatever is now practiſed among the Romaniſts[r].

After the Nicene council, the eaſtern church was engaged in perpetual controverſies, and torn to pieces by the diſputes of the Arians, Sabellians, Neſtorians, and Eutychians: the hereſies of the two laſt of which have been ſhewn to have conſiſted more in the words and form of expreſſion, than in the doctrines themſelves[s], and were rather the pretences, than real motives, of thoſe frequent councils, to and from which the contentious prelates were continually riding poſt, that they might bring every thing to their own will and pleaſure[t]. And, to ſupport themſelves by dependants and bribery, the clergy in any credit at court undertook the protection of ſome officer in the army, under the colour of which, juſtice was publicly ſold, and all corruption encouraged.

In the weſtern church, Damaſus and Urſicinus carried their conteſts at Rome for the epiſcopal ſeat ſo high, that they came to open violence and murder, which Viventius the governor not being able to ſuppreſs, he retired into the country, and left them to themſelves, till Damaſus prevailed. It is ſaid that on this occaſion, in the church of Sicininus, there were no leſs than 137 found killed in one day. And no wonder they were ſo fond of theſe ſeats, when they became by that means enriched by the preſents of matrons, and went abroad in their chariots and ſedans in great ſtate, feaſting ſumptuouſly, even beyond the luxury of princes, quite contrary to the way of living of the country prelates, who alone ſeemed to have ſome temperance and modeſty left[u].

Theſe diſſenſions were greatly owing to the emperors, and particularly to Conſtantius, who confounding the pure and ſimple Chriſtian religion with anile ſuper-

[r] V La vie de Mahomed, par Boulainvilliers, p 219, &c [s] V Simon, Hiſt Crit de la creance, &c des nations du Levant [t] Ammian Marcellin l 21 V etiam Euſeb Hiſt Eccleſ l 8 c 1 Sozom l 1 c 14, &c Hilar and Sulpic Sever in Hiſt Sacr, p 112, &c [u] Ammian Marcellin lib 27

ſtitions,

ſtitions, and perplexing it with intricate queſtions, inſtead of reconciling different opinions, excited many diſputes, which he fomented as they proceeded with infinite altercations[w]. This grew worſe in the time of Juſtinian, who, not to be behind the biſhops of the fifth and ſixth centuries in zeal, thought it no crime to condemn to death a man of a different perſuaſion from his own[x].

This corruption of doctrine and morals in the princes and clergy, was neceſſarily followed by a general depravity of the people[y], thoſe of all conditions making it their ſole buſineſs to get money by any means, and then to ſquander it away, when they had got it, in luxury and debauchery[z].

The hereſies among the Arabians.

But, to be more particular as to the nation we are now writing of, Arabia was of old famous for hereſies[a], which might be in ſome meaſure attributed to the liberty and independency of the tribes Some of the Chriſtians of that nation believed the ſoul died with the body, and was to be raiſed again with it at the laſt day[b] theſe Origen is ſaid to have convinced[c]. Among thee Arabs it was that the hereſies of Ebion, Beryllus, and the Nazaræans[d], and alſo that of the Collyridians, were broached, or at leaſt propagated: the latter introduced the Virgin Mary for God, or worſhipped her as ſuch, offering her a ſort of twiſted cake called collyris, whence the ſect had its name[e].

This notion of the divinity of the Virgin Mary was alſo believed by ſome at the council of Nice, who ſaid there were two gods beſides the Father, viz Chriſt and the Virgin Mary, and were thence named Mariamites[f] Others imagined her to be exempt from humanity, and deified, which goes

[w] Ammian Marcellin lib 21 [x] Procop in Anecd p 60 [y] See an inſtance of the wickedneſs of the Chriſtian army even when they were under the terror of the Saracens, in Ockley's Hiſt of the Sarac V I p 239 [z] V Boulainvill Vie de Mahom ubi ſup [a] V Sozomen Hiſt Eccleſ l 1 c 16, 17 Sulpic Severi ubi ſupra [b] Euſeb Hiſt Eccleſ l 6 c 33 [c] Idem, ibid c 37 [d] Epiphan de Hæreſi l 1 Hær 40 [e] Idem, ibid l 3 Hæreſ 75, 79 [f] Elmacin Eutych

but

but little beyond the Popiſh ſuperſtition in calling her the complement of the Trinity, as if it were imperfect without her. This fooliſh imagination is juſtly condemned in the Korân[g] as idolatrous, and gave a handle to Mohammed to attack the Trinity itſelf.

Other ſects there were of many denominations within the borders of Arabia, which took refuge there from the proſcriptions of the imperial edicts, ſeveral of whoſe notions Mohammed incorporated with his religion, as may be obſerved hereafter.

The Jews powerful in Arabia

Though the Jews were an inconſiderable and deſpiſed people in other parts of the world, yet in Arabia, whither many of them fled from the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, they grew very powerful, ſeveral tribes and princes embracing their religion, which made Mohammed at firſt ſhew great regard to them, adopting many of their opinions, doctrines, and cuſtoms, thereby to draw them, if poſſible, into his intereſt. But that people, agreeably to their wonted obſtinacy, were ſo far from being his proſelytes, that they were ſome of the bittereſt enemies he had, waging continual war with him, ſo that their reduction coſt him infinite trouble and danger, and at laſt his life. This averſion of theirs created, at length, as great a one in him to them, ſo that he uſed them, for the latter part of his life, much worſe than he did the Chriſtians, and frequently exclaims againſt them in his Korân his followers to this day obſerve the ſame difference between them and the Chriſtians, treating the former as the moſt abject and contemptible people on earth

The weak condition of the Roman and Perſian empires

It has been obſerved by a great politician[h], that it is impoſſible a perſon ſhould make himſelf a prince, and found a ſtate, without opportunities. If the diſtracted ſtate of religion favoured the deſigns of Mohammed on that ſide, the weakneſs of the Roman and Perſian monarchies might flatter him with no leſs hopes in any attempt on thoſe once formidable em-

[g] Chap 5 [h] Machiavelli, Princ c 6 p 19

pires,

pires, either of which, had they been in their full vigour, must have crushed Mohammedism in its birth; whereas nothing nourished it more than the success the Arabians met with in their enterprises against those powers, which success they failed not to attribute to their new religion, and the divine assistance thereof

The Roman empire declined apace after Constantine, whose successors were, for the generality, remarkable for their ill qualities, especially cowardice and cruelty. By Mohammed's time, the western half of the empire was over-run by the Goths, and the eastern so reduced by the Huns on the one side, and the Persians on the other, that it was not in a capacity of stemming the violence of a powerful invasion. The emperor Maurice paid tribute to the Khagân or king of the Huns, and, after Phocas had murdered his master, there was such lamentable havock among the soldiers, that when Heraclius came, not above seven years after, to muster the army, there were only two soldiers left alive, of all those who had borne arms when Phocas first usurped the empire. And though Heraclius was a prince of admirable courage and conduct, and had done what possibly could be done to restore the discipline of the army, and had had great success against the Persians, so as to drive them not only out of his own dominions, but even out of part of their own, yet still the very vitals of the empire seemed to be mortally wounded, that there could no time have happened more fatal to the empire, or more favourable to the enterprises of the Arabs, who seem to have been raised up on purpose by God, to be a scourge to the Christian church, for not living answerably to that most holy religion which they had received[1].

The general luxury and degeneracy of manners into which the Grecians were sunk, also contributed not a little to the enervating of their forces, which

[1] Ockley's Hist. of the Saracens, Vol. I. p. 19 &c.

were

were ſtill further drained by thoſe two great deſtroyers, monachiſm and perſecution.

The Perſians had alſo been in a declining condition for ſome time before Mohammed, occaſioned chiefly by their inteſtine broils and diſſentions, great part of which aroſe from the deviliſh doctrines of Manes and Mazdak. The opinions of the former are tolerably well known. the latter lived in the reign of Khoſrû Kobâd, and pretended himſelf a prophet ſent from God to preach a community of women and poſſeſſions, ſince all men were brothers, and deſcended from the ſame common parents. This he imagined would put an end to all feuds and quarrels among men, which generally aroſe on account of one of the two. Kobâd himſelf embraced the opinions of this impoſtor, to whom he gave leave, according to his new doctrine, to lie with the queen his wife, which permiſſion Anuſhirwân, his ſon, with much difficulty, prevailed on Mazdak not to make uſe of. Theſe ſects had certainly been the immediate ruin of the Perſian empire, had not Anuſhirwân, as ſoon as he ſucceeded his father, put Mazdak to death, with all his followers, and the Manicheans alſo, reſtoring the ancient Magian religion[k]

In the reign of this prince, deſervedly ſurnamed the Juſt, Mohammed was born. He was the laſt king of Perſia who deſerved the throne, which, after him, was almoſt perpetually contended for, till ſubverted by the Arabs. His ſon Hormûz loſt the love of his ſubjects by his exceſſive cruelty having had his eyes put out by his wife's brothers, he was obliged to reſign the crown to his ſon Khoſrû Parvîz, who, at the inſtigation of Bahrâm Chubîn, had rebelled againſt him, and was afterwards ſtrangled. Parvîz was ſoon obliged to quit the throne to Bahrâm, but obtaining ſuccours of the Greek emperor Maurice, he recovered the crown, yet, towards the latter end of a long reign, he grew ſo tyrannical and hateful to his ſubjects, that they held private correſpondence

[k] V Poc Spec p 70

with

with the Arabs; and he was at length deposed, imprisoned, and slain by his son Shirûyeh[1]. After Parvîz no less than six princes possessed the throne in less than six years. These domestic broils effectually brought ruin upon the Persians, for though they did, rather by the weakness of the Greeks than their own force, ravage Syria, and sack Jerusalem and Damascus under Khosrû Parvîz; and, while the Arabs were divided and independent, had some power in the province of Yaman, where they set up the four last kings before Mohammed; yet, when attacked by the Greeks under Heraclius, they not only lost their new conquests, but part of their own dominions; and no sooner were the Arabs united by Mohammedism, than they beat them in every battle, and in a few years totally subdued them.

The flourishing state of Arabia

As these empires were weak and declining, so Arabia, at Mohammed's setting up, was strong and flourishing, having been peopled at the expence of the Grecian empire, whence the violent proceedings of the domineering sects forced many to seek refuge in a free country, as Arabia then was, where they who could not enjoy tranquillity and their conscience at home, found a secure retreat. The Arabians were not only a populous nation, but unacquainted with the luxury and delicacies of the Greeks and Persians, and inured to hardships of all sorts; living in a most parsimonious manner, seldom eating any flesh, drinking no wine, and sitting on the ground Their political government was also such as favoured the designs of Mohammed, for the division and independency of their tribes was so necessary to the first propagation of his religion, and the foundation of his power, that it would have been scarce possible for him to have effected either, had the Arabs been united in one society. But, when they had embraced his religion, the consequent union of their tribes was no less necessary and conducive to their future conquests and grandeur.

[1] V Teixeira, Relaciones de los Reyes de Persia, p 195, &c

This poſture of public affairs in the eaſtern world, both as to its religious and political ſtate, it is more than probable Mohammed was well acquainted with; he having had ſufficient opportunities of informing himſelf in thoſe particulars, in his travels as a merchant in his younger years and though it is not to be ſuppoſed his views at firſt were ſo extenſive as afterwards, when they were enlarged by his good fortune, yet he might reaſonably promiſe himſelf ſucceſs in his firſt attempts from thence. As he was a man of extraordinary parts and addreſs, he knew how to make the beſt of every incident, and turn what might ſeem dangerous to another to his own advantage.

Mohammed's condition before he ſet up for a prophet, and his motives for ſo doing

Mohammed came into the world under ſome diſadvantages, which he ſoon ſurmounted. His father Abd'allah was a younger ſon[m] of Abd'almotalleb, and dying very young, and in his father's life-time, left his widow and infant ſon in very mean circumſtances, his whole ſubſtance conſiſting but of five camels and one Ethiopian ſhe-ſlave[n] Abd'almotalleb was therefore obliged to take care of his grandchild Mohammed, which he not only did during his life, but at his death injoined his eldeſt ſon Abu Taleb, who was brother to Abd'allah by the ſame mother, to provide for him for the future, which he very affectionately did, and inſtructed him in the buſineſs of a merchant, which he followed, and to that end he took him with him into Syria when he was but thirteen, and afterwards recommended him to Khadîjah, a noble and rich widow, for her factor, in whoſe ſervice he behaved himſelf ſo well, that by making him her huſband, ſhe ſoon raiſed him to an equality with the richeſt in Mecca.

After he began by this advantageous match to live at his eaſe, it was that he formed the ſcheme of eſtabliſhing a new religion, or, as he expreſſed

[m] He was not his eldeſt ſon, as Dr Prideaux tells us, whoſe reflexions built on that foundation muſt neceſſarily fail (ſee his life of Mahomet, p 9) nor yet his youngeſt ſon, as M de Boulainvilliers (Vie de Mahommed, p 182, &c) ſuppoſes: for Hamza and al Abbas were both younger than Abd'allah

[n] Abulfeda, Vit Moham p 2

it,

it, of replanting the only true and ancient one, profeſſed by Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moſes, Jeſus, and all the prophets[o], by deſtroying the groſs idolatry into which the generality of his countrymen had fallen, and weeding out the corruptions and ſuperſtitions which the latter Jews and Chriſtians had, as he thought, introduced into their religion, and reducing it to its original purity, which conſiſted chiefly in the worſhip of one only God.

Whether this was the effect of enthuſiaſm, or only a deſign to raiſe himſelf to the ſupreme government of his country, I will not pretend to determine. The latter is the general opinion of Chriſtian writers, who agree that ambition and the deſire of ſatisfying his ſenſuality were the motives of his undertaking. It may be ſo, yet his firſt views perhaps were not ſo intereſted. His original deſign of bringing the pagan Arabs to the knowledge of the true God was certainly noble, and highly to be commended, for I cannot poſſibly ſubſcribe to the aſſertion of a late learned writer[p], that he made that nation exchange their idolatry for another religion altogether as bad. Mohammed was, no doubt, fully ſatisfied in his conſcience of the truth of his grand point, the unity of God, which was what he chiefly attended to, all his other doctrines and inſtitutions being rather accidental, and unavoidable, than premeditated and deſigned.

Since then Mohammed was certainly himſelf perſuaded of his grand article of faith, which, in his opinion, was violated by all the reſt of the world; not only by the idolaters, but by the Chriſtians, as well thoſe who rightly worſhipped Jeſus as God, as thoſe who ſuperſtitiouſly adored the Virgin Mary, ſaints, and images, and alſo by the Jews, who are accuſed in the Korân of taking Ezra for the ſon of God[q], it is eaſy to conceive that he might think it a meritorious work to reſcue the world from ſuch

[o] See Korân, c 2 [p] Prideaux's life of Mahomet, p 76 [q] Koran, c 9

ignorance and ſuperſtition; and, by degrees, with the help of a warm imagination, which an Arab ſeldom wants[r], to ſuppoſe himſelf deſtined by Providence for the effecting of that great reformation? And this fancy of his might take ſtill deeper root in his mind during the ſolitude he thereupon affected, uſually retiring for a month in the year to a cave in mount Hara near Mecca. One thing which may be probably urged againſt the enthuſiaſm of this prophet of the Arabs, is the wiſe conduct and great prudence he all along ſhewed in purſuing his deſign, which ſeem inconſiſtent with the wild notions of a hot-brained religioniſt. But, though all enthuſiaſts or madmen do not behave with the ſame gravity and circumſpection that he did, yet he will not be the firſt inſtance, by ſeveral, of a perſon who has been out of the way only quoad hoc, and in all other reſpects acted with the greateſt decency and precaution.

The terrible deſtruction of the eaſtern churches, once ſo glorious and flouriſhing, by the ſudden ſpreading of Mohammediſm, and the great ſucceſſes of its profeſſors againſt the Chriſtians, neceſſarily inſpire a horror of that religion in thoſe to whom it has been ſo fatal, and no wonder if they endeavour to ſet the character of its founder, and its doctrines, in the moſt infamous light. But the damage done by Mohammed to Chriſtianity ſeems to have been rather owing to his ignorance than malice for his great misfortune was his not having a competent knowledge of the real and pure doctrines of the Chriſtian religion, which was in his time ſo abominably corrupted, that it is not ſurpriſing if he went too far, and reſolved to aboliſh what he might think incapable of reformation.

It is ſcarce to be doubted but that Mohammed had a violent deſire of being reckoned an extraordinary perſon, which he could attain to by no means more effectually, than by pretending to be a meſſenger

[r] See Caſaub of Enthuſiaſm, p 148

ſent

ſent from God, to inform mankind of his will. This might be at firſt his utmoſt ambition, and had his fellow-citizens treated him leſs injuriouſly, and not obliged him by their perſecutions to ſeek refuge elſewhere, and to take up arms againſt them in his own defence, he had, perhaps, continued a private perſon, and contented himſelf with the veneration and reſpect due to his prophetical office, but being once got at the head of a little army, and encouraged by ſucceſs, it is no wonder if he raiſed his thoughts to attempt what had never before entered into his imagination

That Mohammed was, as the Arabs are by complexion[s], a great lover of women, we are aſſured by his own confeſſion, and he is conſtantly upbraided with it by the controverſial writers, who fail not to urge the number of women with whom he had to do as a demonſtrative argument of his ſenſuality, which they think ſufficiently prove him to have been a wicked man, and, conſequently, an impoſtor But it muſt be conſidered, that polygamy, though it be forbidden by the Chriſtian religion, was in Mohammed's time frequently practiſed in Arabia and other parts of the eaſt, and was not counted an immorality, nor was a man the worſe eſteemed on that account, for which reaſon Mohammed permitted the plurality of wives, with certain limitations, among his own followers, who argue for the lawfulneſs of it from ſeveral reaſons, and particularly from the examples of perſons allowed on all hands to have been good men, ſome of whom have been honoured with the divine correſpondence The ſeveral laws relating to marriages and divorces, and the peculiar privileges granted to Mohammed in his Korân, were almoſt taken by him from the Jewiſh deciſions, as will appear hereafter; and therefore he might think thoſe inſtitutions the more juſt and reaſonable, as he found them practiſed or approved

[s] Ammian Marcell l 14 c 4

by the profeſſors of a religion which was confeſſedly of divine original.

Of his perſonal qualifications

But, whatever were his motives, Mohammed had certainly the perſonal qualifications which were neceſſary to accompliſh his undertaking The Mohammedan authors are exceſſive in their commendations of him, and ſpeak much of his religious and moral virtues, as his piety, veracity, juſtice, liberality, clemency, humility and abſtinence His charity, in particular, they ſay, was ſo conſpicuous, that he had ſeldom any money in his houſe, keeping no more for his own uſe than was juſt ſufficient to maintain his family, and he frequently ſpared even ſome part of his own proviſions to ſupply the neceſſities of the poor, ſo that before the year's end he had generally little or nothing left[t]. God, ſays al Bokhâri, offered him the keys of the treaſures of the earth, but he would not accept them Though the elogies of theſe writers are juſtly to be ſuſpected of partiality, yet thus much, I think, may be inferred from thence, that for an Arab who had been educated in Paganiſm, and had but a very imperfect knowledge of his duty, he was a man of at leaſt tolerable morals, and not ſuch a monſter of wickedneſs as he is uſually repreſented. And, indeed, it is ſcarce poſſible to conceive, that a wretch of ſo profligate a character ſhould ever have ſucceeded in an enterpriſe of this nature, a little hypocriſy and ſaving of appearances, at leaſt, muſt have been abſolutely neceſſary, and the ſincerity of his intentions is what I pretend not to inquire into.

He had, indiſputably, a very piercing and ſagacious wit, and was thoroughly verſed in all the arts of inſinuation[u] The eaſtern hiſtorians deſcribe him to have been a man of an excellent judgment, and a happy memory, and theſe natural parts were improved by a great experience and knowledge of men, and the obſervations he had made in his travels They

[t] V Abulfeda, Vit. Moham p 144, &c [u] V Prid life of Mahomet, p 105

ſay

say he was a person of few words, of an equal, cheerful temper, pleasant and familiar in conversation, of inoffensive behaviour towards his friends, and of great condescension towards his inferiors[w]. To all which were joined a comely agreeable person and a polite address; accomplishments of no small service in preventing those in his favour whom he attempted to persuade.

As to acquired learning, it is confessed he had none at all, having had no other education than what was customary in his tribe, who neglected, and perhaps despised, what we call literature, esteeming no language in comparison with their own, their skill in which they gained by use, and not by books, and contenting themselves with improving their private experience by committing to memory such passages of their poets as they judged might be of use to them in life. This defect was so far from being prejudicial or putting a stop to his design, that he made the greatest use of it, insisting that the writings which he produced as revelations from God, could not possibly be a forgery of his own, because it was not conceivable that a person who could neither write nor read should be able to compose a book of such excellent doctrine, and in so elegant a style; and thereby obviating an objection that might have carried a great deal of weight[x]. And for this reason his followers, instead of being ashamed of their master's ignorance, glory in it, as an evident proof of his divine mission, and scruple not to call him (as he is indeed called in the Korân itself[y]) The illiterate prophet.

The scheme of religion which Mohammed framed, and the design and artful contrivance of those written revelations (as he pretended them to be) which compose his Korân, shall be the subject of the following sections. I shall, therefore, in the remainder of this, relate, as briefly as possible, the steps he took towards

The first steps of Mohammed towards the executing of his pro-

[w] V Abulfed ubi sup p. 28, &c

[x] See Koran, chap 29 Prid life of Mahomet,

[y] Chap 7

wards the effecting of his enterpriſe, and the accidents which concurred to his ſucceſs therein.

Before he made any attempt abroad, he rightly judged that it was neceſſary for him to begin by the converſion of his own houſehold. Having therefore retired with his family, as he had done ſeveral times before, to the above-mentioned cave in mount Hara, he there opened the ſecret of his miſſion to his wife Khadîjah, and acquainted her that the angel Gabriel had juſt before appeared to him, and told him that he was appointed the apoſtle of GOD. He alſo repeated to her a paſſage[z] which he pretended had been revealed to him by the miniſtry of the angel, with thoſe other circumſtances of this firſt appearance, which are related by the Mohammedan writers. Khadîjah received the news with great joy[a], ſwearing by him in whoſe hands her ſoul was, that ſhe truſted he would be the prophet of his nation, and immediately communicated what ſhe had heard to her couſin Warakah Ebn Nawfal, who being a Chriſtian, could write in the Hebrew character, and was tolerably well verſed in the ſcriptures[b], and he as readily came into her opinion, aſſuring her that the ſame angel who had formerly appeared unto Moſes was now ſent to Mohammed[c]. This firſt overture the prophet made in the month of Ramadan, in the fortieth year of his age, which is therefore uſually called the year of his miſſion

Encouraged by ſo good a beginning, he reſolved to proceed, and try for ſome time what he could do by private perſuaſion, not daring to hazard the whole affair by expoſing it too ſuddenly to the public. He ſoon made proſelytes of thoſe under his own roof, viz his wife Khadîjah, his ſervant Zeid Ebn Hâretha, (to whom he gave his freedom[d] on that

[z] This paſſage is generally agreed to be the firſt five verſes of the 96th chapter [a] I do not remember to have read in any eaſtern author, that Khadijah ever rejected her huſband's pretences as deluſions, or ſuſpected him of any impoſture Yet ſee Prideaux's life of Mahomet, p 11, &c [b] V Poc Spec p 157 [c] V Abulfed Vit Moham p 16 Where the learned tranſlator has miſtaken the meaning of this paſſage [d] For he was his purchaſed ſlave, as Abulfeda expreſsly tells us, and not his couſin-german, as Mr de Boulainvill aſſerts, (Vie de Mah p 273)

occaſion,

occaſion, which afterwards became a rule to his followers,) and his couſin and pupil Ali, the ſon of Abu Taleb, though then very young: but this laſt making no account of the other two, uſed to ſtyle himſelf the firſt of believers. The next perſon Mohammed applied to was Abdallah Ebn Abi Kohâfa, ſurnamed Abu Becr, a man of great authority among the Koreiſh, and one whoſe intereſt he well knew would be of great ſervice to him, as it ſoon appeared for Abu Becr, being gained over, prevailed alſo on Othmân Ebn Affân, Abd'alrahmân Ebn Awf, Saad Ebn Abi Wakkâs, al Zobeir Ebn al Awâm, and Telha Ebn Obeid'allah, all principal men in Mecca, to follow his example. Theſe men were the ſix chief companions, who, with a few more, were converted in the ſpace of three years, at the end of which Mohammed having, as he hoped, a ſufficient intereſt to ſupport him, made his miſſion no longer a ſecret, but gave out that God had commanded him to admoniſh his near relations[e], and, in order to do it with more convenience and proſpect of ſucceſs, he directed Ali to prepare an entertainment, and invite the ſons and deſcendants of Abd'almotalleb, intending then to open his mind to them This was done, and about forty of them came; but Abu Laheb, one of his uncles, making the company break up before Mohammed had an opportunity of ſpeaking, obliged him to give them a ſecond invitation the next day; and, when they were come, he made them the following ſpeech "I know no man in all Arabia, who can "offer his kindred a more excellent thing than I now do "you I offer you happineſs both in this life, and in that "which is to come. God Almighty hath commanded "me to call you unto him Who therefore among "you will be aſſiſting to me herein, and become my "brother, and my vice-gerent?" All of them heſitating, and declining the matter, Ali at length roſe up, and declared that he would be his aſſiſtant, and vehemently threatened thoſe who ſhould oppoſe him Mohammed

[e] Koran, c 74. See the notes thereon

upon

upon this embraced Ali with great demonſtrations of affection, and deſired all who were preſent to hearken to and obey him, as his deputy, at which the company broke out into a great laughter, telling Abu Taleb that he muſt now pay obedience to his ſon.

The Koreiſh oppoſe him,

This repulſe however was ſo far from diſcouraging Mohammed, that he began to preach in public to the people, who heard him with ſome patience, till he came to upbraid them with the idolatry, obſtinacy, and perverſeneſs of themſelves and their fathers, which ſo highly provoked them, that they declared themſelves his enemies, and would ſoon have procured his ruin, had he not been protected by Abu Taleb The chief of the Koreiſh warmly ſolicited this perſon to deſert his nephew, making frequent remonſtrances againſt the innovations he was attempting, which proving ineffectual, they at length threatened him with an open rupture, if he did not prevail on Mohammed to deſiſt. At this Abu Taleb was ſo far moved, that he earneſtly diſſuaded his nephew from purſuing the affair any farther, repreſenting the great danger he and his friends muſt otherwiſe run But Mohammed was not to be intimidated, telling his uncle plainly, that if they ſet the ſun againſt him on his right hand, and the moon on his left, he would not leave his enterpriſe and Abu Taleb, ſeeing him ſo firmly reſolved to proceed, uſed no further arguments, but promiſed to ſtand by him againſt all his enemies[f].

And perſecute his followers

The Koreiſh, finding they could prevail neither by fair words nor menaces, tried what they could do by force and ill treatment, uſing Mohammed's followers ſo very injuriouſly, that it was not ſafe for them to continue at Mecca any longer, whereupon Mohammed gave leave to ſuch of them as had not friends to protect them, to ſeek for refuge elſewhere. And accordingly, in the fifth year of the prophet's miſſion, ſixteen of them, four of whom were women, fled into Ethiopia, and among them Othmân Ebn Af-

[f] Abulfeda ubi ſupra

fân

ſân and his wife Rakîah, Mohammed's daughter. This was the firſt flight, but afterwards ſeveral others followed them, returning one after another, to the number of eighty-three men and eighteen women, beſides children[g]. Theſe refugees were kindly received by the Najâſhi[h], or king of Ethiopia, who refuſed to deliver them up to thoſe whom the Koreiſh ſent to demand them, and, as the Arab writers unanimouſly atteſt, even profeſſed the Mohammedan religion.

In the ſixth year of his miſſion[i] Mohammed had the pleaſure of ſeeing his party ſtrengthened by the converſion of his uncle Hamza, a man of great valour and merit, and of Omar Ebn al Khattâb, a perſon highly eſteemed, and once a violent oppoſer of the prophet. As perſecution generally advances rather than obſtructs the ſpreading of a religion, Iſlamiſm made ſo great a progreſs among the Arab tribes, that the Koreiſh, to ſuppreſs it effectually, if poſſible, in the ſeventh year of Mohammed's miſſion[k], made a ſolemn league or covenant againſt the Haſhemites and the family of Al Motalleb, engaging themſelves to contract no marriages with any of them, and to have no communication with them, and, to give it the greater ſanction, reduced it into writing, and laid it up in the Caaba. Upon this the tribe became divided into two factions, and the family of Haſhem all repaired to Abu Taleb, as their head, except only Abd'al Uzza, ſurnamed Abu Laheb, who, out of his inveterate hatred to his nephew and his doctrine, went over to the oppoſite party, whoſe chief was Abu Sofiân Ebn Harb, of the family of Ommeya.

The families continued thus at variance for three years, but, in the tenth year of his miſſion, Mohammed told his uncle Abu Taleb, that God had manifeſtly ſhewed his diſapprobation of the league which the Koreiſh had made againſt them, by ſending a worm to eat

[g] Abulfeda. Ebn Shohnah. [h] Dr Prideaux ſeems to take the word for a proper name, but it is only the title the Arabs give to every king of this country. See his Life of Mah. p. 55. [i] Ebn Shohnah. [k] Al Jannabi.

out

out every word of the inſtrument, except the name of GOD. Of this accident Mohammed had probably ſome private notice, for Abu Taleb went immediately to the Koreiſh, and acquainted them with it, offering, if it proved falſe, to deliver his nephew up to them; but, in caſe it were true, he inſiſted that they ought to lay aſide their animoſity, and annul the league they had made againſt the Haſhemites. To this they acquieſced, and, going to inſpect the writing, to their great aſtoniſhment, found it to be as Abu Taleb had ſaid, and the league was thereupon declared void.

Mohammed loſes his uncle Abu Taleb, and his wife.

In the ſame year Abu Taleb died, at the age of above fourſcore, and it is the general opinion that he died an infidel, though others ſay, that when he was at the point of death he embraced Mohammediſm, and produce ſome paſſages out of his poetical compoſitions to confirm their aſſertion About a month, or, as ſome write, three days after the death of this great benefactor and patron, Mohammed had the additional mortification to loſe his wife Khadîjah, who had ſo generouſly made his fortune For which reaſon this year is called the year of mourning[1]

The Koreiſh grow more troubleſome

On the death of theſe two perſons the Koreiſh began to be more troubleſome than ever to their prophet, and eſpecially ſome who had formerly been his intimate friends, inſomuch that he found himſelf obliged to ſeek for ſhelter elſewhere, and firſt pitched upon Tâyef, about ſixty miles eaſt from Mecca, for the place of his retreat. Thither therefore he went, accompanied by his ſervant Zeid, and applied himſelf to two of the chief of the tribe of Thakîf, who were the inhabitants of that place, but they received him very coldly However, he ſtaid there a month, and ſome of the more conſiderate and better ſort of men treated him with a little reſpect but the ſlaves and inferior people at length roſe againſt him, and, bringing him to the wall of the city, obliged him to depart, and return to Mecca,

[1] Abulfeda, p 28 Ebn Shohnah

where

where he put himself under the protection of al Motáam Ebn Adi[m].

This repulse greatly discouraged his followers however, Mohammed was not wanting to himself, but boldly continued to preach to the public assemblies at the pilgrimage, and gained several proselytes, and among them six of the inhabitants of Yathreb, of the Jewish tribe of Khazraj, who on their return home failed not to speak much in commendation of their new religion, and exhorted their fellow-citizens to embrace the same. Six inhabitants of Medina converted

In the twelfth year of his mission it was that Mohammed gave out that he had made his night journey from Mecca to Jerusalem and thence to heaven[n], so much spoken of by all that write of him. Dr Prideaux[o] thinks he invented it either to answer the expectations of those who demanded some miracle as a proof of his mission, or else, by pretending to have conversed with God, to establish the authority of whatever he should think fit to leave behind by way of oral tradition, and make his sayings to serve the same purpose as the oral law of the Jews. But I do not find that Mohammed himself ever expected so great a regard should be paid to his sayings as his followers have since done, and seeing he all along disclaimed any power of performing miracles, it seems rather to have been a fetch of policy to raise his reputation, by pretending to have actually conversed with God in heaven, as Moses had heretofore done in the mount, and to have received several institutions immediately from him, whereas before he contented himself with persuading them that he had all by the ministry of Gabriel Mohammed feigns to have made a journey to heaven

However, this story seemed so absurd and incredible, that several of his followers left him upon it, and it had probably ruined the whole design, had not Abu Becr vouched for his veracity, and declared that, if Mohammed affirmed it to be true, he verily believed the

[m] Ebn Shohnah [n] See the notes on the 17th chap of the Koran
[o] Life of Mahomet p 41, 51, &c

whole

whole. Which happy incident not only retrieved the prophet's credit, but increaſed it to ſuch a degree, that he was ſecure of being able to make his diſciples ſwallow whatever he pleaſed to impoſe on them for the future. And I am apt to think this fiction, notwithſtanding its extravagance, was one of the moſt artful contrivances Mohammed ever put in practice, and what chiefly contributed to the raiſing of his reputation to that great height to which it afterwards arrived.

Twelve men of Medina take an oath to Mohammed

In this year, called by the Mohammedans the accepted year, twelve men of Yathreb, or Medina, of whom ten were of the tribe of Khazraj, and the other two of that of Aws, came to Mecca, and took an oath of fidelity to Mohammed at al Akaba, a hill on the north of that city. This oath was called the womens' oath, not that any women were preſent at this time, but becauſe a man was not thereby obliged to take up arms in defence of Mohammed or his religion, it being the ſame oath that was afterwards exacted of the women, the form of which we have in the Korân [p], and is to this effect, viz That they ſhould renounce all idolatry, and they ſhould not ſteal, nor commit fornication, nor kill their children, (as the pagan Arabs uſed to do when they apprehended they ſhould not be able to maintain them, [q]) nor forge calumnies, and that they ſhould obey the prophet in all things that were reaſonable When they had ſolemnly engaged to do all this, Mohammed ſent one of his diſciples, named Maſáb Ebn Omair, home with them, to inſtruct them more fully in the grounds and ceremonies of his new religion

The progreſs of Mohammediſm at Medina

Maſáb, being arrived at Medina, by the aſſiſtance of thoſe who had been formerly converted, gained ſeveral proſelytes, particularly Oſaid Ebn Hodeira, a chief man of the city, and Saad Ebn Moâdh, prince of the tribe of Aws, Mohammediſm ſpreading ſo faſt, that there was ſcarce a houſe wherein there were not ſome who had embraced it.

[p] Cap 60 [q] V Koran, c 6

The

The next year, being the thirteenth of Mohammed's miſſion, Maſáb returned to Mecca, accompanied by ſeventy-three men and two women of Medina who had profeſſed Iſlamiſm, beſide ſome others who were as yet unbelievers. On their arrival, they immediately ſent to Mohammed, and offered him their aſſiſtance, of which he was now in great need; for his adverſaries were by this time grown ſo powerful in Mecca, that he could not ſtay there much longer without imminent danger. Wherefore he accepted their propoſal, and met them one night, by appointment, at al Akaba above-mentioned, attended by his uncle al Abbas, who, though he was not then a believer, wiſhed his nephew well, and made a ſpeech to thoſe of Medina, wherein he told them, that as Mohammed was obliged to quit his native city, and ſeek an aſylum elſewhere, and they had offered him their protection, they would do well not to deceive him, that, if they were not firmly reſolved to defend and not betray him, they had better declare their minds, and let him provide for his ſafety in ſome other manner Upon their proteſting their ſincerity, Mohammed ſwore to be faithful to them, on condition that they ſhould protect him againſt all inſults, as heartily as they would their own wives and families. They then aſked him what recompence they were to expect if they ſhould happen to be killed in his quarrel, and he anſwered, Paradiſe. Whereupon they pledged their faith to him, and ſo returned home[r], after Mohammed had choſen twelve out of their number, who were to have the ſame authority among them as the twelve apoſtles of Chriſt had among his diſciples[s].

Several of that city ſwear fidelity to Mohammed

Hitherto Mohammed had propagated his religion by fair means, ſo that the whole ſucceſs of his enterpriſe, before his flight to Medina, muſt be attributed to perſuaſion only, and not to compulſion For, before this ſecond oath of fealty or inauguration at al Akaba, he had no permiſſion to uſe any

He pretends to have leave to defend himſelf

[r] Abulfeda, Vit Moham p 40, &c [s] Ebn Iſhak

force

force at all; and in ſeveral places of the Korân, which he pretended were revealed during his ſtay at Mecca, he declares his buſineſs was only to preach and admoniſh, that he had no authority to compel any perſon to embrace his religion, and that whether people believed, or not, was none of his concern, but belonged ſolely unto GOD. And he was ſo far from allowing his followers to uſe force, that he exhorted them to bear patiently thoſe injuries which were offered them on account of their faith; and, when perſecuted himſelf, choſe rather to quit the place of his birth, and retire to Medina, than to make any reſiſtance. But this great paſſiveneſs and moderation ſeems entirely owing to his want of power, and the great ſuperiority of his oppoſers for the firſt twelve years of his miſſion, for no ſooner was he enabled, by the aſſiſtance of thoſe of Medina, to make head againſt his enemies, than he gave out, that GOD had allowed him and his followers to defend themſelves againſt the infidels, and at length, as his forces increaſed, he pretended to have the divine leave even to attack them, and to deſtroy idolatry, and ſet up the true faith by the ſword; finding, by experience, that his deſigns would otherwiſe proceed very ſlowly, if they were not utterly overthrown, and knowing, on the other hand, that innovators, when they depend ſolely on their own ſtrength, and can compel, ſeldom run any riſk, from whence, the politician obſerves, it follows, that all the armed prophets have ſucceeded, and the unarmed ones have failed. Moſes, Cyrus, Theſeus, and Romulus, would not have been able to eſtabliſh the obſervance of their inſtitutions for any length of time, had they not been armed[t]. The firſt paſſage of the Korân which gave Mohammed the permiſſion of defending himſelf by arms, is ſaid to have been that in the twenty-ſecond chapter, after which a great number to the ſame purpoſe were revealed.

[t] Machiavelli, Princ c 6

That

That Mohammed had a right to take up arms for his own defence againſt his unjuſt perſecutors, may, perhaps, be allowed, but whether he ought afterwards to have made uſe of that means for the eſtabliſhing of his religion, is a queſtion I will not here determine. How far the ſecular power may or ought to interpoſe in affairs of this nature, mankind are not agreed. The method of converting by the ſword gives no very favourable idea of the faith which is ſo propagated, and is diſallowed by every body in thoſe of another religion, though the ſame perſons are willing to admit of it for the advancement of their own, ſuppoſing that, though a falſe religion ought not to be eſtabliſhed by authority, yet a true one may, and accordingly force is almoſt as conſtantly employed in theſe caſes by thoſe who have the power in their hands, as it is conſtantly complained of by thoſe who ſuffer the violence It is certainly one of the moſt convincing proofs that Mohammediſm was no other than a human invention, that it owed its progreſs and eſtabliſhment almoſt entirely to the ſword, and it is one of the ſtrongeſt demonſtrations of the divine original of Chriſtianity, that it prevailed againſt all the force and powers of the world by the mere dint of its own truth, after having ſtood the aſſaults of all manner of perſecutions, as well as other oppoſitions, for three hundred years together, and at length made the Roman emperors themſelves ſubmit thereto[u], after which time, indeed, this proof ſeems to fail, Chriſtianity being then eſtabliſhed, and Paganiſm aboliſhed by public authority, which has had great influence in the propagation of the one and deſtruction of the other ever ſince[w]. But to return.

Mohammed, having provided for the ſecurity of his companions as well as his own, by the league offenſive and defenſive which he had now concluded with thoſe of Medina, directed them to repair thither,

Mohammed's proſelytes fly to Medina, and the Koreiſh conſpire to kill him.

[u] See Prideaux's Letter to the Deiſts, p 220, &c Dict Hiſt Art Mahomet, Rem O

[w] See Bayle's

which they accordingly did, but himſelf with Abu Becr and Ali ſtaid behind, having not yet received the divine permiſſion, as he pretended, to leave Mecca. The Koreiſh, fearing the conſequence of this new alliance, began to think it abſolutely neceſſary to prevent Mohammed's eſcape to Medina, and having held a council thereon, after ſeveral milder expedients had been rejected, they came to a reſolution that he ſhould be killed; and agreed that a man ſhould be choſen out of every tribe for the execution of this deſign, and that each man ſhould have a blow at him with his ſword, that the guilt of his blood might fall equally on all the tribes, to whoſe united power the Haſhemites were much inferior, and therefore durſt not attempt to revenge their kinſman's death.

But he eſcapes, This conſpiracy was ſcarce formed when, by ſome means or other, it came to Mohammed's knowledge, and he gave out that it was revealed to him by the angel Gabriel, who had now ordered him to retire to Medina. Whereupon, to amuſe his enemies, he directed Ali to lie down in his place, and wrap himſelf up in his green cloak, which he did; and Mohammed eſcaped miraculouſly, as they pretend[x], to Abu Becr's houſe, unperceived by the conſpirators, who had already aſſembled at the prophet's door. They, in the mean time, looking through the crevice, and ſeeing Ali, whom they took to be Mohammed himſelf, aſleep, continued watching there till morning, when Ali aroſe, and they found themſelves deceived.

And retires to Medina From Abu Becr's houſe Mohammed and he went to a cave in mount Thûr, to the ſouth-eaſt of Mecca, accompanied only by Amer Ebn Foheirah, Abu Becr's ſervant, and Abd'allah Ebn Oreikat, an idolater, whom they had hired for a guide. In this cave they lay hid three days to avoid the ſearch of their enemies, which they very narrowly eſcaped, and not without

[x] See the notes to chap 8 and 36

the

the aſſiſtance of more miracles than one; for ſome ſay that the Koreiſh were ſtruck with blindneſs, ſo that they could not find the cave, others, that, after Mohammed and his companions were got in, two pigeons laid their eggs at the entrance, and a ſpider covered the mouth of the cave with her web [y]; which made them look no farther [z]. Abu Becr, ſeeing the prophet in ſuch imminent danger, became very ſorrowful, whereupon Mohammed comforted him with theſe words, recorded in the Korân [a], Be not grieved, for GOD is with us. Their enemies being retired, they left the cave, and ſet out for Medina, by a by-road, and having fortunately, or, as the Mohammedans tell us, miraculouſly, eſcaped ſome who were ſent to purſue them, arrived ſafely at that city, whither Ali followed them in three days, after he had ſettled ſome affairs at Mecca [b].

Builds a moſque and houſe there

The firſt thing Mohammed did after his arrival at Medina, was to build a temple for his religious worſhip, and a houſe for himſelf, which he did on a parcel of ground which had before ſerved to put camels in, or, as others tell us, for a burying-ground, and belonged to Sahal and Soheil, the ſons of Amru, who were orphans [c]. This action Dr. Prideaux exclaims againſt, repreſenting it as a flagrant inſtance of injuſtice, for that, ſays he, he violently diſpoſſeſſed theſe poor orphans, the ſons of an inferior artificer, (whom the author he quotes [d] calls a carpenter,) of this ground, and ſo founded the firſt fabric of his worſhip with the like wickedneſs as he did his religion [e]. But, to ſay nothing of the improbability that Mohammed ſhould act in ſo impolitic a manner at

[y] It is obſervable that the Jews have a like tradition concerning David, when he fled from Saul into the cave, and the Targum paraphraſes theſe words of the ſecond verſe of Pſalm lvii, (which was compoſed on occaſion of that deliverance,) I will pray before the moſt high GOD, that performeth all things for me, in this manner I will pray before the moſt high GOD, who called a ſpider to weave a web for my ſake in the mouth of the cave

[z] Al Beidâwi in Kor c 9 V D'Herbel Bibl Orient p 445

[a] Chap 9.

[b] Abulfeda Vit Moh p 50, &c Ebn Shohnah

[c] Abulfeda, ib p 52, 53

[d] Diſputatio Chriſtiani contra Saracen, c 4.

[e] Prideaux's Life of Mahomet, p 58

his firſt coming, the Mohammedan writers ſet this affair in a quite different light: one tells us that he treated with the lads about the price of the ground, but they deſired he would accept it as a preſent[f]; however, as hiſtorians of good credit aſſure us, he actually bought it[g], and the money was paid by Abu Becr[h]. Beſides, had Mohammed accepted it as a preſent, the orphans were in circumſtances ſufficient to have afforded it, for they were of a very good family, of the tribe of Najjâr, one of the moſt illuſtrious among the Arabs, and not the ſons of a carpenter, as Dr. Prideaux's author writes, who took the word Najjâr, which ſignifies a carpenter, for an appellative, whereas it is a proper name[i].

He makes reprisals on the Koreiſh

Mohammed, being ſecurely ſettled at Medina, and able not only to defend himſelf againſt the inſults of his enemies, but to attack them, began to ſend out ſmall parties to make repriſals on the Koreiſh, the firſt party conſiſting of no more than nine men, who intercepted and plundered a caravan belonging to that tribe, and in the action took two priſoners. But what eſtabliſhed his affairs very much, and was the foundation on which he built all his ſucceeding greatneſs, was the gaining of the battle of Bedr, which was fought in the ſecond year of the Hejra, and is ſo famous in the Mohammedan hiſtory[k]. As my deſign is not to write the life of Mohammed, but only to deſcribe the manner in which he carried on his enterpriſe, I ſhall not enter into any detail of his ſubſequent battles and expeditions, which amounted to a conſiderable number Some reckon no leſs than twenty-ſeven expeditions wherein Mohammed was perſonally preſent, in nine of which he gave battle, beſides ſeveral other expeditions in which he was not preſent[l] ſome of them, however, will be neceſſarily taken notice of in explaining ſeveral paſſages of the Korân. His forces he maintained

[f] Al Bokhari in Sonna [g] Al Jannâbi [h] Ahmed Ebn Yuſef
[i] V Gagnier, Not in Abulfed de Vita Moh p 52, 53 [k] See the notes on the Koran, chap 3 p 36 [l] V Abulfed Vit Moh p. 158

partly

partly by the contributions of his followers for this purpoſe, which he called by the name of Zacât, or alms, and the paying of which he very artfully made one main article of his religion, and partly by ordering a fifth part of the plunder to be brought into the public treaſury for that purpoſe, in which matter he likewiſe pretended to act by the divine direction.

In a few years, by the ſucceſs of his arms, (not withſtanding he ſometimes came off with the worſt,) he conſiderably raiſed his credit and power. In the ſixth year of the Hejra he ſet out with 1400 men to viſit the temple of Mecca; not with any intent of committing hoſtilities, but in a peaceable manner However, when he came to al Hodeibiya, which is ſituate partly within and partly without the ſacred territory, the Koreiſh ſent to let him know that they would not permit him to enter Mecca, unleſs he forced his way, whereupon he called his troops about him, and they all took a ſolemn oath of fealty or homage to him, and he reſolved to attack the city, but thoſe of Mecca ſending Arwa Ebn Maſûd, prince of the tribe of Thakîf, as their embaſſador, to deſire peace, a truce was concluded between them for ten years, by which any perſon was allowed to enter into league either with Mohammed, or with the Koreiſh, as he thought fit

And at length concludes a truce with them for ten years

It may not be improper to ſhew the inconceivable veneration and reſpect the Mohammedans by this time had for their prophet, to mention the account which the above-mentioned embaſſador gave the Koreiſh, at his return, of their behaviour He ſaid he had been at the courts both of the Roman emperor and of the king of Perſia, and never ſaw any prince ſo highly reſpected by his ſubjects as Mohammed was by his companions, for, whenever he made the ablution, in order to ſay his prayers, they ran and catched the water that he had uſed, and, whenever he ſpit, they immediately licked it up, and gathered up

The great reſpect ſhewn him by his followers

every hair that fell from him with great ſuperſtition[m].

Mohammed invites foreign princes to embrace his religion

In the ſeventh year of the Hejra, Mohammed began to think of propagating his religion beyond the bounds of Arabia, and ſent meſſengers to the neighbouring princes with letters to invite them to Mohammediſm. Nor was this project without ſome ſucceſs. Khoſrû Parvîz, then king of Perſia, received his letter with great diſdain, and tore it in a paſſion, ſending away the meſſenger very abruptly; which when Mohammed heard, he ſaid, GOD ſhall tear his kingdom. And ſoon after a meſſenger came to Mohammed from Badhân, king of Yaman, who was a dependent on the Perſians[n], to acquaint him that he had received orders to ſend him to Khoſrû. Mohammed put off his anſwer till the next morning, and then told the meſſenger it had been revealed to him that night that Khoſrû was ſlain by his ſon Shirûyeh, adding, that he was well aſſured his new religion and empire ſhould riſe to as great a height as that of Khoſrû, and therefore bid him adviſe his maſter to embrace Mohammediſm. The meſſenger being returned, Badhân in a few days received a letter from Shirûyeh, informing him of his father's death, and ordering him to give the prophet no further diſturbance. Whereupon Badhân and the Perſians with him turned Mohammedans[o].

The emperor Heraclius, as the Arabian hiſtorians aſſure us, received Mohammed's letter with great reſpect, laying it on his pillow, and diſmiſſed the bearer honourably. And ſome pretend that he would have profeſſed this new faith, had he not been afraid of loſing his crown[p].

Mohammed wrote to the ſame effect to the king of Ethiopia, though he had been converted before, according to the Arab writers; and to Mokawkas, governor of Egypt, who gave the meſſenger a very favourable reception, and ſent ſeveral valuable pre-

[m] Abulfeda, Vit Moh p 85 Abulfeda, Vit Moh p 92, &c [n] See before, p 11 [o] Abulfeda, Vit Moh p 92, &c [p] Al Jannâbi

ſents to Mohammed, and among the reſt two girls, one of which, named Mary[q], became a great favourite with him. He alſo ſent letters of the like purport to ſeveral Arab princes, particularly one to al Hareth Ebn Abi Shamer[r], king of Ghaſſân, who returning for anſwer, that he would go to Mohammed himſelf, the prophet ſaid, May his kingdom periſh: another to Hawdha Ebn Ali, king of Yamâma, who was a Chriſtian, and, having ſome time before profeſſed Iſlamiſm, had lately returned to his former faith; this prince ſent back a very rough anſwer, upon which Mohammed curſing him, he died ſoon after, and a third to al Mondar Ebn Sâwa, king of Bahrein, who embraced Mohammediſm, and all the Arabs of that country followed his example[s].

His forces beat the Greeks

The eighth year of the Hejra was a very fortunate year to Mohammed. In the beginning of it Khâled Ebn al Walîd and Amru Ebn al As, both excellent ſoldiers, the firſt of whom afterwards conquered Syria and other countries, and the latter Egypt, became proſelytes of Mohammediſm. And ſoon after the prophet ſent 3000 men againſt the Grecian forces, to revenge the death of one of his embaſſadors, who being ſent to the governor of Boſra on the ſame errand as thoſe who went to the above-mentioned princes, was ſlain by an Arab, of the tribe of Ghaſſân, at Mûta, a town in the territory of Balkâ in Syria, about three days journey eaſtward from Jeruſalem, near which town they encountered. The Grecians being vaſtly ſuperior in number (for, including the auxiliary Arabs, they had an army of 100,000 men) the Mohammedans were repulſed in the firſt attack, and loſt ſucceſſively three of their generals, viz Zeid Ebn Hâretha, Mohammed's freedman, Jaafar, the ſon of Abu Taleb, and Abdâllah Ebn Rawâha, but Khâled Ebn al Walîd, ſucceeding to the command, overthrew the Greeks with a great ſlaugh-

[q] It is, however, a different name from that of the Virgin Mary, which the Orientals always write Maryam or Miriam, whereas this is written Mariya

[r] This prince is omitted in Dr Pocock's liſt of the kings of Ghaſſân, Spec p 77

[s] Abulfeda, ubi ſup p 94. &c

ter, and brought away abundance of rich ſpoil[t]; on occaſion of which action Mohammed gave him the honourable title of Seif min ſoyûf Allah, one of the ſwords of God[u].

He takes Mecca

In this year alſo Mohammed took the city of Mecca, the inhabitants whereof had broken the truce concluded on two years before. For the tribe of Becr, who were confederates of the Koreiſh, attacking thoſe of Khozâah, who were allies of Mohammed, killed ſeveral of them, being ſupported in the action by a party of the Koreiſh themſelves. The conſequence of this violation was ſoon apprehended, and Abu Sofiân himſelf made a journey to Medina on purpoſe to heal the breach and renew the truce[w], but in vain for Mohammed, glad of this opportunity, refuſed to ſee him, whereupon he applied to Abu Becr and Ali, but they giving him no anſwer, he was obliged to return to Mecca as he came.

Mohammed immediately gave orders for preparations to be made, that he might ſurpriſe the Meccans while they were unprovided to receive him. In a little time he began his march thither, and by that time he came near the city his forces were increaſed to 10,000 men. Thoſe of Mecca, not being in a condition to defend themſelves againſt ſo formidable an army, ſurrendered at diſcretion, and Abu Sofiân ſaved his life by turning Mohammedan. About twenty-eight of the idolaters were killed by a party under the command of Khâled, but this happened contrary to Mohammed's orders, who, when he entered the town, pardoned all the Koreiſh on their ſubmiſſion, except only ſix men and four women, who were more obnoxious than ordinary (ſome of them having apoſtatized) and were ſolemnly proſcribed by the prophet himſelf; but of theſe no more than three men and one woman were put to death, the reſt obtaining pardon on their embracing

[t] Abulfeda, ib p 99 100, &c [u] Al Bokhâri in Sonna [w] This circumſtance is a plain proof that the Koreiſh had actually broken the truce, and that it was not a mere pretence of Mohammed's, as Dr Prideaux inſinuates Life of Mah p 94

Mohammediſm,

Mohammediſm, and one of the women making her eſcape[x].

The remainder of this year Mohammed employed in deſtroying the idols in and round Mecca, ſending ſeveral of his generals on expeditions for that purpoſe, and to invite the Arabs to Iſlamiſm; wherein it is no wonder if they now met with ſucceſs. Mohammed deſtroys idolatry

The next year, being the ninth of the Hejra, the Mohammedans call the year of embaſſies for the Arabs had been hitherto expecting the iſſue of the war between Mohammed and the Koreiſh; but, ſo ſoon as that tribe, the principal of the whole nation, and the genuine deſcendants of Iſmael, whoſe prerogatives none offered to diſpute, had ſubmitted, they were ſatisfied that it was not in their power to oppoſe Mohammed, and therefore began to come in to him in great numbers, and to ſend embaſſies to make their ſubmiſſions to him, both to Mecca, while he ſtaid there, and alſo to Medina, whither he returned this year[y]. Among the reſt five kings of the tribe of Hamyar profeſſed Mohammediſm, and ſent embaſſadors to notify the ſame[z]. The Arab tribes in general come in to him

In the tenth year Ali was ſent into Yaman to propagate the Mohammedan faith there, and, as it is ſaid, converted the whole tribe of Hamdân in one day. Their example was quickly followed by all the inhabitants of that province, except only thoſe of Najrân, who, being Chriſtians, choſe rather to pay tribute[a].

Thus was Mohammediſm eſtabliſhed, and idolatry rooted out, even in Mohammed's life-time, (for he died the next year,) throughout all Arabia, except only Yamâma, where Moſeilama, who ſet up alſo for a prophet as Mohammed's competitor, had a great party, and was not reduced till the Khalîfat of Abu Becr And the Arabs, being then united in one faith, and under one prince, found themſelves in a condi-

[x] V Abulfed ubi ſup c 51, 52 [y] V Gagnier, Not ad Abulfed p 101
[z] Abulfed ubi ſup p 128 [a] Abulfeda ib p 129

tion

tion of making thoſe conqueſts, which extended the Mohammedan faith over ſo great a part of the world.

SECTION III.

Of the Korân itſelf, the Peculiarities of that Book; the Manner of its being written and publiſhed, and the general Deſign of it.

The ſeveral names of the Koran.

THE word Korân, derived from the verb karaa, to read, ſignifies properly, in Arabic, the reading, or, rather, that which ought to be read, by which name the Mohammedans denote not only the entire book or volume of the Korân, but alſo any particular chapter or ſection of it; juſt as the Jews call either the whole ſcripture, or any part of it, by the name of Karâh, or Mikra[a], words of the ſame origin and import. Which obſervation ſeems to overthrow the opinion of ſome learned Arabians, who would have the Korân ſo named, becauſe it is a collection of the looſe chapters or ſheets which compoſe it, the verb karaa ſignifying alſo to gather or collect[b]. and may alſo, by the way, ſerve as an anſwer to thoſe who object[c] that the Korân muſt be a book forged at once, and could not poſſibly be revealed by parcels, at different times, during the courſe of ſeveral years, as the Mohammedans affirm, becauſe the Korân is often mentioned, and called by that name, in the very book itſelf It may not be amiſs to obſerve that the ſyllable Al in the word Alkoran is only the Arabic article, ſignifying the, and therefore ought to be omitted when the Engliſh article is prefixed.

Beſide this peculiar name, the Korân is alſo honoured with ſeveral appellations, common to other

[a] This name was at firſt given to the Pentateuch only, Nehem viii V Simon Hiſt Crit du Vieux Teſt l 1 c 9 [b] V Erpen Not ad Hiſt Joſeph p 3 [c] Marracc de Alcor. p 41

books

books of ſcripture as, al Forkân, from the verb faraka, to divide or diſtinguiſh, not, as the Mohammedan doctors ſay, becauſe thoſe books are divided into chapters or ſections, or diſtinguiſh between good and evil, but in the ſame notion that the Jews uſe the word Perek, or Pirka, from the ſame root, to denote a ſection or portion of ſcripture[d]. It is alſo called al Moſhâf, the volume, and al Kitâb the book, by way of eminence, which anſwers to the Biblia of the Greeks, and al Dhikr, the admonition, which name is alſo given to the Pentateuch and Goſpel.

The Korân is divided into 114 larger portions of very unequal length, which we call chapters, but the Arabians Sowar, in the ſingular Sûra, a word rarely uſed on any other occaſion, and properly ſignifying a row, order, or a regular ſeries; as a courſe of bricks in building, or a rank of ſoldiers in an army, and is the ſame in uſe and import with the Sûra, or Tora of the Jews, who alſo call the fifty-three ſections of the Pentateuch Sedârim, a word of the ſame ſignification[e]. Diviſion

Theſe chapters are not in the manuſcript copies diſtinguiſhed by their numerical order, though for the reader's eaſe they are numbered in this edition, but by particular titles, which (except that of the firſt, which is the initial chapter, or introduction to the reſt, and by the old Latin tranſlator not numbered among the chapters) are taken ſometimes from a particular matter treated of, or perſon mentioned therein, but uſually from the firſt word of note, exactly in the ſame manner as the Jews have named their Sedârim though the word from which ſome chapters are denominated, be very far diſtant, towards the middle, or perhaps the end of the chapter, which ſeems ridiculous. But the occaſion of this ſeems to have been, that the verſe or paſſage wherein ſuch word occurs, was, in point of time,

[d] V Gol in append ad Gram Arab Frpen 175 A chapter or ſubdiviſion of the Maſſichoth of the Miſhna is alſo called Perek Maimon, præf in Seder Zeraim, p 57 [e] V Gol ubi ſup 177 Each of the ſix grand diviſions of the Miſhna is alſo called Seder Maimon ubi ſup p 55

revealed

revealed and committed to writing before the other verſes of the ſame chapter which precede in order: and the title being given to the chapter before it was completed, or the paſſages reduced to their preſent order, the verſe from whence ſuch title was taken, did not always happen to begin the chapter. Some chapters have two or more titles, occaſioned by the difference of the copies.

Some of the chapters having been revealed at Mecca, and others at Medina, the noting this difference makes a part of the title but the reader will obſerve that ſeveral of the chapters are ſaid to have been revealed partly at Mecca, and partly at Medina; and, as to others, it is yet a diſpute among the commentators to which place of the two they belong.

Every chapter is ſubdivided into ſmaller portions, of very unequal length alſo, which we cuſtomarily call verſes but the Arabic word is Ayât, the ſame with the Hebrew Ototh, and ſignifies ſigns or wonders, ſuch as are the ſecrets of GOD, his attributes, works, judgments, and ordinances, delivered in thoſe verſes, many of which have their particular titles alſo, impoſed in the ſame manner as thoſe of the chapters

Notwithſtanding this ſubdiviſion is common and well known, yet I have never yet ſeen any manuſcript wherein the verſes are actually numbered. though in ſome copies the number of verſes in each chapter is ſet down after the title, which we have therefore added in the table of the chapters. And the Mohammedans ſeem to have ſome ſcruple in making an actual diſtinction in their copies, becauſe the chief diſagreement between their ſeveral editions of the Korân conſiſts in the diviſion and number of the verſes and for this reaſon I have not taken upon me to make any ſuch diviſion

Editions

Having mentioned the different editions of the Korân, it may not be amiſs here to acquaint the reader that there are ſeven principal editions, if I may ſo call them, or ancient copies of that book; two of which

which were published and used at Medina, a third at Mecca, a fourth at Cufa, a fifth at Basra, a sixth in Syria, and a seventh called the common or vulgar edition. Of these editions, the first of Medina makes the whole number of the verses 6000, the second and fifth, 6214, the third, 6219, the fourth, 6236, the sixth, 6226, and the last, 6225. But they are all said to contain the same number of words, namely, 77639[f], and the same number of letters, viz. 323015[g]. for the Mohammedans have in this also imitated the Jews, that they have superstitiously numbered the very words and letters of their law; nay, they have taken the pains to compute (how exactly I know not) the number of times each particular letter of the alphabet is contained in the Korân[h].

Besides these unequal divisions of chapter and verse, the Mohammedans have also divided their Korân into sixty equal portions, which they call Ahzâb, in the singular Hizb, each subdivided into four equal parts, which is also an imitation of the Jews, who have an ancient division of their Mishna into sixty portions, called Massicktoth[i]: but the Korân is more usually divided into thirty sections only, named Ajzâ, from the singular Joz, each of twice the length of the former, and in like manner subdivided into four parts. These divisions are for the use of the readers of the Korân in the royal temples, or in the adjoining chapels where the emperors and great men are interred. There are thirty of these readers belonging to every chapel, and each reads his section every day, so that the whole Korân is read over once a day[k]. I have seen several copies divided in this manner, and bound up in as many volumes, and have thought it proper to mark these divisions in the margin of this translation by numeral letters.

[f] Or, as others reckon them, 99464. Reland de rel. Moh. p. 25. [g] Or, according to another computation, 330113. Ibid. V. Gol. ubi sup. p. 178. D'Herbelot Bibl. Orient. p. 87. [h] V. Reland de Relig. Moh. p. 25. [i] V. Gol. ubi sup. p. 178. Maimon. præf. in Seder Zeraim, p. 57. [k] V. Smith, de moribus & instit. Turcar. p. 58.

Next

Initial form and letters

Next after the title, at the head of every chapter, except only the ninth, is prefixed the following ſolemn form, by the Mohammedans called the Biſmillah, IN THE NAME OF THE MOST MERCIFUL GOD; which form they conſtantly place at the beginning of all their books and writings in general, as a peculiar mark or diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic of their religion, it being counted a ſort of impiety to omit it The Jews, for the ſame purpoſe, make uſe of the form, In the name of the LORD, or, In the name of the great GOD and the eaſtern Chriſtians that of, In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt But I am apt to believe Mohammed really took this form, as he did many other things, from the Perſian Magi, who uſed to begin their books in theſe words, Benâm Yezdân bakhſhaiſhgher dâdâr, that is, In the name of the moſt merciful, juſt GOD[1].

This auſpicatory form, and alſo the titles of the chapters, are, by the generality of the doctors and commentators, believed to be of divine original, no leſs than the text itſelf, but the more moderate are of opinion they are only human additions, and not the very word of GOD.

There are twenty-nine chapters of the Korân which have this peculiarity, that they begin with certain letters of the alphabet, ſome with a ſingle one, others with more. Theſe letters the Mohammedans believe to be the peculiar marks of the Korân, and to conceal ſeveral profound myſteries, the certain underſtanding of which, the more intelligent confeſs, has not been communicated to any mortal, their prophet only excepted. Notwithſtanding which, ſome will take the liberty of gueſſing at their meaning by that ſpecies of Cabala, called by the Jews Notarikon[m], and ſuppoſe the letters to ſtand for as many words, expreſſing the names and attributes of GOD, his works, ordinances, and decrees, and therefore theſe myſterious letters, as well

[1] Hyde, Hiſt rel vet Perſ p 14 [m] V Buxtorf. Lexicon Rabbin

well as the verses themselves, seem in the Korân to be called signs. Others explain the intent of these letters from their nature or organ, or else from their value in numbers, according to another species of the Jewish Cabala, called Gematria[n], the uncertainty of which conjectures sufficiently appears from their disagreement. Thus, for example, five chapters, one of which is the second, begin with these letters, A. L. M. which some imagine to stand for, Allah latîf magîd, God is gracious and to be glorified, or, Ana li minni, To me and from me, viz. belongs all perfection, and proceeds all good or else for Ana Allah âlam, I am the most wise God, taking the first letter to mark the beginning of the first word, the second the middle of the second word, and the third the last of the third word or for Allah, Gabriel, Mohammed, the author, revealer, and preacher of the Korân Others say, that as the letter A belongs to the lower part of the throat, the first of the organs of speech, L to the palate, the middle organ, and M to the lips, which are the last organ; so these letters signify that God is the beginning, middle, and end, or ought to be praised in the beginning, middle, and end, of all our words and actions or, as the total value of those three letters, in numbers, is seventy-one, they signify, that, in the space of so many years, the religion preached in the Korân should be fully established The conjecture of a learned Christian[o] is at least as certain as any of the former, who supposes those letters were set there by the amanuensis, for Amar li Mohammed, i e At the command of Mohammed, as the five letters prefixed to the nineteenth chapter seem to be there written by a Jewish scribe, for Coh yaas, i. e Thus he commanded.

The Korân is universally allowed to be written with the utmost elegance and purity of language, in the dialect of the tribe of Koreish, the most noble and polite of all the Arabians, but with some mixture, though very rarely, of other dialects. It is Style.

[n] V Buxtorf Lexicon Rabbin See also Schickardi Bechinat happerushim, p 62, &c [o] Golius in append ad Gram I rp p .82

confessedly

confeſſedly the ſtandard of the Arabic tongue, and, as the more orthodox believe, and are taught by the book itſelf, inimitable by any human pen, (though ſome ſectaries have been of another opinion[p],) and therefore inſiſted on as a permanent miracle, greater than that of raiſing the dead[q], and alone ſufficient to convince the world of its divine original.

And to this miracle did Mohammed himſelf chiefly appeal for the confirmation of his miſſion, publicly challenging the moſt eloquent men in Arabia, which was at that time ſtocked with thouſands, whoſe ſole ſtudy and ambition it was to excel in elegance of ſtyle and compoſition[r], to produce even a ſingle chapter that might be compared with it[s]. I will mention but one inſtance, out of ſeveral, to ſhew that this book was really admired for the beauty of its compoſure by thoſe who muſt be allowed to have been competent judges. A poem of Labîd Ebn Rabîa, one of the greateſt wits in Arabia, in Mohammed's time, being fixed up on the gate of the temple of Mecca, an honour allowed to none but the moſt eſteemed performances, none of the other poets durſt offer any thing of their own in competition with it. But, the ſecond chapter of the Korân being fixed up by it ſoon after, Labîd himſelf (then an idolater) on reading the firſt verſes only, was ſtruck with admiration, and immediately profeſſed the religion taught thereby, declaring that ſuch words could proceed from an inſpired perſon only. This Labîd was afterwards of great ſervice to Mohammed, in writing anſwers to the ſatires and invectives that were made on him and his religion by

[p] See after [q] Ahmed Abd'alhalim, apud Marracc de Alc p 43
[r] A noble writer therefore miſtakes the queſtion, when he ſays, Theſe caſtern religioniſts leave their ſacred writ the ſole ſtandard of literary performance by extinguiſhing all true learning For, though they were deſtitute of what we call learning, yet they were far from being ignorant, or unable to compoſe elegantly in their own tongue See L Shafteſbury's Characteriſtics, Vol III p 235
[s] Al Gazali, apud Poc Spec 191 See Koran, c 17 and alſo c 2 p 3 and c 11, &c

the

the infidels, and particularly by Amri al Kais[w], prince of the tribe of Aſad[x], and author of one of thoſe ſeven famous poems called al Moallakât[y].

The ſtyle of the Korân is generally beautiful and fluent, eſpecially where it imitates the prophetic manner and ſcripture phraſes. It is conciſe, and often obſcure, adorned with bold figures after the eaſtern taſte, enlivened with florid and ſententious expreſſions, and, in many places, eſpecially where the majeſty and attributes of GOD are deſcribed, ſublime and magnificent, of which the reader cannot but obſerve ſeveral inſtances, though he muſt not imagine the tranſlation comes up to the original, notwithſtanding my endeavours to do it juſtice.

Though it be written in proſe, yet the ſentences generally conclude in a long continued rhyme, for the ſake of which the ſenſe is often interrupted, and unneceſſary repetitions too frequently made, which appear ſtill more ridiculous in a tranſlation, where the ornament, ſuch as it is, for whoſe ſake they were made, cannot be perceived. However, the Arabians are ſo mightily delighted with this jingling, that they employ it in their moſt elaborate compoſitions, which they alſo embelliſh with frequent paſſages of and alluſions to the Korân, ſo that it is next to impoſſible to underſtand them without being well verſed in this book.

It is probable the harmony of expreſſion which the Arabians find in the Korân, might contribute not a little to make them reliſh the doctrine therein taught, and give an efficacy to arguments, which, had they been nakedly propoſed, without this rhetorical dreſs, might not have ſo eaſily prevailed. Very extraordinary effects are related of the power of words well choſen and artfully placed, which are no leſs powerful, either to raviſh or amaze, than muſic itſelf, wherefore as much has been aſcribed by the beſt orators to this part of rhetoric as to any other[z]. He muſt

[w] D'Herbel Bibl Orient p 512, &c [x] Poc Spec p 80. [y] See before, p 37 [z] See Caſaubon of Enthuſiaſm, chap 4

have a very bad ear, who is not uncommonly moved with the very cadence of a well-turned ſentence; and Mohammed ſeems not to have been ignorant of the enthuſiaſtic operation of rhetoric on the minds of men, for which reaſon he has not only employed his utmoſt ſkill in theſe his pretended revelations, to preſerve that dignity and ſublimity of ſtyle, which might ſeem not unworthy of the majeſty of that Being whom he gave out to be the author of them, and to imitate the prophetic manner of the Old Teſtament, but he has not neglected even the other arts of oratory, wherein he ſucceeded ſo well, and ſo ſtrangely captivated the minds of his audience, that ſeveral of his opponents thought it the effect of witchcraft and enchantment, as he ſometimes complains[a].

Deſign

"The general deſign of the Korân" (to uſe the words of a very learned perſon) "ſeems to be this: "To unite the profeſſors of the three different "religions then followed in the populous country "of Arabia, who, for the moſt part, lived pro- "miſcuouſly, and wandered without guides, the "far greater number being idolaters, and the reſt "Jews and Chriſtians moſtly of erroneous and he- "terodox belief, in the knowledge and worſhip "of one eternal, inviſible God, by whoſe power "all things were made, and thoſe which are not "may be, the ſupreme Governor, Judge, and "abſolute Lord of the creation, eſtabliſhed under "the ſanction of certain laws, and the outward "ſigns of certain ceremonies, partly of ancient, "and partly of novel inſtitution, and enforced by "ſetting before them rewards and puniſhments, "both temporal and eternal and to bring them "all to the obedience of Mohammed, as the prophet "and ambaſſador of God, who, after the repeated "admonitions, promiſes, and threats of former "ages, was at laſt to eſtabliſh and propagate "God's religion on earth by force of arms, and

[a] Korân, chap 15, 21, &c

" to be acknowledged chief pontiff in ſpiritual mat-
" ters, as well as ſupreme prince in temporal[b] "

The great doctrine then of the Korân is the unity of GOD, to reſtore which point, Mohammed pretended was the chief end of his miſſion, it being laid down by him, as a fundamental truth, that there never was, nor ever can be, more than one true orthodox religion. For, though the particular laws or ceremonies are only temporary, and ſubject to alteration, according to the divine direction, yet the ſubſtance of it, being eternal truth, is not liable to change, but continues immutably the ſame. And he taught, that, whenever this religion became neglected, or corrupted in eſſentials, GOD had the goodneſs to reinform and readmoniſh mankind thereof, by ſeveral prophets, of whom Moſes and Jeſus were the moſt diſtinguiſhed, till the appearance of Mohammed, who is their ſeal, no other being to be expected after him And, the more effectually to engage people to hearken to him, great part of the Korân is employed in relating examples of dreadful puniſhments formerly inflicted by GOD on thoſe who rejected and abuſed his meſſengers, ſeveral of which ſtories, or ſome circumſtances of them, are taken from the Old and New Teſtament, but many more from the apocryphal books and traditions of the Jews and Chriſtians of thoſe ages, ſet up in the Korân as truths in oppoſition to the ſcriptures, which the Jews and Chriſtians are charged with having altered, and I am apt to believe, that few or none of the relations or circumſtances in the Korân were invented by Mohammed, as is generally ſuppoſed, it being eaſy to trace the greateſt part of them much higher, as the reſt might be, were more of thoſe books extant, and it was worth while to make the inquiry.

The other part of the Korân is taken up in giving neceſſary laws and directions, in frequent admonitions to moral and divine virtues, and, above all,

[b] Golius, in append ad Gram. Erp p 176

to the worſhipping and reverencing of the only true God, and reſignation to his will, among which are many excellent things intermixed, not unworthy even a Chriſtian's peruſal.

But, beſides theſe, there are a great number of paſſages which are occaſional, and relate to particular emergencies. For, whenever any thing happened which perplexed and gravelled Mohammed, and which he could not otherwiſe get over, he had conſtant recourſe to a new revelation, as an infallible expedient in all nice caſes, and he found the ſucceſs of this method anſwer his expectation It was certainly an admirable and politic contrivance of his to bring down the whole Korân at once to the loweſt heaven only, and not to the earth, as a bungling prophet would probably have done, for, if the whole had been publiſhed at once, innumerable objections might have been made, which it would have been very hard, if not impoſſible, for him to ſolve but, as he pretended to have received it by parcels, as God ſaw proper that they ſhould be publiſhed for the converſion and inſtruction of the people, he had a ſure way to anſwer all emergencies, and to extricate himſelf with honour from any difficulty which might occur. If any objection be hence made to that eternity of the Korân, which the Mohammedans are taught to believe, they eaſily anſwer it by their doctrine of abſolute predeſtination; according to which all the accidents, for the ſake of which theſe occaſional paſſages were revealed, were predetermined by God from all eternity

Its author and manner of publiſhing

That Mohammed was really the author and chief contriver of the Korân, is beyond diſpute, though it be highly probable that he had no ſmall aſſiſtance in his deſign from others, as his countrymen failed not to object to him[c], however, they differed ſo much in their conjectures as to the particular perſons who gave him ſuch aſſiſtance[d], that they were not able, it ſeems, to prove the charge; Mohammed, it

[c] Vide Koran, c 16, and c 25 [d] See the notes on thoſe paſſages

is

is to be presumed, having taken his measures too well to be discovered. Dr. Prideaux[e] has given the most probable account of this matter, though chiefly from Christian writers, who generally mix such ridiculous fables with what they deliver, that they deserve not much credit.

However it be, the Mohammedans absolutely deny the Korân was composed by their prophet himself, or any other for him, it being their general and orthodox belief that it is of divine original; nay, that it is eternal and uncreated, remaining, as some express it, in the very essence of God; that the first transcript has been from everlasting by God's throne, written on a table of vast bigness, called the preserved table, in which are also recorded the divine decrees, past and future: that a copy from this table, in one volume on paper, was by the ministry of the angel Gabriel sent down to the lowest heaven, in the month of Ramadân, on the night of power[f], from whence Gabriel revealed it to Mohammed by parcels, some at Mecca, and some at Medina, at different times, during the space of twenty-three years, as the exigency of affairs required; giving him, however, the consolation to shew him the whole (which they tell us was bound in silk, and adorned with gold and precious stones of paradise) once a year, but in the last year of his life he had the favour to see it twice. They say that few chapters were delivered entire, the most part being revealed piece-meal, and written down from time to time by the prophet's amanuenses in such or such a part of such or such a chapter, till they were completed, according to the directions of the angel[g]. The first parcel that was revealed is generally agreed to have been the first five verses of the ninety-sixth chapter[h].

[e] Life of Mahomet, p 31, &c [f] Vide Korân, c 97, and not ibid [g] Therefore it is a mistake of Dr Prideaux to say it was brought him chapter by chapter Life of Mahomet, p 6 The Jews also say the Law was given to Moses by parcels V Millium, de Mohammedismo ante Moham p 365 [h] Not the whole chapter, as Golius says Append ad Gr Erp p 180

After the new revealed paſſages had been from the prophet's mouth taken down in writing by his ſcribe, they were publiſhed to his followers, ſeveral of whom took copies for their private uſe, but the far greater number got them by heart The originals, when returned, were put promiſcuouſly into a cheſt, obſerving no order of time, for which reaſon it is uncertain when many paſſages were revealed

When and by whom digeſted into the preſent form

When Mohammed died, he left his revelations in the ſame diſorder I have mentioned, and not digeſted into the method, ſuch as it is, which we now find them in This was the work of his ſucceſſor Abu Becr, who, conſidering that a great number of paſſages were committed to the memory of Mohammed's followers, many of whom were ſlain in their wars, ordered the whole to be collected, not only from the palm leaves and ſkins on which they had been written, and which were kept between two boards or covers, but alſo from the mouths of ſuch as had gotten them by heart And this tranſcript, when completed, he committed to the cuſtody of Hafsa, the daughter of Omar, one of the prophet's widows[1].

From this relation it is generally imagined that Abu Becr was really the compiler of the Korân; though, for aught appears to the contrary, Mohammed left the chapters complete as we now have them, excepting ſuch paſſages as his ſucceſſor might add or correct from thoſe who had gotten them by heart, what Abu Becr did elſe, being, perhaps, no more than to range the chapters in their preſent order, which he ſeems to have done without any regard to time, having generally placed the longeſt firſt.

However, in the thirtieth year of the Hejra, Othmân being then Khalîf, and obſerving the great diſagreement in the copies of the Korân in the ſeveral provinces of the empire, thoſe of Irak, for example, following the reading of Abu Muſa al Aſhari, and the Syrians that of Macdâd Ebn Aſwad, he, by advice of the companions, ordered a great number of copies to be tranſcribed from that of Abu Becr, in Hafsa's

[1] Elmacin in Vita Abu Becr Abulfeda

care,

care, under the inſpection of Zeid Ebn Thabet, Abd'allah Ebn Zobair, Said Ebn al As, and Abd'alrahmân Ebn al Hâreth the Makhzumite, whom he directed that, wherever they diſagreed about any word, they ſhould write it in the dialect of the Koreiſh, in which it was at firſt delivered[k]. Theſe copies, when made, were diſperſed in the ſeveral provinces of the empire, and the old ones burnt and ſuppreſſed. Though many things in Hafsa's copy were corrected by the above-mentioned ſupervifors, yet ſome few various readings ſtill occur, the moſt material of which will be taken notice of in their proper places.

The want of vowels[l] in the Arabic character made Mokrî's, or readers, whoſe peculiar ſtudy and profeſſion it was to read the Korân with its proper vowels, abſolutely neceſſary. But theſe, differing in their manner of reading, occaſioned ſtill further variations in the copies of the Korân, as they are now written with their vowels, and herein conſiſt much the greater part of the various readings throughout the book. The readers whoſe authority the commentators chiefly alledge, in admitting theſe various readings, are ſeven in number. Various readings

There being ſome paſſages in the Korân which are contradictory, the Mohammedan doctors obviate any objection from thence, by the doctrine of abrogation; for they ſay, that God in the Korân commanded ſeveral things, which were for good reaſons afterwards revoked and abrogated. Paſſages abrogate

Paſſages abrogated are diſtinguiſhed into three kinds the firſt, where the letter and the ſenſe are both abrogated, the ſecond, where the letter only is abrogated, but the ſenſe remains, and the third, where the ſenſe is abrogated, though the letter remains.

[k] Abulfeda, in vitis Abubecr & Othman

[l] The characters or marks of the Arabic vowels were not uſed till ſeveral years after Mohammed Some aſcribe the invention of them to Yahya Ebn Yamer, ſome to Naſr Ebn Alam, ſurnamed al Leithi, and others to Abu'laſwad al Dili, all three of whom were doctors of Baſra, and immediately ſucceeded the companions See D'Herbel Bibl Orient p 87

Of the firſt kind were ſeveral verſes, which by the tradition of Ans Ebn Malec were in the prophet's lifetime read in the chapter of repentance, but are not now extant, one of which being all he remembered of them, was the following "If a ſon of Adam had "two rivers of gold, he would covet yet a third; "and, if he had three, he would covet yet a fourth "(to be added) unto them, neither ſhall the belly "of a ſon of Adam be filled but with duſt GOD "will turn unto him who ſhall repent." Another inſtance of this kind we have from the tradition of Abd'allah Ebn Maſûd, who reported that the prophet gave him a verſe to read which he wrote down, but the next morning, looking in his book, he found it was vaniſhed, and the leaf blank this he acquainted Mohammed with, who aſſured him the verſe was revoked the ſame night.

Of the ſecond kind is a verſe called the verſe of ſtoning, which, according to the tradition of Omar, afterwards Khalîf, was extant while Mohammed was living, though it be not now to be found. The words are theſe "Abhor not your parents, for this "would be ingratitude in you. If a man and wo-"man of reputation commit adultery, ye ſhall ſtone "them both, it is a puniſhment ordained by GOD; "for GOD is mighty and wiſe."

Of the laſt kind are obſerved ſeveral verſes in ſixty-three different chapters, to the number of 225. Such as the precepts of turning in prayer to Jeruſalem, faſting after the old cuſtom, forbearance towards idolaters, avoiding the ignorant, and the like[m]. The paſſages of this ſort have been carefully collected by ſeveral writers, and are moſt of them remarked in their proper places.

Diſputes concerning the creation of the Koran

Though it is the belief of the Sonnites or orthodox, that the Korân is uncreated and eternal, ſubſiſting in the very eſſence of GOD, and Mohammed himſelf is ſaid to have pronounced him an infidel who aſſerted

[m] Abu Haſhem Hebatallah, apud Marracc de Alc p 42

the

the contrary[n], yet ſeveral have been of a different opinion, particularly the ſect of the Motázalites[o], and the followers of Iſa Ebn Sobeih Abu Muſa, ſurnamed al Mozdâr, who ſtuck not to accuſe thoſe who held the Korân to be uncreated of infidelity, as aſſertors of two eternal beings[p].

This point was controverted with ſo much heat that it occaſioned many calamities under ſome of the Khalîfs of the family of Abbâs, al Mamûn[q] making a public edict declaring the Korân to be created, which was confirmed by his ſucceſſors al Mótaſem[r] and al Wâthek[s], who whipt, impriſoned, and put to death thoſe of the contrary opinion. But at length al Motawakkel[t], who ſucceeded al Wâthek, put an end to theſe perſecutions, by revoking the former edicts, releaſing thoſe that were impriſoned on that account, and leaving every man at liberty as to his belief in this point[u].

Al Ghazâli ſeems to have tolerably reconciled both opinions, ſaying, that the Korân is read and pronounced with the tongue, written in books and kept in memory, and is yet eternal, ſubſiſting in God's eſſence, and not poſſible to be ſeparated thence by any tranſmiſſion into mens' memories or the leaves of books[w]; by which he ſeems to mean no more than the original idea of the Korân only is really in God, and conſequently co-eſſential and co-eternal with him, but that the copies are created, and the work of man.

The opinion of al Jahedh, chief of a ſect bearing his name, touching the Korân, is too remarkable to be omitted. he uſed to ſay it was a body, which

[n] Apud Poc Spec 220

[o] See after, in Sect 8 [p] V Poc Spec p 219, &c [q] Anno Hej 218 Abulfarag p 245 v etiam Elmacin, in vita al Mamun [r] In the time of al Motaſem, a doctor, named Abu Harun Ebn al Baca, found out a diſtinction to ſkreen himſelf, by affirming that the Koran was ordained, becauſe it is ſaid in that book, And I have ordained thee the Koran He went ſtill farther, to allow that what was ordained, was created, and yet he denied it thence followed that the Koran was created Abulfarag p 253 [s] Ibid p 257 [t] Anno Hej 242 [u] Abulfarag p 262 [w] Al Ghazâli, in prof fid

might

might ſometimes be turned into a man[x], and ſometimes into a beaſt[y], which ſeems to agree with the notion of thoſe who aſſert the Korân to have two faces, one of a man, the other of a beaſt[z], thereby, as I conceive, intimating the double interpretation it will admit of, according to the letter or the ſpirit.

As ſome have held the Korân to be created, ſo there have not been wanting thoſe who have aſſerted that there is nothing miraculous in that book in reſpect to ſtyle or compoſition, excepting only the prophetical relations of things paſt, and predictions of things to come, and that, had God left men to their natural liberty, and not reſtrained them in that particular, the Arabians could have compoſed ſomething not only equal, but ſuperior to the Korân in eloquence, method, and purity of language. This was another opinion of the Motázalites, and in particular of al Mozdâr abovementioned, and al Nodhâm[a]

Expoſition of it.

The Korân being the Mohammedans' rule of faith and practice, it is no wonder its expoſitors and commentators are ſo very numerous. And it may not be amiſs to take notice of the rules they obſerve in expounding it.

One of the moſt learned commentators[b] diſtinguiſhes the contents of the Korân into allegorical and literal The former comprehends the more obſcure, parabolical, and enigmatical paſſages, and ſuch as are repealed or abrogated, the latter thoſe which are plain, perſpicuous, liable to no doubt, and in full force.

[x] The Khalif al Walid Ebn Yazîd, who was the eleventh of the race of Ommeya, and is looked on by the Mohammedans as a reprobate, and one of no religion, ſeems to have treated this book as a rational creature For, dipping into it one day, the firſt words he met with were theſe Every rebellious perverſe perſon ſhall not proſper Whereupon he ſtuck it on a lance, and ſhot it to pieces with arrows, repeating theſe verſes

Doſt thou rebuke every rebellious perverſe perſon? Behold, I am that rebellious perverſe perſon

When thou appeareſt before thy Lord on the day of reſurrection, ſay, O Lord, al Walid has torn me thus Ebn Shohnah v Poc Spec p 223

[y] Poc Spec p 222 [z] Herbelot p 87 [a] Abulfeda, Shahreſtani, &c apud Poc Spec p 222, & Marracc de Kor p 44 [b] Al Zamakhſhari V Koran, chap 3 p 35

To

To explain theſe ſeverally in a right manner, it is neceſſary from tradition and ſtudy to know the time when each paſſage was revealed, its circumſtances, ſtate, and hiſtory, and the reaſons or particular emergencies for the ſake of which it was revealed[c]. Or, more explicitly, whether the paſſage was revealed at Mecca, or at Medina, whether it be abrogated, or does itſelf abrogate any other paſſage, whether it be anticipated in order of time, or poſtponed, whether it be diſtinct from the context, or depends thereon; whether it be particular or general; and laſtly, whether it be implicit by intention, or explicit in words[d].

The honour ſhewn to it.

By what has been ſaid, the reader may eaſily believe this book is in the greateſt reverence and eſteem among the Mohammedans They dare not ſo much as touch it without being firſt waſhed or legally purified[e], which, leſt they ſhould do by inadvertence, they write theſe words on the cover or label, "Let "none touch it, but they who are clean" They read it with great care and reſpect, never holding it below their girdles. They ſwear by it, conſult it on their weighty occaſions[f], carry it with them to war, write ſentences of it in their banners, adorn it with gold and precious ſtones, and knowingly ſuffer it not to be in the poſſeſſion of any of a different perſuaſion.

Tranſlations.

The Mohammedans, far from thinking the Korân to be profaned by a tranſlation, as ſome authors have written[g], have taken care to have their ſcriptures tranſlated not only into the Perſian tongue, but into ſeveral others, particularly the Javan and Malayan[h]; though, out of reſpect to the original Arabic, theſe verſions are generally (if not always) interlineary.

[c] Ahmed Ebn Moh al Thalebi, in princip expoſ Alc [d] Yahya Ebn al Salam al Baſri, in princip expoſ Alc [e] The Jews have the ſame veneration for their law, not daring to touch it with unwaſhed hands, nor then neither, without a cover V Millium, de Mohammediſmo ante Moh p 366 [f] This they do by dipping into it, and taking an omen from the words which they firſt light on which practice they alſo learned of the Jews, who do the ſame with the ſcripture V Millium, ubi ſup [g] Sionita, de urb orient. p 41 & Marracc de Alc p 33 [h] Reland, de Rel Moh p 265

SECTION

SECTION IV.

Of the Doctrines and poſitive Precepts of the Korân, which relate to Faith and religious Duties.

Whereon the Mohammedan religion is built.

IT has been already obſerved, more than once, that the fundamental poſition on which Mohammed erected the ſuperſtructure of his religion, was that, from the beginning to the end of the world, there has been, and for ever will be, but one true orthodox belief, conſiſting, as to matter of faith, in the acknowledging of the only true God, and the believing in and obeying ſuch meſſengers or prophets as he ſhould from time to time ſend, with proper credentials, to reveal his will to mankind; and, as to matter of practice, in the obſervance of the immutable and eternal laws of right and wrong, together with ſuch other precepts and ceremonies as God ſhould think fit to order for the time being, according to the different diſpenſations in different ages of the world for theſe laſt he allowed were things indifferent in their own nature, and became obligatory by God's poſitive precept only, and were therefore temporary, and ſubject to alteration, according to his will and pleaſure. And to this religion he gives the name of Iſlâm, which word ſignifies reſignation or ſubmiſſion to the ſervice and commands of God[a], and is uſed as the proper name of the Mohammedan religion, which they will alſo have to be the ſame at bottom with that of all the prophets from Adam.

[a] The root Salama, from whence Iſlâm is formed, in the firſt and fourth conjugations, ſignifies alſo to be ſaved, or to enter into a ſtate of ſalvation, according to which Iſlam may be tranſlated the religion or ſtate of ſalvation, but the other ſenſe is more approved by the Mohammedans, and alluded to in the Koran itſelf See c 2 p 16 and c 3 p 36

Under

Under pretext that this eternal religion was in his time corrupted, and professed in its purity by no one sect of men, Mohammed pretended to be a prophet sent by God to reform those abuses which had crept into it, and to reduce it to its primitive simplicity, with the addition however of peculiar laws and ceremonies, some of which had been used in former times, and others were now first instituted. And he comprehended the whole substance of his doctrine under these two propositions, or articles of faith, viz that there is but one God, and that himself was the apostle of God, in consequence of which latter article, all such ordinances and institutions, as he thought fit to establish, must be received as obligatory and of divine authority

The division and fundamental points of it

The Mohammedans divide their religion, which, as I just now said, they call Islâm, into two distinct parts, Imân, i e. faith, or theory, and Dîn, i e. religion, or practice; and teach that it is built on five fundamental points, one belonging to faith, and the other four to practice.

The first is that confession of faith which I have already mentioned, that there is no god but the true God; and that Mohammed is his apostle Under which they comprehend six distinct branches, viz. 1. Belief in God, 2 In his angels, 3 In his scriptures, 4 In his prophets; 5 In the resurrection and day of judgment; and, 6 In God's absolute decree and predetermination both of good and evil.

The four points relating to practice are, 1 Prayer, under which are comprehended those washings or purifications which are necessary preparations required before prayer; 2. Alms, 3. Fastings, and, 4 The pilgrimage to Mecca. Of each of these I shall speak in their order.

Of their faith in God

That both Mohammed, and those among his followers who are reckoned orthodox, had and continue to have just and true notions of God and his attributes, (always excepting their obstinate and impious rejecting of the Trinity,) appears so plain from

from the Korân itſelf, and all the Mohammedan divines, that it would be loſs of time to refute thoſe who ſuppoſe the God of Mohammed to be different from the true God, and only a fictitious deity, or idol of his own creation[b]. Nor ſhall I here enter into any of the Mohammedan controverſies concerning the divine nature and attributes, becauſe I ſhall have a more proper opportunity of doing it elſewhere[c].

And in his angels

The exiſtence of angels and their purity are abſolutely required to be believed in the Korân and he is reckoned an infidel who denies there are ſuch beings, or hates any of them[d], or aſſerts any diſtinction of ſexes among them. They believe them to have pure and ſubtile bodies, created of fire[e], that they neither eat nor drink, nor propagate their ſpecies; that they have various forms and offices, ſome adoring God in different poſtures, others ſinging praiſes to him, or interceding for mankind They hold that ſome of them are employed in writing down the actions of men, others in carrying the throne of God and other ſervices.

The four angels, whom they look on as more eminently in God's favour, and often mention on account of the offices aſſigned them, are Gabriel, to whom they give ſeveral titles, particularly thoſe of the holy ſpirit[f], and the angel of revelations[g], ſuppoſing him to be honoured by God with a greater confidence than any other, and to be employed in writing down the divine decrees[h], Michael, the friend and protector of the Jews[i], Azrael, the angel of death, who ſeparates mens' ſouls from their bodies[k], and Iſrafîl, whoſe office it will be to ſound the trumpet at the reſurrection[l]. The Mohammedans alſo believe that two guardian angels attend on every man, to

[b] Marracc in Alc p 102 [c] Sect VIII [d] Korân c 2 p 13
[e] Ib c 7, and 38, [f] Koran, c 2 p 12 [g] See the notes, ib p 13
[h] V Hyde, Hiſt Rel vet Perſ p 262 [i] V ib p 271 & not in Kor p 13
[k] V not ib p 4 [l] Kor c 6, 13, and 86 The offices of theſe four angels are deſcribed almoſt in the ſame manner in the apocryphal goſpel of Barnabas, where it is ſaid that Gabriel reveals the ſecrets of God, Michael combats againſt his enemies Raphael receives the ſouls of thoſe who die, and Uriel is to call every one to judgment on the laſt day See the Menagiana, Tom 4 p 333

obſerve

observe and write down his actions[m], being changed every day, and therefore called al Moakkibât, or the angels who continually succeed one another.

This whole doctrine concerning angels, Mohammed and his disciples have borrowed from the Jews, who learned the names and offices of those beings from the Persians, as themselves confess[n]. The ancient Persians firmly believed the ministry of angels, and their superintendance over the affairs of this world, (as the Magians still do,) and therefore assigned them distinct charges and provinces, giving their names to their months and the days of their months Gabriel they called Sorûsh and Revân bakhsh, or the giver of souls, in opposition to the contrary office of the angel of death, to whom among other names they gave that of Mordâd, or the giver of death Michael they called Beshter, who according to them provides sustenance for mankind[o]. The Jews teach, that the angels were created of fire[p]; that they have several offices[q], that they intercede for men[r], and attend them[s]. The angel of death they name Dûma, and say he calls dying persons by their respective names, at their last hour[t].

The devil, whom Mohammed names Eblîs, from his despair, was once one of those angels who are nearest to God's presence, called Azazîl[u], and fell, according to the doctrine of the Koran, for refusing to pay homage to Adam at the command of God[w].

Besides angels and devils, the Mohammedans are taught by the Korân to believe an intermediate order of creatures, which they call Jin or Genii, created also of fire[x], but of a grosser fabric than angels, since they eat and drink, and propagate their species, and are subject to death[y]. Some of these are supposed to be good, and others bad, and

[m] Kor c 10 [n] Talmud Hierof in Rosh hashana [o] V Hyde, ubi sup c 19, and 20 [p] Gemar in Hagig & Bereshit rabbah, &c V Psalm civ 4 [q] Yalkut hadash [r] Gemar in Shebet, & Bava Bathra &c [s] Midrash, Yalkut Shemûni [t] Gemar Berachoth [u] V Reland de Rel Moh p 189, &c [w] Koran, c 2 p 5 See also c 7 38 &c [x] Kor c 55 See the notes there [y] Jal'alo eddin, in Kor c 2 & 18

capable

capable of future ſalvation or damnation, as men are; whence Mohammed pretended to be ſent for the converſion of Genii, as well as men[z]. The orientals pretend that theſe Genii inhabited the world for many ages before Adam was created, under the government of ſeveral ſucceſſive princes, who all bore the common name of Solomon, but, falling at length into an almoſt general corruption, Eblîs was ſent to drive them into a remote part of the earth, there to be confined that ſome of that generation, ſtill remaining, were by Tahmûrath, one of the ancient kings of Perſia, who waged war againſt them, forced to retreat into the famous mountains of Kâf. Of which ſucceſſions and wars they have many fabulous and romantic ſtories. They alſo make different ranks and degrees among theſe beings, (if they be not rather ſuppoſed to be of a different ſpecies,) ſome being called abſolutely Jin, ſome Peri or fairies, ſome Div or giants, others Tacwîns or fates[a].

The Mohammedan notions concerning theſe Genii agree almoſt exactly with what the Jews write of a ſort of demons, called Shedîm, whom ſome fancy to have been begotten by two angels, named Aza and Azael, on Naamah, the daughter of Lamech, before the flood[b]. However, the Shedîm, they tell us, agree in three things with the miniſtring angels; for that, like them, they have wings, and fly from one end of the world to the other, and have ſome knowledge of futurity; and in three things they agree with men, like whom they eat and drink, are propagated, and die[c]. They alſo ſay that ſome of them believe in the law of Moſes, and are conſequently good, and that others of them are infidels and reprobates[d].

f the iptures

As to the ſcriptures, the Mohammedans are taught by the Korân that God, in divers ages of the world, gave revelations of his will in writing to ſeveral prophets, the whole and every word of which it is

[z] V Korân, c 55, 72, and 74 [a] See D'Herbelot, Bibl Orient p 369, 820, &c [b] In libro Zohar [c] Gemara, in Hagiga [d] Igrat haale hayyim, c 15

abſolutely

absolutely necessary for a good Moslem to believe. The number of these sacred books were, according to them, 104 Of which ten were given to Adam, fifty to Seth, thirty to Edrîs, or Enoch, ten to Abraham, and the other four, being the Pentateuch, the Psalms, the Gospel, and the Korân, were successively delivered to Moses, David, Jesus, and Mohammed; which last being the seal of the prophets, those revelations are now closed, and no more are to be expected All these divine books, except the four last, they agree to be now entirely lost, and their contents unknown, though the Sabians have several books which they attribute to some of the antediluvian prophets And, of those four, the Pentateuch, Psalms, and Gospel, they say, have undergone so many alterations and corruptions, that, though there may possibly be some part of the true word of God therein, yet no credit is to be given to the present copies in the hands of the Jews and Christians The Jews in particular are frequently reflected on in the Korân for falsifying and corrupting their copies of their law, and some instances of such pretended corruptions, both in that book and the two others, are produced by Mohammedan writers, wherein they merely follow their own prejudices, and the fabulous accounts of spurious legends Whether they have any copy of the Pentateuch among them different from that of the Jews or not, I am not entirely satisfied, since a person who travelled into the east was told, that they had the books of Moses, though very much corrupted[e], but I know no-body that has ever seen them However, they certainly have, and privately read, a book which they call the Psalms of David, in Arabic and Persian, to which are added some prayers of Moses, Jonas, and others[f]. This Mr Reland supposes to be a translation from our copies, (though no doubt falsified in more places than one,) but Mr. D'Herbelot says, it contains not

[e] Terry's Voyage to the East Indies, p 277 [f] De Rel Moham p 23

the ſame Pſalms which are in our Pſalter, being no more than an extract from thence, mixed with other very different pieces[g]. The eaſieſt way to reconcile theſe two learned gentlemen, is to preſume that they ſpeak of different copies The Mohammedans have alſo a Goſpel in Arabic, attributed to St Barnabas, wherein the hiſtory of Jeſus Chriſt is related in a manner very different from what we find in the true Goſpels, and correſpondent to thoſe traditions which Mohammed has followed in his Korân. Of this Goſpel the Moriſcoes in Africa have a tranſlation in Spaniſh[h], and there is, in the library of prince Eugene of Savoy, a manuſcript of ſome antiquity, containing an Italian tranſlation of the ſame Goſpel[i], made, it is to be ſuppoſed, for the uſe of renegades. This book appears to be no original forgery of the Mohammedans, though they have no doubt interpolated and altered it ſince, the better to ſerve their purpoſe, and in particular, inſtead of the Paraclete, or Comforter[k], they have in this apocryphal goſpel inſerted the word Periclyte, that is, the famous or illuſtrious, by which they pretend their prophet was foretold by name, that being the ſignification of Mohammed in Arabic[l] and this they ſay to juſtify that paſſage of the Korân[m], where Jeſus Chriſt is formally aſſerted to have foretold his coming, under his other name of Ahmed, which is derived from the ſame root as Mohammed, and of the ſame import. From theſe or ſome other forgeries of the ſame ſtamp, it is that the Mohammedans quote ſeveral paſſages, of which there are not the leaſt footſteps in the New Teſtament But, after all, we muſt not hence infer that the Mohammedans, much leſs all of them, hold theſe copies of theirs to be the ancient and genuine ſcriptures themſelves. If any argue, from the corruption, which they inſiſt has happened to the Pentateuch and Goſpel, that the Korân may poſſibly be cor-

[g] A copy of this kind, he tells us, is in the Library of the Duke of Tuſcany, Bibl Orient p 924 [h] Reland, ubi ſup [i] Menagian T 4 p 321, &c [k] John xiv 16, 26 xv 26 and xvi 7 compared with Luke xxiv 49 [l] See Toland's Nazarenus, the firſt eight chapters [m] Chap 61

rupted

rupted also, they answer, that God has promised that he will take care of the latter, and preserve it from any addition or diminution[n], but that he left the two other to the care of men However, they confess there are some various readings in the Korân[o], as has been observed

Besides the books above-mentioned, the Mohammedans also take notice of the writings of Daniel and several other prophets, and even make quotations thence, but these they do not believe to be divine scripture, or of any authority in matters of religion[p].

Of the prophets

The number of the prophets, which have been from time to time sent by God into the world, amounts to no less than 224,000, according to one Mohammedan tradition, or to 124,000, according to another, among whom 313 were apostles, sent with special commissions to reclaim mankind from infidelity and superstition, and six of them brought new laws or dispensations, which successively abrogated the preceding these were Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed All the prophets in general, the Mohammedans believe to have been free from great sins, and errors of consequence, and professors of one and the same religion, that is, Islâm, notwithstanding the different laws and institutions which they observed They allow of degrees among them, and hold some of them to be more excellent and honourable than others[q] The first place they give to the revealers and establishers of new dispensations, and the next to the apostles.

In this great number of prophets, they not only reckon divers patriarchs and persons named in scripture, but not recorded to have been prophets, (wherein the Jewish and Christian writers have sometimes led the way[r],) as Adam, Seth, Lot, Ismael, Nun, Joshua, &c. and introduce some of them under diffe-

[n] Kor c 15 [o] Reland, ubi sup p 24, 27 [p] Idem, ib p 41
[q] Kor c 2 p 30, &c [r] Thus Heber is said to have been a prophet by the Jews, (Seder Olam p 2) and Adam by Epiphanius. (Adv Haer p 6) See also Joseph Ant l 1 c 2

rent names, as Enoch, Heber, and Jethro, who are called, in the Korân, Edrîs, Hûd, and Shoaib, but ſeveral others whoſe very names do not appear in ſcripture, (though they endeavour to find ſome perſons there to fix them on,) as Saleh, Khedr, Dhu'lkefl, &c. Several of their fabulous traditions concerning theſe prophets we ſhall occaſionally mention in the notes on the Korân.

As Mohammed acknowledged the divine authority of the Pentateuch, Pſalms, and Goſpel, he often appeals to the conſonancy of the Korân with thoſe writings, and to the prophecies which he pretended were therein concerning himſelf, as proofs of his miſſion, and he frequently charges the Jews and Chriſtians with ſtifling the paſſages which bear witneſs to him[s]. His followers alſo fail not to produce ſeveral texts, even from our preſent copies of the Old and New Teſtament, to ſupport their maſter's cauſe[t].

Of the ſtate after death

The next article of faith, required by the Korân, is the belief of a general reſurrection and a future judgment. But, before we conſider the Mohammedan tenets in thoſe points, it will be proper to mention what they are taught to believe concerning the intermediate ſtate, both of the body and of the ſoul, after death.

Of the body before the reſurrection

When a corpſe is laid in the grave, they ſay he is received by an angel, who gives him notice of the coming of the two Examiners, which are two black livid angels, of a terrible appearance, named Monker and Nakîr. Theſe order the dead perſon to ſit upright, and examine him concerning his faith, as to the unity of God, and the miſſion of Mohammed: if he anſwer rightly, they ſuffer the body to reſt in peace, and it is refreſhed by the air of paradiſe; but, if not, they beat him on the temples with iron maces, till he roars out for anguiſh ſo loud, that

[s] Kor. c. 2. p. 6. 12. 18. c. 3. &c. [t] Some of theſe texts are produced by Dr. Prideaux at the end of his life of Mahomet, and more by Marracci in Alcor. p. 26, &c.

the

he is heard by all from eaſt to weſt, except men and genii. Then they preſs the earth on the corpſe, which is gnawed and ſtung till the reſurrection by ninety-nine dragons, with ſeven heads each; or, as others ſay, their ſins will become venomous beaſts, the grievous ones ſtinging like dragons, the ſmaller like ſcorpions, and the others like ſerpents, circumſtances which ſome underſtand in a figurative ſenſe[u].

This examination of the ſepulchre is not only founded on an expreſs tradition of Mohammed, but is alſo plainly hinted at, though not directly taught, in the Koràn[w], as the commentators agree. It is therefore believed by the orthodox Mohammedans in general, who take care to have their graves made hollow, that they may ſit up with more eaſe while they are examined by the angels[x], but is utterly rejected by the ſect of the Motázalites, and, perhaps, by ſome others.

Theſe notions Mohammed certainly borrowed from the Jews, among whom they were very anciently received[y]. They ſay, that the angel of death coming and ſitting on the grave, the ſoul immediately enters the body, and raiſes it on its feet, that he then examines the departed perſon, and ſtrikes him with a chain half of iron and half of fire: at the firſt blow all his limbs are looſened, at the ſecond his bones are ſcattered, which are gathered together again by angels, and the third ſtroke reduces the body to duſt and aſhes, and it returns into the grave. This rack, or torture, they call Hibbût hakkeber, or the beating of the ſepulchre, and pretend that all men in general muſt undergo it, except only thoſe who die on the evening of the ſabbath, or have dwelt in the land of Iſrael[z].

If it be objected to the Mohammedans, that the cry of the perſons under ſuch examination has been ne-

[u] Al Ghazali V. Poc. not. in Port. Moſis, p. 241, &c. [w] Chap. 8, and 47, &c. [x] Smith, de morib. & inſtit. Turcar. Ep. 2. p. 57. [y] V. Hyde, in notis ad Bobov. de Viſit. ægrot. p. 19. [z] R. Elias, in Tiſhbi Sed. dito Buxtorf. Synag. Judaic. & Lexic. Talmud.

ver heard; or if they be aſked how thoſe can undergo it whoſe bodies are burnt or devoured by beaſts or birds, or otherwiſe conſumed without burial, they anſwer, that it is very poſſible notwithſtanding, ſince men are not able to perceive what is tranſacted on the other ſide the grave, and that it is ſufficient to reſtore to life any part of the body which is capable of underſtanding the queſtions put by the angels[a].

Of the ſoul

As to the ſoul, they hold, that, when it is ſeparated from the body by the angel of death, who performs his office with eaſe and gentleneſs towards the good, and with violence towards the wicked[b], it enters into that ſtate which they call al Berzakh[c], or the interval between death and the reſurrection If the departed perſon was a believer, they ſay two angels meet it, who convey it to heaven, that its place there may be aſſigned, according to its merit and degree For they diſtinguiſh the ſouls of the faithful into three claſſes the firſt of prophets, whoſe ſouls are admitted into paradiſe immediately, the ſecond of martyrs, whoſe ſpirits, according to a tradition of Mohammed, reſt in the crops of green birds, which eat of the fruits and drink of the rivers of paradiſe, and the third of other believers, concerning the ſtate of whoſe ſouls before the reſurrection there are various opinions For, 1 Some ſay they ſtay near the ſepulchres, with liberty, however, of going wherever they pleaſe, which they confirm from Mohammed's manner of ſaluting them at their graves, and his affirming that the dead heard thoſe ſalutations as well as the living, though they could not anſwer Whence, perhaps, proceeded the cuſtom of viſiting the tombs of relations, ſo common among the Mohammedans[d] 2 Others imagine they are with Adam, in the loweſt heaven, and alſo ſupport their opinion by the authority of

[a] V Poc ubi ſup hayim, f 77 [b] Kor c 79 The Jews ſay the ſame, in Niſhmat [c] V Kor chap 23, and not ib [d] Poc ubi ſup p 247

their

their prophet, who gave out, that, in his return from the upper heavens, in his pretended night journey, he ſaw there the ſouls of thoſe who were deſtined to paradiſe on the right-hand of Adam, and of thoſe who were condemned to hell on his left[e]. 3. Others fancy the ſouls of believers remain in the well Zemzem, and thoſe of infidels in a certain well in the province of Hadiamaut, called Borhût; but this opinion is branded as heretical 4 Others ſay they ſtay near the graves for ſeven days, but that whither they go afterwards is uncertain 5 Others, that they are all in the trumpet, whoſe ſound is to raiſe the dead And, 6 Others, that the ſouls of the good dwell in the forms of white birds, under the throne of God[f]. As to the condition of the ſouls of the wicked, beſides the opinions that have been already mentioned, the more orthodox hold that they are offered by the angels to heaven, from whence being repulſed, as ſtinking and filthy, they are offered to the earth, and, being alſo refuſed a place there, are carried down to the ſeventh earth, and thrown into a dungeon, which they call Sajîn, under a green rock, or, according to a tradition of Mohammed, under the devil's jaw[g], to be there tormented, till they are called up to be joined again to their bodies

Though ſome among the Mohammedans have thought that the reſurrection will be merely ſpiritual, and no more than the returning of the ſoul to the place whence it firſt came, (an opinion defended by Ebn Sina[h], and called by ſome the opinion of the philoſophers[i],) and others, who allow man to conſiſt of body only, that it will be merely corporeal, the received opinion is, that both body and ſoul will be raiſed, and their doctors argue ſtrenuouſly for the poſſibility of the reſurrection of the body, and diſpute with great Of the reſurrection

[e] Poc ubi ſup p 248 Conſonant hereto are the Jewiſh notions of the ſouls of the juſt being on high, under the throne of glory V ib p 156 [f] Ib p 250 [g] Al Beidâwi V Poc ubi ſup p 252 [h] Or, as we corruptly name him, Avicenna [i] Kenz al aſrar

ſubtilty concerning the manner of it[k]. But Mohammed has taken care to preſerve one part of the body, whatever becomes of the reſt, to ſerve for a baſis of the future edifice, or rather a leaven for the maſs which is to be joined to it. For he taught, that a man's body was entirely conſumed by the earth, except only the bone called al Ajb, which we name the os coccygis, or rump-bone, and that, as it was the firſt formed in the human body, it will alſo remain uncorrupted till the laſt-day, as a ſeed from whence the whole is to be renewed: and this, he ſaid, would be effected by a forty days' rain, which God ſhould ſend, and which would cover the earth to the height of twelve cubits, and cauſe the bodies to ſprout forth like plants[l]. Herein, alſo, is Mohammed beholden to the Jews, who ſay the ſame things of the bone Luz[m], excepting that what he attributes to a great rain, will be effected, according to them, by a dew, impregnating the duſt of the earth.

The ſigns of its approach

The time of the reſurrection the Mohammedans allow to be a perfect ſecret to all but God alone, the angel Gabriel himſelf acknowledged his ignorance in this point, when Mohammed aſked him about it. However, they ſay, the approach of that day may be known from certain ſigns which are to precede it. Theſe ſigns they diſtinguiſh into two ſorts, the leſſer, and the greater, which I ſhall briefly enumerate after Dr Pocock[n].

The leſſer ſigns are, 1. The decay of faith among men[o]. 2. The advancing of the meaneſt perſons to eminent dignity. 3. That a maid-ſervant ſhall become the mother of her miſtreſs, (or maſter,) by which is meant, either that towards the end of the world men ſhall be much given to ſenſuality, or that the Mohammedans ſhall then take many captives. 4. Tumults and ſeditions. 5. A war with the Turks.

[k] V. Poc. ubi ſup. p. 214. [l] Idem, ib. p. 255, &c. [m] Bereſhit rabbah, &c. V. Poc. ubi ſup. p. 117, &c. [n] Ibid. p. 258, &c. [o] See Luke, xviii. 8.

6. Great

6 Great distress in the world, so that a man, when he passes by another's grave, shall say, Would to God I were in his place 7 That the provinces of Irâk and Syria shall refuse to pay their tribute. And, 8 That the buildings of Medina shall reach to Ahâb, or Yahâb.

The greater signs are,

1 The sun's rising in the west. Which some have imagined it originally did[p]

2 The appearance of the beast, which shall rise out of the earth, in the temple of Mecca, or on mount Safâ, or in the territory of Tâyef, or some other place This beast, they say, is to be sixty cubits high, though others, not satisfied with so small a size, will have her reach to the clouds and to heaven, when her head only is out, and that she will appear for three days, but shew only a third part of her body They describe this monster, as to her form, to be a compound of various species, having the head of a bull, the eyes of a hog, the ears of an elephant, the horns of a stag, the neck of an ostrich, the breast of a lion, the colour of a tiger, the back of a cat, the tail of a ram, the legs of a camel, and the voice of an ass Some say this beast is to appear three times in several places, and that she will bring with her the rod of Moses and the Seal of Solomon, and, being so swift that none can overtake or escape her, will, with the first, strike all the believers on the face, and mark them with the word Mûmen, i e believer, and, with the latter, will mark the unbelievers on the face likewise, with the word Câfer, i e infidel, that every person may be known for what he really is They add, that the same beast is to demonstrate the vanity of all religions except Islâm, and to speak Arabic All this stuff seems to be the result of a confused idea of the beast in the Revelations[q].

[p] See Whiston's Theory of the earth, Book 2, p 98, &c [q] Chap xiii

3. War

3. War with the Greeks, and the taking of Conſtantinople by 70,000 of the poſterity of Iſaac, who ſhall not win that city by force of arms, but the walls ſhall fall down while they cry out, There is no god but GOD: GOD is moſt great! As they are dividing the ſpoil, news will come to them of the appearance of Antichriſt, whereupon they ſhall leave all, and return back.

4. The coming of Antichriſt, whom the Mohammedans call al Masîh al Dajjâl, i. e. the falſe or lying Chriſt, and ſimply al Dajjâl. He is to be one-eyed, and marked on the forehead with the letters C F R. ſignifying Câfer, or infidel. They ſay that the Jews give him the name of Meſſiah Ben David, and pretend he is to come in the laſt days, and to be lord both of land and ſea, and that he will reſtore the kingdom to them. According to the tradition of Mohammed, he is to appear firſt between Irâk and Syria, or, according to others, in the province of Khoraſân: they add, that he is to ride on an aſs, that he will be followed by 70,000 Jews of Iſpahân, and continue on earth forty days, of which one will be equal in length to a year, another to a month, another to a week, and the reſt will be common days, that he is to lay waſte all places, but will not enter Mecca or Medina, which are to be guarded by angels, and that at length he will be ſlain by Jeſus, who is to encounter him at the gate of Lud. It is ſaid that Mohammed foretold ſeveral Antichriſts, to the number of about thirty, but one of greater note than the reſt.

5. The deſcent of Jeſus on earth. They pretend that he is to deſcend near the white tower to the eaſt of Damaſcus, when the people are returned from the taking of Conſtantinople, that he is to embrace the Mohammedan religion, marry a wife, get children, kill Antichriſt, and at length die after forty years, or, according to others, twenty-four years[r] continuance on earth. Under him, they ſay, there will be great ſecurity, and plenty in the

[r] Al Thalabi, in Kor. c. 4.

world,

world, all hatred and malice being laid aſide, when lions and camels, bears and ſheep, ſhall live in peace, and a child ſhall play with ſerpents unhurt[s].

6 War with the Jews, of whom the Mohammedans are to make a prodigious ſlaughter, the very trees and ſtones diſcovering ſuch of them as hide themſelves, except only the tree called Gharkad, which is the tree of the Jews

7 The eruption of Gog and Magog, or, as they are called in the Eaſt, Yâjûj and Mâjûj, of whom many things are related in the Korân[t], and the traditions of Mohammed. Theſe barbarians, they tell us, having drunk the lake of Tiberias, which the vanguard of their vaſt army will drink dry, will come to Jeruſalem, and there greatly diſtreſs Jeſus and his companions, till, at his requeſt, God will deſtroy them, and fill the earth with their carcaſſes, which, after ſome time, God will ſend birds to carry away, at the prayers of Jeſus and his followers. Their bows, arrows, and quivers, the Moſlems will burn for ſeven years together[u], and, at laſt, God will ſend a rain to cleanſe the earth, and to make it fertile

8 A ſmoke, which ſhall fill the whole earth[w].

9 An eclipſe of the moon. Mohammed is reported to have ſaid, that there would be three eclipſes before the laſt hour, one to be ſeen in the eaſt, another in the weſt, and the third in Arabia

10 The returning of the Arabs to the worſhip of Allat and al Uzza, and the reſt of their ancient idols; after the deceaſe of every one in whoſe heart there was faith equal to a grain of muſtard-ſeed, none but the very worſt of men being left alive. For God, they ſay, will ſend a cold odoriferous wind, blowing from Syria Damaſcena, which ſhall ſweep away the ſouls of all the faithful, and the Korân itſelf, ſo that men will remain in the groſſeſt ignorance for an hundred years.

[s] See Iſaiah xi 6, &c. [t] Chap 18 and 21. [u] See Ezek xxxix 9. Revel xx 8. [w] See Koran, c 44, and the notes thereon. Compare alſo Joel ii 30, and Revel ix 2

11. The

11. The diſcovery of a vaſt heap of gold and ſilver by the retreating of the Euphrates, which will be the deſtruction of many.

12. The demolition of the Caaba, or temple of Mecca, by the Ethiopians[x]

13 The ſpeaking of beaſts and inanimate things

14 The breaking out of fire in the province of Hejâz, or, according to others, in Yaman

15 The appearance of a man of the deſcendants of Kahtân, who ſhall drive men before him with his ſtaff.

16 The coming of the Mohdi, or director, concerning whom Mohammed prophecied that the world ſhould not have an end till one of his own family ſhould govern the Arabians, whoſe name ſhould be the ſame with his own name, and whoſe father's name ſhould alſo be the ſame with his father's name, and who ſhould fill the earth with righteouſneſs This perſon the Shiites believe to be now alive, and concealed in ſome ſecret place till the time of his manifeſtation, for they ſuppoſe him to be no other than the laſt of the twelve Imâms, named Mohammed Abu'lkaſem, as their prophet was, and the ſon of Haſſan al Aſkeri, the eleventh of that ſucceſſion He was born at Sermanrai, in the 255th year of the Hejra[y] From this tradition, it is to be preſumed, an opinion pretty current among the Chriſtians took its riſe, that the Mohammedans are in expectation of their prophet's return

17 A wind which ſhall ſweep away the ſouls of all who have but a grain of faith in their hearts, as has been mentioned under the tenth ſign

The three blaſts of the laſt trumpet, and their effects

Theſe are the greater ſigns, which, according to their doctrine, are to precede the reſurrection, but ſtill leave the hour of it uncertain for the immediate ſign of its being come will be the firſt blaſt of the trumpet, which they believe will be ſounded three times The firſt they call the blaſt of conſternation, at the hearing of which all creatures in

[x] See after, in this ſection [y] V D'Herbel Bibl Orient p 531 •

heaven

heaven and earth shall be struck with terror, except those whom God shall please to exempt from it. The effects attributed to this first sound of the trumpet are very wonderful for they say, the earth will be shaken, and not only all buildings, but the very mountains levelled, that the heavens shall melt, the sun be darkened, the stars fall, on the death of the angels, who, as some imagine, hold them suspended between heaven and earth, and the sea shall be troubled, and dried up, or, according to others, turned into flames, the sun, moon, and stars being thrown into it The Korân, to express the greatness of the terror of that day, adds, that women who give suck shall abandon the care of their infants, and even the she-camels which have gone ten months with young (a most valuable part of the substance of that nation) shall be utterly neglected A farther effect of this blast will be that concourse of beasts mentioned in the Korân [z], though some doubt whether it be to precede the resurrection or not They who suppose it will precede, think that all kinds of animals, forgetting their respective natural fierceness and timidity, will run together into one place, being terrified by the sound of the trumpet and the sudden shock of nature.

The Mohammedans believe that this first blast will be followed by a second, which they call the blast of examination [a], when all creatures both in heaven and earth shall die or be annihilated, except those which God shall please to exempt from the common fate [b], and this, they say, shall happen in the twinkling of an eye, nay, in an instant, nothing surviving except God alone, with paradise and hell, and the inhabitants of those two places, and the throne of glory [c]. The last who shall die will be the angel of death.

Forty

[z] Chap 81 [a] Several writers, however, make no distinction between this blast and the first, supposing the trumpet will sound but twice See the notes to Kor [a] chap 39 [b] Kor chap 39 [c] To these some add the spirit who

Forty years after this will be heard the blaſt of reſurrection, when the trumpet ſhall be ſounded the third time by Iſrafîl, who, together with Gabriel and Michael, will be previouſly reſtored to life, and, ſtanding on the rock of the temple of Jeruſalem[d], ſhall, at God's command, call together all the dry and rotten bones, and other diſperſed parts of the bodies, and the very hairs to judgment. This angel, having, by the divine order, ſet the trumpet to his mouth, and called together all the ſouls from all parts, will throw them into his trumpet, from whence, on his giving the laſt ſound, at the command of God, they will fly forth like bees, and fill the whole ſpace between heaven and earth, and then repair to their reſpective bodies, which the opening earth will ſuffer to ariſe, and the firſt who ſhall ſo ariſe, according to a tradition of Mohammed, will be himſelf. For this birth the earth will be prepared by the rain above-mentioned, which is to fall continually for forty years[e], and will reſemble the ſeed of a man, and be ſupplied from the water under the throne of God, which is called living water, by the efficacy and virtue of which the dead bodies ſhall ſpring forth from their graves, as they did in their mother's womb, or as corn ſprouts forth by common rain, till they become perfect, after which, breath will be breathed into them, and they will ſleep in their ſepulchres till they are raiſed to life at the laſt trump.

The length of the laſt day

As to the length of the day of judgment, the Korân in one place tells us that it will laſt 1000 years[f], and in another 50,000[g]. To reconcile this

bears the waters on which the throne is placed, the preſerved table wherein the decrees of God are regiſtered, and the pen wherewith they are written, all which things the Mohammedans imagine were created before the world [d] In this circumſtance the Mohammedans follow the Jews, who alſo agree that the trumpet will ſound more than once V R Bechai in Biur hattorah, & Otioth ſhel R Akiba [e] Elſewhere (ſee before, p 104) this rain is ſaid to continue only forty days, but it rather ſeems that it is to fall during the whole interval between the ſecond and third blaſts [f] Kor chap 32 [g] Ib chap 70

apparent

apparent contradiction, the commentators uſe ſeveral ſhifts ſome ſaying, they know not what meaſure of time God intends in thoſe paſſages, others, that theſe forms of ſpeaking are figurative, and not to be ſtrictly taken, and were deſigned only to expreſs the terribleneſs of that day, it being uſual for the Arabs to deſcribe what they diſlike as of long continuance, and what they like, as the contrary; and others ſuppoſe them ſpoken only in reference to the difficulty of the buſineſs of the day, which if God ſhould commit to any of his creatures, they would not be able to go through it in ſo many thouſand years, to omit ſome other opinions which we may take notice of elſewhere

The circumſtances of the reſurrection.

Having ſaid ſo much in relation to the time of the reſurrection, let us now ſee who are to be raiſed from the dead, in what manner and form they ſhall be raiſed, in what place they ſhall be aſſembled, and to what end, according to the doctrine of the Mohammedans.

That the reſurrection will be general, and extend to all creatures, both angels, genii, men, and animals, is the received opinion, which they ſupport by the authority of the Korân, though that paſſage which is produced to prove the reſurrection of brutes be otherwiſe interpreted by ſome[h]

The manner of their reſurrection will be very different. Thoſe who are deſtined to be partakers of eternal happineſs will ariſe in honour and ſecurity; and thoſe who are doomed to miſery, in diſgrace, and under diſmal apprehenſions As to mankind, they ſay, that they will be raiſed perfect in all their parts and members, and in the ſame ſtate as they came out of their mothers' wombs, that is, barefooted, naked, and uncircumciſed, which circumſtances, when Mohammed was telling his wife Ayeſha, ſhe, fearing the rules of modeſty might be thereby violated, objected that it would be very indecent for men and women to look upon one another in

[h] See the notes to Kor chap 81 and the preceding pr e

that

that condition; but he anſwered her, that the buſineſs of the day would be too weighty and ſerious to allow them the making uſe of that liberty. Others however alledge the authority of their prophet for a contrary opinion as to their nakedneſs, and pretend he aſſerted that the dead ſhould ariſe dreſſed in the ſame clothes in which they died[1], unleſs we interpret theſe words, as ſome do, not ſo much of the outward dreſs of the body, as the inward clothing of the mind, and underſtand thereby that every perſon will riſe again in the ſame ſtate as to his faith or infidelity, his knowledge or ignorance, his good or bad works. Mohammed is alſo ſaid to have farther taught, by another tradition, that mankind ſhall be aſſembled at the laſt-day, diſtinguiſhed into three claſſes. The firſt, of thoſe who go on foot, the ſecond, of thoſe who ride; and the third, of thoſe who creep grovelling with their faces on the ground The firſt claſs is to conſiſt of thoſe believers whoſe good works have been few, the ſecond, of thoſe who are in greater honour with God, and more acceptable to him, whence Ali affirmed that the pious, when they come forth from their ſepulchres, ſhall find ready prepared for them white-winged camels, with ſaddles of gold, wherein are to be obſerved ſome footſteps of the doctrine of the ancient Arabians[k], and the third claſs, they ſay, will be compoſed of the infidels, whom God ſhall cauſe to make their appearance with their faces on the earth, blind, dumb, and deaf. But the ungodly will not be thus only diſtinguiſhed, for, according to a tradition of the prophet, there will be ten ſorts of wicked men on whom God ſhall on that day fix certain diſcretory marks. The firſt will appear in the form of apes, theſe are the profeſſors of Zendiciſm the ſecond in that of ſwine, theſe are they

[1] In this alſo they follow their old guides, the Jews, who ſay, that, if the wheat which is ſown naked riſe clothed, it is no wonder the pious who are buried in their clothes ſhould riſe with them Gemar Sanhedr fol 90 [k] See before, Sect I p 21

who

who have been greedy of filthy lucre, and enriched themſelves by public oppreſſion the third will be brought with their heads reverſed, and their feet diſtorted; theſe are the uſurers: the fourth will wander about blind, theſe are unjuſt judges the fifth will be deaf, dumb, and blind, underſtanding nothing, theſe are they who glory in their own works. the ſixth will gnaw their tongues, which will hang down upon their breaſts, corrupted blood flowing from their mouths like ſpittle, ſo that every body ſhall deteſt them; theſe are the learned men and doctors, whoſe actions contradict their ſayings: the ſeventh will have their hands and feet cut off; theſe are they who have injured their neighbours: the eighth will be fixed to the trunks of palm-trees or ſtakes of wood; theſe are the falſe accuſers and informers the ninth will ſtink worſe than a corrupted corpſe, theſe are they who have indulged their paſſions and voluptuous appetites, but refuſed GOD ſuch part of their wealth as was due to him: the tenth will be clothed with garments daubed with pitch, and theſe are the proud, the vain-glorious, and the arrogant.

Where the raiſed will be aſſembled

As to the place where they are to be aſſembled to judgment, the Korân and the traditions of Mohammed agree that it will be on the earth, but in what part of the earth it is not agreed. Some ſay their prophet mentioned Syria for the place, others, a white and even tract of land, without inhabitants or any ſigns of buildings. Al Ghazâli imagines it will be a ſecond earth, which he ſuppoſes to be of ſilver; and others, an earth which has nothing in common with ours, but the name, having, it is poſſible, heard ſomething of the new heavens and new earth mentioned in ſcripture. whence the Korân has this expreſſion, On the day wherein the earth ſhall be changed into another earth[1].

Of the day of judgment

The end of the reſurrection the Mohammedans declare to be, that they who are raiſed may give an

[1] Chap 14

account of their actions, and receive the reward thereof. And they believe, that not only mankind, but the genii and irrational animals alſo[m], ſhall be judged on this great day, when the unarmed cattle ſhall take vengeance on the horned, till entire ſatisfaction ſhall be given to the injured[n].

The previous attendance of thoſe who are to be judged

As to mankind, they hold, that, when they are all aſſembled together, they will not be immediately brought to judgment, but the angels will keep them in their ranks and order while they attend for that purpoſe, and this attendance, ſome ſay, is to laſt forty years, others ſeventy, others three hundred; nay, ſome ſay no leſs than fifty thouſand years, each of them vouching their prophet's authority. During this ſpace they will ſtand looking up to heaven, but without receiving any information or orders thence, and are to ſuffer grievous torments, both the juſt and the unjuſt, though with manifeſt difference. For the limbs of the former, particularly thoſe parts which they uſed to waſh in making the ceremonial ablution before prayer, ſhall ſhine glorioufly, and their ſufferings ſhall be light in compariſon, and ſhall laſt no longer than the time neceſſary to ſay the appointed prayers, but the latter will have their faces obſcured with blackneſs, and disfigured with all the marks of ſorrow and deformity. What will then occaſion not the leaſt of their pain is a wonderful and incredible ſweat, which will even ſtop their mouths, and in which they will be immerſed in various degrees according to their demerits, ſome to the ancles only, ſome to the knees, ſome to the middle, ſome ſo high as their mouth,

[m] Kor chap 6 V Maimonid More Nev part 3 c 17 [n] This opinion the learned Greaves ſuppoſed to have taken its riſe from the following words of Ezekiel, wrongly underſtood And as for ye, O my flock, thus ſaith the Lord God, Behold I judge between cattle and cattle, between the rams and the he-goats ---Behold I, even I, will judge between the fat cattle, and between the lean cattle, becauſe ye have thruſt with ſide and with ſhoulder, and puſhed all the diſeaſed with your horns, till ye have ſcattered them abroad, therefore will I ſave my flock, and they ſhall no more be a prey, and I will judge between cattle and cattle &c Ezek xxxiv 17, &c 20, 21, 22 Much might be ſaid concerning brutes deſerving future reward and puniſhment See Bayle, Dict Hiſt Art Rorarius, Rem D &c

and others as their ears. And this ſweat, they ſay, will be provoked not only by that vaſt concourſe of all ſorts of creatures mutually preſſing and treading on one another's feet, but by the near and unuſual approach of the ſun, which will be then no farther from them than the diſtance of a mile, or (as ſome tranſlate the word, the ſignification of which is ambiguous) than the length of a bodkin. So that their ſculls will boil like a pot[o], and they will be all bathed in ſweat From this inconvenience however the good will be protected by the ſhade of God's throne; but the wicked will be ſo miſerably tormented with it, and alſo with hunger, and thirſt, and a ſtifling air, that they will cry out, Lord, deliver us from this anguiſh, though thou ſend us into hell-fire[p] What they fable of the extraordinary heat of the ſun, on this occaſion, the Mohammedans certainly borrowed from the Jews, who ſay, that, for the puniſhment of the wicked on the laſt-day, that planet ſhall be drawn forth from its ſheath, in which it is now put up, leſt it ſhould deſtroy all things by its exceſſive heat[q].

The manner of their being judged

When thoſe who have riſen ſhall have waited the limited time, the Mohammedans believe God will at length appear to judge them, Mohammed undertaking the office of interceſſor, after it ſhall have been declined by Adam, Noah, Abraham, and Jeſus, who ſhall beg deliverance only for their own ſouls. They ſay, that on this ſolemn occaſion God will come in the clouds, ſurrounded by angels, and will produce the books wherein the actions of every perſon are recorded by their guardian angels[r], and will command the prophets to bear witneſs againſt thoſe to whom they have been reſpectively ſent. Then every one will be examined concerning all his words and actions, uttered and done by him in this life, not as if God needed any information in thoſe reſpects, but to oblige the perſon to make public confeſſion and acknowledgment of God's juſtice. The parti-

[o] Al Ghazâli [p] Idem [q] V Pocock, Not in Port Moſis, p 277
[r] See before, p 94

culars of which they ſhall give an account, as Mohammed himſelf enumerated them, are, of their time, how they ſpent it, of their wealth, by what means they acquired it, and how they employed it, of their bodies, wherein they exerciſed them, of their knowledge and learning, what uſe they made of them. It is ſaid, however, that Mohammed has affirmed that no leſs than 70,000 of his followers ſhould be permitted to enter paradiſe without any previous examination, which ſeems to be contradictory to what is ſaid above. To the queſtions we have mentioned each perſon ſhall anſwer, and make his defence in the beſt manner he can, endeavouring to excuſe himſelf by caſting the blame of his evil deeds on others, ſo that a diſpute ſhall ariſe even between the ſoul and the body, to which of them their guilt ought to be imputed; the ſoul, ſaying, O Lord, my body I received from thee, for thou createdſt me without a hand to lay hold with, a foot to walk with, an eye to ſee with, or an underſtanding to apprehend with, till I came and entered into this body, therefore puniſh it eternally, but deliver me. The body, on the other ſide, will make this apology: O Lord, thou createdſt me like a ſtock of wood, having neither hand that I could lay hold with, nor foot that I could walk with, till this ſoul, like a ray of light, entered into me, and my tongue began to ſpeak, my eye to ſee, and my foot to walk; therefore puniſh it eternally, but deliver me. But God will propound to them the following parable of the blind man and the lame man, which, as well as the preceding diſpute, was borrowed by the Mohammedans from the Jews[a]. A certain king, having a pleaſant garden, in which were ripe fruits, ſet two perſons to keep it, one of whom was blind, and the other lame, the former not being able to ſee the fruit, nor the latter to gather it, the lame man, however, ſeeing the fruit, perſuaded the blind man to take him upon his ſhoulders, and by that means he eaſily gathered the

[a] Gemara, Sanhedr c 11 R Joſ Albo Serm IV c 33 See alſo Epiphan. in Ancorat Sect 89

fruit,

fruit, which they divided between them. The lord of the garden coming ſome time after, and inquiring after his fruit, each began to excuſe himſelf; the blind man ſaid he had no eyes to ſee with; and the lame man, that he had no feet to approach the trees. But the king, ordering the lame man to be ſet on the blind, paſſed ſentence on and puniſhed them both. And in the ſame manner will GOD deal with the body and the ſoul. As theſe apologies will not avail on that day, ſo will it alſo be in vain for any one to deny his evil actions, ſince men and angels, and his own members, nay, the very earth itſelf, will be ready to bear witneſs againſt him.

[*] Though the Mohammedans aſſign ſo long a ſpace for the attendance of the reſuſcitated before their trial, yet they tell us the trial itſelf will be over in much leſs time, and, according to an expreſſion of Mohammed, familiar enough to the Arabs, will laſt no longer than while one may milk an ewe, or than the ſpace between the two milkings of a ſhe-camel[t]. Some, explaining thoſe words ſo frequently uſed in the Korân, GOD will be ſwift in taking an account, ſay, that he will judge all creatures in the ſpace of half a day, and others, that it will be done in leſs time than the twinkling of an eye[u].

At this examination they alſo believe that each perſon will have the book, wherein all the actions of his life are written, delivered to him, which books the righteous will receive in their right-hand, and read with great pleaſure and ſatisfaction; but the ungodly will be obliged to take them, againſt their wills, in their left[w], which will be bound behind their backs, their right-hand being tied up to their necks[x].

To ſhew the exact juſtice which will be obſerved on this great day of trial, the next thing they de- Of the balance wherein their works will be weighed

[t] The Arabs uſe, after they have drawn ſome milk from the camel, to wait awhile, and let her young one ſuck a little, that ſhe may give down her milk more plentifully at the ſecond milking

[u] Pocock, Not. in Port Moſis, p 278---282 See alſo Kor c 2 p 23

[w] Kor c 17, 18, 69, and 84

[x] Jallalo'ddin

ſcribe is the balance wherein all things ſhall be weighed. They ſay it will be held by Gabriel, and that it is of ſo vaſt a ſize, that its two ſcales, one of which hangs over paradiſe, and the other over hell, are capacious enough to contain both heaven and earth. Though ſome are willing to underſtand what is ſaid in the Korân concerning this balance allegorically, and only as a figurative repreſentation of God's equity, yet the more ancient and orthodox opinion is, that they are to be taken literally, and ſince words and actions, being mere accidents, are not capable of being themſelves weighed, they ſay that the books wherein they are written will be thrown into the ſcales, and according as thoſe wherein the good or evil actions are recorded ſhall preponderate, ſentence will be given, thoſe whoſe balances, laden with their good works, ſhall be heavy, will be ſaved, but thoſe whoſe balances are light, will be condemned[y]. Nor will any one have cauſe to complain that God ſuffers any good action to paſs unrewarded, becauſe the wicked for the good they do have their reward in this life, and therefore can expect no favour in the next

The old Jewiſh writers make mention as well of the books to be produced at the laſt-day, wherein mens' actions are regiſtered[z], as of the balance wherein they ſhall be weighed[a], and the ſcripture itſelf ſeems to have given the firſt notion of both[b]. But what the Perſian Magi believe of the balance comes neareſt to the Mohammedan opinion They hold, that on the day of judgment two angels, named Mihr and Sorûſh, will ſtand on the bridge we ſhall deſcribe by and by, to examine every perſon as he paſſes, that the former, who repreſents the divine mercy, will hold a balance in his hand, to weigh the actions of men, that, according to the

[y] Kor c 23, 7, &c
[z] Gemar Sanhedr f 91, &c Revel xx 12, &c and Dan v 27
[a] Midraſh, Yalkut Shemuni, f 153 c 3
[b] Exod xxxii 32, 33 Dan vii. 10.

report

report he ſhall make thereof to God, ſentence will be pronounced, and thoſe whoſe good works are found more ponderous, if they turn the ſcale but by the weight of a hair, will be permitted to paſs forward to paradiſe; but thoſe whoſe good works ſhall be found light, will be, by the other angel, who repreſents God's juſtice, precipitated from the bridge into hell[c].

This examination being paſt, and every one's works weighed in a juſt balance, that mutual retaliation will follow, according to which every creature will take vengeance one of another, or have ſatisfaction made them for the injuries which they have ſuffered. And, ſince there will then be no other way of returning like for like, the manner of giving this ſatisfaction will be by taking away a proportionable part of the good works of him who offered the injury, and adding it to thoſe of him who ſuffered it Which being done, if the angels (by whoſe miniſtry this is to be performed) ſay, Lord, we have given to every one his due, and there remaineth of this perſon's good works ſo much as equalleth the weight of an ant, God will, of his mercy, cauſe it to be doubled unto him, that he may be admitted into paradiſe, but if, on the contrary, his good works be exhauſted, and there remain evil works only, and there be any who have not yet received ſatisfaction from him, God will order that an equal weight of their ſins be added unto his, that he may be puniſhed for them in their ſtead, and he will be ſent to hell loaden with both This will be the method of God's dealing with mankind. As to brutes, after they ſhall have likewiſe taken vengeance of one another, as we have mentioned above, he will command them to be changed into duſt[d], wicked men being reſerved to more grievous puniſhment: Retaliation of injuries.

[c] Hyde, de rel vet Perſ p 245, 402, &c

[d] Yet they ſay the dog of the ſeven ſleepers, and Ezra's aſs, which was raiſed to life, will, by peculiar favour, be admitted into paradiſe See Kor c 18 and c 3 p 32

ſo that they ſhall cry out, on hearing this ſentence paſſed on the brutes, Would to God that we were duſt alſo. As to the genii, many Mohammedans are of opinion that ſuch of them as are true believers, will undergo the ſame fate as the irrational animals, and have no other reward than the favour of being converted into duſt; and for this they quote the authority of the prophet. But this however is judged not ſo very reaſonable, ſince the genii, being capable of putting themſelves in the ſtate of believers as well as men, muſt conſequently deſerve, as it ſeems, to be rewarded for their faith, as well as to be puniſhed for their infidelity. Wherefore ſome entertain a more favourable opinion, and aſſign the believing genii a place near the confines of paradiſe, where they will enjoy ſufficient felicity, though they be not admitted into that delightful manſion. But the unbelieving genii, it is univerſally agreed, will be puniſhed eternally, and be thrown into hell with the infidels of mortal race. It may not be improper to obſerve, that under the denomination of unbelieving genii, the Mohammedans comprehend alſo the devil and his companions[e].

Of the bridge al Sirât

The trials being over, and the aſſembly diſſolved, the Mohammedans hold, that thoſe who are to be admitted into paradiſe will take the right-hand way, and thoſe who are deſtined to hell-fire will take the left, but both of them muſt firſt paſs the bridge, called, in Arabic, al Sirât, which they ſay is laid over the midſt of hell, and deſcribe to be finer than a hair, and ſharper than the edge of a ſword, ſo that it ſeems very difficult to conceive how any one ſhall be able to ſtand upon it: for which reaſon moſt of the ſect of the Motázalites reject it as a fable; though the orthodox think it a ſufficient proof of the truth of this article, that it was ſeriouſly affirmed by him who never aſſerted a falſehood, meaning their prophet, who, to add to the difficulty of the paſſage, has likewiſe declared that

[e] V Korân, c. 18.

this

this bridge is beſet on each ſide with briars and hooked thorns; which will however be no impediment to the good, for they ſhall paſs with wonderful eaſe and ſwiftneſs, like lightning, or the wind, Mohammed and his Moſlems leading the way, whereas the wicked, what with the ſlipperineſs and extreme narrowneſs of the path, the entangling of the thorns, and the extinction of the light which directed the former to paradiſe, will ſoon miſs their footing, and fall down headlong into hell, which is gaping beneath them[f].

This circumſtance Mohammed ſeems alſo to have borrowed from the Magians, who teach that on the laſt-day all mankind will be obliged to paſs a bridge which they call Pûl Chînavad, or Chînavar; that is, the ſtrait bridge, leading directly into the other world; on the midſt of which they ſuppoſe the angels, appointed by God to perform that office, will ſtand, who will require of every one a ſtrict account of his actions, and weigh them in the manner we have already mentioned[g]. It is true the Jews ſpeak likewiſe of the bridge of hell, which they ſay is no broader than a thread, but then they do not tell us that any ſhall be obliged to paſs it, except the idolaters, who will fall thence into perdition[h].

As to the puniſhment of the wicked, the Mohammedans are taught that hell is divided into ſeven ſtories, or apartments, one below another, deſigned for the reception of as many diſtinct claſſes of the damned[i]. The firſt, which they call Jehennam, they ſay, will be the receptacle of thoſe who acknowledged one God, that is, the wicked Mohammedans, who, after having there been puniſhed according to their demerits, will at length be releaſed. The ſecond, named Ladhâ, they aſſign to the Jews; the third, named al Hotama, to the Chriſtians, the fourth, named al Sâîr, to the Sabians; the fifth, named Sakar, to the Magians; the

The Mohammedan notions of hell and its torments

[f] Pocock, ubi ſup. p 282—289 [g] Hyde, de rel vet Perſ p 245, 402, &c.
[h] Midraſh, Yalkut Reubeni, § Gehinnom [i] Kor c 15

ſixth,

ſixth, named al Jahîm, to the idolaters; and the ſeventh, which is the loweſt and worſt of all, and is called al Hâwiyat, to the hypocrites, or thoſe who outwardly profeſſed ſome religion, but in their hearts were of none [k]. Over each of theſe apartments they believe there will be ſet a guard of angels [l], nineteen in number [m]; to whom the damned will confeſs the juſt judgment of God, and beg them to intercede with him for ſome alleviation of their pain, or that they may be delivered by being annihilated [n].

Mohammed has, in his Korân and traditions, been very exact in deſcribing the various torments of hell, which, according to him, the wicked will ſuffer both from intenſe heat and exceſſive cold. We ſhall however enter into no detail of them here, but only obſerve, that the degrees of theſe pains will alſo vary in proportion to the crimes of the ſufferer, and the apartment he is condemned to, and that he who is puniſhed the moſt lightly of all will be ſhod with ſhoes of fire, the fervor of which will cauſe his ſkull to boil like a cauldron. The condition of theſe unhappy wretches, as the ſame prophet teaches, cannot be properly called either life or death, and their miſery will be greatly increaſed by their deſpair of being ever delivered from that place, ſince, according to that frequent expreſſion in the Korân, they muſt remain therein for ever. It muſt be remarked, however, that the infidels alone will be liable to eternity of damnation, for the Moſlems, or thoſe who have embraced the true religion, and have been guilty of heinous ſins, will be delivered thence, after

[k] Others fill theſe apartments with different company Some place, in the ſecond, the idolaters, in the third, Gog and Magog, &c in the fourth, the devils, in the fifth, thoſe who neglect alms and prayers, and crowd the Jews, Chriſtians, and Magians together in the ſixth Some again will have the firſt to be prepared for the Dahrians, or thoſe who deny the creation, and believe the eternity of the world, the ſecond, for the Dualiſts, or Manichees, and the idolatrous Arabs, the third, for the Bramins of the Indies, the fourth, for the Jews, the fifth, for the Chriſtians, and the ſixth, for the Magians But all agree in aſſigning the ſeventh to the hypocrites V Millium, de Mohammediſmo ante Moham p 412 D'Herbel Bibl Orient p 368, &c [l] Kor chap 40, 43, 74, &c [m] Ib c 74 [n] Ib c 40, 43

they

they ſhall have expatiated their crimes by their ſufferings. The contrary of either of theſe opinions is reckoned heretical, for it is the conſtant orthodox doctrine of the Mohammedans, that no unbeliever or idolater will ever be releaſed, nor any perſon who in his life-time profeſſed and believed the unity of God, be condemned to eternal puniſhment. As to the time and manner of the deliverance of thoſe believers whoſe evil actions ſhall outweigh their good, there is a tradition of Mohammed, that they ſhall be releaſed after they ſhall have been ſcorched, and their ſkins burnt black, and ſhall afterwards be admitted into paradiſe, and, when the inhabitants of that place ſhall, in contempt, call them infernals, God will, on their prayers, take from them that opprobrious appellation Others ſay he taught that, while they continue in hell, they ſhall be deprived of life, or (as his words are otherwiſe interpreted) be caſt into a moſt profound ſleep, that they may be the leſs ſenſible of their torments, and that they ſhall afterwards be received into paradiſe, and there revive on their being waſhed with the water of life, though ſome ſuppoſe they will be reſtored to life before they come forth from their place of puniſhment, that, at their bidding farewell to their pains, they may have ſome little taſte of them. The time which theſe believers ſhall be detained there, according to a tradition handed down from their prophet, will not be leſs than 900 years, nor more than 7000. And, as to the manner of their delivery, they ſay that they ſhall be diſtinguiſhed by the marks of proſtration on thoſe parts of their bodies with which they uſed to touch the ground in prayer, and over which the fire will therefore have no power; and that, being known by this characteriſtic, they will be releaſed by the mercy of God, at the intercеſſion of Mohammed and the bleſſed; whereupon thoſe who ſhall have been dead, will be reſtored to life, as has been ſaid, and thoſe whoſe bodies ſhall have contracted any ſoulneſs or filth from the

the flames and ſmoke of hell, will be immerſed in one of the rivers of paradiſe, called the river of life, which will waſh them whiter than pearls [o].

For moſt of theſe circumſtances relating to hell and the ſtate of the damned, Mohammed was likewiſe in all probability indebted to the Jews, and in part to the Magians; both of whom agree in making ſeven diſtinct apartments in hell [p], though they vary in other particulars. The former place an angel as a guard over each of theſe infernal apartments, and ſuppoſe he will intercede for the miſerable wretches there impriſoned, who will openly acknowledge the juſtice of GOD in their condemnation [q]. They alſo teach that the wicked will ſuffer a diverſity of puniſhments, and that by intolerable cold [r] as well as heat, and that their faces ſhall become black [s], and believe thoſe of their own religion ſhall alſo be puniſhed in hell hereafter, according to their crimes, (for they hold that few or none will be found ſo exactly righteous as to deſerve no puniſhment at all,) but will ſoon be delivered thence, when they ſhall be ſufficiently purged from their ſins by their father Abraham, or at the interceſſion of him or ſome other of the prophets [t]. The Magians allow but one angel to preſide over all the ſeven hells, who is named by them Vanánd Yezád, and, as they teach, aſſigns puniſhments proportionate to each perſon's crimes, reſtraining alſo the tyranny and exceſſive cruelty of the devil, who would, if left to himſelf, torment the damned beyond their ſentence [u]. Thoſe of this religion do alſo mention and deſcribe various kinds of torments, wherein the wicked will be puniſhed in the next life, among which though they reckon extreme cold to be one, yet they do not admit fire, out of reſpect, as it ſeems, to that ele-

[o] Poc Not in Port Moſis, p 289—291 [p] Niſhmat hayim, f 32 Gemar in Arubin, f 19 Zohar, ad Exod xxvi 2, &c & Hyde, de rel vet Perſ p 245 [q] Midraſh, Yalkut Shemuni, part 11 f 116 [r] Zohar, ad Exod xix [s] Yalkut Shemuni, ubi ſup f 86 [t] Niſhmat hayim, f 82 Gemar Arubin, f 19 V Kor c 2 p 11 and 3 p 37 and notes there [u] Hyde, de rel vet Perſ p 182

ment,

ment, which they take to be the repreſentation of the divine nature, and therefore they rather chooſe to deſcribe the damned ſouls as ſuffering by other kinds of puniſhments; ſuch as an intolerable ſtink, the ſtinging and biting of ſerpents and wild beaſts, the cutting and tearing of the fleſh by the devils, exceſſive hunger and thirſt, and the like[w].

Of the wall between paradiſe and hell

Before we proceed to a deſcription of the Mohammedan paradiſe, we muſt not forget to ſay ſomething of the wall or partition which they imagine to be between that place and hell, and ſeems to be copied from the great gulph of ſeparation mentioned in ſcripture[x]. They call it al Orf, and more frequently, in the plural, al Arâf, a word derived from the verb arafa, which ſignifies to diſtinguiſh between things, or to part them though ſome commentators give another reaſon for the impoſition of this name, becauſe, ſay they, thoſe who ſtand on this partition, will know and diſtinguiſh the bleſſed from the damned, by their reſpective marks or characteriſtics[y] and others ſay the word properly intends any thing that is high raiſed or elevated, as ſuch a wall of ſeparation muſt be ſuppoſed to be[z]. The Mohammedan writers greatly differ as to the perſons who are to be found on al Arâf. Some imagine it to be a ſort of limbo for the patriarchs and prophets, or for the martyrs, and thoſe who have been moſt eminent for ſanctity, among whom they ſay there will be alſo angels in the form of men. Others place here ſuch whoſe good and evil works are ſo equal that they exactly counterpoiſe each other, and therefore deſerve neither reward nor puniſhment, and theſe, they ſay, will on the laſt-day be admitted into paradiſe, after they ſhall have performed an act of adoration, which will be imputed to them as a merit, and will make the ſcale of their good works to overbalance. Others ſuppoſe this

[w] V Eundem, ib p 399, &c [x] Luke xvi 26 [y] Jallalo'ddin Al Kor c 7 [z] Al Beidawi

intermediate

intermediate ſpace will be a receptacle for thoſe who have gone to war without their parents' leave, and therein ſuffered martyrdom; being excluded paradiſe for their diſobedience, and eſcaping hell, becauſe they are martyrs. The breadth of this partition-wall cannot be ſuppoſed to be exceeding great, ſince not only thoſe who ſhall ſtand thereon will hold conference with the inhabitants both of paradiſe and of hell, but the bleſſed and the damned themſelves will alſo be able to talk to one another[a].

If Mohammed did not take his notions of the partition we have been deſcribing from ſcripture, he muſt at leaſt have borrowed it at ſecond-hand from the Jews, who mention a thin wall dividing paradiſe from hell[b].

Of Mohammed's pond

The righteous, as the Mohammedans are taught to believe, having ſurmounted the difficulties, and paſſed the ſharp bridge above-mentioned, before they enter paradiſe, will be refreſhed by drinking at the pond of their prophet, who deſcribed it to be an exact ſquare, of a month's journey in compaſs, its water, which is ſupplied by two pipes from al Cawthar, one of the rivers of paradiſe, being whiter than milk or ſilver, and more odoriferous than muſk, with as many cups ſet around it as there are ſtars in the firmament, of which water whoever drinks will thirſt no more for ever[c]. This is the firſt taſte which the bleſſed will have of their future and now near approaching felicity.

Of paradiſe.

Though paradiſe be ſo very frequently mentioned in the Korân, yet it is a diſpute among the Mohammedans whether it be already created, or be to be created hereafter; the Motázalites, and ſome other ſectaries, aſſerting, that there is not at preſent any ſuch place in nature, and that the paradiſe which the righteous will inhabit in the next life, will be different from that from which Adam was expelled.

[a] Korân, ubi ſup V D'Herbel Bibl Orient. p 121, &c [b] Midraſh, Yalkut Siom f 11 [c] Al Ghazâli

However, the orthodox profeſs the contrary, maintaining that it was created even before the world, and deſcribe it, from their prophet's traditions, in the following manner.

They ſay it is ſituate above the ſeven heavens, (or in the ſeventh heaven,) and next under the throne of GOD, and to expreſs the amenity of the place, tell us that the earth of it is of the fineſt wheat flour, or of the pureſt muſk, or, as others will have it, of ſaffron, that its ſtones are pearls and jacinths, the wall of its buildings enriched with gold and ſilver, and that the trunks of all its trees are of gold, among which the moſt remarkable is the tree called Tûba, or the tree of happineſs. Concerning this tree they fable that it ſtands in the palace of Mohammed, though a branch of it will reach to the houſe of every true believer[d], that it will be loaden with pomegranates, grapes, dates, and other fruits of ſurpriſing bigneſs, and of taſtes unknown to mortals So that if a man deſire to eat of any particular kind of fruit, it will immediately be preſented him, or, if he chooſe fleſh, birds ready dreſſed will be ſet before him, according to his wiſh. They add, that the boughs of this tree will ſpontaneouſly bend down to the hand of the perſon who would gather of its fruits, and that it will ſupply the bleſſed not only with food, but alſo with ſilken garments, and beaſts to ride on ready ſaddled and bridled, and adorned with rich trappings, which will burſt forth from its fruits; and that this tree is ſo large, that a perſon mounted on the fleeteſt horſe, would not be able to gallop from one end of its ſhade to the other in a hundred years[e].

As plenty of water is one of the greateſt additions to the pleaſantneſs of any place, the Korân often ſpeaks of the rivers of paradiſe as a principal ornament thereof. Some of theſe rivers, they ſay,

[d] Yahya, in Kor c 13 [e] Jallalo'ddin, ib

flow

flow with water, ſome with milk, ſome with wine, and others with honey; all taking their riſe from the root of the tree Tûba; two of which rivers, named al Cawthar and the River of Life, we have already mentioned. And, leſt theſe ſhould not be ſufficient, we are told this garden is alſo watered by a great number of leſſer ſprings and fountains, whoſe pebbles are rubies and emeralds, their earth of camphire, their beds of muſk, and their ſides of ſaffron; the moſt remarkable among them being Salſabîl and Tasnîm.

But all theſe glories will be eclipſed by the reſplendent and raviſhing girls of paradiſe, called, from their large black eyes, Hûr al oyûn, the enjoyment of whoſe company will be a principal felicity of the faithful. Theſe, they ſay, are created, not of clay, as mortal women are, but of pure muſk; being, as their prophet often affirms in his Korân, free from all natural impurities, defects, and inconveniencies incident to the ſex, of the ſtricteſt modeſty, and ſecluded from public view in pavilions of hollow pearls, ſo large, that, as ſome traditions have it, one of them will be no leſs than four paraſangs (or, as others ſay, ſixty miles) long, and as many broad.

The name which the Mohammedans uſually give to this happy manſion, is al Jannat, or the garden, and ſometimes they call it, with an addition, Jannat al Ferdaws, the garden of paradiſe; Jannat Aden, the garden of Eden, (though they generally interpret the word Eden, not according to its acceptation in Hebrew, but according to its meaning in their own tongue, wherein it ſignifies a ſettled or perpetual habitation;) Jannat al Máwa, the garden of abode; Jannat al Naim, the garden of pleaſure, and the like; by which ſeveral appellations ſome underſtand ſo many different gardens, or at leaſt places of different degrees of felicity, (for they reckon no leſs than an hundred ſuch in all,) the very meaneſt whereof will afford its inhabitants ſo many pleaſures and delights,

that

that one would conclude they muſt even ſink under them, had not Mohammed declared, that, in order to qualify the bleſſed for a full enjoyment of them, God will give to every one the abilities of an hundred men.

We have already deſcribed Mohammed's pond, whereof the righteous are to drink before their admiſſion into this delicious ſeat, beſides which, ſome authors[f] mention two fountains, ſpringing from under a certain tree near the gate of paradiſe, and ſay, that the bleſſed will alſo drink of one of them, to purge their bodies, and carry off all excrementitious dregs, and will waſh themſelves in the other. When they are arrived at the gate itſelf, each perſon will there be met and ſaluted by the beautiful youths appointed to ſerve and wait upon him, one of them running before, to carry the news of his arrival to the wives deſtined for him, and alſo by two angels, bearing the preſents ſent him by God, one of whom will inveſt him with a garment of paradiſe, and the other will put a ring on each of his fingers, with inſcriptions on them alluding to the happineſs of his condition. By which of the eight gates (for ſo many they ſuppoſe paradiſe to have) they are reſpectively to enter, is not worth inquiry, but it muſt be obſerved, that Mohammed has declared that no perſon's good works will gain him admittance, and that even himſelf ſhall be ſaved, not by his merits, but merely by the mercy of God. It is, however, the conſtant doctrine of the Korân, that the felicity of each perſon will be proportioned to his deſerts, and that there will be abodes of different degrees of happineſs; the moſt eminent degree being reſerved for the prophets, the ſecond for the doctors and teachers of God's worſhip, the next for the martyrs, and the lower for the reſt of the righteous, according to their ſeveral merits. There will be alſo ſome diſtinction made

[f] Al Ghazâli, Kenz al Aſrâr

in reſpect to the time of their admiſſion; Mohammed (to whom, if you will believe him, the gates will firſt be opened) having affirmed, that the poor will enter paradiſe five hundred years before the rich. Nor is this the only privilege which they will enjoy in the next life; ſince the ſame prophet has alſo declared, that, when he took a view of paradiſe, he ſaw the majority of its inhabitants to be the poor; and, when he looked down into hell, he ſaw the greater part of the wretches confined there to be women.

For the firſt entertainment of the bleſſed on their admiſſion, they fable, that the whole earth will then be as one loaf of bread, which GOD will reach to them with his hand, holding it like a cake; and that for meat they will have the ox Balâm, and the fiſh Nûn, the lobes of whoſe livers will ſuffice ſeventy thouſand men, being, as ſome imagine, to be ſet before the principal gueſts, viz. thoſe who, to that number, will be admitted into paradiſe without examination[g], though others ſuppoſe that a definite number is here put for an indefinite, and that nothing more is meant thereby, than to expreſs a great multitude of people.

From this feaſt every one will be diſmiſſed to the manſion deſigned for him, where (as has been ſaid) he will enjoy ſuch a ſhare of felicity as will be proportioned to his merits, but vaſtly exceed comprehenſion or expectation, ſince the very meaneſt in paradiſe (as he who, it is pretended, muſt know beſt, has declared) will have eighty thouſand ſervants, ſeventy-two wives of the girls of paradiſe, beſides the wives he had in this world, and a tent erected for him of pearls, jacinths, and emeralds, of a very large extent, and, according to another tradition, will be waited on by three hundred attendants while he eats, will be ſerved in diſhes of gold, whereof three hundred ſhall be ſet before him at

[g] See before, p. 116.

once,

once, containing each a different kind of food, the laſt morſel of which will be as grateful as the firſt; and will alſo be ſupplied with as many ſorts of liquors in veſſels of the ſame metal: and, to complete the entertainment, there will be no want of wine, which, though forbidden in this life, will yet be freely allowed to be drank in the next, and without danger, ſince the wine of paradiſe will not inebriate, as that we drink here. The flavour of this wine we may conceive to be delicious without a deſcription, ſince the water of Tasnîm and the other fountains, which will be uſed to dilute it, is ſaid to be wonderfully ſweet and fragrant. If any object to theſe pleaſures, as an impudent Jew did to Mohammed, that ſo much eating and drinking muſt neceſſarily require proper evacuations, we anſwer, as the prophet did, that the inhabitants of paradiſe will not need to eaſe themſelves, nor even to blow their noſe, for that all ſuperfluities will be diſcharged and carried off by perſpiration, or a ſweat as oderiferous as muſk, after which their appetite ſhall return afreſh.

The magnificence of the garments and furniture, promiſed by the Korân to the godly in the next life, is anſwerable to the delicacy of their diet. For they are to be cloathed in the richeſt ſilks and brocades, chiefly of green, which will burſt forth from the fruits of paradiſe, and will be alſo ſupplied by the leaves of the tree Tûba, they will be adorned with bracelets of gold and ſilver, and crowns ſet with pearls of incomparable luſtre, and will make uſe of ſilken carpets, litters of a prodigious ſize, couches, pillows, and other rich furniture embroidered with gold and precious ſtones.

That we may the more readily believe what has been mentioned of the extraordinary abilities of the inhabitants of paradiſe to taſte theſe pleaſures in their height, it is ſaid they will enjoy a perpetual youth, that, at whatever age they happen to die, they will be raiſed in their prime and vigour, that

is, of about thirty years of age, which age they will never exceed, (and the ſame they ſay of the damned,) and that, when they enter paradiſe, they will be of the ſame ſtature with Adam, who, as they fable, was no leſs than ſixty cubits high. And to this age and ſtature their children, if they ſhall deſire any, (for otherwiſe their wives will not conceive,) ſhall immediately attain, according to that ſaying of their prophet, If any of the faithful in paradiſe be deſirous of iſſue, it ſhall be conceived, born, and grown up within the ſpace of an hour. And in the ſame manner, if any one ſhall have a fancy to employ himſelf in agriculture, (which ruſtic pleaſure may ſuit the wanton fancy of ſome,) what he ſhall ſow will ſpring up and come to maturity in a moment.

Leſt any of the ſenſes ſhould want their proper delight, we are told the ear will there be entertained, not only with the raviſhing ſongs of the angel Iſrafil, who has the moſt melodious voice of all God's creatures, and of the daughters of paradiſe, but even the trees themſelves will celebrate the divine praiſes with a harmony exceeding whatever mortals have heard, to which will be joined the ſound of the bells hanging on the trees, which will be put in motion by the wind proceeding from the throne of God, ſo often as the bleſſed wiſh for muſic, nay, the very claſhing of the golden-bodied trees, whoſe fruits are pearls and emeralds, will ſurpaſs human imagination, ſo that the pleaſures of this ſenſe will not be the leaſt of the enjoyments of paradiſe.

The delights we have hitherto taken a view of, it is ſaid, will be common to all the inhabitants of paradiſe, even thoſe of the loweſt order What then, think we, muſt they enjoy who ſhall obtain a ſuperior degree of honour and felicity? To theſe, they ſay, there are prepared, beſides all this, Such things as eye hath not ſeen, nor hath ear heard, nor hath it entered into the heart of man to conceive, an expreſ-

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sion most certainly borrowed from scripture[h]. That we may know wherein the felicity of those who shall attain the highest degree will consist, Mohammed is reported to have said, that the meanest of the inhabitants of paradise will see his gardens, wives, servants, furniture, and other possessions, take up the space of a thousand years' journey, (for so far, and farther, will the blessed see in the next life,) but that he will be in the highest honour with God, who shall behold his face morning and evening: and this favour al Ghazâli supposes to be that additional or superabundant recompence promised in the Korân[i], which will give such exquisite delight, that in respect thereof all the other pleasures of paradise will be forgotten and lightly esteemed, and not without reason, since, as the same author says, every other enjoyment is equally tasted by the very brute beast who is turned loose into luxuriant pasture[k]. The reader will observe, by the way, that this is a full confutation of those who pretend the Mohammedans admit of no spiritual pleasure in the next life, but make the happiness of the blessed to consist wholly in corporeal enjoyments[l].

Whence Mohammed took the greatest part of his paradise, it is easy to shew. The Jews constantly described the future mansion of the just as a delicious garden, and make it also reach to the seventh heaven[m]. They also say it has three gates[n], or, as others will have it, two[o], and four rivers (which last circumstance they copied, to be sure, from those of the garden of Eden[p]) flowing with milk, wine, balsam, and honey[q] Their Behemoth and Leviathan, which they pretend will be slain for the entertainment of the blessed[r], are so apparently the Balâm

[h] Isaiah, lxiv 4 1 Corinth ii 9 [i] Chap 10, &c [k] V Poc in not ad Port Mosis, p 305 [l] V Reland de Rel Moh l 2 § 17 [m] V Gemar Tanith, f 25 Beracoth f 34 & Midrash rabboth, f 37 [n] Megillah, Amkoth, p 78 [o] Midrash, Yalkut Shemuni [p] Genes ii 10, &c [q] Midrash, Yalk. Shem [r] Gemar Bava Bathra, f 78 Rashi, in Job i

and Nûn of Mohammed, that his followers themſelves confeſs he is obliged to them for both[t]. The Rabbins likewiſe mention ſeven different degrees of felicity[u], and ſay that the higheſt will be of thoſe who perpetually contemplate the face of GOD[v]. The Perſian Magi had alſo an idea of the future happy eſtate of the good, very little different from that of Mohammed. Paradiſe they call Behiſht and Mînu, which ſignifies cryſtal, where they believe the righteous ſhall enjoy all manner of delights, and particularly the company of the Hurâni Behiſht, or black-eyed nymphs of paradiſe[w], the care of whom they ſay is committed to the angel Zamiyâd[x], and hence Mohammed ſeems to have taken the firſt hint of his paradiſiacal ladies.

It is not improbable, however, but that he might have been obliged, in ſome reſpects, to the Chriſtian accounts of the felicity of the good in the next life. As it is ſcarce poſſible to convey, eſpecially to the apprehenſions of the generality of mankind, an idea of ſpiritual pleaſures, without introducing ſenſible objects, the ſcriptures have been obliged to repreſent the celeſtial enjoyments by corporeal images; and to deſcribe the manſions of the bleſſed as a glorious and magnificent city, built of gold and precious ſtones, with twelve gates, through the ſtreets of which there runs a river of water of life, and having on either ſide the tree of life, which bears twelve ſorts of fruits, and leaves of a healing virtue[y]. Our Saviour likewiſe ſpeaks of the future ſtate of the bleſſed as of a kingdom, where they ſhall eat and drink at his table[z]. But then theſe deſcriptions have none of thoſe puerile imaginations[a] which reign throughout that of Mohammed, much

[t] V Poc not in Port. Moſis, p 298 [u] Nifhmat hayim, f 32 [v] Midraſh, Tehillim, f 11 [w] Sadder, porta 5 [x] Hyde, de rel vet Perſ p 265 [y] Revel xxi 10, &c and xxii 1, 2 [z] Luke xxii 29, 30, &c [a] I would not, however, undertake to defend all the Chriſtian writers in this particular, witneſs that one paſſage of Irenæus, wherein he introduces a tradition of St John, that our Lord ſhould ſay,

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much leſs any the moſt diſtant intimation of ſenſual delights, which he was ſo fond of, on the contrary, we are expreſsly aſſured, that in the reſurrection they will neither marry nor be given in marriage, but will be as the angels of God in heaven[b]. Mohammed, however, to enhance the value of paradiſe with his Arabians, choſe rather to imitate the indecency of the Magians than the modeſty of the Chriſtians in this particular; and, leſt his beatified Moſlems ſhould complain that any thing was wanting, beſtows on them wives, as well as the other comforts of life; judging, it is to be preſumed, from his own inclinations, that, like Panurgus's aſs[c], they would think all other enjoyments not worth their acceptance, if they were to be debarred from this.

Had Mohammed, after all, intimated to his followers, that what he had told them of paradiſe was to be taken, not literally, but in a metaphorical ſenſe, (as it is ſaid the Magians do the deſcription of Zoroaſtres[d],) this might, perhaps, make ſome atonement, but the contrary is ſo evident from the whole tenor of the Korân, that although ſome Mohammedans, whoſe underſtandings are too refined to admit ſuch groſs conceptions, look on their prophet's deſcriptions as parabolical, and are willing to receive them in an allegorical or ſpiritual acceptation[e], yet the general and orthodox doctrine

The days ſhall come, in which there ſhall be vines, which ſhall have each ten thouſand branches, and every of thoſe branches ſhall have ten thouſand leſſer branches, and every of theſe branches ſhall have ten thouſand twigs, and every one of theſe twigs ſhall have ten thouſand cluſters of grapes, and in every one of theſe cluſters there ſhall be ten thouſand grapes, and every one of theſe grapes being preſſed ſhall yield two hundred and ſeventy-five gallons of wine, and, when a man ſhall take hold of one of theſe ſacred bunches, another bunch ſhall cry out, I am a better bunch, take me, and bleſs the Lord by me, &c Iren l 5 c 33

[b] Matth xxii 30 [c] V Rabelais, Pantagr l 5 c 7 A better authority than this might, however, be alledged in favour of Mohammed's judgment in this reſpect, I mean that of Plato, who is ſaid to have propoſed, in his ideal common-wealth, as the reward of valiant men, and conſummate ſoldiers, the kiſſes of boys and beauteous damſels V Gell Noct Att l 18 c 2
[d] V Hyde, de rel vet Perſ, p 266 [e] V Fund in not ad Bobov Lit Turcar p 21

is, that the whole is to be ſtrictly believed in the obvious and literal acceptation, to prove which, I need only urge the oath they exact from Chriſtians (who they know abhor ſuch fancies) when they would bind them in the moſt ſtrong and ſacred manner, for in ſuch a caſe they make them ſwear that, if they falſify their engagement, they will affirm that there will be black-eyed girls in the next world, and corporeal pleaſures[f]

Whether women are excluded paradiſe

Before we quit this ſubject, it may not be improper to obſerve the falſehood of a vulgar imputation on the Mohammedans, who are by ſeveral writers[g] reported to hold that women have no ſouls, or, if they have, that they will periſh like thoſe of brute beaſts, and will not be rewarded in the next life. But, whatever may be the opinion of ſome ignorant people among them, it is certain that Mohammed had too great a reſpect for the fair ſex to teach ſuch a doctrine, and there are ſeveral paſſages in the Korân which affirm that women, in the next life, will not only be puniſhed for their evil actions, but will alſo receive the rewards of their good deeds as well as the men, and that in this caſe God will make no diſtinction of ſexes[h] It is true, the general notion is, that they will not be admitted into the ſame abode as the men are, becauſe their places will be ſupplied by the paradiſiacal females, (though ſome allow that a man will there alſo have the company of thoſe who were his wives in this world, or at leaſt ſuch of them as he ſhall deſire[i],) but that good women will go into a ſeparate place of happineſs, where they will enjoy all ſorts of delights[k]; but whether one of thoſe delights will be the en-

[f] Poc ad Port Moſ p 305 [g] Hornbek, Sum Contr p 16 Grelot, Voyage de Conſtant p 275 Ricaut's Preſent State of the Ottoman Empire, l 2 c 21 [h] See Kor c 3 p 58 c 4 p 76 And alſo c 13, 16, 40, 48, 57 &c V etiam, Reland de Rel Moh l 2 § 18 & Hyde, in not ad Bobov de Viſit ægr p 21 [i] See before, p 130 [k] V Chardin Voy Tom 2 p 328 & Bayle, Dict Hiſt Art Mahomet, Rem Q

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joyment of agreeable paramours created for them, to complete the œconomy of the Mohammedan ſyſtem, is what I have no where found decided. One circumſtance relating to theſe beatified females, conformable to what he had aſſerted of the men, he acquainted his followers with, in the anſwer he returned to an old woman, who deſiring him to intercede with GOD, that ſhe might be admitted into paradiſe, he told her that no old woman would enter that place, which ſetting the poor woman a-crying, he explained himſelf by ſaying, that GOD would then make her young again[1].

The ſixth great point of faith, which the Mohammedans are taught by the Korân to believe, is GOD's abſolute decree and predeſtination both of good and evil. For the orthodox doctrine is, that whatever hath or ſhall come to paſs in this world, whether it be good, or whether it be bad, proceedeth entirely from the divine will, and is irrevocably fixed and recorded from all eternity in the preſerved table[m]; GOD having ſecretly predetermined not only the adverſe and proſperous fortune of every perſon in this world, in the moſt minute particulars, but alſo his faith or infidelity, his obedience or diſobedience, and conſequently his everlaſting happineſs or miſery after death, which fate or predeſtination it is not poſſible, by any foreſight or wiſdom, to avoid. Of GOD's abſolute decree

Of this doctrine Mohammed makes great uſe in his Korân for the advancement of his deſigns; encouraging his followers to fight without fear, and even deſperately, for the propagation of their faith, by repreſenting to them, that all their caution could not avert their inevitable deſtiny, or prolong their lives for a moment[n], and deterring them from diſobeying or rejecting him as an impoſtor, by ſetting before them the danger they might thereby incur

[1] See Koran, c 56, and the notes there, & Gagnier, not in Abulfedæ vit Moh p 145 [m] See before, p 85 [n] Kor c 3 p 52, 54 and c 4 p 70, &c

of

of being, by the juſt judgment of God, abandoned to ſeduction, hardneſs of heart, and a reprobate mind, as a puniſhment for their obſtinacy [o].

As this doctrine of abſolute election and reprobation has been thought by many of the Mohammedan divines to be derogatory to the goodneſs and juſtice of God, and to make God the author of evil, ſeveral ſubtile diſtinctions have been invented, and diſputes raiſed, to explicate or ſoften it; and different ſects have been formed, according to their ſeveral opinions, or methods of explaining this point: ſome of them going ſo far as even to hold the direct contrary poſition, of abſolute free-will in man, as we ſhall ſee hereafter [p].

Of prayer and the previous purifications

Of the four fundamental points of religious practice required by the Korân, the firſt is prayer, under which, as has been ſaid, are alſo comprehended thoſe legal waſhings or purifications which are neceſſary preparations thereto.

Of theſe purifications there are two degrees; one called Ghoſl, being a total immerſion or bathing of the body in water; and the other called Wodû, (by the Perſians, Abdeſt,) which is the waſhing of their faces, hands, and feet, after a certain manner. The firſt is required, in ſome extraordinary caſes only, as after having lain with a woman, or been polluted by emiſſion of ſeed, or by approaching a dead body; women alſo being obliged to it after their courſes or childbirth. The latter is the ordinary ablution in common caſes, and before prayer, and muſt neceſſarily be uſed by every perſon before he can enter upon that duty [q]. It is performed with certain formal ceremonies, which have been deſcribed by ſome writers, but are much eaſier apprehended by ſeeing them done than by the beſt deſcription

Theſe purifications were, perhaps, borrowed by Mohammed of the Jews, at leaſt they agree in a great

[o] Kor. c. 4. p. 67. and 79. and c. 3. p. 2. &c. paſſim. [p] Sect. VIII.
[q] Kor. c. 4. p. 66. and c. 3. p. 83. V. Reland. de rel. Moh. l. 1. c. 8.

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meaſure with thoſe uſed by that nation[r], who in proceſs of time burthened the precepts of Moſes in this point with ſo many traditionary ceremonies, that whole books have been written about them; and who were ſo exact and ſuperſtitious therein, even in our Saviour's time, that they are often reproved by him for it[s]. But as it is certain that the Pagan Arabs uſed luſtrations of this kind[t] long before the time of Mohammed, as moſt nations did, and ſtill do, in the eaſt, where the warmth of the climate requires a greater nicety and degree of cleanlineſs than theſe colder parts, perhaps Mohammed only recalled his countrymen to a more ſtrict obſervance of thoſe purifying rites, which had been probably neglected by them, or at leaſt performed in a careleſs and perfunctory manner. The Mohammedans, however, will have it that they are as ancient as Abraham[u], who, they ſay, was enjoined by God to obſerve them, and was ſhewed the manner of making the ablution by the angel Gabriel, in the form of a beautiful youth[w]. Nay, ſome deduce the matter higher, and imagine, that theſe ceremonies were taught our firſt parents by the angels[x].

That his followers might be more punctual in this duty, Mohammed is ſaid to have declared, that the practice of religion is founded on cleanlineſs, which is the one half of the faith, and the key of prayer, without which it will not be heard by God[y]. That theſe expreſſions may be the better underſtood, al Ghazâli reckons four degrees of purification; of which the firſt is the cleanſing of the body from all pollution,

[r] Poc not in Port Moſis, p 356, &c [s] Mark vii 3, &c [t] V Herodot l 3 c 198 [u] Al Jannabi in vita Abrah V Poc Spec p 303 [w] Herewith agrees the ſpurious Goſpel of St Barnabas, the Spaniſh tranſlation of which (chap 29) has theſe words Dixo Abraham, Que hare yo para ſervir al Dios de los ſanctos y prophetas? Reſpondio el angel, Ve a aquella fuente y lavate, porque Dios quiere hablar contigo Dixo Abraham, Como tengo de lavarme? Luego el angel ſe le apparecio como uno bello mancebo, y ſe lavo en la fuente, y le dixo, Abraham, haz como yo Y Abraham ſe lavo, &c [x] Al Keſsai V Reland de Rel Moham p 81 [y] Al Ghazali, Ebn al Athir

filth,

filth, and excrements, the ſecond, the cleanſing of the members of the body from all wickedneſs and unjuſt actions; the third, the cleanſing the heart from all blameable inclinations and odious vices; and the fourth, the purging a man's ſecret thoughts from all affections which may divert their attendance on GOD: adding, that the body is but as the outward ſhell in reſpect to the heart, which is as the kernel. And for this reaſon he highly complains of thoſe who are ſuperſtitiouſly ſolicitous in exterior purifications, avoiding thoſe perſons as unclean who are not ſo ſcrupulouſly nice as themſelves, and, at the ſame time, have their minds lying waſte, and over-run with pride, ignorance, and hypocriſy[z]. Whence it plainly appears, with how little foundation the Mohammedans have been charged, by ſome writers[a], with teaching or imagining that theſe formal waſhings alone cleanſe them from their ſins[b].

Leſt ſo neceſſary a preparation to their devotions ſhould be omitted, either where water cannot be had, or when it may be a prejudice to a perſon's health, they are allowed in ſuch caſes to make uſe of fine ſand, or duſt, in lieu of it[c], and then they perform this duty by clapping their open hands on the ſand, and paſſing them over the parts, in the ſame manner as if they were dipped in water. But for this expedient Mohammed was not ſo much indebted to his own cunning[d], as to the example of the Jews, or, perhaps, that of the Perſiân Magi, almoſt as ſcrupulous as the Jews themſelves in their luſtrations, who both of them preſcribe the ſame method in caſes of neceſſity[e], and there is a famous

[z] V Poc Spec p 302, &c [a] Barthol Edeſſen Conſut Hagaren p 360 G Sionita & J Hefronita, in Tract de urb & morib Orient ad calcem Geogr Nubienſ c 15 Du Ryer, dans le Sommaire de la Rel des Turcs, mis a la tête de ſa verſion de l'Alcor St Olon, Deſcr du Royaume de Maroc, c 2 Hyde, in Not ad Bobov de Prec Moh p 1 Smith, de morib & inſtit Turcar Ep 1 p 32 [b] V Reland de Rel Moh l. 2 c 11 [c] Korân, c 3 p 66, & 5 p 83 [d] V Smith, ubi ſup [e] Gemar Berachoth c 2 V Poc not. ad Port. Moſis, p 389 Sadder, porta 84

inſtance,

inſtance, in eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, of ſand being uſed, for the ſame reaſon, inſtead of water, in the adminiſtration of the Chriſtian ſacrament of baptiſm, many years before Mohammed's time[f].

Neither are the Mohammedans contented with bare waſhing, but think themſelves obliged to ſeveral other neceſſary points of cleanlineſs, which they make alſo parts of this duty; ſuch as combing the hair, cutting the beard, paring the nails, pulling out the hairs of their arm-pits, ſhaving their private parts, and circumciſion[g], of which laſt I will add a word or two, leſt I ſhould not find a more proper place.

Circumciſion, though it be not ſo much as once mentioned in the Korân, is yet held, by the Mohammedans, to be an ancient divine inſtitution, confirmed by the religion of Iſlâm, and, though not ſo abſolutely neceſſary but that it may be diſpenſed with in ſome caſes[h], yet highly proper and expedient. The Arabs uſed this rite for many ages before Mohammed, having probably learned it from Iſmael, though not only his deſcendants, but the Hamyarites[i], and other tribes, practiſed the ſame. The Iſmaelites, we are told[k], uſed to circumciſe their children, not on the eighth day, as is the cuſtom of the Jews, but when about twelve or thirteen years old, at which age their father underwent that operation[l]. and the Mohammedans imitate them ſo far as not to circumciſe children before they be able, at leaſt, diſtinctly to pronounce that profeſſion of their faith, There is no God but GOD, Mohammed is the apoſtle of God[m], but pitch on what age they pleaſe for that purpoſe, between ſix and ſixteen, or thereabouts[n]. Though the Moſlem doctors are generally of opinion, conformably to the ſcripture, that this precept was originally given to Abraham, yet ſome have imagined

Of circumciſion.

[f] Cedren p 250 [g] V Poc Spec p 303 [h] V Bobov de circumciſ p 22 [i] Philoſtorg Hiſt Eccl lib 3 [k] Joſeph Ant l 1 c 23 [l] Geneſ xvii 25 [m] V Bobov ubi ſup & Poc Spec p 319 [n] V Reland de Rel Moh l 1 p 75

that

that Adam was taught it by the angel Gabriel, to ſatisfy an oath he had made to cut off that fleſh which, after his fall, had rebelled againſt his ſpirit; whence an odd argument has been drawn for the univerſal obligation of circumciſion[o]. Though I cannot ſay the Jews led the Mohammedans the way here, yet they ſeem ſo unwilling to believe any of the principal patriarchs or prophets before Abraham were really circumciſed, that they pretend ſeveral of them, as well as ſome holy men who lived after his time, were born ready circumciſed, or without a foreſkin, and that Adam, in particular, was ſo created[p], whence the Mohammedans affirm the ſame thing of their prophet[q].

Prayer was, by Mohammed, thought ſo neceſſary a duty, that he uſed to call it the pillar of religion, and the key of paradiſe, and when the Thakifites, who dwelt at Tâyef, ſending, in the ninth year of the Hejra, to make their ſubmiſſion to that prophet, after the keeping of their favourite idol had been denied them[r], begged, at leaſt, that they might be diſpenſed with as to their ſaying of the appointed prayers, he anſwered, That there could be no good in that religion wherein was no prayer[s].

That ſo important a duty, therefore, might not be neglected, Mohammed obliged his followers to pray five times every twenty-four hours, at certain ſtated times, viz. 1. In the morning, before ſun-riſe: 2. When noon is paſt, and the ſun begins to de-

[o] This is the ſubſtance of the following paſſage of the Goſpel of Barnabas, (chap 23) viz Entonces dixo Jeſus, Adam el primer hombre aviendo comido por engano del demonio la comida prohibida por Dios en el parayſo, ſe le rebelo ſu carne a ſu eſpiritu, por lo qual jurò diziendo, Por Dios que yo te quiero cortar, y rompiendo una piedra tomò ſu carne para cortarla con el corte de la piedra Por loqual fue reprehendido del angel Gabriel, y el le dixo, Yo he jurado por Dios que lo he de cortar, y mentiroſo no lo ſerè jamas Ala hora el angel le enſeno la ſuperfluidad de ſu carne, y a quella cortò De manera que anſi como todo hombre toma carne de Adam, anſi eſta obligado a cumplir aquello que Adam con juramento prometiò [p] Shalſhel hakkabala V Poc Spec p 320 Gagnier, Not in Abulfed vit Moh p 2 [q] V Poc Spec p 304 [r] See before p 23 [s] Abulfed, vit Moh p 127

cline,

cline from the meridian: 3. In the afternoon, before ſun-ſet: 4. In the evening, after ſun-ſet, and before day be ſhut in: and, 5. After the day is ſhut in, and before the firſt watch of the night[t]. For this inſtitution he pretended to have received the divine command from the throne of God himſelf, when he took his night-journey to heaven: and the obſerving of the ſtated times of prayer is frequently inſiſted on in the Korân, though they be not particularly preſcribed therein. Accordingly, at the aforeſaid times, of which public notice is given by the Muedhdhins, or Cryers, from the ſteeples of their Moſques, (for they uſe no bells,) every conſcientious Moſlem prepares himſelf for prayer, which he performs either in the Moſque or any other place, provided it be clean, after a preſcribed form, and with a certain number of praiſes or ejaculations (which the more ſcrupulous count by a ſtring of beads) and uſing certain poſtures of worſhip, all which have been particularly ſet down and deſcribed, though with ſome few miſtakes, by other writers[u], and ought not to be abridged, unleſs in ſome ſpecial caſes, as on a journey, on preparing for battle, &c.

For the regular performance of the duty of prayer among the Mohammedans, beſides the particulars above-mentioned, it is alſo requiſite that they turn their faces, while they pray, towards the temple of Mecca[w]; the quarter where the ſame is ſituate being, for that reaſon, pointed out within their Moſques by a niche, which they call al Mehrâb; and without, by the ſituation of the doors opening into the galleries of the ſteeples. There are, alſo, tables calculated for the ready finding out their Keblah, or part towards which they ought to pray, in places where they have no other direction[x].

[t] V Abulfed vit Moh p 38, 39 [u] V Hotting Hiſt Eccles Tom 8 p 470—529 Bobov in Liturg Turcic p 1, &c Grelot, Voyage de Conſtant p 253—264 Chardin, Voy de Perſe, Tom II p 388, &c & Smith, de moribus ac inſtit Turcar Ep 1 p 33, &c [w] Koran, chap 2 p 17 See the notes there [x] V Hyde, de Rel vet Perſ p 8, 9, & 126

But

But what is principally to be regarded in the diſcharge of this duty, ſay the Moſlem doctors, is the inward diſpoſition of the heart, which is the life and ſpirit of prayer[y]; the moſt punctual obſervance of the external rites and ceremonies before-mentioned being of little or no avail, if performed without due attention, reverence, devotion, and hope[z]; ſo that we muſt not think the Mohammedans, or the conſiderate part of them, at leaſt, content themſelves with the mere opus operatum, or imagine their whole religion to be placed therein[a].

I had like to have omitted two things, which, in my mind, deſerve mention on this head, and may, perhaps, be better defended than our contrary practice. One is, that the Mohammedans never addreſs themſelves to God in ſumptuous apparel, though they are obliged to be decently clothed, but lay aſide their coſtly habits and pompous ornaments, if they wear any, when they approach the divine preſence, leſt they ſhould ſeem proud and arrogant[b]. The other is, that they admit not their women to pray with them in public; that ſex being obliged to perform their devotions at home, or, if they viſit the moſques, it muſt be at a time when the men are not there for the Moſlems are of opinion, that their preſence inſpires a different kind of devotion from that which is requiſite in a place dedicated to the worſhip of God[c].

[y] Al Ghazâli [z] V Poc Spec p 305 [a] V Smith, ubi ſup p 40 [b] Reland de Rel Moh p 96 See Korân, chap 7 p 119 [c] A Moor, named Ahmed Ebn Abdalla, in a Latin epiſtle by him written to Maurice prince of Orange, and Emanuel prince of Portugal, containing a cenſure of the Chriſtian religion, (a copy of which, once belonging to Mr Selden, who has thence tranſcribed a conſiderable paſſage in his treatiſe De Synedriis, vett Ebræor l 1 c 12 is now in the Bodleian library,) finds great fault with the unedifying manner in which maſs is ſaid among the Roman Catholics, for this very reaſon, among others His words are Ubicunque congregantur ſimul viri et fœminæ, ibi mens non eſt intenta et devota nam inter celebrandum miſſam et ſacrificia, fœminæ et viri mutuis aſpectibus, ſignis, ac nutibus accendunt pravorum appetitum, et deſideriorum ſuorum ignes et quando hoc non fieret, ſaltem humana fragilitas delectatur mutuo et reciproco aſpectu, et ita non poteſt eſſe mens quieta, attenta, et devota

The

The greater part of the particulars compriſed in the Mohammedan inſtitution of prayer, their prophet ſeems to have copied from others, and eſpecially the Jews, exceeding their inſtitutions only in the number of daily prayers[d]. The Jews are directed to pray three times a day[e], in the morning, in the evening, and within night, in imitation of Abraham[f], Iſaac[g], and Jacob[h]. and the practice was as early, at leaſt, as the time of Daniel[i]. The ſeveral poſtures uſed by the Mohammedans in their prayers are alſo the ſame with thoſe preſcribed by the Jewiſh Rabbins, and particularly the moſt ſolemn act of adoration by proſtrating themſelves ſo as to touch the ground with their forehead[k], notwithſtanding the latter pretend the practice of the former, in this reſpect, to be a relic of their ancient manner of paying their devotions to Baal-Peor[l]. The Jews likewiſe conſtantly pray with their faces turned towards the temple of Jeruſalem[m], which has been their Keblah from the time it was firſt dedicated by Solomon[n]; for which reaſon Daniel, praying in Chaldea, had the windows of his chamber open towards that city[o]: and the ſame was the Keblah of Mohammed and his followers for ſix or ſeven months[p], and till he found himſelf obliged to change it for the Caaba. The Jews, moreover, are obliged, by the precepts of their religion, to be careful that the place they pray in, and the garments they have on, when they perform their duty, be clean[q]. The men and women, alſo, among them, pray apart, (in which particular they were imitated by the eaſtern Chriſtians,) and ſe-

[d] The Sabians, according to ſome, exceed the Mohammedans in this point, praying ſeven times a day See before, p 18 [e] Gemar Berachoth [f] Geneſ xix 27 [g] Geneſ xxiv 63 [h] Geneſ xxviii 11, &c [i] Dan vi 10 [k] Vide Millium, de Mohammediſmo ante Moham p 427, &c & Hyde, de rel vet Perſ p 5, &c [l] Maimonid in Epiſt ad Proſelyt. relig V Poc Spec p 306 [m] Gemar Bava Bathra, & Berachoth [n] 1 Kings viii 29, &c [o] Dan vi 10 [p] Some ſay eighteen months V Abulfed Vit Moh p 54 [q] Maimon in Halachoth Tephilla, c 9 ſec 8, 9 Menura hammeor, fol 28. 2

veral other conformities might be remarked between the Jewiſh public worſhip and that of the Mohammedans[r].

Of alms. The next point of the Mohammedan religion is the giving of alms; which are of two ſorts, legal and voluntary. The legal alms are of indiſpenſable obligation, being commanded by the law, which directs and determines both the portion which is to be given, and of what things it ought to be given; but the voluntary alms are left to every one's liberty, to give more or leſs, as he ſhall ſee fit. The former kind of alms ſome think to be properly called Zacât, and the latter Sadakat, though this name be alſo frequently given to the legal alms. They are called Zacât, either becauſe they increaſe a man's ſtore by drawing down a bleſſing thereon, and produce in his ſoul the virtue of liberality[s], or becauſe they purify the remaining part of one's ſubſtance from pollution, and the ſoul from the filth of avarice[t], and Sadakat, becauſe they are a proof of a man's ſincerity in the worſhip of God. Some writers have called the legal alms tithes, but improperly, ſince in ſome caſes they fall ſhort, and in others exceed that proportion.

The giving of alms is frequently commanded in the Korân, and often recommended therein jointly with prayer; the former being held of great efficacy in cauſing the latter to be heard of God, for which reaſon the Khalîf Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz uſed to ſay, That prayer carries us half-way to God, faſting brings us to the door of his palace, and alms procures us admiſſion[u]. The Mohammedans therefore eſteem almſdeeds to be highly meritorious, and many of them have been illuſtrious for the exerciſe thereof. Haſan, the ſon of Ali, and grandſon of Mohammed, in particular,

[r] V Millium, ubi ſupra, p 424, & ſeq [s] Al Beidâwi See Kor chap 2 p 50 [t] Idem Compare this with what our Saviour ſays, Luke xi 41, Give alms of ſuch things as ye have, and behold, all things are clean unto you [u] D Herbel Bibl Orient p 5

is related to have, thrice in his life, divided his ſubſtance equally between himſelf and the poor, and twice to have given away all he had[w]. and the generality are ſo addicted to the doing of good, that they extend their charity even to brutes[x].

Alms, according to the preſcriptions of the Mohammedan law, are to be given of five things. 1. Of cattle, that is to ſay, of camels, kine, and ſheep. 2. Of money. 3. Of corn. 4. Of fruits, viz. dates and raiſins. And, 5. Of wares ſold. Of each of theſe a certain portion is to be given in alms, being uſually one part in forty, or two and a half per cent. of the value. But no alms are due for them, unleſs they amount to a certain quantity or number; nor until a man has been in poſſeſſion of them eleven months, he not being obliged to give alms thereout before the twelfth month is begun nor are alms due for cattle employed in tilling the ground, or in carrying of burthens. In ſome caſes a much larger portion than the before-mentioned is reckoned due for alms thus of what is gotten out of mines, or the ſea, or by any art or profeſſion, over and above what is ſufficient for the reaſonable ſupport of a man's family, and eſpecially where there is a mixture, or ſuſpicion of unjuſt gain, a fifth part ought to be given in alms. Moreover, at the end of the faſt of Ramadân, every Moſlem is obliged to give in alms for himſelf, and for every one of his family, if he has any, a meaſure[y] of wheat, barley, dates, raiſins, rice, or other proviſions commonly eaten[z].

The legal alms were at firſt collected by Mohammed himſelf, who employed them, as he thought fit, in the relief of his poor relations and followers, but chiefly applied them to the maintenance of thoſe who ſerved in his wars, and fought, as he termed it,

[w] D'Herbel Bibl Orient p 422 [x] V Buſbeq Epiſt 3 p 178 Smith, de morib Turc Ep 1 p 66, &c Compare Eccleſ xi 1 and Prov xii 10 [y] This meaſure is a Saa, and contains about ſix or ſeven pounds weight [z] V Reland de rel Mohammed l 1 p 99, &c Chardin, Voy de Perſe, Tom II p 415, &c

in the way of God. His ſucceſſors continued to do the ſame, till, in proceſs of time, other taxes and tributes being impoſed for the ſupport of the government, they ſeem to have been weary of acting as almoners to their ſubjects, and to have left the paying them to their conſciences

In the foregoing rules concerning alms, we may obſerve alſo footſteps of what the Jews taught and practiſed in reſpect thereto. Alms, which they alſo call Sedaka, i. e. juſtice or righteouſneſs[a], are greatly recommended by their Rabbins, and preferred even to ſacrifices[b], as a duty the frequent exerciſe whereof will effectually free a man from hell-fire[c], and merit everlaſting life[d]: wherefore, beſides the corners of the field, and the gleanings of their harveſt and vineyard, commanded to be left for the poor and the ſtranger by the law of Moſes[e], a certain portion of their corn and fruits is directed to be ſet apart for their relief, which portion is called the tithes of the poor[f]. The Jews, likewiſe, were formerly very conſpicuous for their charity. Zaccheus gave the half of his goods to the poor[g], and, we are told, that ſome gave their whole ſubſtance: ſo that their doctors, at length, decreed, that no man ſhould give above a fifth part of his goods in alms[h]. There were alſo perſons publicly appointed in every ſynagogue to collect and diſtribute the people's contributions[i].

Of faſting

The third point of religious practice is faſting; a duty of ſo great moment, that Mohammed uſed to ſay it was the gate of religion, and that the odour of the mouth of him who faſteth is more grateful to God than that of muſk, and al Ghazâli reckons faſting one fourth

[a] Hence alms are, in the New Teſtament, termed Δικαιοσύνη, Matth vi 1 (Ed Steph) and 2 Cor ix 10 [b] Gemar in Bava Bathra [c] Ibid in Gittin [d] Ibid in Roſh haſhana [e] Levit xix 9, 10 Deut xxiv 19, &c [f] V Gemar Hieroſol in Peah, & Maimon in Halachoth matanoth Aniyyim, c 6 Confer Pirke Avoth, v 9 [g] Luke xix 8 [h] V Reland Ant ſacr vet. Hebr p 402 [i] V Ibid p 138

part

part of the faith. According to the Mohammedan divines, there are three degrees of faſting 1. The reſtraining the belly and other parts of the body from ſatisfying their luſts, 2. The reſtraining the ears, eyes, tongue, hands, feet, and other members from ſin, and 3 The faſting of the heart from worldly cares, and reſtraining the thoughts from every thing beſides GOD[k].

The Mohammedans are obliged, by the expreſs command of the Korân, to faſt the whole month of Ramadân, from the time the new moon firſt appears, till the appearance of the next new moon; during which time they muſt abſtain from eating, drinking, and women, from day-break till night[l], or ſun-ſet. And this injunction they obſerve ſo ſtrictly, that, while they faſt, they ſuffer nothing to enter their mouths, or other parts of their body, eſteeming the faſt broken and null, if they ſmell perfumes, take a clyſter or injection, bathe, or even purpoſely ſwallow their ſpittle; ſome being ſo cautious that they will not open their mouths to ſpeak, leſt they ſhould breathe the air too freely[m] the faſt is alſo deemed void, if a man kiſs or touch a woman, or if he vomit deſignedly. But after ſun-ſet they are allowed to refreſh themſelves, and to eat and drink, and enjoy the company of their wives till day-break[n], though the more rigid begin the faſt again

[k] Al Ghazali, Al Moſtatraf [l] Koran, chap 2 p 33, 34 [m] Hence we read that the Virgin Mary, to avoid anſwering the reflections caſt on her for bringing home a child, was adviſed by the angel Gabriel to feign ſhe had vowed a faſt, and therefore ought not to ſpeak See Korân, chap 19 [n] The words of the Korân (chap 2 p 33) are, Until ye can diſtinguiſh a white thread from a black thread by the day-break, a form of ſpeaking borrowed by Mohammed from the Jews, who determine the time when they are to begin their morning leſſon to be ſo ſoon as a man can diſcern blue from white, i e the blue threads from the white threads in the fringes of their garments But this explication the commentators do not approve, pretending that by the white thread and the black thread are to be underſtood the light and dark ſtreaks of the day-break and they ſay the paſſage was at firſt revealed without the words of the day-break, but Mohammed's followers, taking the expreſſion in the firſt ſenſe, regulated their practice accordingly, and continued eating and drinking till they could diſtinguiſh a white thread from a black thread, as they lay before them, to prevent which for the future, the words of the day-break were added as explanatory of the former Al Beidâwi V Pocock Not in Carmen Tograi, p 89, &c Chardin, Voy de Perſe, t II p 423.

at midnight[o]. This faſt is extremely rigorous and mortifying when the month of Ramadân happens to fall in ſummer, (for, the Arabian year being lunar[p], each month runs through all the different ſeaſons in the courſe of thirty-three years,) the length and heat of the days making the obſervance of it much more difficult and uneaſy than in winter.

The reaſon given why the month of Ramadân was pitched on for this purpoſe is, that on that month the Korân was ſent down from heaven[q]. Some pretend that Abraham, Moſes, and Jeſus, received their reſpective revelations in the ſame month[r].

From the faſt of Ramadân none are excuſed, except only travellers and ſick perſons, (under which laſt denomination the doctors comprehend all whoſe health would manifeſtly be injured by their keeping the faſt; as women with child and giving ſuck, ancient people, and young children,) but then they are obliged, ſo ſoon as the impediment is removed, to faſt an equal number of other days: and the breaking the faſt is ordered to be expiated by giving alms to the poor[s].

Mohammed ſeems to have followed the guidance of the Jews in his ordinances concerning faſting, no leſs than in the former particulars. That nation, when they faſt, abſtain not only from eating and drinking, but from women, and from anointing themſelves[t], from day-break until ſun-ſet, and the ſtars begin to appear[u] ſpending the night in taking what refreſhments they pleaſe[w]. And they allow women with child and giving ſuck, old perſons, and young children, to be exempted from keeping moſt of the public faſts[x].

[o] V Chardin, Voy de Perſe, t II p 421, &c Reland, de Relig Moh p 109, &c [p] See hereafter, ſect VI [q] Koran, chap 2 p 32 See alſo chap 97 [r] Al Beidâwi, ex trad Mohammedis [s] See Koran, chap 2 p 32 [t] Siphra, fol 252 2 [u] Toſephoth ad Gemar Yoma, f 34 [w] V Gemar Yoma, f 40, and Maimon in Halachoth Tamoth, c 5 ſect 5 [x] V Gemar Tanith, f 12, & Yoma, fol 83, & Es Hayim, Tánith, c 1

Though

Though my design here be briefly to treat of those points only which are of indispensable obligation on a Moslem, and expressly required by the Korân, without entering into their practice as to voluntary and supererogatory works, yet, to shew how closely Mohammed's institutions follow the Jewish, I shall add a word or two of the voluntary fasts of the Mohammedans. These are such as have been recommended either by the example or approbation of their prophet, and especially certain days of those months which they esteem sacred. there being a tradition that he used to say, That a fast of one day in a sacred month was better than a fast of thirty days in another month, and that the fast of one day in Ramadân was more meritorious than a fast of thirty days in a sacred month[y]. Among the more commendable days is that of Ashûra, the tenth of Moharram, which, though some writers tell us it was observed by the Arabs, and particularly the tribe of Koreish, before Mohammed's time[z], yet, as others assure us, that prophet borrowed both the name and the fast from the Jews, it being, with them, the tenth of the seventh month, or Tishri, and the great day of expiation commanded to be kept by the law of Moses[a]. Al Kazwîni relates, that, when Mohammed came to Medina, and found the Jews there fasted on the day of Ashûra, he asked them the reason of it, and they told him, it was because on that day Pharaoh and his people were drowned, Moses, and those who were with him, escaping whereupon he said, that he bore a nearer relation to Moses than they, and ordered his followers to fast on that day. However, it seems, afterwards he was not so well pleased in having imitated the Jews herein, and therefore declared, that, if he lived another year, he would alter the day, and fast on the ninth, abhorring so near an agreement with them[b].

[y] Al Ghazali [z] Al Barezi, in Comment ad Orat Ibn Nobatæ [a] Levit xvi 29, & xxiii 27 [b] Ibn al Athir V Pocock Spec p 309

Of the pilgrimage to Mecca

The pilgrimage to Mecca is ſo neceſſary a point of practice, that, according to a tradition of Mohammed, he who dies without performing it, may as well die a Jew or a Chriſtian[c], and the ſame is expreſsly commanded in the Korân[d] Before I ſpeak of the time and manner of performing this pilgrimage, it may be proper to give a ſhort account of the temple of Mecca, the chief ſcene of the Mohammedan worſhip; in doing which, I need be the leſs prolix, becauſe that edifice has been already deſcribed by ſeveral writers[e], though they, following different relations, have been led into ſome miſtakes, and agree not with one another in ſeveral particulars nor, indeed, do the Arab authors agree in all things, one great reaſon whereof is their ſpeaking of different times.

The temple briefly deſcribed

The temple of Mecca ſtands in the midſt of the city, and is honoured with the title of Masjad al alharâm, i. e. the ſacred or inviolable temple. What is principally reverenced in this place, and gives ſanctity to the whole, is a ſquare ſtone building, called the Caaba, as ſome fancy, from its height, which ſurpaſſes that of the other buildings in Mecca[f]; but more probably from its quadrangular form, and Beit Allah, i. e. the houſe of God, being peculiarly hallowed and ſet a part for his worſhip The length of this edifice, from north to ſouth, is twenty-four cubits, its breadth, from eaſt to weſt, twenty-three cubits, and its height twenty-ſeven cubits. The door, which is on the eaſt ſide, ſtands about four cubits from the ground; the floor being level with the bottom of the door[g]. In the corner next this door is the black ſtone, of which I ſhall take notice by-and-by. On the north ſide of the Caaba, within

[c] Al Ghazâli [d] Chap 3 See alſo chap 22 & chap 2 p 24, &c [e] Chardin, Voy de Perſe t II p. 428, &c Bremond, Deſcrittioni dell' Egitto, &c l 1 c 29 Pitt's Account of the Rel &c of the Mohametans, p 98, &c & Boulainvilliers, Vie de Mahomed, p 54, &c which laſt author is the moſt particular [f] Ahmed Ebn Yuſef [g] Sharif al Edriſi, & Kitab Maſalec, apud Poc Spec p 125, &c.

a ſemi-

a ſemicircular encloſure fifty cubits long, lies the white ſtone, ſaid to be the ſepulchre of Iſmael, which receives the rain-water that falls off the Caaba by a ſpout, formerly of wood[h], but now of gold. The Caaba has a double roof, ſupported within by three octangular pillars of aloes wood, between which, on a bar of iron, hang ſome ſilver lamps. The outſide is covered with rich black damaſk, adorned with an embroidered band of gold, which is changed every year, and was formerly ſent by the Khalîfs, afterwards by the Soltâns of Egypt, and is now provided by the Turkiſh emperors. At a ſmall diſtance from the Caaba, on the eaſt ſide, is the ſtation or place of Abraham, where is another ſtone much reſpected by the Mohammedans, of which ſomething will be ſaid hereafter.

The Caaba, at ſome diſtance, is ſurrounded, but not entirely, by a circular encloſure of pillars joined towards the bottom by a low baluſtrade, and towards the top by bars of ſilver. Juſt without this inner encloſure, on the ſouth, north, and weſt ſides of the Caaba, are three buildings, which are the oratories or places where three of the orthodox ſects aſſemble to perform their devotions, (the fourth ſect, viz. that of al Shâfei, making uſe of the ſtation of Abraham for that purpoſe,) and towards the ſouth-eaſt ſtands the edifice which covers the well Zemzem, the treaſury, and the cupola of al Abbas[i].

All theſe buildings are encloſed, at a conſiderable diſtance, by a magnificent piazza, or ſquare colonnade, like that of the Royal Exchange in London, but much larger, covered with ſmall domes or cupolas, from the four corners whereof riſe as many Minârets, or ſteeples, with double galleries, and adorned with gilded ſpires and creſcents, as are the cupolas which cover the piazza and the other buildings. Between the pillars of both encloſures hang a great number of lamps, which are conſtantly

[h] Sharif al Edriſi, & Kitab Maſalec apud Poc Spec p 125, &c [i] Idem, ibid

lighted

lighted at night. The firſt foundations of this outward encloſure were laid by Omar, the ſecond Khalîf, who built no more than a low wall, to prevent the court of the Caaba, which before lay open, from being encroached on by private buildings, but the ſtructure has been ſince raiſed, by the liberality of many ſucceeding princes and great men, to its preſent luſtre[k].

This is properly all that is called the temple but the whole territory of Mecca being alſo Harâm, or ſacred, there is a third encloſure, diſtinguiſhed at certain diſtances by ſmall turrets, ſome five, ſome ſeven, and others ten miles diſtant from the city[l]. Within this compaſs of ground it is not lawful to attack an enemy, or even to hunt or fowl, or cut a branch from a tree, which is the true reaſon why the pigeons at Mecca are reckoned ſacred, and not that they are ſuppoſed to be of the race of that imaginary pigeon which ſome authors, who ſhould have known better, would perſuade us Mohammed made paſs for the Holy Ghoſt[m].

The temple of Mecca was a place of worſhip, and in ſingular veneration with the Arabs, from great antiquity, and many centuries before Mohammed. Though it was moſt probably dedicated at firſt to an idolatrous uſe[n], yet the Mohammedans are generally perſuaded that the Caaba is almoſt coeval with the world, for they ſay that Adam, after his expulſion from paradiſe, begged of God that he might erect a building like that he had ſeen there, called Beit al Mámûr, or the frequented houſe, and al Dorâh, towards which he might direct his prayers, and which he might compaſs, as the angels do the celeſtial one. Whereupon God let down a repreſenta-

[k] Poc Spec p 116 [l] Gol Not in Alfrag p 99 [m] Gab Sionita, & Joh Heſronita, de nonnullis Orient urbib ad calc Geogr Nub p 21 Al Mogholtai, in his life of Mohammed, ſays, the pigeons of the temple of Mecca are of the breed of thoſe which laid their eggs at the mouth of the cave where the Prophet and Abu Becr hid themſelves when they fled from that city See before, p 67 [n] See before, p 22

tion

tion of that houſe in curtains of light[o], and ſet it in Mecca, perpendicularly under its original[p], ordering the patriarch to turn towards it when he prayed, and to compaſs it by way of devotion[q]. After Adam's death, his ſon Seth built an houſe in the ſame form, of ſtones and clay, which, being deſtroyed by the deluge, was rebuilt by Abraham and Iſmael[r], at GOD'S command, in the place where the former had ſtood, and after the ſame model, they being directed therein by revelation[s].

After this edifice had undergone ſeveral reparations, it was a few years after the birth of Mohammed rebuilt by the Koreiſh on the old foundation[t], and afterwards repaired by Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir, the Khalîf of Mecca, and at length again rebuilt by al Hejâj Ebn Yûſof, in the ſeventy-fourth year of the Hejra, with ſome alterations, in the form wherein it now remains[u]. Some years after, however, the Khalîf Harûn al Raſhîd (or, as others write, his father al Mohdi, or his grandfather al Manſûr) intended again to change what had been altered by al Hejâj, and to reduce the Caaba to the old form in which it was left by Abd'allah; but was diſſuaded from meddling with it, leſt ſo holy a place ſhould become the ſport of princes, and, being new-modelled after every one's fancy, ſhould loſe that reverence which was juſtly paid it[w]. But, notwith-

[o] Some ſay, that the Beit al Mamur itſelf was the Caaba of Adam, which, having been let down to him from heaven, was, at the flood, taken up again into heaven, and is there kept Al Zamakh in Kor c 2 [p] Al Juzi, ex trad Ebn Abbas It has been obſerved, that the primitive Chriſtian church held a parallel opinion, as to the ſituation of the celeſtial Jeruſalem with reſpect to the terreſtrial for, in the apocryphal book of the revelation of St Peter, (chap xxvii) after Jeſus has mentioned unto Peter the creation of the ſeven heavens, (whence, by the way, it appears that this number of heavens was not deviſed by Mohammed,) and of the angels, begins the deſcription of the heavenly Jeruſalem in theſe words We have created the upper Jeruſalem above the waters which are above the third heaven, hanging directly over the lower Jeruſalem, &c V Gagnier, Not ad Abulfed vit Moh p 28 [q] Al Shahreſtâni [r] V Kor chap 2 p 24 [s] Al Jannabi, in vita Abrah [t] V Abulfed vit Moh p 13 [u] Idem, in Hiſt Gen Al Jannâbi, &c. [w] Al Jannâbi

ſtanding

ſtanding the antiquity and holineſs of this building, they have a prophecy, by tradition from Mohammed, that in the laſt times the Ethiopians ſhall come and utterly demoliſh it, after which it will not be rebuilt again for ever[x].

Before we leave the temple of Mecca, two or three particulars deſerve further notice. One is the celebrated black-ſtone, which is ſet in ſilver, and fixed in the ſouth-eaſt corner of the Caaba, being that which looks towards Baſra, about two cubits and one third, or, which is the ſame thing, ſeven ſpans from the ground. This ſtone is exceedingly reſpected by the Mohammedans, and is kiſſed by the pilgrims with great devotion, being called by ſome, The right-hand of God on earth. They fable that it is one of the precious ſtones of paradiſe, and fell down to the earth with Adam, and being taken up again, or otherwiſe preſerved at the deluge, the angel Gabriel afterwards brought it back to Abraham, when he was building the Caaba. It was at firſt whiter than milk, but grew black long ſince by the touch of a menſtruous woman, or, as others tell us, by the ſins of mankind[y], or rather by the touches and kiſſes of ſo many people, the ſuperfices only being black, and the inſide ſtill remaining white[z]. When the Karmatians[a], among other prophanations by them offered to the temple of Mecca, took away this ſtone, they could not be prevailed on for the love of money to reſtore it, though thoſe of Mecca offered no leſs than five thouſand pieces of gold for it[b]. However, after they had kept it twenty-two years, ſeeing they could not thereby draw the pilgrims from Mecca, they ſent it back of their own accord, at the ſame time bantering its devotees, by telling them it was

[x] Al Jannâbi, Ahmed Ebn Yuſef V Poc Spec p 115, &c [y] Al Zamakh, &c in Kor Ahmed Ebn Yuſef [z] Poc Spec p 117, &c
[a] Theſe Karmatians were a ſect which aroſe in the year of the Hejra 278, and whoſe opinions overturned the fundamental points of Mohammediſm, See D'Herbel Bibl Orient Art. Carmath and hereafter, ſect VIII
[b] D'Herbel p 40

not

not the true ſtone: but, as it is ſaid, it was proved to be no counterfeit by its peculiar quality of ſwimming on water[c].

Another thing obſervable in this temple is the ſtone in Abraham's place, wherein they pretend to ſhew his footſteps, telling us he ſtood upon it when he built the Caaba[d], and that it ſerved him for a ſcaffold, riſing and falling of itſelf, as he had occaſion[e]: though another tradition ſays he ſtood upon it while the wife of his ſon Iſmael, whom he paid a viſit to, waſhed his head[f]. It is now encloſed in an iron cheſt, out of which the pilgrims drink the water of Zemzem[g], and are ordered to pray at it by the Korân[h]. The officers of the temple took care to hide this ſtone when the Karmatians took the other[i].

The laſt thing I ſhall take notice of in the temple is the well Zemzem on the eaſt ſide of the Caaba, and which is covered with a ſmall building or cupola. The Mohammedans are perſuaded it is the very ſpring which guſhed out for the relief of Iſmael, when Hagar his mother wandered with him in the deſert[k]; and ſome pretend it was ſo named from her calling to him, when ſhe ſpied it, in the Egyptian tongue, Zem, zem; that is, Stay, ſtay[l], though it ſeems rather to have had the name from the murmuring of its waters. The water of this well is reckoned holy, and is highly reverenced, being not only drank with particular devotion by the pilgrims, but alſo ſent in bottles, as a great rarity, to moſt parts of the Mohammedan dominions. Abd'allah, ſurnamed al Hâfedh, from his great memory, particularly as to the traditions of Mohammed, gave out that he acquired that faculty by drinking large draughts of Zemzem water[m], to which I really believe it as efficacious as that of Helicon to the inſpiring of a poet.

[c] Ahmed Ebn Yuſef, Abulfeda V Poc Spec p 119 [d] Abulfed
[e] V Hyde, de rel vet Perſ p 35 [f] Ahmed Ebn Yuſef, Safio ddin
[g] Ahmed Ebn Yuſef [h] Chap 2 p 24 [i] V Poc Spec p 120, &c
[k] Geneſ xxi 19 [l] G Sionit & J Heſr de nonnull urb Orient p 19
[m] D Herbel p 5

To

To this temple every Mohammedan, who has health and means ſufficient[n], ought once, at leaſt, in his life to go on pilgrimage, nor are women excuſed from the performance of this duty. The pilgrims meet at different places near Mecca, according to the different parts from whence they come[o], during the months of Shawâl and Dhu'lkaada, being obliged to be there by the beginning of Dhu'lhajja, which month, as its name imports, is peculiarly ſet apart for the celebration of this ſolemnity.

At the places above-mentioned the pilgrims properly commence ſuch; when the men put on the Ihrâm, or ſacred habit, which conſiſts only of two woollen wrappers, one wrapped about their middle, to cover their privities, and the other thrown over their ſhoulders, having their heads bare, and a kind of ſlippers, which cover neither the heel nor the inſtep, and ſo enter the ſacred territory in their way to Mecca. While they have this habit on, they muſt neither hunt nor fowl[p], (though they are allowed to fiſh[q],) which precept is ſo punctually obſerved, that they will not kill even a louſe or a flea, if they find them on their bodies. There are ſome noxious animals, however, which they have permiſſion to kill during the pilgrimage, as kites, ravens, ſcorpions, mice, and dogs given to bite[r]. During the pilgrimage, it behoves a man to have a conſtant guard over his words and actions, and to avoid all quarrelling or ill language, and all converſe with women, and obſcene diſcourſe, and to apply his whole intention to the good work he is engaged in.

The pilgrims, being arrived at Mecca, immediately viſit the temple, and then enter on the performance of the preſcribed ceremonies, which conſiſt chiefly in going in proceſſion round the Caaba,

[n] See Kor chap 3 and the notes thereon [o] V Bobov de Peregr Mecc p 12, &c [p] Koran, chap 5. [q] Ibid [r] Al Beid

in

in running between the mounts Safâ and Merwâ, in making the ſtation on mount Arafât, and ſlaying the victims, and ſhaving their heads in the valley of Mina. Theſe ceremonies have been ſo particularly deſcribed by others[s], that I may be excuſed, if I but juſt mention the moſt material circumſtances thereof.

In compaſſing the Caaba, which they do ſeven times, beginning at the corner where the black ſtone is fixed, they uſe a ſhort quick pace the three firſt times they go round it, and a grave ordinary pace the four laſt, which, it is ſaid, was ordered by Mohammed, that his followers might ſhew themſelves ſtrong and active to cut off the hopes of the infidels, who gave out, that the immoderate heats of Medina had rendered them weak[t]. But the aforeſaid quick pace they are not obliged to uſe every time they perform this piece of devotion, but only at ſome particular times[u]. So often as they paſs by the black ſtone, they either kiſs it, or touch it with their hand, and kiſs that.

The running between Safâ and Merwâ[w] is alſo performed ſeven times, partly with a ſlow pace, and partly running[x] for they walk gravely till they come to a place between two pillars, and there they run, and afterwards walk again, ſometimes looking back, and ſometimes ſtopping, like one who has loſt ſomething, to repreſent Hagar ſeeking water for her ſon[y] for the ceremony is ſaid to be as ancient as her time[z].

On the ninth of Dhu'lhajja, after morning prayer, the pilgrims leave the valley of Mina, whither they come the day before, and proceed in a tumultuous and ruſhing manner to mount Arafât[a], where they

[s] Bobov de Peregr Mecc p 11 &c Chardin, Voy de Perſe T 2 p 440 &c See alſo Pitt's Account of the Rel &c of the Mohametans p 92, &c Gagnier, Vie de Mah t 2 p 258, &c Abulfed vit Moh p 130, &c and Reland de Rel Moh p 113, &c [t] Ebn al Athir [u] V Poc Spec p 314 [w] See before, p 26 [x] Al Ghazali [y] Reland, de Rel Moh p 121 [z] Ebn al Athir [a] See Kor chap 2 p 36

ſtay

ſtay to perform their devotions till ſun-ſet: then they go to Mozdalifa, an oratory between Arafât and Mina, and there ſpend the night in prayer, and reading the Korân. The next morning by day-break they viſit al Maſhér al harâm, or the ſacred monument[b], and, departing thence before ſun-riſe, haſte by Batn Mohaſſer to the valley of Mina, where they throw ſeven ſtones[c] at three marks or pillars, in imitation of Abraham, who, meeting the devil in that place, and being by him diſturbed in his devotions, or tempted to diſobedience, when he was going to ſacrifice his ſon, was commanded by God to drive him away by throwing ſtones at him[d]; though others pretend this rite to be as old as Adam, who alſo put the devil to flight in the ſame place, and by the ſame means[e].

This ceremony being over, on the ſame day, the tenth of Dhu'lhajja, the pilgrims ſlay their victims in the ſaid valley of Mina; of which they and their friends eat part, and the reſt is given to the poor. Theſe victims muſt be either ſheep, goats, kine, or camels; males, if of either of the two former kinds; and females, if of either of the latter, and of a fit age[f]. The ſacrifices being over, they ſhave their heads and cut their nails, burying them in the ſame place; after which the pilgrimage is looked on as compleated[g] though they again viſit the Caaba, to take their leave of that ſacred building.

The above-mentioned ceremonies, by the confeſſion of the Mohammedans themſelves, were almoſt all of them obſerved by the Pagan Arabs many ages before their prophet's appearance, and particularly the compaſſing of the Caaba, the running between Safâ and Merwâ, and the throwing of the ſtones in

[b] See Kor chap 2 p 36 Mr Gagnier has been twice guilty of a miſtake in confounding this monument with the ſacred encloſure of the Caaba V Gagn Not ad Abulfed vit. Moh p 131 & Vie de Mah t 2 p 262 [c] Dr Pocock, from al Ghazâli, ſays ſeventy, at different times and places. Spec p 315 [d] Al Ghazâli, Ahmed Ebn Yuſef [e] Ebn al Athir [f] V Reland ubi ſup. p 117 [g] See Kor chap 2 p 36

Mina;

Mina; and were confirmed by Mohammed, with ſome alterations in ſuch points as ſeemed moſt exceptionable. Thus, for example, he ordered that, when they compaſſed the Caaba, they ſhould be clothed [h]; whereas before his time they performed that piece of devotion naked, throwing off their clothes as a mark that they had caſt off their ſins [i], or as ſigns of their diſobedience towards God [k].

It is alſo acknowledged that the greater part of theſe rites are of no intrinſic worth, neither affecting the ſoul, nor agreeing with natural reaſon, but altogether arbitrary, and commanded merely to try the obedience of mankind, without any farther view; and are therefore to be complied with, not that they are good in themſelves, but becauſe God hath ſo appointed [l]. Some, however, have endeavoured to find out ſome reaſons for the arbitrary injunctions of this kind; and one writer [m], ſuppoſing men ought to imitate the heavenly bodies, not only in their purity, but in their circular motion, ſeems to argue the proceſſion round the Caaba to be therefore a rational practice. Reland [n] has obſerved that the Romans had ſomething like this in their worſhip, being ordered by Numa to uſe a circular motion in the adoration of the gods, either to repreſent the orbicular motion of the world, or the perfecting the whole office of prayer to that God who is maker of the univerſe; or elſe in alluſion to the Egyptian wheels, which were hieroglyphics of the inſtability of human fortune [o].

The pilgrimage to Mecca, and the ceremonies preſcribed to thoſe who perform it, are, perhaps, liable to greater exception than any other of Mohammed's inſtitutions; not only as ſilly and ridiculous in them-

[h] Kor chap 7 [i] Al Faik, de tempore ignor Arabum, apud Millium de Mohammediſmo ante Moham p 322 Compare Iſaiah lxiv 6 [k] Jallal al Beid This notion comes very near, if it be not the ſame with that of the Adamites [l] Al Ghazali V Abulfar Hiſt Dyn p 171 [m] Abu Jáafar Ebn Tofail, in Vita Hai Ebn Yokdhân, p 151 See Mr Ockley's Engliſh tranſlation thereof, p 117 [n] De Rel Mah p 123. [o] Plutarch in Numa

ſelves, but as relics of idolatrous ſuperſtition[p]. Yet whoever ſeriouſly conſiders how difficult it is to make people ſubmit to the aboliſhing of ancient cuſtoms, how unreaſonable ſoever, which they are fond of, eſpecially where the intereſt of a conſiderable party is alſo concerned, and that a man may with leſs danger change many things than one great one[q], muſt excuſe Mohammed's yielding ſome points of leſs moment to gain the principal. The temple of Mecca was held in exceſſive veneration by all the Arabs in general, (if we except only the tribes of Tay and Khathâam, and ſome of the poſterity of al Hareth Ebn Caab[r], who uſed not to go on pilgrimage thereto,) and eſpecially by thoſe of Mecca, who had a particular intereſt to ſupport that veneration, and, as the moſt ſilly and inſignificant things are generally the objects of the greateſt ſuperſtition, Mohammed found it much eaſier to aboliſh idolatry itſelf, than to eradicate the ſuperſtitious bigotry with which they were addicted to that temple, and the rites performed there. wherefore, after ſeveral fruitleſs trials to wean them therefrom[s], he thought it beſt to compromiſe the matter, and, rather than to fruſtrate his whole deſign, to allow them to go on pilgrimage thither, and to direct their prayers thereto; contenting himſelf with transferring the devotions there paid from their idols to the true God, and changing ſuch circumſtances therein as he judged might give ſcandal. And herein he followed the example of the moſt famous legiſlators, who inſtituted not ſuch laws as were abſolutely the beſt in themſelves, but the beſt their people were capable of receiving: and we find God himſelf had the ſame condeſcendance for the Jews, whoſe hardneſs of heart he humoured in many things, giving them therefore ſtatutes that were not good, and judgments whereby they ſhould not live[t].

[p] Maimonides (in Epiſt ad Profel rel) pretends that the worſhip of Mercury was performed by throwing of ſtones, and that of Chemoſh by making bare the head, and putting on unſewn garments [q] According to the maxim, Tutius eſt multa mutare quam unum magnum [r] Al Shareſtâni [s] See Kor chap 2 p 26. [t] Ezek xx 25 V Spencer de Urim & Thummim, cap 4 ſect 7

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SECTION V.

Of certain negative Precepts in the Korân.

HAVING in the preceding ſection ſpoken of the fundamental points of the Mohammedan religion, relating both to faith and to practice, I ſhall, in this and the two following diſcourſes, in the ſame brief method, ſpeak of ſome other precepts and inſtitutions of the Korân which deſerve peculiar notice, and firſt of certain things which are thereby prohibited. The deſign of this and the two following ſections

The drinking of wine, under which name all ſorts of ſtrong and inebriating liquors are comprehended, is forbidden in the Korân in more places than one[u]. Some indeed have imagined that exceſs therein is only forbidden, and that the moderate uſe of wine is allowed by two paſſages in the ſame book[w] but the more received opinion is, that to drink any ſtrong liquors, either in a leſſer quantity, or in a greater, is abſolutely unlawful; and, though libertines indulge themſelves in the contrary practice[x], the more conſcientious are ſo ſtrict, eſpecially if they have performed the pilgrimage to Mecca[y], that they hold it unlawful not only to taſte wine, but to preſs grapes for the making of it, to buy or to ſell it, or even to maintain themſelves with the money ariſing by the ſale of that liquor. The Perſians, however, as well as the Turks, are very fond of wine, and, if one aſks them how it comes to paſs that they venture to drink it, when it is ſo directly forbidden by their religion, they anſwer, that it is with them as with the Chriſtians, whoſe religion prohibits drunkenneſs and whoredom as great ſins, and who glory, notwithſtanding, ſome in debauching girls and married women, and others in drinking to exceſs[z]. Of the prohibition of wine

[u] See chap 2 p 39, and chap 5
[v] V D'Herbel Bibl Orient p 696
inſtit Turcar Ep 2 p 28, &c
[z] Chardin, ubi ſup p 344
[w] Chap 2 p 25, and chap 16
[x] V Smith, de morib &
[y] V Chardin, ubi ſupra p 212

Whether coffee, tobacco, and opium, be lawful.

It has been a queſtion whether coffee comes not under the above-mentioned prohibition[a], becauſe the fumes of it have ſome effect on the imagination. This drink, which was firſt publicly uſed at Aden, in Arabia Felix, about the middle of the ninth century of the Hejra, and thence gradually introduced into Mecca, Medina, Egypt, Syria, and other parts of the Levant, has been the occaſion of great diſputes and diſorders, having been ſometimes publicly condemned and forbidden, and again declared lawful and allowed[b]. At preſent the uſe of coffee is generally tolerated, if not granted, as is that of tobacco, though the more religious make a ſcruple of taking the latter, not only becauſe it inebriates, but alſo out of reſpect to a traditional ſaying of their prophet, (which, if it could be made out to be his, would prove him a prophet indeed), That in the latter days there ſhould be men who ſhould bear the name of Moſlems, but ſhould not be really ſuch, and that they ſhould ſmoke a certain weed, which ſhould be called TOBACCO. However, the eaſtern nations are generally ſo addicted to both, that they ſay, A diſh of coffee and a pipe of tobacco are a complete entertainment; and the Perſians have a proverb, That coffee without tobacco is meat without ſalt[c].

Opium and beng (which latter is the leaves of hemp in pills or conſerve) are alſo by the rigid Mohammedans eſteemed unlawful, though not mentioned in the Korân, becauſe they intoxicate and diſturb the underſtanding as wine does, and in a more extraordinary manner; yet theſe drugs are now commonly taken in the eaſt; but they who are addicted to them are generally looked upon as debauchees[d].

[a] Abd'alkâder Mohammed al Anſâri has written a treatiſe concerning Coffee, wherein he argues for its lawfulneſs V D'Herbel Art. Cahvah [b] V Le Traite hiſtorique de l'origine & du progres du Café, à la fin du Voy de l'Arabie heur de la Roque [c] Reland Diſſert. Miſcell T 2 p 280 V Chardin, Voy de Perſe, T 2 p 14 and 66 [d] V Chardin, ibid p. 68, &c & D'Herbel p 209

Several

Several ſtories have been told as the occaſion of Mohammed's prohibiting the drinking of wine[e]; but the true reaſons are given in the Korân, viz. becauſe the ill qualities of that liquor ſurpaſs its good ones, the common effects thereof being quarrels and diſturbances in company, and neglect, or at leaſt indecencies, in the performance of religious duties[f]. For theſe reaſons it was, that the prieſts were, by the Levitical law, forbidden to drink wine or ſtrong drink, when they entered the tabernacle[g]; and that the Nazarites[h] and Rechabites[i], and many pious perſons among the Jews and primitive Chriſtians, wholly abſtained therefrom nay, ſome of the latter went ſo far, as to condemn the uſe of wine as ſinful[k]. But Mohammed is ſaid to have had a nearer example than any of theſe, in the more devout perſons of his own tribe[l]. Why wine was forbidden.

Gaming is prohibited by the Korân[m] in the ſame paſſages, and for the ſame reaſons, as wine. The word al Meiſar, which is there uſed, ſignifies a particular manner of caſting lots by arrows, much practiſed by the Pagan Arabs, and performed in the following manner. A young camel being bought and killed, and divided into ten or twenty-eight parts, the perſons who caſt lots for them, to the number of ſeven, met for that purpoſe; and eleven arrows were provided, without heads or feathers, ſeven of which were marked, the firſt with one notch, the ſecond with two, and ſo on; and the other four had no mark at all[n]. Theſe arrows were put promiſcuouſly into a bag, and then drawn by an indifferent perſon, who had another near him to receive them, and to ſee he acted Of the prohibition of gaming

[e] V Prid Life of Mah p 82, &c Buſbeq Epiſt 3. p 255 and Maundeville's Travels, p 170 [f] Kor. chap 2 p 39 chap 5 and chap 4 See Prov xxiii 29, &c [g] Levit x 9 [h] Numb vi 2 [i] Jerem xxxv 5, &c [k] This was the hereſy of thoſe called Encratitæ and Aquarii Khwâſ, a Magian heretic, alſo declared wine unlawful, but this was after Mohammed's time Hyde, de rel vet Perſ, p 300 [l] V Reland de rel, Moh p 271 [m] Chap 2 p 39 & chap 5 [n] Some writers, as al Zamakh, and al Shirâzi, mention but three blank arrows

fairly: thoſe to whom the marked arrows fell, won ſhares in proportion to their lot, and thoſe to whom the blanks fell, were entitled to no part of the camel at all, but were obliged to pay the full price of it. The winners, however, taſted not of the fleſh any more than the loſers, but the whole was diſtributed among the poor, and this they did out of pride and oſtentation, it being reckoned a ſhame for a man to ſtand out, and not venture his money on ſuch an occaſion[o]. This cuſtom, therefore, though it was of ſome uſe to the poor, and diverſion to the rich, was forbidden by Mohammed[p], as the ſource of greater inconveniences, by occaſioning quarrels and heart-burnings, which aroſe from the winners inſulting of thoſe who loſt.

Under the name of lots the commentators agree, that all other games whatſoever, which are ſubject to hazard or chance, are comprehended and forbidden, as dice, cards, tables, &c. And they are reckoned ſo ill in themſelves, that the teſtimony of him who plays at them, is by the more rigid judged to be of no validity in a court of juſtice. Cheſs is almoſt the only game which the Mohammedan doctors allow to be lawful, (though it has been a doubt with ſome[q],) becauſe it depends wholly on ſkill and management, and not at all on chance. but then it is allowed under certain reſtrictions, viz. that it be no hindrance to the regular performance of their devotions, and that no money or other thing be played for or betted, which laſt the Turks and Sonnites religiouſly obſerve, but the Perſians and Mogols do not[r]. But what Mohammed is ſuppoſed chiefly to have diſliked in the game of cheſs, was the carved pieces, or men, with which the Pagan Arabs played, being little figures of men,

[o] Auctores Nodhm al dorr, & Nothr al dorr, al Zamakh al Firauzabadi, al Shirazi in Orat al Hariri, al Beidâwi, &c V Poc Spec, p 324, &c [p] Korân, chap 5 [q] V Hyde, de Ludis oriental in Proleg ad Shahiludium [r] V Eund ibid

elephants,

elephants, horſes, and dromedaries[s]; and theſe are thought, by ſome commentators, to be truly meant by the images prohibited in one of the paſſages of the Korân[t] quoted above. That the Arabs in Mohammed's time actually uſed ſuch images for cheſsmen, appears from what is related in the Sonna of Ali, who, paſſing accidentally by ſome who were playing at cheſs, aſked, What images they were which they were ſo intent upon[u], for they were perfectly new to him, that game having been but very lately introduced into Arabia, and not long before into Perſia, whither it was firſt brought from India in the reign of Khoſrû Nûſhirwân[w]. Hence the Mohammedan doctors infer that the game was diſapproved only for the ſake of the images, wherefore the Sonnites always play with plain pieces of wood or ivory, but the Perſians and Indians, who are not ſo ſcrupulous, continue to make uſe of the carved ones[x].

The Mohammedans comply with the prohibition of gaming much better than they do with that of wine, for, though the common people, among the Turks more frequently, and the Perſians more rarely, are addicted to play, yet the better ſort are ſeldom guilty of it[y].

Gaming, at leaſt to exceſs, has been forbidden in all well-ordered ſtates. Gaming-houſes were reckoned ſcandalous places among the Greeks, and a gameſter is declared by Ariſtotle[z] to be no better than a thief. The Roman ſenate made very ſevere laws againſt playing at games of hazard[a], except only during the Saturnalia, though the people played often at other times, notwithſtanding the prohibition. The civil law forbad all pernicious games[b],

[s] V Fundem, ibid & in Hiſt Shahiludii, p 135, &c [t] Chap 5
[u] Sokeiker al Dimſhki, & Auctor libri al Moſtatraf, apud Hyde, ubi ſup p 8
[w] Khondemir, apud eund ib p 41 [x] V Hyde, ubi ſupra, p 9
[y] V Eundem, in Proleg & Chardin, Voy de Perſe, T 2 p 46 [z] Lib 4 ad Nicom [a] V Horat. l 3 Carm Od. 24 [b] ff De Aleatoribus Novell Juſt. 123, &c V Hyde, ubi ſup in Hiſt Aleæ, p 119

and, though the laity were, in ſome caſes, permitted to play for money, provided they kept within reaſonable bounds, yet the clergy were forbidden to play at tables, (which is a game of hazard,) or even to look on while others played[c]. Accurſius, indeed, is of opinion they may play at cheſs, notwithſtanding that law, becauſe it is a game not ſubject to chance[d], and, being but newly invented in the time of Juſtinian, was not then known in the weſtern parts. However, the monks for ſome time were not allowed even cheſs[e].

As to the Jews, Mohammed's chief guides, they alſo highly diſapprove gaming: gameſters being ſeverely cenſured in the Talmud, and their teſtimony declared invalid[f].

Of the prohibition of divining arrows

Another practice of the idolatrous Arabs, forbidden alſo in one of the above-mentioned paſſages[g], was that of divining by arrows. The arrows uſed by them for this purpoſe were like thoſe with which they caſt lots, being without heads or feathers, and were kept in the temple of ſome idol, in whoſe preſence they were conſulted. Seven ſuch arrows were kept at the temple of Mecca[h], but generally in divination they made uſe of three only, on one of which was written, My Lord hath commanded me; on another, My Lord hath forbidden me, and the third was blank. If the firſt was drawn, they looked on it as an approbation of the enterpriſe in queſtion, if the ſecond, they made a contrary concluſion, but if the third happened to be drawn, they mixed them, and drew over again, till a deciſive anſwer was given by one of the others. Theſe divining arrows were generally conſulted before any

[c] Authent interdicimus, c de epiſcopis [d] In com ad legem præd [e] Du Freſne, in Gloſſ [f] Bava Meſia, 84 2 Roſh haſhana, & Sanhedr 24 2 V etiam Maimon in tract Gezila Among the modern civilians, Maſcardus thought common gameſters were not to be admitted as witneſſes, being infamous perſons V Hyde, ubi ſup in Proleg. & in Hiſt Alex, ſect. III [g] Kor chap. 5 [h] See before, p 96

thing

thing of moment was undertaken; as when a man was about to marry, or about to go a journey, or the like[l]. This ſuperſtitious practice of divining by arrows was uſed by the ancient Greeks[k], and other nations; and is particularly mentioned in ſcripture, where it is ſaid, That the king of Babylon ſtood at the parting of the way, at the head of the two ways, to uſe divination. he made his arrows bright, (or, according to the verſion of the vulgate, which ſeems preferable in this place, he mixed together or ſhook the arrows) he conſulted with images, &c. The commentary of St. Jerom on which paſſage wonderfully agrees with what we are told of the aforeſaid cuſtom of the old Arabs: He ſhall ſtand (ſays he) in the highway, and conſult the oracle after the manner of his nation, that he may caſt arrows into a quiver, and mix them together, being written upon or marked with the names of each people, that he may ſee whoſe arrow will come forth, and which city he ought firſt to attack[m].

A diſtinction of meats was ſo generally uſed by the eaſtern nations, that it is no wonder that Mohammed made ſome regulations in that matter. The Korân, therefore, prohibits the eating of blood, and ſwine's fleſh, and whatever dies of itſelf, or is ſlain in the name or in the honour of any idol, or is ſtrangled, or killed by a blow, or a fall, or by any other beaſt[n]. In which particulars Mohammed ſeems chiefly to have imitated the Jews, by whoſe law, as is well known, all thoſe things are forbidden; but he allowed ſome things to be eaten which Moſes did not[o], as camels' fleſh[p] in particular. In caſes of neceſſity, however, where a man may be in danger of ſtarving, he is allowed by the Mohammedan law to eat any of the ſaid prohibited kinds of food[q], and the Jewiſh doctors grant the Of forbidden food

[l] Ebn al Athir, al Zamakh & al Beid in Kor c 5 Al Moſtatraf, &c V Poc Spec p 327, &c & D'Herbel Bibl Orient Art Acdâh [k] V Potter, Antiq of Greece, Vol 1 p 334 [l] Ezek xxi 21 [m] V Poc Spec p 329, &c [n] Chap, 2 p 32 ch. 5. chap 6 & chap 16 [o] Lev xi 4. [p] See Kor chap 3 p. 65, 72, & chap 6. [q] Kor chap 5. and in the other paſſages laſt quoted.

ſame

ſame liberty in the like caſe[t]. Though the averſion to blood, and what dies of itſelf, may ſeem natural, yet ſome of the Pagan Arabs uſed to eat both: of their eating of the latter ſome inſtances will be given hereafter; and, as to the former, it is ſaid they uſed to pour blood, which they ſometimes drew from a live camel, into a gut, and then broiled it in the fire, or boiled it, and eat it[u]. This food they called Moſwadd, from Aſwad, which ſignifies black; the ſame nearly reſembling our black-puddings in name as well as co[illegible]poſition[w]. The eating of meat offered to idols I take to be commonly practiſed by all idolaters, being looked on as a ſort of communion in their worſhip, and for that reaſon eſteemed by Chriſtians, if not abſolutely unlawful, yet as what may be the occaſion of great ſcandal[x]. but the Arabs were particularly ſuperſtitious in this matter, killing what they eat on ſtones erected on purpoſe round the Caaba, or near their own houſes, and calling at the ſame time on the name of ſome idol[y]. Swine's fleſh, indeed, the old Arabs ſeem not to have eaten; and their prophet, in prohibiting the ſame, appears to have only confirmed the common averſion of the nation. Foreign writers tell us, that the Arabs wholly abſtained from ſwine's fleſh[z], thinking it unlawful to feed thereon[a], and that very few, if any, of thoſe animals are found in their country, becauſe it produces not proper food for them[b], which has made one writer imagine that, if a hog were carried thither, it would immediately die[c].

Of uſury

In the prohibition of uſury[d] I preſume Mohammed alſo followed the Jews, who are ſtrictly forbidden by their law to exerciſe it among one another, though they are ſo infamouſly guilty of it in their

[t] V Maimon. in Halachoth Melachim, chap 8 ſect. I, &c [u] Nothr al dorr, al Firauz al Zamakh. & al Beid [w] Poc Spec p 320. [x] Compare Acts xv. 29 with 1 Cor viii 4, &c. [y] See the fifth chap of the Koran, and the notes there. [z] Solin. de Arab cap. 33 [a] Hieronym in Jovin. l 2 c 6. [b] Idem, ib [c] Solinus, ubi ſupra. [d] Kor chap 2 p 51 & 52

dealing

dealing with thoſe of a different religion: but I do not find the prophet of the Arabs has made any diſtinction in this matter.

Several ſuperſtitious cuſtoms relating to cattle, which ſeem to have been peculiar to the Pagan Arabs, were alſo aboliſhed by Mohammed. The Korân[c] mentions four names by them given to certain camels or ſheep, which for ſome particular reaſons were left at free liberty, and were not made uſe of as other cattle of the ſame kind. Theſe names are Bahîra, Saiba, Wasîla, and Hâmi: of each whereof in their order. Superſtitious cuſtoms relating to cattle aboliſhed

As to the firſt, it is ſaid, that when a ſhe-camel, or a ſheep, had borne young ten times, they uſed to ſlit her ear, and turn her looſe to feed at full liberty, and, when ſhe died, her fleſh was eaten by the men only, the women being forbidden to eat thereof and ſuch a camel or ſheep, from the ſlitting of her ear, they called Bahîra Or the Bahîra was a ſhe-camel, which was turned looſe to feed, and whoſe fifth young one, if it proved a male, was killed and eaten by men and women promiſcuouſly; but, if it proved a female, had its ear ſlit, and was diſmiſſed to free paſture, none being permitted to make uſe of its fleſh or milk, or to ride on it; though the women were allowed to eat the fleſh of it when it died. or it was the female young of the Saiba, which was uſed in the ſame manner as its dam; or elſe an ewe, which had yeaned five times[d]. Theſe, however, are not all the opinions concerning the Bahîra for ſome ſuppoſe that name was given to a ſhe-camel, which, after having brought forth young five times, (if the laſt was a male,) had her ear ſlit, as a mark thereof, and was let go looſe to feed, none driving her from paſture or water, nor uſing her for carriage[e]. And others tell us, that when a camel had newly brought forth, they uſed

[c] Kor chap 5. [d] Al Firauzabâdi. [e] Al Zamakh al Beidawi, al Moſtatraf

to

to ſlit the ear of the young one, ſaying, O God, if it live, it ſhall be for our uſe; but if it die, it ſhall be deemed rightly ſlain; and, when it died, they eat it[f].

Saiba ſignifies a ſhe-camel turned looſe to go where ſhe will; and this was done on various accounts: as when ſhe had brought forth females ten times together; or in ſatisfaction of a vow; or when a man had recovered from ſickneſs, or returned ſafe from a journey, or his camel had eſcaped ſome ſignal danger either in battle or otherwiſe. A camel ſo turned looſe was declared to be Saiba; and, as a mark of it, one of the vertebræ or bones was taken out of her back, after which none might drive her from paſture or water, or ride on her[g]. Some ſay that the Saiba, when ſhe had ten times together brought forth females, was ſuffered to go at liberty, none being allowed to ride on her, and that her milk was not to be drank by any but her young one, or a gueſt, till ſhe died, and then her fleſh was eaten by men as well as women; and her laſt female young one had her ear ſlit, and was called Bahîra, and turned looſe, as her dam had been[h].

This appellation, however, was not ſo ſtrictly proper to female camels, but that it was given to the male, when his young one had begotten another young one[i] nay, a ſervant, ſet at liberty, and diſmiſſed by his maſter, was alſo called Saiba[k] and ſome are of opinion that the word denotes any animal which the Arabs uſed to turn looſe in honour of their idols, allowing none to make uſe of them thereafter, except women only[l].

Wasîla is, by one author[m], explained to ſignify a ſhe-camel which had brought forth ten times, or an ewe which had yeaned ſeven times, and every time twins; and if the ſeventh time ſhe brought forth a male and a female, they ſaid, Woſilat akhâha, i. e. She is joined, or was brought forth with her brother,

[f] Ebn al Athir [g] Al Firauzab al Zamakh [h] Al Jawhari, Ebn al Athir [i] Al Firauz [k] Idem, al Jawhari, &c. [l] Nothr al dorr, & Nodhm al dorr [m] Al Firauz

after

after which none might drink the dam's milk, except men only: and ſhe was uſed as the Saiba. Or Wasîla was particularly meant of ſheep; as, when an ewe brought forth a female, they took it to themſelves, but when ſhe brought forth a male, they conſecrated it to their gods; but, if both a male and female, they ſaid, She is joined to her brother, and did not ſacrifice that male to their gods. Or Wasîla was an ewe which brought forth firſt a male, and then a female, on whoſe account, or becauſe ſhe followed her brother, the male was not killed, but if ſhe brought forth a male only, they ſaid, Let this be an offering to our gods[n]. Another[o] writes, that, if an ewe brought forth twins ſeven times together, and the eighth time a male, they ſacrificed that male to their gods; but if the eighth time ſhe brought both a male and a female, they uſed to ſay, She is joined to her brother, and for the female's ſake they ſpared the male, and permitted not the dam's milk to be drank by women. A third writer tells us that Wasîla was an ewe, which having yeaned ſeven times, if that which ſhe brought forth the ſeventh time was a male, they ſacrificed it, but if a female, it was ſuffered to go looſe, and was made uſe of by women only, and if the ſeventh time ſhe brought forth both a male and a female, they held them both to be ſacred, ſo that men only were allowed to make any uſe of them, or to drink the milk of the female and a fourth[p] deſcribes it to be an ewe which brought forth ten females, at five births, one after another, i. e. every time twins; and whatever ſhe brought forth afterwards was allowed to men, and not to women, &c.

Hâmi was a male camel uſed for a ſtallion, which, if the females had conceived ten times by him, was afterwards freed from labour, and let go looſe, none driving him from paſture or from water;

[n] Al Firauz al Zamakh [o] Al Jawhari [p] Al Motarrezi

nor

nor was any allowed to receive the leaſt benefit from him, not even to ſhear his hair[q].

Theſe things were obſerved by the old Arabs in honour of their falſe gods[r], and as part of the worſhip which they paid them, and were aſcribed to the divine inſtitution, but are all condemned in the Korân, and declared to be impious ſuperſtitions[s].

The cuſtom of burying their daughters aboliſhed

The law of Mohammed alſo put a ſtop to the inhuman cuſtom, which had been long practiſed by the Pagan Arabs, of burying their daughters alive, leſt they ſhould be reduced to poverty by providing for them, or elſe to avoid the diſpleaſure and diſgrace which would follow, if they ſhould happen to be made captives, or to become ſcandalous by their behaviour[t]; the birth of a daughter being, for theſe reaſons, reckoned a great misfortune[u], and the death of one as great a happineſs[w]. The manner of their doing this is differently related. Some ſay, that when an Arab had a daughter born, if he intended to bring her up, he ſent her, clothed in a garment of wool or hair, to keep camels or ſheep in the deſert; but, if he deſigned to put her to death, he let her live till ſhe became ſix years old, and then ſaid to her mother, Perfume her, and adorn her, that I may carry her to her mothers; which being done, the father led her to a well or pit dug for that purpoſe, and, having bid her to look down into it, puſhed her in headlong, as he ſtood behind her, and then filling up the pit, levelled it with the reſt of the ground. But others ſay, that, when a woman was ready to fall in labour, they dug a pit, on the brink whereof ſhe was to be delivered; and if the child happened to be a daughter, they threw it into the pit; but if a ſon, they ſaved it alive[x]. This cuſtom, though not obſerved by

[q] Al Firauz al Jawhari [r] Jallal in Kor [s] Kor chap 5 and chap 6 V Poc Specim p 330—334 [t] Al Beidâwi, al Zamakh al Moſtatraf [u] See Kor chap 16. [w] Al Meidâni [x] Al Zamakh

all

all the Arabs in general, was yet very common among several of their tribes, and particularly those of Koreish and Kendah, the former using to bury their daughters alive in mount Abu Dalâma, near Mecca[y]. In the time of ignorance, while they used this method to get rid of their daughters, Sásaá, grandfather to the celebrated poet al Farazdak, frequently redeemed female children from death, giving for every one two she-camels big with young, and a he-camel, and hereto al Farazdak alluded, when, vaunting himself before one of the Khalîfs of the family of Omeyya, he said, I am the son of the giver of life to the dead, for which expression being censured, he excused himself by alledging the following words of the Korân[z], He who saveth a soul alive, shall be as if he had saved the lives of all mankind[a]. The Arabs, in thus murdering of their children, were far from being singular, the practice of exposing infants, and putting them to death, being so common among the ancients, that it is remarked as a thing very extraordinary in the Egyptians, that they brought up all their children[b], and, by the laws of Lycurgus[c], no child was allowed to be brought up without the approbation of public officers. At this day, it is said, in China, the poorer sort of people frequently put their children, the females especially, to death, with impunity[d].

This wicked practice is condemned by the Korân in several passages[e], one of which, as some commentators[f] judge, may also condemn another cus-

[y] Al Mostatraf [z] Chap 5 [a] Al Mostatraf V Ebn Khalckân, in vita al Farazdak, & Poc Spec p 334 [b] Strabo, l 17 V Diodor Sic l 1 c 80 [c] V Plutarch in Lycurgo [d] V Puffendorf de Jure nat & gent l 6 c 7 sect 6 The Grecians also treated daughters especially in this manner, whence that saying of Posidippus,

Τὸν τρίσπ' τις κἂν πένης ὢν τύχῃ,
Θυγατέρα δὲ ἐκτίθησι κἂν ᾖ πλέσιος i. e.

A man, though poor, will not expose his son,
But, if he is rich, will scarce preserve his daughter

See Potter's Antiq of Greece, Vol 2 p. 333 [e] Chap 6 chap. 16 and chap 17 See also chap 81 [f] Al Zamakh al Beid

tom

tom of the Arabians, altogether as wicked, and as common among other nations of old, viz. the ſacrificing of their children to their idols; as was frequently done, in particular, in ſatisfaction of a vow they uſed to make, that, if they had a certain number of ſons born, they would offer one of them in ſacrifice.

Several other ſuperſtitious cuſtoms were likewiſe abrogated by Mohammed, but the ſame being of leſs moment, and not particularly mentioned in the Korân, or having been occaſionally taken notice of elſewhere, I ſhall ſay nothing of them in this place.

SECTION VI.

Of the Inſtitutions of the Korân in Civil Affairs.

The Mohammedan civil laws grounded on the Korân.

THE Mohammedan civil law is founded on the precepts and determinations of the Korân, as the civil laws of the Jews were on thoſe of the Pentateuch, yet, being variouſly interpreted, according to the different deciſions of their civilians, and eſpecially of their four great doctors, Abu Hanîfa, Malec, al Shâfei, and Ebn Hanbal[a], to treat thereof fully and diſtinctly, in the manner the curioſity and uſefulneſs of the ſubject deſerves, would require a large volume: wherefore the moſt that can be expected here, is a ſummary view of the principal inſtitutions, without minutely entering into a detail of particulars. We ſhall begin with thoſe relating to marriage and divorce.

Of the laws of marriage and divorce.

That polygamy, for the moral lawfulneſs of which the Mohammedan doctors advance ſeveral arguments[b], is allowed by the Korân, every one knows; though few are acquainted with the limitations with which it is allowed. Several learned men have fallen into the vulgar miſtake, that Mohammed granted to his fol-

[a] See ſect. VIII [b] See before, ſect. II p 65, and 66

lowers

lowers an unbounded plurality; ſome pretending that a man may have as many wives[c], and others as many concubines[d], as he can maintain whereas, according to the expreſs words of the Korân[e], no man can have more than four, whether wives or concubines[f], and if a man apprehend any inconvenience from even that number of ingenuous wives, it is added, as an advice, (which is generally followed by the middling and inferior people[g],) that he marry one only, or, if he cannot be contented with one, that he take up with his ſhe-ſlaves, not exceeding, however, the limited number[h], and this is certainly the utmoſt Mohammed allowed his followers nor can we urge, as an argument againſt ſo plain a precept, the corrupt manners of his followers, many of whom, eſpecially men of quality and fortune, indulge themſelves in criminal exceſſes[i], nor yet the example of the prophet himſelf, who had peculiar privileges in this and other points, as will be obſerved hereafter. In making the above-mentioned limitation, Mohammed was directed by the deciſion of the Jewiſh doctors, who, by way of counſel, limit the number of wives to four[k], though their law confines them not to any certain number[l].

[c] Nic Cuſanus, in Cribrat Alcor l 2 cap 19 Olearius, in Itinerar P Greg Tholoſanus, in Synt juris, l 9 c 2 ſect 22 Septemcaſtrenſis, (de morib Turc p 24) ſays the Mohammedans may have twelve lawful wives, and no more Ricaut falſely aſſerts the reſtraint of the number of their wives to be no precept of their religion, but a rule ſuperinduced on a politic conſideration Pref ſtate of the Ottoman empire, book 3 chap 21 [d] Marracc in Prodr ad refut Alcor part 4 p 52 and 71 Prideaux, life of Mah p 114 Chardin, Voy de Perſe, T 1 p 166 Du Ryer, Sommaire de la Rel des Turcs, mis a la tete de ſa verſion de l'Alcor Ricaut ubi ſupra Puffendorf de Jure nat & gent l 6 c 1 ſect 18 [e] Chap 4 [f] V Gagnier, in notis ad Abulfedæ vit Moh p 150 Reland de rel Moh p 243, &c and Selden Ux Hebr l 1 cap 9 [g] V Reland ubi ſup p 244 [h] Kor chap 4 [i] Sir J Maundeville (who, excepting a few ſilly ſtories he tells from hear-ſay, deſerves more credit than ſome travellers of better reputation) ſpeaking of the Alcoran, obſerves, among ſeveral other truths, that Mahomet therein commanded a man ſhould have two wives, or three, or four, though the Mahometans then took nine wives, and lemmans as many as they might ſuſtain Maundev Travels, p 164 [k] Maimon in Halachoth Iſhoth, c 14 [l] Idem, ib V Selden Uxor Hebr l 1 c 9

Divorce is alſo well known to be allowed by the Mohammedan law, as it was by the Moſaic, with this difference only, that according to the latter a man could not take again a woman whom he had divorced, and who had been married or betrothed to another[m]; whereas Mohammed, to prevent his followers from divorcing their wives on every light occaſion, or out of an inconſtant humour, ordained, that if a man divorced his wife the third time, (for he might divorce her twice without being obliged to part with her, if he repented of what he had done,) it ſhould not be lawful for him to take her again, until ſhe had been firſt married and bedded by another, and divorced by ſuch ſecond huſband[n]. And this precaution has had ſo good an effect, that the Mohammedans are ſeldom known to proceed to the extremity of divorce, notwithſtanding the liberty given them, it being reckoned a great diſgrace ſo to do. and there are but few, beſides thoſe who have little or no ſenſe of honour, that will take a wife again, on the condition enjoined[o]. It muſt be obſerved, that though a man is allowed by the Mohammedan, as by the Jewiſh law[p], to repudiate his wife even on the ſlighteſt diſguſt, yet the women are not allowed to ſeparate themſelves from their huſbands, unleſs it be for ill uſage, want of proper maintenance, neglect of conjugal duty, impotency, or ſome cauſe of equal import, but then ſhe generally loſes her dowry[q], which ſhe does not, if divorced by her huſband, unleſs ſhe has been guilty of impudicity, or notorious diſobedience[r].

When a woman is divorced, ſhe is obliged, by the direction of the Korân, to wait till ſhe hath had her courſes thrice, or, if there be a doubt whether ſhe be ſubject to them or not, by reaſon of her age, three months, before ſhe marry another; after which

[m] Deut xxiv 3, 4 Jerem iii 1 V Selden ubi ſup l 1 c 11 [n] Korân, chap 2 p 39 [o] V Selden ubi ſup l 3 cap 21 and Ricaut's State of the Ottoman Empire, b 2 chap 21 [p] Deut xxiv 1 Leo Modena, Hiſt de gli riti Hebr part 1 c 6 V Selden ubi ſup [q] V Buſbeq Ep 3 p 184 Smith, de morib ac inſtit Turcar Ep 2 p 52 & Chardin, Voy. de Perſe, T 1 p 169 [r] Koran, chap 4

time

time is expired, in caſe ſhe be found not with child, ſhe is at full liberty to diſpoſe of herſelf as ſhe pleaſes, but, if ſhe prove with child, ſhe muſt wait till ſhe be delivered. and, during the whole term of waiting, ſhe may continue in her huſband's houſe, and is to be maintained at his expence, it being forbidden to turn a woman out before the expiration of the term, unleſs ſhe be guilty of diſhoneſty[t]. Where a man divorces a woman before conſummation, ſhe is not obliged to wait any particular time[u]; nor is he obliged to give her more than one half of her dower[w]. If the divorced woman have a young child, ſhe is to ſuckle it till it be two years old; the father, in the mean time, maintaining her in all reſpects. A widow is alſo obliged to do the ſame, and to wait four months and ten days before ſhe marry again[w].

Theſe rules are alſo copied from thoſe of the Jews, according to whom a divorced woman, or a widow, cannot marry another man, till ninety days be paſt, after the divorce or death of the huſband[x] and ſhe who gives ſuck is to be maintained for two years, to be computed from the birth of the child, within which time ſhe muſt not marry, unleſs the child die, or her milk be dried up[y].

Whoredom, in ſingle women as well as married, was, in the beginning of Mohammediſm, very ſeverely puniſhed, ſuch being ordered to be ſhut up in priſon till they died but afterwards it was ordained by the Sonna, that an adultreſs ſhould be ſtoned[z], and an unmarried woman guilty of fornication ſcourged with an hundred ſtripes, and baniſhed for a year[a]. A ſhe ſlave, if convicted of adultery, is to ſuffer but

[t] Korân, chap 2 p 40, and 41 and chap 65 [u] Ib chap 33 [w] Ib chap 2 p 44 [w] Ib chap 2 p 41 and 42 and chap 65 [x] Miſhna, tit. Yabimoth c 4 Gemar Babyl ad eund tit Maimon in Halach Giruſhin, Shylhan Aruch, part 3 [y] Miſhna, & Gemara, & Maimon ubi ſupra, Gem Babyl ad tit Cetuboth c 5 & Joſ Karo, in Shylhân Aruch, c 50 ſect 2 V Seldem Ux Hebr l 2 c 11 and l 3 c 10, in fin [z] And the adulterer alſo, according to a paſſage once extant in the Korân, and ſtill in force, as ſome ſuppoſe See the notes to Kor c 3 p 58 and the Prelim Diſc p 89 [a] Kor chap 4 See the notes there

half the puniſhment of a free woman[b], viz. fifty ſtripes, and baniſhment for ſix months, but is not to be put to death. To convict a woman of adultery, ſo as to make it capital, four witneſſes are expreſsly required[c], and thoſe, as the commentators ſay, ought to be men and if a man falſely accuſe a woman of reputation of whoredom of any kind, and is not able to ſupport the charge by that number of witneſſes, he is to receive fourſcore ſtripes, and his teſtimony is to be held invalid for the future[d]. Fornication, in either ſex, is by the ſentence of the Korân to be puniſhed with an hundred ſtripes[e].

If a man accuſe his wife of infidelity, and is not able to prove it by ſufficient evidence, and will ſwear four times that it is true, and the fifth time imprecate God's vengeance on him if it be falſe, ſhe is to be looked on as convicted, unleſs ſhe will take the like oaths, and make the like imprecation, in teſtimony of her innocency, which if ſhe do, ſhe is free from puniſhment, though the marriage ought to be diſſolved[f].

In moſt of the laſt-mentioned particulars the deciſions of the Korân alſo agree with thoſe of the Jews By the law of Moſes, adultery, whether in a married woman, or a virgin betrothed, was puniſhed with death, and the man who debauched them was to ſuffer the ſame puniſhment[g]. The penalty of ſimple fornication was ſcourging, the general puniſhment in caſes where none is particularly appointed.

[b] Kor chap 4 [c] Ibid [d] Kor chap 24 [e] Ibid This law relates not to married people, as Selden ſuppoſes, Ux Heb l 3 c 12 [f] Ibid See the notes there [g] Lev xx 10 Deut xxii 22 The kind of death to be inflicted on adulterers in common caſes being not expreſſed, the Talmudiſts generally ſuppoſe it to be ſtrangling, which they think is deſigned where-ever the phraſe, Shall be put to death, or, Shall die the death, is uſed, as they imagine ſtoning is by the expreſſion, His blood ſhall be upon him and hence it has been concluded by ſome, that the woman taken in adultery, mentioned in the goſpel, (John viii) was a betrothed maiden, becauſe ſuch a one and her accomplice were plainly ordered to be ſtoned, (Deut xxii 23, 24) But the ancients ſeem to have been of a different opinion, and to have underſtood ſtoning to be the puniſhment of adulterers in general V Selden Ux Hebr l 3 c 11 and 12

and

and a betrothed bond-maid, if convicted of adultery, underwent the ſame puniſhment, being exempted from death, becauſe ſhe was not free[h]. By the ſame law, no perſon was to be put to death on the oath of one witneſs[i] and a man who ſlandered his wife was alſo to be chaſtiſed, that is, ſcourged, and fined one hundred ſhekels of ſilver[k]. The method of trying a woman ſuſpected of adultery, where evidence was wanting, by forcing her to drink the bitter water of jealouſy[l], though diſuſed by the Jews, long before the time of Mohammed[m], yet, by reaſon of the oath of curſing, with which the woman was charged, and to which ſhe was obliged to ſay Amen, bears great reſemblance to the expedient deviſed by that prophet on the like occaſion.

The inſtitutions of Mohammed; relating to the pollution of women during their courſes[n], the taking of ſlaves to wife[o], and the prohibiting of marriage within certain degrees[p], have likewiſe no ſmall affinity with the inſtitutions of Moſes[q], and the parallel might be carried farther in ſeveral other particulars.

As to the prohibited degrees, it may be obſerved, that the Pagan Arabs abſtained from marrying their mothers, daughters, and aunts, both on the father's ſide, and on the mother's, and held it a moſt ſcandalous thing to marry two ſiſters, or for a man to take his father's wife[r], which laſt was, notwithſtanding, too frequently practiſed[s], and is expreſsly forbidden in the Korân[t]

Before I leave the ſubject of marriages, it may be proper to take notice of ſome peculiar privileges

Of the peculiar privileges of Mohammed, in reſpect to the laws of marriage

[h] Levit xix 20 [i] Deut xix 15 xvii 6 and Numb xxxv 30 [k] Deut xxii 13---19 [l] Numb v 11, &c [m] V Selden ubi ſupr l 3 c 15 & Leon Modena, de ritu Hebraici, parte 4 c 6 [n] Kor chap 2 p 39 [o] Ib chap 4 [p] Chap 4 [q] See Lev xv 24 xviii 19 and xx 18 Exod xxi 8---11 Deut xxi 10---14 Levit xviii and xx [r] Abulfed Hiſt Gen al Shahreſtani, apud Poc Spec p 321 and 338 [s] V Poc ib p 337, &c [t] Chap 4

in relation thereto, which were granted by God to Mohammed, as he gave out, excluſive of all other Moſlems. One of them was, that he might lawfully marry as many wives, and have as many concubines, as he pleaſed, without being confined to any particular number[u], and this he pretended to have been the privilege of the prophets before him. Another was, that he might alter the turns of his wives, and take ſuch of them to his bed as he thought fit, without being tied to that order and equality which others are obliged to obſerve[w]. A third privilege was, that no man might marry any of his wives[x], either ſuch as he ſhould divorce during his life-time, or ſuch as he ſhould leave widows at his death; which laſt particular exactly agrees with what the Jewiſh doctors have determined concerning the wives of their princes, it being judged by them to be a thing very indecent, and for that reaſon unlawful, for another to marry either the divorced wife or the widow of a king[y], and Mohammed, it ſeems, thought an equal reſpect, at leaſt, due to the prophetic as to the regal dignity, and therefore ordered that his relicts ſhould paſs the remainder of their lives in perpetual widowhood.

Of the laws of inheritances

The laws of the Korân concerning inheritances are alſo in ſeveral reſpects conformable to thoſe of the Jews, though principally deſigned to aboliſh certain practices of the Pagan Arabs, who uſed to treat widows and orphan children with great injuſtice, frequently denying them any ſhare in the inheritance of their fathers or their huſbands, on pretence that the ſame ought to be diſtributed among thoſe only who were able to bear arms, and diſpoſing of the widows, even againſt their conſent,

[u] Kor chap 33 See alſo chap 66 and the notes there [w] Kor chap 33 See the notes there [x] Kor chap 33 [y] Miſhna, tit. Sanhedr c 2 & Gemar in eund tit Maimon Halachoth Melachim, c 2. V Selden, Ux Hebr l 1 c 10 Prid, Life of Mah. p 118.

as part of their huſbands' poſſeſſions[z]. To prevent ſuch injuries for the future, Mohammed ordered that women ſhould be reſpected, and orphans have no wrong done them; and, in particular, that women ſhould not be taken againſt their wills, as by right of inheritance, but ſhould themſelves be intitled to a diſtributive part of what their parents, huſbands, and near relations ſhould leave behind them, in a certain proportion[a].

The general rule to be obſerved in the diſtribution of the deceaſed's eſtate is, that a male ſhall have twice as much as a female[b]. but to this rule there are ſome few exceptions, a man's parents, for example, and alſo his brothers and ſiſters, where they are intitled, not to the whole, but a ſmall part of the inheritance, being to have equal ſhares with one another in the diſtribution thereof, without making any difference on account of ſex[c]. The particular proportions, in ſeveral caſes, diſtinctly and ſufficiently declared the intention of Mohammed; whoſe deciſions expreſſed in the Korân[d] ſeem to be pretty equitable, preferring a man's children firſt, and then his neareſt relations.

If a man diſpoſe of any part of his eſtate by will, two witneſſes, at the leaſt, are required to render the ſame valid, and ſuch witneſſes ought to be of his own tribe, and of the Mohammedan religion, if ſuch can be had[e]. Though there be no expreſs law to the contrary, yet the Mohammedan doctors reckon it very wrong for a man to give away any part of his ſubſtance from his family, unleſs it be in legacies for pious uſes, and even in that caſe a man ought not to give all he has in charity, but only a reaſonable part, in proportion to his ſubſtance. On the other hand, though a man make no will, and bequeath nothing for charitable uſes, yet the

[z] See chap 4 and the notes there V etiam Poc Spec p 337 [a] Kor chap 4 ubi ſupra [b] Ibid chap 4 V Chardin, Voy de Perſe, T 2 p 293 [c] Ibid [d] Ibid [e] Kor chap 5

heirs are directed, on the diſtribution of the eſtate, if the value will permit, to beſtow ſomething on the poor, eſpecially ſuch as are of kin to the deceaſed, and to the orphans[f]

The firſt law, however, laid down by Mohammed touching inheritances, was not very equitable, for he declared that thoſe who had fled with him from Mecca, and thoſe who had received and aſſiſted him at Medina, ſhould be deemed the neareſt of kin, and conſequently heirs to one another, preferably to, and in excluſion of, their relations by blood nay, though a man were a true believer, yet, if he had not fled his country for the ſake of religion, and joined the prophet, he was to be looked on as a ſtranger[g] but this law continued not long in force, being quickly abrogated[h]

It muſt be obſerved, that among the Mohammedans, the children of their concubines or ſlaves are eſteemed as equally legitimate with thoſe of their legal and ingenuous wives, none being accounted baſtards, except ſuch only as are born of common women, and whoſe fathers are unknown

Of private cor

As to private contracts between man and man, the conſcientious performance of them is frequently recommended in the Korân[i] For the preventing of diſputes, all contracts are directed to be made before witneſſes[k], and, in caſe ſuch contracts are not immediately executed, the ſame ought to be reduced into writing in the preſence of two witneſſes[l], at leaſt, who ought to be Moſlems, and of the male ſex, but, if two men cannot be conveniently had, then one man and two women may ſuffice The ſame method is alſo directed to be taken for the ſecurity of debts to be paid at a future day, and, where a

[f] Kor chap 4 [g] Chap 8 [h] Ibid and chap 33 [i] Chap 5 chap 17 chap 2 p 53 and 54, &c [k] Chap 2 p 53 and 54 [l] The ſame ſeems to have been required by the Jewiſh law, even in caſes where he was not concerned See Deut xix 15 Matth xviii 16 John viii 17 2 Cor xiii 1

writer

writer is not to be found, pledges are to be taken[m]. Hence, if people truſt one another without writing, witneſſes, or pledge, the party on whom the demand is made, is always acquitted, if he denies the charge on oath, and ſwears that he owes the plaintiff nothing, unleſs the contrary be proved by very convincing circumſtances[n].

Of murder and manſlaughter

Wilful murder, though forbidden by the Korân, under the ſevereſt penalties to be inflicted in the next life[o], is yet, by the ſame book, allowed to be compounded for, on payment of a fine to the family of the deceaſed, and freeing a Moſlem from captivity: but it is in the election of the next of kin, or the revenger of blood, as he is called in the Pentateuch, either to accept of ſuch ſatisfaction, or to refuſe it; for he may, if he pleaſes, inſiſt on having the murderer delivered into his hands, to be put to death in ſuch manner as he ſhall think fit[p]. In this particular, Mohammed has gone againſt the expreſs letter of the Moſaic law, which declares that no ſatisfaction ſhall be taken for the life of a murderer[q], and he ſeems, in ſo doing, to have had reſpect to the cuſtoms of the Arabs in his time, who, being of a vindictive temper, uſed to revenge murder in too unmerciful a manner[r], whole tribes frequently engaging in bloody wars on ſuch occaſions, the natural conſequence of their independency, and having no common judge or ſuperior.

If the Mohammedan laws ſeem light in caſe of murder, they may perhaps be deemed too rigorous in caſe of manſlaughter, or the killing of a man undeſignedly, which muſt be redeemed by fine, (unleſs the next of kin ſhall think fit to remit it out of charity,) and the freeing of a captive: but, if a man be not able to do this, he is to faſt two months

[m] Kor. c. 2. p. 53. & 54. [n] V. Chardin, Voy. de Perſe, T. 2. p. 294. &c. and the notes to Kor. chap. 5. [o] Kor. chap. 4. [p] Chap. 2. p. 32. & 33. chap. 17. V. Chardin, ubi ſup. p. 299, &c. [q] Numb. xxxv. 31. [r] This is particularly forbidden in the Koran, chap. 17.

together,

together, by way of penance[t]. The fine for a man's blood is ſet in the Sonna at an hundred camels[t]; and is to be diſtributed among the relations of the deceaſed, according to the laws of inheritances but it muſt be obſerved, that, though the perſon ſlain be a Moſlem, yet, if he be of a nation or party at enmity, or not in confederacy with thoſe to whom the ſlayer belongs, he is not then bound to pay any fine at all, the redeeming a captive being, in ſuch a caſe, declared a ſufficient penalty[u]. I imagine that Mohammed, by theſe regulations, laid ſo heavy a puniſhment on involuntary manſlaughter, not only to make people beware incurring the ſame, but alſo to humour, in ſome degree, the revengeful temper of his countrymen, which might be with difficulty, if at all, prevailed on to accept a lighter ſatisfaction. Among the Jews, who ſeem to have been no leſs addicted to revenge than their neighbours, the manſlayer who had eſcaped to a city of refuge, was obliged to keep himſelf within that city, and to abide there till the death of the perſon who was high-prieſt at the time the fact was committed, that his abſence and time might cool the paſſion, and mitigate the reſentment, of the friends of the deceaſed, but, if he quitted his aſylum before that time, the revenger of blood, if he found him, might kill him without guilt[w], nor could any ſatisfaction be made for the ſlayer to return home before the preſcribed time[x].

Of theft

Theft is ordered to be puniſhed by cutting off the offending part, the hand[y]; which, at firſt ſight, ſeems juſt enough but the law of Juſtinian, forbidding a thief to be maimed[z], is more reaſonable; becauſe, ſtealing being generally the effect of indigence, to cut off that limb would be to deprive him of the means of getting his livelihood in an honeſt

[t] Kor chap 4 [t] See the notes to chap 37 [u] Kor chap 4
[w] See Num xxxv 26, 27, 28 [x] Ibid ver 32. [y] Kor chap 5.
[z] Novell 134 c 13

manner.

manner[a]. The Sonna forbids the inflicting of this puniſhment, unleſs the thing ſtolen be of a certain value. I have mentioned in another place the further penalties which thoſe incur who continue to ſteal, and of thoſe who rob or aſſault people on the road[b].

Of retaliation.

As to injuries done to men in their perſons, the law of retaliation, which was ordained by the law of Moſes[c], is alſo approved by the Korân[d] but this law, which ſeems to have been allowed by Mohammed to his Arabians, for the ſame reaſons as it was to the Jews, viz. to prevent particular revenges, to which both nations were extremely addicted[e], being neither ſtrictly juſt, nor practicable in many caſes, is ſeldom put in execution, the puniſhment being generally turned into a mulct or fine, which is paid to the party injured[f] Or rather Mohammed deſigned the words of the Korân relating thereto, ſhould be underſtood in the ſame manner as thoſe of the Pentateuch moſt probaby ought to be; that is, not of an actual retaliation, according to the ſtrict literal meaning, but of a retribution proportionable to the injury: for a criminal had not his eyes put out, nor was a man mutilated, according to the law of Moſes, which, beſides, condemned thoſe who had wounded any perſon, where death did not enſue, to pay a fine only[g], the expreſſion, Eye for eye, and Tooth for tooth, being only a proverbial manner of ſpeaking, the ſenſe whereof amounts to this, That every one ſhall be puniſhed by the judges, according to the heinouſneſs of the fact[h].

[a] V Puffendorf, de Jure nat & gent l 8 c 3 § 26 [b] See the notes to chap 5 p 87 [c] Exod xxi 24, &c Levit, xxiv 20 Deut xix 21 [d] Chap 5 [e] V Grotium, de Jure belli & pacis, l 1 c 2 § 8 [f] V Chardin T 2 p 299 The Talio, likewiſe eſtabliſhed among the old Romans by the laws of the twelve tables, was not to be inflicted, unleſs the delinquent could not agree with the perſon injured V A Gell Noct Attic l 20 c. 1 & Feſtum, in voce Talio [g] See Exod xxi 18, 19, and 22 [h] Barbeyrac, in Grot ubi ſupra V. Cleric in Exod xxi 24 & Deut. xix. 21

In

Of the puniſhment of leſſer crimes

In injuries and crimes of an inferior nature, where no particular puniſhment is provided by the Korân, and where a pecuniary compenſation will not do, the Mohammedans, according to the practice of the Jews in the like caſe[i], have recourſe to ſtripes or drubbing, the moſt common chaſtiſement uſed in the eaſt at this day, as well as formerly, the cudgel, which, for its virtue and efficacy in keeping their people in good order, and within the bounds of duty, they ſay came down from heaven, being the inſtrument wherewith the judge's ſentence is generally executed[k]

The deciſions of the doctors not always followed by the ſecular tribunals

Notwithſtanding the Korân is by the Mohammedans in general regarded as the fundamental part of their civil law, and the deciſions of the Sonna, among the Turks, and of the Imâms, among thoſe of the Perſian ſect, with the explications of their ſeveral doctors, are uſually followed in judicial determinations, yet, the ſecular tribunals do not think themſelves bound to obſerve the ſame in all caſes, but frequently give judgment againſt thoſe deciſions, which are not always conſonant to equity and reaſon, and therefore diſtinction is to be made between the written civil law, as adminiſtered in the eccleſiaſtical courts, and the law of nature, or common law, (if I may ſo call it,) which takes place in the ſecular courts, and has the executive power on its ſide[l].

Of war againſt infidels

Under the head of civil laws may be comprehended the injunction of warring againſt infidels, which is repeated in ſeveral paſſages of the Korân[m], and declared to be of high merit in the ſight of God, thoſe who are ſlain fighting in defence of the faith being reckoned martyrs, and promiſed immediate admiſſion into paradiſe[n] Hence, this duty is greatly magnified by the Mohammedan divines,

[i] See Deut xxv 2, 3 [k] V Grelot, Voy de Conſtant p 220, & Chardin, ubi ſupra, p 302 [l] V Chardin, ubi ſupra, p 290, &c. [m] Chap 22 chap 2 chap 4 chap 8 chap 9 chap 47 and chap 61. [n] Chap 2 p 27 & 28, chap 3 chap 47, chap 61

who

who call the ſword the key of heaven and hell, and perſuade their people that the leaſt drop of blood ſpilt in the way of GOD, as it is called, is moſt acceptable unto him, and that the defending the territories of the Moſlems, for one night, is more meritorious than a faſt of two months[o]. On the other hand, deſertion, or refuſing to ſerve in theſe holy wars, or to contribute towards the carrying them on, if a man has ability, is accounted a moſt heinous crime, being frequently declaimed againſt in the Korân[p]. Such a doctrine, which Mohammed ventured not to teach till his circumſtances enabled him to put it in practice[q], it muſt be allowed, was well calculated for his purpoſe, and ſtood him and his ſucceſſors in great ſtead for what dangers and difficulties may not be deſpiſed and overcome by the courage and conſtancy which theſe ſentiments neceſſarily inſpire? Nor have the Jews and Chriſtians, how much ſoever they deteſt ſuch principles in others, been ignorant of the force of enthuſiaſtic heroiſm, or omitted to ſpirit up their reſpective partiſans by the like arguments and promiſes. Let him who has liſted himſelf in defence of the law, ſays Maimonides[r], rely on him who is the hope of Iſrael, and the ſaviour thereof, in the time of trouble[s], and let him know that he fights for the profeſſion of the divine unity wherefore let him put his life in his hands[t], and think neither of wife nor children, but baniſh the memory of them from his heart, having his mind wholly fixed on the war. For, if he ſhould begin to waver in his thoughts, he would not only confound himſelf, but ſin againſt the law nay, the blood of the whole people hangeth on his neck for, if they are diſcomfited, and he has not fought ſtoutly with all his might, it is equally the ſame as if he had ſhed the blood of them all, according to that ſaying, Let him return, leſt his brethren's heart fail as his own[u].

[o] Reland, de jure milit Moham p 5, &c [p] V chap 9 chap 3
[q] See before, p 63 & 64 [r] Halach Melachim, c 7 [s] Jerem xiv 8
[t] Job xiii 14 [u] Deut xx 8

To

To the ſame purpoſe doth the Kabala accommodate that other paſſage, Curſed be he who doth the work of the LORD negligently, and curſed be he who keepeth back his ſword from blood[w]. On the contrary, he who behaveth bravely in battle, to the utmoſt of his endeavour, without trembling, with intent to glorify GOD's name, he ought to expect the victory with confidence, and to apprehend no danger or misfortune, but may be aſſured that he will have a houſe built him in Iſrael, appropriated to him and his children for ever, as it is ſaid, GOD ſhall certainly make my lord a ſure houſe, becauſe he hath fought the battles of the LORD, and his life ſhall be bound up in the bundle of life with the LORD his GOD[x]. More paſſages of this kind might be produced from the Jewiſh writers; and the Chriſtians come not far behind them. We are deſirous of knowing (ſays one[y], writing to the Franks engaged in the holy war) the charity of you all; for that every one (which we ſpeak not, becauſe we wiſh it) who ſhall faithfully loſe his life in this warfare, ſhall be by no means denied the kingdom of heaven. And another[z] gives the following exhortation Laying aſide all fear and dread, endeavour to act effectually againſt the enemies of the holy faith, and the adverſaries of all religions. for the Almighty knoweth, if any of you die, that he dieth for the truth of the faith, and the ſalvation of his country, and the defence of Chriſtians; and therefore he ſhall obtain of him a celeſtial reward. The Jews, indeed, had a divine commiſſion, extenſive and explicit enough to attack, ſubdue, and deſtroy the enemies of their religion, and Mohammed pretended to have received one in favour of himſelf and his Moſlems, in terms equally plain and full; and therefore it is no wonder that they ſhould act conſiſtently with their avowed principles: but that Chriſtians ſhould teach and practiſe a doctrine ſo oppoſite to the temper and whole tenour of the goſpel, ſeems very ſtrange, and yet the latter have carried

[w] Jerem xlviii 10 [x] Sam xxv 28, 29 [y] Nicolaus, in Jure canon c omnium, 23 quæſt 5 [z] Leo IV ib quæſt 8

matters

matters farther, and ſhewn a more violent ſpirit of intolerance, than either of the former.

The laws of war, according to the Mohammedans, have been already ſo exactly ſet down by the learned Reland[a], that I need ſay very little of them. I ſhall therefore only obſerve ſome conformity between their military laws and thoſe of the Jews.

While Mohammediſm was in its infancy, the oppoſers thereof taken in battle were doomed to death, without mercy; but this was judged too ſevere to be put in practice when that religion came to be ſufficiently eſtabliſhed, and paſt the danger of being ſubverted by its enemies[b]. The ſame ſentence was pronounced not only againſt the ſeven Canaanitiſh nations[c], whoſe poſſeſſions were given to the Iſraelites, and without whoſe deſtruction, in a manner, they could not have ſettled themſelves in the country deſigned them, but againſt the Amalekites[d] and Midianites[e], who had done their utmoſt to cut them off in their paſſage thither. When the Mohammedans declare war againſt people of a different faith, they give them their choice of three offers, viz. either to embrace Mohammediſm, in which caſe they become not only ſecure in their perſons, families, and fortunes, but intitled to all the privileges of other Moſlems, or to ſubmit and pay tribute[f], by doing which, they are allowed to profeſs their own religion, provided it be not groſs idolatry, or againſt the moral law, or elſe to decide the quarrel by the ſword, in which laſt caſe, if the Moſlems prevail, the women and children which are made captives become abſolute ſlaves, and the men taken in the battle may either be ſlain, unleſs they turn Mohammedans, or otherwiſe diſpoſed of at the pleaſure of the prince[g]. Herewith agree the laws of war given to the Jews, which relate to the nations

[a] In his treatiſe De Jure militari Mohammedanor in the third vol of his Diſſertationes Miſcellaneæ [b] See Kor chap 47 and the notes there, and chap 4 chap 5 [c] Deut xx 16---18 [d] Ib chap xxv 17---19 [e] Numb xxxi 17 [f] See chap 9 and the notes there [g] See the notes to chap 47

not

not devoted to deſtruction[h], and Joſhua is ſaid to have ſent even to the inhabitants of Canaan, before he entered the land, three ſchedules, in one of which was written, Let him fly, who will, in the ſecond, Let him ſurrender, who will[i], and in the third, Let him fight, who will, though none of theſe nations made peace with the Iſraelites, (except only the Gibeonites, who obtained terms of ſecurity by ſtratagem, after they had refuſed thoſe offered by Joſhua,) it being of the LORD to harden their hearts, that he might deſtroy them utterly[k]

On the firſt conſiderable ſucceſs of Mohammed in war, the diſputes which happened among his followers, in relation to the dividing of the ſpoil, rendered it neceſſary for him to make ſome regulation therein: he therefore pretended to have received the divine commiſſion to diſtribute the ſpoil among his ſoldiers at his own diſcretion[l], reſerving thereout, in the firſt place, one fifth part[m] for the uſes after mentioned; and, in conſequence hereof, he took himſelf to be authorized on extraordinary occaſions to diſtribute it, as he thought fit, without obſerving an equality. Thus he did, for example, with the ſpoil of the tribe of Hawâzen, taken at the battle of Honein, which he beſtowed by way of preſents on the Meccans only, paſſing by thoſe of Medina, and highly diſtinguiſhing the principal Koraſhites, that he might ingratiate himſelf with them, after he had become

[h] Deut xx 10—15 [i] Talmud Hieroſol apud Maimonid Halach Melachim, c 6 ſect 5 R Bechai, ex lib Siphre V Selden de Jure nat & gent ſec Hebr l 6 c 13 & 14 & Schickardi Jus Regium Hebr c 5 Theor 16 [k] Joſh xi 20 The Jews, however, ſay that the Girgaſhites, believing they could not eſcape the deſtruction with which they were threatened by GOD, if they perſiſted to defend themſelves, fled into Africa in great numbers, (V Talm Hieroſ ubi ſup) And this is aſſigned as the reaſon why the Girgaſhites are not mentioned among the other Canaanitiſh nations who aſſembled to fight againſt Joſhua, (Joſh ix 1) and who were doomed to utter extirpation, (Deut xx 17) But it is obſervable, that the Girgaſhites are not omitted by the Septuagint in either of thoſe texts, and that their names appear in the latter of them in the Samaritan Pentateuch they are alſo joined with the other Canaanites as having fought againſt Iſrael, in Joſh xxiv 11 [l] Kor chap 8 [m] Ibid

maſter

maſter of their city[n]. He was alſo allowed in the expedition againſt thoſe of al Nadîr to take the whole booty to himſelf, and to diſpoſe thereof as he pleaſed, becauſe no horſes or camels were made uſe of in that expedition[o], but the whole army went on foot, and this became thenceforward a law[p]: the reaſon of which ſeems to be, that the ſpoil, taken by a party conſiſting of infantry only, ſhould be conſidered as the more immediate gift of God[q], and therefore properly left to the diſpoſition of his apoſtle. According to the Jews, the ſpoil ought to be divided into two equals parts, one to be ſhared among the captors, and the other to be taken by the prince[r], and by him employed for his own ſupport, and the uſe of the public. Moſes, it is true, divided one half of the plunder of the Midianites among thoſe who went to battle, and the other half among all the congregation[s], but this, they ſay, being a peculiar caſe, and done by the expreſs order of God himſelf, muſt not be looked on as a precedent[t]. It ſhould ſeem, however, from the words of Joſhua to the two tribes and half, when he ſent them home into Gilead, after the conqueſt and diviſion of the land of Canaan, that they were to divide the ſpoil of their enemies with their brethren after their return[u] and the half, which was in ſucceeding times taken by the king, was in all probability taken by him as head of the community, and repreſenting the whole body. It is remarkable, that the diſpute among Mohammed's men, about ſharing the booty at Bedr[w], aroſe on the ſame occaſion as did that among David's ſoldiers in relation to the ſpoils recovered from the Amalekites[x], thoſe who had been in the action inſiſting that they

[n] Abulfed in vit Moh p 118 &c V Kor c 9 and the notes there [o] Kor chap 59 ſee the notes there [p] V Abulfed ubi ſup p 91 [q] V Kor chap 59 ubi ſupra [r] Gemar Babyl ad tit Sanhedr c 2 V Selden de jure nat & gent ſec Hebr lib 6, c 16 [s] Numb xxxi 27 [t] V Maim Halach Melach c 4 [u] Joſh xxii 8 [w] ſee Kor c 8 and the notes there [x] 1 Sam xxx 21---25

who tarried by the ſtuff ſhould have no part of the ſpoil; and that the ſame deciſion was given in both caſes, which became a law for the future, to wit, that they ſhould part alike.

The fifth part, directed by the Korân to be taken out of the ſpoil before it be divided among the captors, is declared to belong to God, and to the apoſtle and his kindred, and the orphans, and the poor, and the traveller[y] which words are variouſly underſtood. Al Shâfei was of opinion that the whole ought to be divided into five parts the firſt, which he called God's part, to go to the treaſury, and be employed in building and repairing fortreſſes, bridges, and other public works, and in paying ſalaries to magiſtrates, civil officers, profeſſors of learning, miniſters of public worſhip, &c the ſecond part to be diſtributed among the kindred of Mohammed, that is, the deſcendants of his grandfather Hâſhem, and of his great uncle, al Motalleb[z], as well the rich as the poor, the children as the adult, the women as the men, obſerving only to give a female but half the ſhare of a male the third part to go to the orphans. the fourth part to the poor, who have not wherewithal to maintain themſelves the year round, and are not able to get their livelihood and the fifth part to travellers, who are in want on the road, notwithſtanding they may be rich men in their own country[a] According to Malec Ebn Ans, the whole is at the diſpoſition of the Imâm, or prince, who may diſtribute the ſame at his own diſcretion, where he ſees moſt need[b] Abu'l Aliya went according to the letter of the Korân, and declared his opinion to be, that the whole ſhould be divided into ſix parts, and that God's part ſhould be applied to the ſervice of the Caaba while others ſuppoſe God's part and the apoſtle's to be one and the ſame[c]. Abu Hanîfa

[y] Kor chap 8
[z] Note, al Shafei himſelf was deſcended from this latter
[a] Al Beid V Reland de Jure milit Moham p 42, &c
[b] Idem
[c] Idem

thought

thought that the ſhare of Mohammed and his kindred ſank at that prophet's death, ſince which, the whole ought to be divided among the orphans, the poor, and the traveller[d]. Some inſiſt, that the kindred of Mohammed intitled to a ſhare of the ſpoils, are the poſterity of Hâſhem only. but thoſe who think the deſcendants of his brother, al Motalleb, have alſo a right to a diſtributive part, alledge a tradition in their favour, purporting, that Mohammed himſelf divided the ſhare belonging to his relations among both families, and when Othmân Ebn Affân and Jobeir Ebn Matám (who were deſcended from Abd-ſhams and Nawfal, the other brothers of Hâſhem) told him, that, though they diſputed not the preference of the Hâſhemites, they could not help taking it ill to ſee ſuch difference made between the family of al Motalleb and themſelves, who were related to him in an equal degree, and yet had no part in the diſtribution, the prophet replied, that the deſcendants of al Motalleb had forſaken him neither in the time of ignorance, nor ſince the revelation of Iſlâm; and joined his fingers together in token of the ſtrict union between them and the Hâſhemites[e]. Some exclude none of the tribe of Koreiſh from receiving a part in the diviſion of the ſpoil, and make no diſtinction between the poor and the rich, though, according to the more reaſonable opinion, ſuch of them as are poor only are intended by the text of the Korân, as is agreed in the caſe of the ſtranger. and others go ſo far as to aſſert, that the whole fifth commanded to be reſerved belongs to them only, and that the orphans, and the poor, and the traveller, are to be underſtood of ſuch as are of that tribe[f]. It muſt be obſerved, that immoveable poſſeſſions, as lands, &c taken in war, are ſubject to the ſame laws as the moveable, excepting only, that the fifth part of the former is not actually divided, but

[d] Al Bcid V Roland de Jure milit Moham p 42 &c [e] Idem
[f] Idem

the income and profits thereof, or of the price thereof, if ſold, are applied to public and pious uſes, and diſtributed once a year, and that the prince may either take the fifth part of the land itſelf, or the fifth part of the income and produce of the whole, as he ſhall make his election.

SECTION VII.

Of the Months commanded by the Korân to be kept ſacred; and of the ſetting apart of Friday for the eſpecial Service of God.

The old Arabs obſerved four months in the year as ſacred

IT was a cuſtom among the ancient Arabs to obſerve four months in the year as ſacred, during which they held it unlawful to wage war, and took off the heads from their ſpears, ceaſing from incurſions and other hoſtilities. During thoſe months, whoever was in fear of his enemy lived in full ſecurity, ſo that if a man met the murderer of his father or his brother, he durſt not offer him any violence[a]. A great argument (ſays a learned writer) of a humane diſpoſition in that nation, who being, by reaſon of the independent governments of their ſeveral tribes, and for the preſervation of their juſt rights, expoſed to frequent quarrels with one another, had yet learned to cool their inflamed breaſts with moderation, and reſtrain the rage of war by ſtated times of truce[b].

This inſtitution obtained among all the Arabian tribes, except only thoſe of Tay and Khathâam, and ſome of the deſcendants of al Hareth Ebn Caab, (who diſtinguiſhed no time or place as ſacred[c],) and was ſo religiouſly obſerved, that there are but few in-

[a] Al Kazwini, apud Golium in notis ad Alfrag p 4, &c Al Shahreſtani apud Poc Spec p 311 Al Jawhari, al Firauzab [b] Golius, ubi ſupra, p 5 [c] Al Shahreſtani, ubi ſupra See before, p 162 and 163

ſtances

ſtances in hiſtory (four, ſay ſome, ſix, ſay others[d]) of its having been tranſgreſſed, the wars, which were carried on without regard thereto, being therefore termed impious. One of thoſe inſtances was in the war between the tribes of Koreiſh and Kais Ailân, wherein Mohammed himſelf ſerved under his uncles, being then fourteen[e], or, as others ſay, twenty[f] years old.

The months which the Arabs held ſacred were al Moharram, Rajeb, Dhu'lkaada, and Dhu'lhajja; the firſt, the ſeventh, the eleventh, and the twelfth in the year[g] Dhu'lhajja being the month wherein they performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, not only that month, but alſo the preceding and the following were for that reaſon kept inviolable, that every one might ſafely, and without interruption, paſs and repaſs to and from the feſtival[h]. Rajeb is ſaid to have been more ſtrictly obſerved than any of the other three[i], probably, becauſe in that month the Pagan Arabs uſed to faſt[k]; Ramadân, which was afterwards ſet apart by Mohammed for that purpoſe, being in the time of ignorance dedicated to drinking in exceſs[l]. By reaſon of the profound peace and ſecurity enjoyed in this month, one part of the proviſions brought by the caravans of purveyors, annually ſent out by the Koreiſh for the ſupply of Mecca[m], was diſtributed among the people, the other part being, for the like reaſon, diſtributed at the pilgrimage[n].

[d] Al Mogholtai [e] Abulfedâ, vit Moh p 11 [f] Al Kodâi, al Firauz apud Poc Spec p 174 Al Mogholtai mentions both opinions [g] Mr Bayle (Dict Hiſt & Crit Art la Mecque, Rem F) accuſes Dr Prideaux of an inconſiſtency, for ſaying in one place (life of Mah. p 64) that theſe ſacred months were the firſt, the ſeventh, the eleventh, and the twelfth, and intimating in another place (Ib p 89) that three of them were contiguous But this muſt be a mere abſence of mind in Mr Bayle for are not the eleventh, the twelfth, and the firſt months contiguous? The two learned profeſſors, Golius and Reland, have alſo made a ſmall ſlip, in ſpeaking of their ſacred months, which, they tell us, are the two firſt and the two laſt in the year V Golii Lex Arab col 601 & Reland de jure milit Mohammedanor p 5 [h] V Gol in Alfrag p 9 [i] V ibid p 6 [k] Al Makrizi, apud Poc ubi ſupra [l] Idem, & Auctor Neſhk al Azhar, ibid [m] See Koran, chap 106 [n] Al Edriſi apud Poc Specim p 127

The obſervance of thoſe months confirmed by the Korân.

The obſervance of the aforeſaid months ſeemed ſo reaſonable to Mohammed, that it met with his approbation, and the ſame is accordingly confirmed and enforced by ſeveral paſſages of the Korân[o], which forbid war to be waged, during thoſe months, againſt ſuch as acknowledge them to be ſacred, but grant, at the ſame time, full permiſſion to attack thoſe who make no ſuch diſtinction, in the ſacred months as well as in the prophane[p].

The transferring of a ſacred month to a prophane month, and the reducing of lunar years to ſolar, by intercalating a month forbidden

One practice, however, of the Pagan Arabs, in relation to theſe ſacred months, Mohammed thought proper to reform, for ſome of them, weary of ſitting quiet for three months together, and eager to make their accuſtomed incurſions for plunder, uſed, by way of expedient, whenever it ſuited their inclinations or conveniency, to put off the obſerving of al Moharram to the following month Safar[q], thereby avoiding to keep the former, which they ſuppoſed it lawful for them to prophane, provided they ſanctified another month in lieu of it, and gave public notice thereof at the preceding pilgrimage. This transferring the obſervation of a ſacred month to a prophane month is what is truly meant by the Arabic word al Nasî, and is abſolutely condemned, and declared to be an impious innovation, in a paſſage of the Korân[r] which Dr Prideaux[s], miſled by Golius[t], imagines to relate to the prolonging of the year, by adding an intercalary month thereto. It is true, the Arabs, who imitated the Jews in their manner of computing by lunar years, had alſo learned their method of reducing them to ſolar years, by intercalating a month ſometimes in the third, and ſometimes in the ſecond year[u], by which means they fixed the pilgrimage of Mecca (contrary to the original inſtitution) to a certain ſeaſon of the

[o] Chap 9 chap 2 p 33 and 34 chap 4 chap 5, &c [p] Chap 9 chap 2 p 33 and 34 [q] See the notes to chap 9 ubi ſup [r] Chap 9 ibid [s] Life of Mah p 66 [t] In Alfrag p 12 [u] See Prid Preface to the firſt vol of his Connect p vi, &c

year,

year, viz. to autumn, as moſt convenient for the pilgrims, by reaſon of the temperateneſs of the weather, and the plenty of proviſions[w]. and it is alſo true, that Mohammed forbad ſuch intercalation, by a paſſage in the ſame chapter of the Korân: but then it is not the paſſage above-mentioned, which prohibits a different thing, but one a little before it, wherein the number of months in the year, according to the ordinance of God, is declared to be twelve[x], whereas, if the intercalation of a month were allowed, every third or ſecond year would conſiſt of thirteen, contrary to God's appointment.

Of the ſetting apart of Friday

The ſetting apart of one day in the week for the more peculiar attendance on God's worſhip, ſo ſtrictly required by the Jewiſh and Chriſtian religions, appeared to Mohammed to be ſo proper an inſtitution, that he could not but imitate the profeſſors thereof in that particular, though, for the ſake of diſtinction, he might think himſelf obliged to order his followers to obſerve a different day from either. Several reaſons are given why the ſixth day of the week was pitched on for this purpoſe[y], but Mohammed ſeems to have preferred that day chiefly becauſe it was the day on which the people uſed to be aſſembled long before his time[z], though ſuch aſſemblies were had, perhaps, rather on a civil than a religious account However it be, the Mohammedan writers beſtow very extraordinary encomiums on this day, calling it The prince of days, and The moſt excellent day on which the ſun riſes[a], pretending alſo that it will be the day whereon the laſt judgment will be ſolemnized[b] and they eſteem it a peculiar honour to Iſlâm, that God has been pleaſed to appoint this day to be the feaſt-day of the Moſlems, and granted them the advantage of having firſt obſerved it[c].

[w] V Gol ubi ſupra [x] Kor chap 9 See alſo chap 2 p 33 and 34
[y] See chap 63 and the notes there [z] Al Beidawi [a] Ebn al Athir, & al Ghazali, apud Poc Spec p 317 [b] V ibid [c] Al Ghazali, ibid

Though the Mohammedans do not think themſelves bound to keep their day of public worſhip ſo holy as the Jews and Chriſtians are certainly obliged to keep theirs, there being a permiſſion, as is generally ſuppoſed in the Korân[d], allowing them to return to their employments or diverſions after divine ſervice is over, yet the more devout diſapprove the applying any part of that day to worldly affairs, and require it to be wholly dedicated to the buſineſs of the life to come[e].

Of the two Beirams

Since I have mentioned the Mohammedan weekly feaſt, I beg leave juſt to take notice of their two Beirâms[f], or principal annual feaſts The firſt of them is called, in Arabic, Id al feti, i e. The feaſt of breaking the faſt, and begins the firſt of Shawâl, immediately ſucceeding the faſt of Ramadân, and the other is called, Id al korbân, or Id al adhâ, i e The feaſt of the ſacrifice, and begins on the tenth of Dhu'lhajja, when the victims are ſlain at the pilgrimage of Mecca[g]. The former of theſe feaſts is properly the leſſer Beirâm, and the latter, the greater Beirâm[h] but the vulgar, and moſt authors who have written of the Mohammedan affairs[i], exchange the epithets, and call that which follows Ramadân, the greater Beirâm, becauſe it is obſerved in an extraordinary manner, and kept for three days together at Conſtantinople, and in other parts of Turkey, and in Perſia for five or ſix days, by the common people at leaſt, with great demonſtrations of public joy, to make themſelves amends, as it were, for the mortification of the preceding month[k], whereas the feaſt of ſacrifices, though it be alſo kept for three days, and the firſt of them be the moſt

[d] Chap 63 ubi ſupra [e] Al Ghazâli, ubi ſup p 318 [f] The word Beiram is Turkiſh, and properly ſignifies a feaſt-day or holiday [g] See chap 9 and before, ſect IV p 160 [h] V Reland de Relig Moh p 109, & D'Herbel Bibl Orient Art Beiram [i] Hyde, in notis ad Bobov p 16 Chardin, Voy de Perſe, Tom II p 450 Ricaut's State of the Ottoman Empire, l 2 c 24, &c [k] V Chardin, & Ricaut, ubi ſupra

ſolemn

ſolemn day of the pilgrimage, the principal act of devotion among the Mohammedans, is taken much leſs notice of by the generality of people, who are not ſtruck therewith, becauſe the ceremonies with which the ſame is obſerved are performed at Mecca, the only ſcene of that ſolemnity.

SECTION VIII.

Of the principal Sects among the Mohammedans; and of thoſe who have pretended to Prophecy among the Arabs, in or ſince the Time of Mohammed.

Of the ſcholaſtic and practical divinity of the Mohammedans

BEFORE we take a view of the ſects of the Mohammedans, it will be neceſſary to ſay ſomething of the two ſciences by which all diſputed queſtions among them are determined, viz their Scholaſtic and Practical Divinity

Their ſcholaſtic divinity is a mongrel ſcience, conſiſting of logical, metaphyſical, theological, and philoſophical diſquiſitions, and built on principles and methods of reaſoning very different from what are uſed by thoſe who paſs among the Mohammedans themſelves for the ſounder divines, or more able philoſophers[a]; and therefore, in the partition of the ſciences, this is generally left out, as unworthy a place among them[b] The learned Maimonides[c] has laboured to expoſe the principles and ſyſtems of the ſcholaſtic divines, as frequently repugnant to the nature of the world and the order of the creation, and intolerably abſurd

This art of handling religious diſputes was not known in the infancy of Mohammediſm, but was brought in when ſects ſprang up, and articles of

[a] Poc Spec 196 [b] Apud Ebn Sina, in libello de diviſione ſcientiar & Naſiro'ddin al Tuſi, in præfat ad Ethic [c] More Nevoch l 1 c 71 & 73

religion

religion began to be called in queſtion, and was at firſt made uſe of to defend the truth of thoſe articles againſt innovators[d]; and, while it keeps within thoſe bounds, is allowed to be a commendable ſtudy, being neceſſary for the defence of the faith: but, when it proceeds farther, out of an itch of diſputation, it is judged worthy of cenſure.

This is the opinion of al Ghazâli[e], who obſerves a medium between thoſe who have too high a value for this ſcience, and thoſe who abſolutely reject it. Among the latter was al Shâfei, who declared that, in his judgment, if any man employed his time that way, he deſerved to be fixed to a ſtake, and carried about through all the Arab tribes, with the following proclamation to be made before him: This is the reward of him who, leaving the Korân and the Sonna, applied himſelf to the ſtudy of ſcholaſtic divinity[f]. Al Ghazâli, on the other hand, thinks, that, as it was introduced by the invaſion of hereſies, it is neceſſary to be retained in order to quell them: but then in the perſon who ſtudies this ſcience he requires three things, diligence, acuteneſs of judgment, and probity of manners, and is by no means for ſuffering the ſame to be publicly explained[g]. This ſcience, therefore, among the Mohammedans, is the Art of controverſy, by which they diſcuſs points of faith, concerning the eſſence and attributes of God, and the conditions of all poſſible things, either in reſpect to their creation, or final reſtoration, according to the rules of the religion of Iſlâm[h].

The other ſcience is practical divinity or juriſprudence, and is the knowledge of the deciſions of the law which regard practice, gathered from diſtinct proofs.

Al Ghazâli declares that he had much the ſame opinion of this ſcience as of the former, its original being owing to the corruption of religion and mo-

[d] Al Ghazali, apud Poc. ubi ſupra. [e] Ibid. [f] V. Poc. ib. p. 197.
[g] Al Ghazâli, ibid. [h] Ebn al Koſſá, apud eund. ibid. p. 198.

rality;

rality, and therefore judged both sciences to be necessary, not in themselves, but by accident only, to curb the irregular imaginations and passions of mankind, (as guards become necessary in the highways by reason of robbers,) the end of the first being the suppressing of heresies, and of the other the decision of legal controversies, for the quiet and peaceable living of mankind in this world, and for the preserving the rule by which the magistrate may prevent one man from injuring another, by declaring what is lawful and what is unlawful, by determining the satisfaction to be given, or punishment to be inflicted, and by regulating other outward actions, and not only so, but to decide of religion itself, and its conditions, so far as relates to the profession made by the mouth, it not being the business of the civilian to inquire into the heart[i]. The depravity of men's manners, however, has made this knowledge of the laws so very requisite, that it is usually called the science, by way of excellence; nor is any man reckoned learned, who has not applied himself thereto[k].

The points of faith, subject to the examination and discussion of the scholastic divines, are reduced to four general heads, which they call the four bases, or great fundamental articles[l]. The points of faith in dispute among the school-men

The first basis relates to the attributes of God, and his unity consistent therewith. Under this head are comprehended the questions concerning the eternal attributes, which are asserted by some, and denied by others, and also the explication of the essential attributes, and attributes of action, what is proper for God to do, and what may be affirmed of him, and what it is impossible for him to do. These things are contradicted between the Asháríans, the Kerâmians, the Mojassemians or Corporalists, and the Mótazalites[m].

[i] Al Ghazali V ibid p 198—204 [k] V ib p 204 [l] V Abulfarag Hist Dynast p 166 [m] Al Shahrestâni, apud Poc ubi sup p 204, &c

The

The ſecond baſis regards predeſtination, and the juſtice thereof, which compriſes the queſtions concerning God's purpoſe and decree, man's compulſion or neceſſity to act, and his co-operation in producing actions, by which he may gain to himſelf good or evil and alſo thoſe which concern God's willing good and evil, and what things are ſubject to his power, and what to his knowledge, ſome maintaining the affirmative, and others the negative These points are diſputed among the Kadarians, the Najarians, the Jabarians, the Aſhárians, and the Kerâmians[n].

The third baſis concerns the promiſes and threats, the preciſe acceptation of names uſed in divinity, and the divine deciſions, and comprehends queſtions relating to faith, repentance, promiſes, threats, forbearance, infidelity, and error The controverſies under this head are on foot between the Morgians, the Waidians, the Mótazalites, the Aſhárians, and the Kerâmians[o]

The fourth baſis regards hiſtory and reaſon; that is, the juſt weight they ought to have in matters belonging to faith and religion, and alſo the miſſion of prophets, and the office of Imâm, or chief pontiff. Under this head are compriſed all caſuiſtical queſtions relating to the moral beauty or turpitude of actions, inquiring whether things are allowed or forbidden by reaſon of their own nature, or by the poſitive law, and alſo queſtions concerning the preference of actions, the favour or grace of God, the innocence which ought to attend the prophetical office, and the conditions requiſite in the office of Imâm; ſome aſſerting it depends on right of ſucceſſion, others on the conſent of the faithful, and alſo the method of transferring it, with the former, and of confirming it, with the latter. Theſe matters are the ſubjects of

[n] Al Shahreſtani, apud Poc ubi ſup ib p 205 [o] Idem, ib p 206

diſpute

diſpute between the Shiites, the Mótazalites, the Kerâmians, and the Aſhárians [p].

The different ſects of the Mohammedans may be diſtinguiſhed into two ſorts; thoſe generally eſteemed orthodox, and thoſe which are eſteemed heretical. The Mohammedan ſects either orthodox or heretical.

The former, by a general name, are called Sonnites, or Traditioniſts, becauſe they acknowledge the authority of the Sonna, or collection of moral traditions of the ſayings and actions of their prophet, which is a ſort of ſupplement to the Korân, directing the obſervance of ſeveral things omitted in that book, and, in name, as well as deſign, anſwering to the Miſhna of the Jews [q]. The Sonnites, or Traditioniſts,

The Sonnites are ſubdivided into four chief ſects, which, notwithſtanding ſome differences as to legal concluſions in their interpretation of the Korân, and matters of practice, are generally acknowledged to be orthodox in radicals, or matters of faith, and capable of ſalvation, and have each of them their ſeveral ſtations or oratories in the temple of Mecca [r]. The founders of theſe ſects are looked upon as the great maſters of juriſprudence, and are ſaid to have been men of great devotion and ſelf-denial, well verſed in the knowledge of thoſe things which belong to the next life, and to man's right conduct here, and directing all their knowledge to the glory of God. This is al Ghazâli's encomium of them, who thinks it derogatory to their honour, that their names ſhould be uſed by thoſe who, neglecting to imitate the other virtues which make up their character, apply themſelves only to attain their ſkill, and follow their opinions in matters of legal practice [s]. Divided into four ſects.

The firſt of the four orthodox ſects is that of the Hanefites, ſo named from their founder, Abu Hanîfa al Nómân Ebn Thâbet, who was born at Cufâ, in the Of the ſect of Abu Hanifa.

[p] Al Shahreſtâni, apud Poc Spec. ibid p 206 [q] V Poc Spec p 298 Prid life of Mah p 51, &c Reland de rel Moh p 68, &c Millium, de Mohammediſmo ante Moh. p 368, 369 [r] See before, p 153 [s] V Poc Spec p 293

eightieth

eightieth year of the Hejra, and died in the one hundreth and fiftieth, according to the more preferable opinion as to the time[t]. He ended his life in priſon at Baghdâd, where he had been confined, becauſe he refuſed to be made Kâdi, or judge[u], on which account he was very hardly dealt with by his ſuperiors, yet could not be prevailed on, either by threats or ill treatment, to undertake the charge, chooſing rather to be puniſhed by them than by God, ſays al Ghazâli, who adds, that, when he excuſed himſelf from accepting the office, by alledging that he was unfit for it, being aſked the reaſon, he replied, If I ſpeak the truth, I am unfit, but, if I tell a lie, a liar is not fit to be a judge. It is ſaid that he read over the Korân, in the priſon where he died, no leſs than ſeven thouſand times[w].

The Hanefites are called by an Arabian writer[x] The followers of reaſon, and thoſe of the three other ſects, Followers of tradition, the former being principally guided by their own judgment in their deciſions, and the latter adhering more tenaciouſly to the traditions of Mohammed.

The ſect of Abu Hanîfa heretofore obtained chiefly in Irâk[y], but now generally prevails among the Turks and Tartars. his doctrine was brought into great credit by Abu Yûſof, chief juſtice under the Khalîfs al Hâdi and Harûn al Raſhîd[z]

Of the ſect of Malec

The ſecond orthodox ſect is that of Mâlec Ebn Ans, who was born at Medina, in the year of the Hejra 90, 93, 94[a], or 95[b], and died there in 177[c], 178[d], or 179[e], (for ſo much do authors differ) This doctor is ſaid to have paid great regard to the tradi-

[t] Ebn Khalecan [u] This was the true cauſe of his imprisonment and death, and not his refuſing to ſubſcribe to the opinion of abſolute predeſtination, as D'Herbelot writes (Bibl Orient p 21) miſled by the dubious acceptation of the word Kada, which ſignifies not only God's decree in particular, but alſo the giving ſentence as a judge in general, nor could Abu Hamifa have been reckoned orthodox, had he denied one of the principal articles of faith [w] Poc Spec p 297, 298 [x] Al Shahreſtâni, ibid [y] Idem [z] V D'Herbel Bibl Orient p 21 & 22 [a] Abu'lfeda [b] Ebn Khalecan, [c] Idem [d] Abu lfeda [e] Elmacinus, p 114

tions

tions of Mohammed[f]. In his laſt illneſs, a friend going to viſit him, found him in tears, and aſking him the reaſon of it, he anſwered, How ſhould I not weep, and who has more reaſon to weep than I? Would to God that, for every queſtion decided by me according to my own opinion, I had received ſo many ſtripes! then would my accounts be eaſier. Would to God I had never given any deciſion of my own[g]! Al Ghazâli thinks it a ſufficient proof of Mâlec's directing his knowledge to the glory of God, that, being once aſked his opinion as to forty-eight queſtions, his anſwer to thirty-two of them was, that he did not know, it being no eaſy matter for one, who has any other view than God's glory, to make ſo frank a confeſſion of his ignorance[h].

The doctrine of Mâlec is chiefly followed in Barbary, and other parts of Africa

The author of the third orthodox ſect was Mohammed Ebn Edrîs al Shâfei, born either at Gaza or Aſcalon in Paleſtine, in the year of the Hejra one hundred and fifty, the ſame day (as ſome will have it) that Abu Hanîfa died, and was carried to Mecca at two years of age, and there educated[i]. He died in two hundred and four[k], in Egypt, whither he went above five years before[l]. This doctor is celebrated for his excellency in all parts of learning, and was much eſteemed by Ebn Hanbal, his contemporary, who uſed to ſay that he was as the ſun to the world, and as health to the body Ebn Hanbal, however, had ſo ill an opinion of al Shâfei at firſt, that he forbad his ſcholars to go near him, but ſome time after one of them, meeting his maſter trudging on foot after al Shâfei, who rode on a mule, aſked him how it came about that he forbad them to follow him. and did it himſelf? to which Ebn Hanbal replied, Hold thy peace, if thou but attend his mule, thou wilt profit thereby[m].

Of the ſect of al Shafei

[f] Ebn Khalec V Poc Spec p 294
[g] Idem, apud eund ibid
[h] Al Ghazali, ibid
[i] Ebn Khalecan
[k] Yet Abulfeda ſays he lived fifty-eight years
[l] Ebn Khalecan
[m] Idem

Al

Al Shâfei is ſaid to have been the firſt who diſcourſed of juriſprudence, and reduced that ſcience into a method[n], one wittily ſaying, that the relators of the traditions of Mohammed were aſleep till al Shâfei came and waked them[o]. He was a great enemy to the ſcholaſtic divines, as has been already obſerved[p]. Al Ghazâli tells us that al Shâfei uſed to divide the night into three parts, one for ſtudy, another for prayer, and the third for ſleep. It is alſo related of him, that he never ſo much as once ſwore by God, either to confirm a truth, or to affirm a falſehood, and that, being once aſked his opinion, he remained ſilent for ſome time, and when the reaſon of his ſilence was demanded, he anſwered, I am conſidering firſt whether it be better to ſpeak or hold my tongue. The following ſaying is alſo recorded of him, viz. Whoever pretends to love the world and its Creator at the ſame time, is a liar[q]. The followers of this doctor are from him called Shâfeites, and were formerly ſpread into Mâwara'lnahr, and other parts eaſtward, but are now chiefly of Arabia and Perſia.

Of the ſect of Ebn Hanbal

Ahmed Ebn Hanbal, the founder of the fourth ſect, was born in the year of the Hejra 164, but, as to the place of his birth, there are two traditions ſome ſay he was born at Merû, in Khoraſân, of which city his parents were, and that his mother brought him from thence to Baghdâd at her breaſt, while others aſſure us that ſhe was with child of him when ſhe came to Baghdâd, and that he was born there[r]. Ebn Hanbal, in proceſs of time, attained a great reputation on account of his virtue and knowledge, being ſo well verſed in the traditions of Mohammed, in particular, that it is ſaid he could repeat no leſs than a million of them[s]. He was very intimate with al Shâfei, from whom he received moſt of his traditionary knowledge, being his conſtant attendant till

[n] Ebn Khalecân before, p 201 [o] Al Zafarâni, apud Poc Spec p 296 [p] See [q] V Poc Spec p 295---297 [r] Ebn Khalecân [s] Idem

his

his departure for Egypt[t]. Refuſing to acknowledge the Korân to be created[u], he was, by order of the Khalîf al Mótaſem, ſeverely ſcourged and impriſoned[w]. Ebn Hanbal died at Baghdâd, in the year 241, and was followed to his grave by eight hundred thouſand men, and ſixty thouſand women. It is related, as ſomething very extraordinary, if not miraculous, that on the day of his death no leſs than twenty thouſand Chriſtians, Jews, and Magians, embraced the Mohammedan faith[x]. This ſect increaſed ſo faſt, and became ſo powerful and bold, that in the year 323, in the Khaliſat of al Râdi, they raiſed a great commotion in Baghdâd, entering people's houſes, and ſpilling their wine, if they found any, and beating the ſinging women they met with, and breaking their inſtruments; and a ſevere edict was publiſhed againſt them, before they could be reduced to their duty[y] but the Hanbalites at preſent are not very numerous, few of them being to be met with out of the limits of Arabia.

Of the heretical ſects among the Mohammedans

The heretical ſects among the Mohammedans are thoſe which hold heterodox opinions in fundamentals, or matters of faith.

When they began

The firſt controverſies relating to fundamentals began when moſt of the companions of Mohammed were dead[z] for in their days was no diſpute, unleſs about things of ſmall moment, if we except only the diſſenſions concerning the Imâms, or rightful ſucceſſors of their prophet, which were ſtirred up and fomented by intereſt and ambition, the Arabs continual employment in the wars, during that time, allowing them little or no leiſure to enter into nice inquiries and ſubtle diſtinctions but no ſooner was the ardour of conqueſt a little abated, than they began to examine the Korân more nearly, whereupon diſferences in opinion became unavoidable, and at

[t] Ebn Khalecân [u] See before, ſect III p 88 and 89 [w] Ebn Khalecan, Abu'lfarag Hiſt Dyn p 252, &c [x] Ebn Khalecan [y] Abu'l-far abi ſupra, p 301, &c [z] Al Shahreſtâni, apud Poc Spec p 194 Auctor Sharh al Mawakef, apud eund p 210

length ſo greatly multiplied, that the number of their ſects, according to the common opinion, are ſeventy-three. For the Mohammedans ſeem ambitious that their religion ſhould exceed others even in this reſpect; ſaying, that the Magians are divided into ſeventy ſects, the Jews into ſeventy-one, the Chriſtians into ſeventy-two, and the Moſlems into ſeventy three, as Mohammed had foretold[a]: of which ſects they reckon one to be always orthodox, and entitled to ſalvation[b].

The firſt hereſy was that of the Khârejites, who revolted from Ali in the 37th year of the Hejra, and, not long after, Mâbad al Johni, Ghailân of Damaſcus, and Jonas al Aſwâri, broached heterodox opinions concerning predeſtination, and the aſcribing of good and evil unto GOD; whoſe opinions were followed by Wâſel Ebn Atâ[c]. This latter was the ſcholar of Haſan of Baſra, in whoſe ſchool a queſtion being propôſed, whether he who had committed a grievous ſin was to be deemed an infidel or not, the Khârejites (who uſed to come and diſpute there) maintaining the affirmative, and the orthodox the negative, Wâſel, without waiting his maſter's deciſion, withdrew abruptly, and began to publiſh among his fellow-ſcholars a new opinion of his own, to wit, that ſuch a ſinner was in a middle ſtate; and he was thereupon expelled the ſchool; he and his followers being thenceforth called Mótazalites, or Separatiſts[d].

The ſeveral ſects which have ariſen ſince that time are variouſly compounded and decompounded of the opinions of four chief ſects; the Mótazalites, the Seſâtians, the Khârejites, and the Shiites[e].

[a] V Poc Spec p 194 [b] Al Shahreſtâni, apud eund p 211 [illegible], & Auctor Sharh al Mawâkef, ubi ſup [d] Idem, ib p 211, 212 Et Ebn Khalecân, in vita Waſeli [e] Al Shahreſtani, who alſo reduces them to four chief ſects, puts the Kadarians in the place of the Motazalites Abu'lfaragius (Hiſt Dyn p 166) reckons ſix principal ſects, adding the Jabarians and the Morgians, and the author of Sharh al Mawâkef, eight, viz the Motazalites, the Shiites, the Khârejites, the Morgians, the Najarians, the Jabarians, the Moſhabbehites, and the ſect which he calls al Nâjia, becauſe that alone will be ſaved, being according to him the ſect of the Aſharians V Poc. Spec p 209

I. The

I. The Mótazalites were the followers of the before-mentioned Wâſel Ebn Atâ. As to their chief and general tenets, 1. They entirely rejected all eternal attributes of GOD, to avoid the diſtinction of perſons made by the Chriſtians; ſaying, that eternity is the proper or formal attribute of his eſſence; that GOD knows by his eſſence, and not by his knowledge[f], and the ſame they affirmed of his other attributes[g], (though all the Mótazalites do not underſtand theſe words in one ſenſe,) and hence this ſect were alſo named Moattalites, from their diveſting GOD of his attributes[h] and they went ſo far as to ſay, that to affirm theſe attributes is the ſame thing as to make more eternals than one, and that the unity of GOD is inconſiſtent with ſuch an opinion[i], and this was the true doctrine of Wâſel, their maſter, who declared, that whoever aſſerted an eternal attribute, aſſerted there were two GODS[k]. This point of ſpeculation concerning the divine attributes was not ripe at firſt, but was at length brought to maturity by Wâſel's followers, after they had read the books of the philoſophers[l]. 2. They believed the word of GOD to have been created in ſubjecto, (as the ſchoolmen term it,) and to conſiſt of letters and ſound; copies thereof being written in books, to expreſs or imitate the original. They alſo went farther, and affirmed that whatever is created in ſubjecto, is alſo an accident, and liable to periſh[m]. 3. They denied abſolute predeſtination, holding that GOD was not the author of evil, but of good only; and that man was a free agent[n], which being properly the opinion of the Kadarians, we defer what may be farther ſaid thereof till we come to ſpeak of that ſect. On ac- Of the Motazalites

[f] Maimonides teaches the ſame, not as the doctrine of the Mótazalites, but his own V More Nev l 1 c 57 [g] Al Shahreſtâni, apud Poc Spec p 214 Abu'lfarag p 167 [h] V Poc Spec p 224 [i] Shahrâ al Mawâkef, & al Shahreſt apud Poc p 216 Maimonides (in Proleg ad Pirke Aboth, ſect viii) aſſerts the ſame thing [k] V Poc ibid [l] Al Shahreſt ib p 215 [m] Abu'lfarag & al Shahreſt ubi ſup p 217 See before, ſect III p 67 [n] V Poc Spec p 240

count of this tenet and the firſt, the Mótazalites look on themſelves as the defenders of the unity and juſtice of God[o]. 4. They held that if a profeſſor of the true religion be guilty of a grievous ſin, and die without repentance, he will be eternally damned, though his puniſhment will be lighter than that of the infidels[p]. 5. They denied all viſion of God in paradiſe by the corporeal eye, and rejected all compariſons or ſimilitudes applied to God[q].

This ſect are ſaid to have been the firſt inventors of ſcholaſtic divinity[r], and are ſubdivided into ſeveral inferior ſects, amounting, as ſome reckon, to twenty, which mutually brand one another with infidelity[s]: the moſt remarkable of them are,

1. The Hodeilians, or followers of Hamdân Abu Hodeil, a Mótazalite doctor, who differed ſomething from the common form of expreſſion uſed by this ſect, ſaying that God knew by his knowledge, but that his knowledge was his eſſence, and ſo of the other attributes which opinion he took from the philoſophers, who affirm the eſſence of God to be ſimple, and without multiplicity, and that his attributes are not poſterior or acceſſory to his eſſence, or ſubſiſting therein, but are his eſſence itſelf and this the more orthodox take to be next kin to making diſtinctions in the Deity, which is the thing they ſo much abhor in the Chriſtians[t]. As to the Korân's being created, he made ſome diſtinction, holding the word of God to be partly not in ſubjecto, (and therefore uncreated,) as when he ſpoke the word Kún, i. e. Fiat, at the creation, and partly in ſubjecto, as the precepts, prohibitions, &c.[u]. Marracci[w] mentions an opinion of Abu Hodeil's concerning predeſtination, from an Arab writer[x], which, being by him expreſſed in a manner not very intelligible, I chuſe to omit.

[o] Al Shahriſt & Sharh al Mawâkef, apud Poc ubi ſup p 214 [p] Marracc Prodr ad ref Alcor part III p 74 [q] Idem, ibid [r] V Poc Spec p 213 & D Herbel Art. Motazelah [s] Auctor al Mawakef apud Poc ibid [t] Al Shahreſtâni, apud Poc p 215, 216, 217 [u] Idem, apud eund p 217, &c [w] In Prodr part 3 p 74 [x] Al Shahriſt

2. The

2. The Jobbâians, or followers of Abu Alı Mohammed Ebn Abd al Wahhâb, ſurnamed al Jobbâı, whoſe meanıng, when he made uſe of the common expreſſion of the Mótazalites, that GOD knows by his eſſence, &c. was, that GOD's beıng knowıng ıs not an attrıbute, the ſame with knowledge, nor ſuch a ſtate as rendered his beıng knowıng neceſſary[y]. He held GOD's word to be created ın ſubjecto, as ın the preſerved table, for example, the memory of Gabrıel, Mohammed, &c[z]. Thıs ſect, ıf Marracci has gıven the true ſenſe of hıs author, denıed that GOD could be ſeen ın paradıſe wıthout the aſſıſtance of corporeal eyes, and held that man produced hıs acts by a power ſuperadded to health of body, and ſoundneſs of limbs, that he who was guılty of a mortal ſın, was neıther a believer nor an ınfidel, but a tranſgreſſor, (which was the orıgınal opınıon of Wâſel,) and, ıf he dıed ın hıs ſıns, would be doomed to hell for eternıty, and that GOD conceals nothıng of whatever he knows from hıs ſervants[a].

3. The Hâſhemıans, who were ſo named from their maſter Abu Hâſhem Abd al Salâm, the ſon of Abu Alı al Jobbâı, and whoſe tenets nearly agreed wıth thoſe of the precedıng ſect[b]. Abu Hâſhem took the Mótazalıte form of expreſſion, that GOD knows by hıs eſſence, ın a dıfferent ſenſe from others, ſuppoſıng ıt to mean, that GOD hath or ıs endued wıth a dıſpoſıtıon, whıch ıs a known property, or quality, poſterıor or acceſſory to hıs exıſtence[c]. Hıs followers were ſo much afraıd of makıng GOD the author of evıl, that they would not allow hım to be ſaıd to create an ınfidel, becauſe, accordıng to their way of arguıng, an ınfidel ıs a compound of ınfidelıty and man, and GOD ıs not the creator of ınfidelıty[d]. Abu Hâſhem, and hıs father, Abu Alı al Jobbâı, were both celebrated for their ſkıll ın ſcholaſtıc dıvınıty[e].

[y] Al Shahreſt apud Poc Spec p 215 [z] Idem, & Auctor al Mawâkef, ıb p 218 [a] Marracci, ubı ſup p 75 ex al Shahreſt [b] Vıde eund. ıbıd [c] Al Shahreſt apud Poc p 215 [d] Idem, ıbıd p 242 [e] Ebn Khalecan, ın vıtıs eorum

4. The Nodhâmians, or followers of Ibrahim al Nodhâm, who, having read books of philoſophy, ſet up a new ſect, and, imagining he could not ſufficiently remove God from being the author of evil, without diveſting him of his power in reſpect thereto, taught that no power ought to be aſcribed to God concerning evil and rebellious actions but this he affirmed againſt the opinion of his own diſciples, who allowed that God could do evil, but did not, becauſe of its turpitude[f]. Of his opinion as to the Korân's being created we have ſpoken elſewhere[g].

5. The Hâyetians, ſo named from Ahmed Ebn Hâyet, who had been of the ſect of the Nodhâmians, but broached ſome new notions on reading the philoſophers His peculiar opinions were, 1. That Chriſt was the eternal word incarnate, and took a true and real body, and will judge all creatures in the life to come[h]. He alſo farther aſſerted, that there are two Gods, or Creators, the one eternal, viz the moſt high God, and the other not eternal, viz Chriſt[i]; which opinion, though Dr. Pocock urges the ſame as an argument that he did not rightly underſtand the Chriſtian myſteries[k], is not much different from that of the Arians and Socinians. 2. That there is a ſucceſſive tranſmigration of the ſoul from one body into another, and that the laſt body will enjoy the reward or ſuffer the puniſhment due to each ſoul[l] And 3 That God will be ſeen at the reſurrection, not with the bodily eyes, but thoſe of the underſtanding[m].

6 The Jâhedhians, or followers of Amru Ebn Bahr, ſurnamed al Jâhedh, a great doctor of the Mótazalites, and very much admired for the elegance of his compoſures[n], who differed from his brethren, in that he imagined the damned would not be eternally

[f] Al Shahreſt ubi ſup p 241, 242 V Marracc Prod part 3 p 74
[g] See before, ſect III p 89 and 90 [h] Al Shahreſt ubi ſup p 218 Abu'lfarag p 167
[i] Al Shahreſt al Mawâkef, & Ebn Koſſa, apud Poc ubi ſup p 219 [k] V Poc ib [l] Marracc & al Shahreſt ubi ſup
[m] Marracc ib p 75 [n] V D'Herbel, Bibl Orient art Glahedh

tormented

tormented in hell, but would be changed into the nature of fire, and that the fire would of itſelf attract them, without any neceſſity of their going into it[o]. He alſo taught that if a man believed God to be his Lord, and Mohammed the apoſtle of God, he became one of the faithful, and was obliged to nothing further[p]. His peculiar opinion as to the Korân has been taken notice of before[q].

7. The Mozdârians, who embraced the opinions of Iſa Ebn Sobeih al Mozdâr, and thoſe very abſurd ones: for, beſides his notions relating to the Korân[r], he went ſo directly counter to the opinion of thoſe who abridged God of the power to do evil, that he affirmed it poſſible for God to be a liar and unjuſt[s]. He alſo pronounced him to be an infidel who thruſt himſelf into the ſupreme government[t] nay, he went ſo far as to aſſert men to be infidels, while they ſaid, There is no GOD but God, and even condemned all the reſt of mankind as guilty of infidelity, upon which Ibrahim Ebn al Sendi aſked him whether paradiſe, whoſe breadth equals that of heaven and earth, was created only for him, and two or three more who thought as he did? to which, it is ſaid, he could return no anſwer[u].

8. The Baſharians, who maintained the tenets of Baſhar Ebn Mótamer, the maſter of al Mozdâr[x], and a principal man among the Mótazalites He differed in ſome things from the general opinion of that ſect, carrying man's free agency to a great exceſs, making it even independent and yet he thought God might doom an infant to eternal puniſhment, but granted he would be unjuſt in ſo doing He taught that God is not always obliged to do that which is beſt, for, if he pleaſed, he could make all men true believers. Theſe ſectaries alſo held that if a man

[o] Al Shahreſt ubi ſup p 260 [p] Marracc ubi ſup [q] Sect III p 89, 90 [r] V ib & p 88 and 89 [s] Al Shahreſt apud Poc p 241 [t] Marracc ubi ſup p 75 [u] Al Shahreſt ubi ſup p 289 [x] Poc Spec p 221

repent of a mortal ſin, and afterwards return to it, he will be liable to ſuffer the puniſhment due to the former tranſgreſſion[y].

9 The Thamâmians, who follow Thamâma Ebn Baſhar, a chief Mótazalite. Their peculiar opinions were, 1 That ſinners ſhould remain in hell for ever. 2 That free actions have no producing author. 3. That at the reſurrection, all infidels, idolaters, atheiſts, Jews, Chriſtians, Magians, and heretics, ſhall be reduced to duſt[z].

10. The Kadarians, which is really a more ancient name than that of Mótazalites, Mábad al Johni and his adherents being ſo called, who diſputed the doctrine of predeſtination before Wâſel quitted his maſter[a] for which reaſon ſome uſe the denomination of Kadarians as more extenſive than the other, and comprehend all the Mótazalites under it[b]. This ſect deny abſolute predeſtination, ſaying, that evil and injuſtice ought not to be attributed to God, but to man, who is a free agent, and may therefore be rewarded or puniſhed for his actions, which God has granted him power either to do, or to let alone[c]. And hence, it is ſaid, they are called Kadarians, becauſe they deny al Kadr, or God's abſolute decree; though others, thinking it not ſo proper to affix a name to a ſect from a doctrine which they combat, will have it come from Kadr, or Kodrat, i.e power, becauſe they aſſert man's power to act freely[d]. Thoſe, however, who give the name of Kadarians to the Mótazalites are their enemies, for they diſclaim it, and give it to their antagoniſts, the Jabarians, who likewiſe refuſe it as an infamous appellation[e], becauſe Mohammed is ſaid to have declared the Kadarians to be the Magians of his followers[f]. But what the opinion of thoſe Kadarians in Mohammed's time was, is very uncertain. The Mótazalites ſay the name belongs to

[y] Marrac ubi ſup [z] Idem, ib [a] Al Shahreſt [b] Al Firauzab V Poc Spec p 231, 232 and 214 [c] Al Shahreſt V Poc Spec p 235, and 240, &c [d] V Poc ib p 238 [e] Al Motarrezi, al Shahreſt V ib p 232 [f] Idem, &c ibid

thoſe

thoſe who aſſert predeſtination, and make God the author of good and evil[g], viz. the Jabarians; but all the other Mohammedan ſects agree to fix it on the Mótazalites, who, they ſay, are like the Magians in eſtabliſhing two principles, light, or God, the author of good; and darkneſs, or the Devil, the author of evil but this cannot abſolutely be ſaid of the Mótazalites, for they (at leaſt the generality of them) aſcribe men's good deeds to God, but their evil deeds to themſelves, meaning thereby, that man has a free liberty and power to do either good or evil, and is maſter of his actions, and for this reaſon it is that the other Mohammedans call them Magians, becauſe they aſſert another author of actions beſides God[h]. And, indeed, it is a difficult matter to ſay what Mohammed's own opinion was in this matter; for, on the one ſide, the Korân itſelf is pretty plain for abſolute predeſtination, and many ſayings of Mohammed are recorded to that purpoſe[i], and one in particular, where he introduces Adam and Moſes diſputing before God in this manner Thou, ſays Moſes, art Adam, whom God created, and animated with the breath of life, and cauſed to be worſhipped by the angels, and placed in paradiſe, from whence mankind have been expelled for thy fault. Whereto Adam anſwered, Thou art Moſes; whom God choſe for his apoſtle, and intruſted with his word by giving thee the tables of the law, and whom he vouchſafed to admit to diſcourſe with himſelf How many years doſt thou find the law was written before I was created? Says Moſes, Forty And doſt thou not find, replied Adam, theſe words therein And Adam rebelled againſt his Lord, and tranſgreſſed? Which Moſes confeſſing, Doſt thou therefore blame me, continued he, for doing that which God wrote of me that I ſhould do forty years before I was created· nay, for what was decreed concerning me fifty thouſand years before the creation of heaven and earth?

[g] Al Motarrezi, al Shahreſt V 1b p 232
[h] V Poc 1b p 233, &c.
[i] V 1b p 237

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In the concluſion of which diſpute Mohammed declared that Adam had the better of Moſes[k]. On the other ſide, it is urged in the behalf of the Mótazalites, that Mohammed, declaring that the Kadarians and Morgians had been curſed by the tongues of ſeventy prophets, and being aſked who the Kadarians were, anſwered, Thoſe who aſſert that God predeſtinated them to be guilty of rebellion, and yet puniſhes them for it. Al Haſan is alſo ſaid to have declared, that God ſent Mohammed to the Arabs while they were Kadarians, or Jabarians, and laid their ſins upon God: and to confirm the matter this ſentence of the Korân is quoted[l]. When they commit a filthy action, they ſay, We found our fathers practiſing the ſame, and God hath commanded us ſo to do. Say, Verily God commandeth not filthy actions[m].

Of the ſect of the Sefâtians

11. The Sefâtians held the oppoſite opinion to the Mótazalites in reſpect to the eternal attributes of God, which they affirmed, making no diſtinction between the eſſential attributes and thoſe of operation: and hence they were named Sefâtians, or Attributiſts. Their doctrine was that of the firſt Mohammedans, who were not yet acquainted with theſe nice diſtinctions: but this ſect afterwards introduced another ſpecies of declarative attributes, or ſuch as were neceſſarily uſed in hiſtorical narration, as hands, face, eyes, &c. which they did not offer to explain, but contented themſelves with ſaying they were in the law, and that they called them declarative attributes[n]. However, at length, by giving various explications and interpretations of theſe attributes, they divided into many different opinions: ſome, by taking the words in the literal ſenſe, fell into the notion of a likeneſs or ſimilitude between God and created beings, to which it is ſaid the Karaites among the Jews, who are for the literal interpretation of Moſes's law, had

[k] Ebn al Athir, al Bokhari, apud Poc. p. 236. [l] Chap. 7.
[m] Al Motarrezi, apud eund. p. 237, 238. [n] Al Shahreſt. apud Poc. Spec. p. 223.

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ſhewn them the way[o]. Others explained them in another manner, ſaying, that no creature was like GOD, but that they neither underſtood, nor thought it neceſſary to explain the preciſe ſignification of the words, which ſeem to affirm the ſame of both, it being ſufficient to believe that GOD hath no companion or ſimilitude. Of this opinion was Mâlec Ebn Ans, who declared, as to the expreſſion of GOD's ſitting on his throne, in particular, that though the meaning is known, yet the manner is unknown, and that it is neceſſary to believe it, but hereſy to make any queſtions about it[p].

The ſects of the Sefâtians are,

1 The Aſhárians, the followers of Abu'l Haſan al Aſhári, who was firſt a Mótazalite, and the ſcholar of Abu Ali al Jobbâi, but diſagreeing from his maſter in opinion as to GOD's being bound (as the Mótazalites aſſert) to do always that which is beſt, or moſt expedient, left him, and ſet up a new ſect of himſelf. The occaſion of this difference was the putting a caſe concerning three brothers, the firſt of whom lived in obedience to GOD, the ſecond in rebellion againſt him, and the third died an infant. Al Jobbâi being aſked what he thought would become of them, anſwered, that the firſt would be rewarded in paradiſe, the ſecond puniſhed in hell, and the third neither rewarded nor puniſhed But what, objected al Aſhári, if the third ſay, O LORD, if thou hadſt given me longer life, that I might have entered paradiſe with my believing brother, it would have been better for me. To which al Jobbâi replied, that GOD would anſwer, I knew that, if thou hadſt lived longer, thou wouldſt have been a wicked perſon, and therefore caſt into hell Then, retorted al Aſhári, the ſecond will ſay, O LORD, why didſt thou not take me away while I was an infant, as thou didſt my brother, that I might not have deſerved to be puniſhed for my ſins, nor to be caſt into hell? To which al Jobbâi could return no other an-

[o] V Poc ib p 224 [p] V eund ib

ſwer,

ſwer, than that God prolonged his life to give him an opportunity of obtaining the higheſt degree of perfection, which was beſt for him. But al Aſhári demanding farther, why he did not for the ſame reaſon grant the other a longer life, to whom it would have been equally advantageous, al Jobbâi was ſo put to it, that he aſked whether the devil poſſeſſed him? No, ſays al Aſhári, but the maſter's aſs will not paſs the bridge[q], i. e. he is poſed.

The opinions of the Aſhárians were, 1 That they allowed the attributes of God to be diſtinct from his eſſence, yet ſo as to forbid any compariſon to be made between God and his creatures[r]. This was alſo the opinion of Ahmed Ebn Hanbal, and David al Iſpahâni, and others, who herein followed Mâlec Ebn Ans, and were ſo cautious of any aſſimilation of God to created beings, that they declared, whoever moved his hand, while he read theſe words, I have created with my hand, or ſtretched forth his finger, in repeating this ſaying of Mohammed, The heart of the believer is between two fingers of the Merciful, ought to have his hand and finger cut off[s], and the reaſons they gave for not explaining any ſuch words were, that it is forbidden in the Korân, and that ſuch explications were neceſſarily founded on conjecture and opinion, from which no man ought to ſpeak of the attributes of God, becauſe the words of the Korân might, by that means, come to be underſtood differently from the author's meaning Nay, ſome have been ſo ſuperſtitiouſly ſcrupulous in this matter, as not to allow the words hand, face, and the like, when they occur in the Korân, to be rendered into Perſian, or any other language, but require them to be read in the very original words, and this they call the ſafe way[t] 2 As to predeſtination, they held that God hath one eternal will, which is applied to whatſoever he willeth, both of his own actions and thoſe of men, ſo far as they

[q] Auctor al Mawakef & al Safadi, apud Poc ubi ſup p 230, &c Ebn Khalic in vita al Jobbai [r] Al Shahriſt apud Poc, Spec p 230
[s] Idem, apud eund p 228, &c [t] V Poc ib

are

are created by him, but not as they are acquired or gained by them: that he willeth both their good and their evil, their profit and their hurt, and, as he willeth and knoweth, he willeth concerning men that which he knoweth, and hath commanded the pen to write the ſame in the preſerved table and this is his decree, and eternal immutable counſel and purpoſe[u]. They alſo went ſo far as to ſay, that it may be agreeable to the way of God, that man ſhould be commanded what he is not able to perform[w]. But, while they allow man ſome power, they ſeem to reſtrain it to ſuch a power as cannot produce any thing new; only God, ſay they, ſo orders his providence, that he creates, after, or under, and together with every created or new power, an action which is ready, whenever a man wills it, and ſets about it and this action is called Caſh, i. e. Acquiſition, being, in reſpect to its creation, from God, but, in reſpect to its being produced, employed, and acquired, from man[x]. And this being generally eſteemed the orthodox opinion, it may not be improper farther to explain the ſame in the words of ſome other writers. The elective actions of men, ſays one, fall under the power of God alone, nor is their own power effectual thereto but God cauſeth to exiſt in man power and choice, and, if there be no impediment, he cauſeth his action to exiſt alſo, ſubject to his power, and joined with that and his choice, which action, as created, is to be aſcribed to God, but, as produced, employed, or acquired, to man. So that by the acquiſition of an action, is properly meant a man's joining or connecting the ſame with his power and will, yet allowing herein no impreſſion or influence on the exiſtence thereof, ſave only that it is ſubject to his power[y]. Others, however, who are alſo on the ſide of al Aſhári, and reputed orthodox, explain the matter in a different

[u] Al Shahreſt apud eund p 245, &c
[w] Idem ib p 246
[x] Al Shahreſt apud Poc p 245, &c eund p 247
[y] Auctor Sharh al Mawakef apud

manner,

manner, and grant the impreſſion or influence of the created power of man on his action, and that this power is what is called Acquiſition[a]. But the point will be ſtill clearer, if we hear a third author, who rehearſes the various opinions or explications of the opinion of this ſect in the following words, viz. Abu'l Haſan al Aſhâri aſſerts all the actions of men to be ſubject to the power of God, being created by him; and that the power of man hath no influence at all on that which he is empowered to do, but that both the power, and what is ſubject thereto, fall under the power of God. Al Kâdi Abu Beçr ſays, that the eſſence or ſubſtance of the action is the effect of the power of God, but its being either an action of obedience, as prayer, or an action of diſobedience, as fornication, are qualities of the action, which proceed from the power of man. Abd' almalec, known by the title of Imâm al Haramein, Abu'l Hoſein of Baſra, and other learned men, held that the actions of men are effected by the power which God hath created in man, and that God cauſeth to exiſt in man both power and will, and that this power and will do neceſſarily produce that which man is empowered to do And Abu Iſhâk al Isfarâyeni taught, that that which maketh impreſſion, or hath influence on an action, is a compound of the power of God and the power of man[b]. The ſame author obſerves, that their anceſtors, perceiving a manifeſt difference between thoſe things which are the effects of the election of man, and thoſe things which are the neceſſary effects of inanimate agents, deſtitute both of knowledge and choice, and being, at the ſame time, preſſed by the arguments which prove that God is the Creator of all things, and conſequently of thoſe things which are done by men, to conciliate the matter, choſe the middle way, aſſerting, actions to proceed from the power of God, and the acquiſition of man,

[a] Al Shahreſt b p 248 ib p 248, &c.

[b] Auctor Sharh al Tawâlea, apud eund

God's

God's way of dealing with his ſervants being, that, when a man intendeth obedience, God createth in him an action of obedience, and when he intendeth diſobedience, he createth in him an action of diſobedience; ſo that man ſeemeth to be the effective producer of his action, though he really be not[b]. But this, proceeds the ſame writer, is again preſſed with its difficulties, becauſe the very intention of the mind is the work of God, ſo that no man hath any ſhare in the production of his own actions; for which reaſon the ancients diſapproved of too nice an inquiry into this point, the end of the diſpute concerning the ſame being, for the moſt part, either the taking away of all precepts, poſitive as well as negative, or elſe the aſſociating of a companion with God, by introducing ſome other independent agent beſides him. Thoſe, therefore, who would ſpeak more accurately, uſe this form There is neither compulſion, nor free liberty, but the way lies between the two, the power and will in man being both created by God, though the merit or guilt be imputed unto man Yet, after all, it is judged the ſafeſt way to follow the ſteps of the primitive Moſlems, and, avoiding ſubtle diſputations, and too curious inquiries, to leave the knowledge of this matter wholly unto God[c]. 3. As to mortal

[b] Auctor Sharh al Tawâlea, ib p 249, 250 [c] Idem ib p 250 251 I truſt the reader will not be offended, if, as a farther illuſtration of what has been ſaid on this ſubject, (in producing of which I have purpoſely kept to the original Mohammedan expreſſions,) I tranſcribe a paſſage or two from a poſtſcript ſubjoined to the epiſtle I have quoted above, (ſect iv p 144) in which the point of free-will is treated ex profeſſo Herein the Mooriſh author, having mentioned the two oppoſite opinions of the Kadarians, who allow free-will, and the Jabarians, who make man a neceſſary agent, (the former of which opinions, he ſays, ſeems to approach neareſt to that of the greater part of Chriſtians, and of the Jews,) declares the true opinion to be that of the Sonnites, who aſſert, that man hath power and will to chooſe good and evil, and can moreover know he ſhall be rewarded, if he do well and ſhall be puniſhed, if he do ill, but that he depends notwithſtanding on God's power, and willeth, if God willeth, but not otherwiſe Then he proceeds briefly to refute the two extreme opinions, and firſt to prove that of the Kadarians, though it be agreeable to God's juſtice, inconſiſtent with his attributes of wiſdom and power Sapientia enim Dei, ſays he, comprehendit quicquid fuit & futurum eſt ab æternitate in finem uſque mundi & poſtea

mortal ſin, the Aſhárians taught, that; if a believer, guilty of ſuch ſin, die without repentance, his ſentence

& poſtea Et ita novit ab æterno omnia opera creaturarum, ſive bona, ſive mala, quæ fuerint creata cum potentia Dei, & ejus libera & determinata voluntate, ſicut ipſi viſum fuit Denique novit eum qui futurus erat malus, & tamen creavit eum, & ſimiliter bonum, quem etiam creavit neque negari poteſt quin, ſi ipſi libuiſſet, potuiſſet omnes creare bonos placuit tamen Deo creare bonos & malos, cum Deo ſoli ſit abſoluta & libera voluntas, & perfecta electio, & non homini Ita enim Salomon in ſuis proverbiis dixit, Vitam & mortem, bonum & malum, divitias & paupertatem, eſſe & venire a Deo Chriſtiani etiam dicunt & Paulum dixiſſe in ſuis epiſtolis Dicit etiam lutum figulo, quare fecis unum vas ad honorem, & aliud vas ad contumeliam? Cum igitur miſer homo fuerit creatus a voluntate Dei & potentia, nihil aliud poteſt tribui ipſi quam ipſe ſenſus cognoſcendi & ſentiendi an bene vel male faciat Quæ unica cauſa (id eſt, ſenſus cognoſcendi) erit ejus gloriæ vel pœnæ cauſa. per talem enim ſenſum novit quid boni vel mali adverſus Dei præcepta fecerit The opinion of the Jaſarians, on the other hand, he rejects as contrary to man's conſciouſneſs of his own power and choice, and inconſiſtent with God's juſtice, and his having given mankind laws, to the obſerving or tranſgreſſing of which he has annexed rewards and puniſhments After this he proceeds to explain the third opinion in the following words Tertia opinio Zunis (i e Sonnitarum) quæ vera eſt, affirmat homini poteſtatem eſſe, ſed limitatam a ſua cauſa, id eſt, dependentem à Dei potentia & voluntate & propter illam cognitionem qua deliberat bene vel male facere, eſſe dignum pœna vel præmio Manifeſtum eſt in æternitate non fuiſſe aliam potentiam præter Dei noſtri omnipotentis, e cujus potentia pendebant omnia poſſibilia, id eſt, quæ poterant eſſe, cum ab ipſo fuerint creata Sapientia vero Dei novit etiam quæ non ſunt futura, & potentia ejus, etſi non creaverit ea, potuit tamen, ſi ita Deo placuiſſet Ita novit ſapientia Dei quæ erant impoſſibilia, id eſt, quæ non poterant eſſe, quæ tamen nullo pacto pendent ab ejus potentia ab ejus enim potentia nulla pendent niſi poſſibilia---Dicimus enim à Dei potentia non pendere creare Deum alium ipſi ſimilem, nec creare aliquid quod moveatur & quieſcat ſimul eodem tempore, cum hæc ſint ex impoſſibilibus comprehendit tamen ſua ſapientiâ tale aliquid non pendere ab ejus potentia---A potentia igitur Dei pendet ſolum quod poteſt eſſe, et poſſibile eſt eſſe quia ſemper parata eſt dare eſſe poſſibilibus Et ſi hoc penitus cognoſcamus, cognoſcemus pariter omne quod eſt, ſeu futurum eſt, ſive ſint operi noſtra ſive quidvis aliud, pendere a ſola potentia Dei Et hoc non privatim intelligitur ſed in genere de omni eo quod eſt & movetur, ſive in cœlis ſive in terra & nec aliqua potentia poteſt impediri Dei potentia, cum nulla ſit potentia abſoluta ſit, præter Dei potentia vero noſtra non eſt a ſe, niſi a Dei potentia & cum potentia noſtra dicitur eſſe a cauſa ſua, ideo dicimus potentiam noſtram eſſe ſtaminis comparatam cum potentia Dei eo enim modo quo ſtamen movetur a motu maris, ita noſtra potentia & voluntas a Dei potentia Itaque Dei potentia ſemper eſt parata etiam ad occidendum aliquem ut ſi quis hominem occidat, non dicimus potentia hominis id factum, ſed ulteria potentia Dei error enim eſt id tribuere potentiæ hominis Potentia enim Dei cum ſemper ſit parata, & ante ipſum hominem, ad occidendum ſi ſola hominis potentia id factum eſſe diceremus, & moreretur, potentia ſua Dei (quæ ante erat) jam ibi eſſet fruſtra quia poſt mortem non poteſt potentia Dei cum iterum occidere, ex quo ſequeretur potentiam Dei impediri a potentia hominis, & potentiam hominis anteire & antecellere potentiam Dei quod eſt abſurdum et impoſſibile Igitur Deus eſt qui operatur æterna ſua potentia ſi vero homini injiciatur culpa, ſive in tali homicidio,

tence is to be left to God, whether he pardon him out of his mercy, or whether the prophet intercede for him, (according to that ſaying recorded of him, My interceſſion ſhall be employed for thoſe among my people who ſhall have been guilty of grievous crimes,) or whether he puniſh him in proportion to his demerit, and afterwards, through his mercy, admit him into paradiſe but that it is not to be ſuppoſed he will remain for ever in hell with the infidels, ſeeing it is declared, that whoever ſhall have faith in his heart but of the weight of an ant, ſhall be delivered from hell-fire[d]. And this is generally received for the orthodox doctrine in this point, and is diametrically oppoſite to that of the Mótazalites.

Theſe were the more rational Sefâtians, but the ignorant part of them, not knowing how otherwiſe to explain the expreſſions of the Korân relating to the declarative attributes, fell into moſt groſs and abſurd opinions, making God corporeal, and like created beings[e]. Such were,

2 The Moſhabbehites, or Aſſimilators, who allowed a reſemblance between God and his creatures[f], ſuppoſing him to be a figure compoſed of members or parts, either ſpiritual or corporeal, and capable of local motion, of aſcent or deſcent, &c[g]. Some of this ſect inclined to the opinion of the Holûlians, who believed that the divine nature might be united with the human in the ſame perſon, for they granted it poſſible that God might appear in a human

homicidio, ſive in aliis, hoc eſt quantum ad præcepta et legem Homini tribuitur ſolum opus externe, et ejus electio, quæ eſt a voluntate ejus et potentia, non vero interne —Hoc eſt punctum illud indiviſibile et ſecretum, quod a pauciſſimis capitur, ut ſapientiſſimus Sidi Abo Hamet Elgaceli (i e Dominus Abu Hamed al Ghazali) affirmat (cujus ſpiritui Deus concedat gloriam, Amen!) ſequentibus verbis Ita abditum et profundum et abſtruſum eſt intelligere punctum illud Libri Arbitrii, ut neque characteres ad ſcribendum, neque ullæ rationes ad exprimendum ſufficiant, et omnes, quotquot de hac re locuti ſunt, hæſerunt confuſi in ripa tanti et tam ſpacioſi maris [d] Al Shahreſt apud Poc Spec p 258 [e] V Poc ib p 255, &c Abulfar p 167, &c [f] Al Mawakef, apud Poc ib [g] Al Shahreſt apud eund ib p 226

form, as Gabriel did. and to confirm their opinion, they alledge Mohammed's words, that he ſaw his LORD in a moſt beautiful form, and Moſes talking with GOD face to face[h]. And,

3. The Kerâmians, or followers of Mohammed Ebn Kerâm, called alſo Mojaſſemians, or Corporaliſts, who not only admitted a reſemblance between GOD and created beings, but declared GOD to be corporeal[i]. The more ſober among them, indeed, when they applied the word body to GOD, would be underſtood to mean, that he is a ſelf-ſubſiſting being, which with them is the definition of body but yet ſome of them affirmed him to be finite, and circumſcribed either on all ſides, or on ſome only, (as beneath, for example,) according to different opinions[k], and others allowed that he might be felt by the hand, and ſeen by the eye. Nay, one David al Jawâri went ſo far as to ſay, that his deity was a body compoſed of fleſh and blood, and that he had members, as hands, feet, a head, a tongue, eyes, and ears· but that he was a body, however, not like other bodies, neither was he like to any created being. He is alſo ſaid farther to have affirmed, that from the crown of the head to the breaſt he was hollow, and from the breaſt downward ſolid, and that he had black curled hair[l]. Theſe moſt blaſphemous and monſtrous notions were the conſequence of the literal acceptation of thoſe paſſages in the Korân which figuratively attribute corporeal actions to GOD, and of the words of Mohammed, when he ſaid, that GOD created man in his own image, and that himſelf had felt the fingers of GOD, which he laid on his back, to be cold beſides which, this ſect are charged with fathering on their prophet a great number of ſpurious and forged traditions to ſupport their opinion, the greater part whereof they borrowed from the Jews, who are accuſed as naturally prone

[h] V Marracc Prodr part iii p 76 [i] Al Shahreſt ubi ſupra [k] Idem, ib p 225 [l] Idem, ib p 226, 227

to

to assimilate God to men, so that they describe him as weeping for Noah's flood till his eyes were sore[m]. And indeed, though we grant the Jews may have imposed on Mohammed, and his followers, in many instances, and told them, as solemn truths, things which themselves believed not, or had invented, yet many expressions of this kind are to be found in their writings, as when they introduce God roaring like a lion at every watch of the night, and crying, Alas! that I have laid waste my house, and suffered my temple to be burnt, and sent my children into banishment among the heathen, &c[n]

4 The Jabarians, who are the direct opponents of the Kadarians, denying free agency in man, and ascribing his actions wholly unto God[o]. They take their denomination from al Jabr, which signifies necessity, or compulsion, because they hold man to be necessarily and inevitably constrained to act as he does, by force of God's eternal and immutable decree[p]. This sect is distinguished into several species, some being more rigid and extreme in their opinion, who are thence called pure Jabarians, and others more moderate, who are therefore called middle Jabarians. The former will not allow men to be said either to act, or to have any power at all, either operative or acquiring, asserting that man can do nothing, but produces all his actions by necessity, having neither power, nor will, nor choice, any more than an inanimate agent. They also declare that rewarding and punishing are also the effects of necessity, and the same they say of the imposing of commands. This was the doctrine of the Jahmians, the followers of Jahm Ebn Safwân, who likewise held that paradise and hell will vanish, or be annihilated, after those who are destined thereto respectively shall have entered them, so that, at last, there will remain no existing being

[m] Al Shahrest ubi supra, p 227, 228 [n] Talm Berachoth, c 1 V Poc ubi supra, p 228 [o] V Abulfarag p 168 [p] Al Shahrest al Mawakef, & Ebn al Kossa, apud Poc ib p 238, &c

beſides God[q], ſuppoſing thoſe words of the Korân, which declare that the inhabitants of paradiſe and of hell ſhall remain therein for ever, to be hyperbolical only, and intended for corroboration, and not to denote an eternal duration in reality[r]. The moderate Jabarians are they who aſcribe ſome power to man, but ſuch a power as hath no influence on the action. for, as to thoſe who grant the power of man to have a certain influence on the action, which influence is called Acquiſition, ſome[s] will not admit them to be called Jabarians, though others reckon thoſe alſo to be called middle Jabarians, and to contend for the middle opinion between abſolute neceſſity and abſolute liberty, who attribute to man acquiſition or concurrence in producing the action, whereby he gaineth commendation or blame, (yet without admitting it to have any influence on the action,) and therefore make the Aſhárians a branch of this ſect[t]. Having again mentioned the term Acquiſition, we may, perhaps, have a clearer idea of what the Mohammedans mean thereby, when told, that it is defined to be an action directed to the obtaining of profit, or the removing of hurt, and, for that reaſon, never applied to any action of God, who acquireth to himſelf neither profit nor hurt[u]. Of the middle or moderate Jabarians, were the Najârians and the Derârians The Najârians were the adherents of Al Haſan Ebn Mohammed al Najâr, who taught that God was he who created the actions of men, both good and bad, and that man acquired them, and alſo that man's power had an influence on the action, or a certain co-operation, which he called Acquiſition, and herein he agreed with al Aſhárí[w]. The Derârians were the diſciples of Derâr Ebn Amru, who held alſo that mens' actions are really created by God, and that man really acquired them[x]. The

[q] Al Shahreſt al Motarrezi, & Ebn al Koſſa, apud eund p 239, 243, &c
[r] Idem, ib p 260 [s] Al Shahreſt [t] Ebn al Koſſa, & al Mawakef
[u] Ebn al Koſſa, apud Poc ubi ſup p 240 [w] Al Shahreſt apud eund p 245 [x] Idem, ib

Jabarians

Jabarians alſo ſay, that God is abſolute Lord of his creatures, and may deal with them according to his own pleaſure, without rendering account to any, and that, if he ſhould admit all men without diſtinction into paradiſe, it would be no impartiality, or, if he ſhould caſt them all into hell, it would be no injuſtice[y]. And in this particular likewiſe they agree with the Aſhárians, who aſſert the ſame[z], and ſay that reward is a favour from God, and puniſhment a piece of juſtice, obedience being by them conſidered as a ſign only of future reward, and tranſgreſſion as a ſign of future puniſhment[a].

5 The Morgians, who are ſaid to be derived from the Jabarians[b] Theſe teach, that the judgment of every true believer, who hath been guilty of a grievous ſin, will be deferred till the reſurrection; for which reaſon they paſs no ſentence on him in this world, either of abſolution or condemnation. They alſo hold that diſobedience with faith hurteth not, and that, on the other hand, obedience with infidelity profiteth not[c] As to the reaſon of their name the learned differ, becauſe of the different ſignifications of its root, each of which they accommodate to ſome opinion of the ſect Some think them ſo called, becauſe they poſtpone works to intention, that is, eſteem works to be inferior in degree

[y] Abulfarag p 168, &c [z] Al Shahreſtani, ubi ſup p 292, &c [a] Sharh al Jawalea, ib To the ſame effect writes the Mooriſh author quoted above, from whom I will venture to tranſcribe the following paſſage, with which he concludes his diſcourſe on Free-will Intellectus ſine lumine naturali novit Deum eſſe rectum judicem et juſtum, qui non aliter afficit creaturam quam juſte, etiam Deum eſſe abſolutum Dominum, et hanc orbis machinam eſſe ejus, et ab eo creatam, Deum nullis debere rationem reddere, cum quicquid agat, agat jure proprio ſibi et ita abſolute poterit afficere præmio vel pœna quem vult cum omnis creatura ſit ejus, nec facit cuiquam injuriam, etſi eam tormentis & pœnis æternis afficiat plus enim boni et commodi accepit creatura quando accepit eſſe a ſuo creatore, quam incommodi et damni quando ab eo damnata eſt et afficta tormentis et pœnis Hoc autem intelligitur ſi Deus abſolute id faceret Quando enim Deus, pietate et miſericordia motus, eligit aliquos ut ipſi ſerviant, Dominus Deus gratia ſua id facit ex infinita bonitate, et quando aliquos derelinquit et pœnis et tormentis afficit, ex juſtitia et rectitudine Et tandem dicimus omnes pœnas eſſe juſtas quæ a Deo veniunt, et noſtra tantum culpa, et omnia bona eſſe a pietate et miſericordia ejus infinita [b] Al Shahreſt ubi ſup p 256 [c] Abulfar p 169

to intention and profeſſion of the faith[d], others, becauſe they allow hope, by aſſerting that diſobedience with faith hurteth not, &c others take the reaſon of the name to be their deferring the ſentence of the heinous ſinner till the reſurrection[e], and others, their degrading of Ali, or removing him from the firſt degree to the fourth[f] for the Morgians, in ſome points relating to the office of Imâm, agree with the Khârejites This ſect is divided into four ſpecies, three of which, according as they happen to agree in particular dogmas with the Kharejites, the Kadarians, or the Jabarians, are diſtinguiſhed as Morgians of thoſe ſects, and the fourth is that of the pure Morgians, which laſt ſpecies is again ſub-divided into five others[g] The opinions of Mokâtel and Baſhar, both of the ſect of the Morgians called Thaubanians, ſhould not be omitted The former aſſerted, that diſobedience hurts not him who profeſſes the unity of God, and is endued with faith, and that no true believer ſhall be caſt into hell He alſo taught that God will ſurely forgive all crimes beſides infidelity, and that a diſobedient believer will be puniſhed, at the day of reſurrection, on the bridge[h] laid over the midſt of hell, where the flames of hell-fire ſhall catch hold on him, and torment him in proportion to his diſobedience, and that he ſhall then be admitted into paradiſe[i] The latter held, that, if God do caſt the believers guilty of grievous ſins into hell, yet they will be delivered thence, after they ſhall have been ſufficiently puniſhed, but that it is neither poſſible nor conſiſtent with juſtice, that they ſhould remain therein for ever, which, as has been obſerved, was the opinion of al Aſhâri.

Of the ſect of the Khârejites

III The Khârejites are they who depart or revolt from the lawful prince eſtabliſhed by public conſent,

[d] Al Firauz [e] Ebn al Athir, Al Motarrezi [f] Al Shahreſt ubi ſup p 254, &c [g] Idem, ib [h] See before, ſect IV p 120 [i] Al Shahreſt ubi ſupra, p 257

and

and thence comes their name, which ſignifies revolters or rebels[k]. The firſt who were ſo called, were twelve thouſand men who revolted from Ali, after they had fought under him at the battle of Seffein, taking offence at his ſubmitting the deciſion of his right to the Khalifat, which Moâwiyah diſputed with him, to arbitration, though they themſelves had firſt obliged him to it[l]. Theſe were alſo called Mohakkemites, or Judiciarians, becauſe the reaſon which they gave for their revolt was, that Ali had referred a matter concerning the religion of GOD to the judgment of men, whereas the judgment in ſuch caſe belonged only unto GOD[m]. The hereſy of the Khârejites conſiſted chiefly in two things. 1 In that they affirmed a man might be promoted to the dignity of Imâm, or prince, though he was not of the tribe of Koreiſh, nor even a freeman, provided he was a juſt and pious perſon, and endued with the other requiſite qualifications, and alſo held, that, if the Imâm turned aſide from the truth, he might be put to death or depoſed, and that there was no abſolute neceſſity for any Imâm at all in the world. 2. In that they charged Ali with ſin, for having left an affair to the judgment of men, which ought to have been determined by GOD alone, and went ſo far as to declare him guilty of infidelity, and to curſe him, on that account[n]. In the 38th year of the Hejra, which was the year following the revolt, all theſe Khârejites, who perſiſted in their rebellion, to the number of four thouſand, were cut to pieces by Ali, and, as ſeveral hiſtorians[o] write, even to a man but others ſay, nine of them eſcaped, and that two fled into Omân, two into Kermân, two into Sejeſtân, two into Meſopotamia, and one to Tel Mawrûn, and that theſe propagated their hereſy in thoſe places,

[k] Al Shahreſt ubi ſupra, p 269 [l] See Ockley's Hiſt of the Sarac v 1 p 60, &c [m] Al Shahreſt ubi ſup p. 270 [n] Idem, ib [o] Abulfeda, al Jannabi, Elmacinus, p 40

the ſame remaining there to this day[p]. The principal ſects of the Khârejites, beſides the Mohakkemites above-mentioned, are ſix, which, though they greatly differ among themſelves in other matters, yet agree in theſe, viz that they abſolutely reject Othmân and Ali, preferring the doing of this to the greateſt obedience, and allowing marriages to be contracted on no other terms, that they account thoſe who are guilty of grievous ſins to be infidels, and that they hold it neceſſary to reſiſt the Imâm when he tranſgreſſes the law. One ſect of them deſerves more particular notice, viz.

The Waidians, ſo called from al Waid, which ſignifies the threats denounced by God againſt the wicked. Theſe are the antagoniſts of the Morgians, and aſſert that he who is guilty of a grievous ſin ought to be declared an infidel or apoſtate, and will be eternally puniſhed in hell, though he were a true believer[q] which opinion of theirs, as has been obſerved, occaſioned the firſt riſe of the Mótazalites. One Jaafar Ebn Mobaſhſhar, of the ſect of the Nodhâmians, was yet more ſevere than the Waidians, pronouncing him to be a reprobate and an apoſtate who ſteals but a grain of corn[r]

Of the ſect of the Shiites

IV The Shiites are the opponents of the Khârejites. Their name properly ſignifies ſectaries or adherents in general, but is peculiarly uſed to denote thoſe of Ali Ebn Abi Tâleb, who maintain him to be lawful Khalîf and Imâm, and that the ſupreme authority, both in ſpirituals and temporals, of right belongs to his deſcendants, notwithſtanding they may be deprived of it by the injuſtice of others, or their own fear They alſo teach, that the office of Imâm is not a common thing, depending on the will of the vulgar, ſo that they may ſet up whom they pleaſe, but a fundamental affair of religion, and an article which the

[p] Al Shahreſt See Ockley's Hiſt of the Saracens, ubi ſup p 63 [q] Abulfar p 169 Al Shahreſt apud Poc Spec p 256 [r] V Poc ib p 257

prophet

prophet could not have neglected, or left to the fancy of the common people[t]. Nay, ſome, thence called Imâmians, go ſo far as to aſſert, that religion conſiſts ſolely in the knowledge of the true Imâm[u]. The principal ſects of the Shiites are five, which are ſub-divided into an almoſt innumerable number; ſo that ſome underſtand Mohammed's prophecy of the ſeventy odd ſects, of the Shiites only. Their general opinions are, 1 That the peculiar deſignation of the Imâm, and the teſtimonies of the Korân and Mohammed concerning him, are neceſſary points 2 That the Imâms ought neceſſarily to keep themſelves free from light ſins as well as more grievous 3 That every one ought publicly to declare who it is that he adheres to, and from whom he ſeparates himſelf, by word, deed, and engagement: and that herein there ſhould be no diſſimulation. But in this laſt point ſome of the Zeidians, a ſect ſo named from Zeid, the ſon of Ali ſurnamed Zein al âbedîn, and great grandſon of Ali, diſſented from the reſt of the Shiites[w]. As to other articles, wherein they agreed not, ſome of them came pretty near to the notions of the Mótazalites, others to thoſe of the Moſhabbehites, and others to thoſe of the Sonnites[x]. Among the latter of theſe Mohammed al Bâker, another ſon of Zein al âbedîn's, ſeems to claim a place for his opinion, as to the will of God, was, that God willeth ſomething in us, and ſomething from us, and that what he willeth from us he hath revealed to us; for which reaſon he thought it prepoſterous that we ſhould employ our thoughts about thoſe things which God willeth in us, and neglect thoſe which he willeth from us and, as to God's decree, he held that the way lay in the middle, and that there was neither compulſion, nor free liberty[y]. A tenet of the Khattâbians, or diſciples of one Abu'l Khattâb, is too pe-

[t] Al Shahreſt ib p 261 Abulfar p 169 [u] Al Shahreſt ib p 262
[w] Idem ib V D'Herbel Bibl Orient. Art. Schiah [x] V Poc ib
[y] Al Shahreſt ib p 263.

culiar

culiar to be omitted. Theſe maintained paradiſe to be no other than the pleaſures of this world, and hell-fire to be the pains thereof, and that the world will never decay which propoſition being firſt laid down, it is no wonder they went farther, and declared it lawful to indulge themſelves in drinking wine, and whoring, and to do other things forbidden by the law, and alſo to omit doing the things commanded by the law[y].

Many of the Shiites carried their veneration for Ali and his deſcendants ſo far, that they tranſgreſſed all bounds of reaſon and decency, though ſome of them were leſs extravagant than others The Gholaites, who had their name from their exceſſive zeal for their Imâms, where ſo highly tranſported therewith, that they raiſed them above the degree of created beings, and attributed divine properties to them, tranſgreſſing on either hand, by deifying of mortal men, and by making God corporeal for one while they liken one of their Imâms to God, and another while they liken God to a creature[z]. The ſects of theſe are various, and have various appellations in different countries. Abd'allah Ebn Saba (who had been a Jew, and had aſſerted the ſame thing of Joſhua the ſon of Nun) was the ringleader of one of them. This man gave the following ſalutation to Ali, viz. Thou art Thou, i. e Thou art God and hereupon the Gholaites became divided into ſeveral ſpecies, ſome maintaining the ſame thing, or ſomething like it, of Ali, and others of ſome one of his deſcendants; affirming that he was not dead, but would return again in the clouds, and fill the earth with juſtice[a]. But, how much ſoever they diſagreed in other things, they unanimouſly held a metempſychoſis, and what they call al Holûl, or the deſcent of God on his creatures, meaning thereby, that God is preſent in every place,

[y] Al Shahreſt & Ebn al Koſſa, ib p 260, &c [z] Idem, ibid
[a] Idem, ib p 264 V Marracc Prodr par iii p 80, &c

and

and speaks with every tongue, and appears in some individual person[b] and hence some of them asserted their Imâms to be prophets, and at length, gods[c] The Nosairians and the Ishâkians taught that spiritual substances appear in grosser bodies, and that the angels and the devil have appeared in this manner They also assert that God hath appeared in the form of certain men, and since, after Mohammed, there hath been no man more excellent than Ali, and, after him, his sons have excelled all other men, that God hath appeared in their form, spoken with their tongue, and made use of their hands, for which reason, say they, we attribute divinity to them[d]. And, to support these blasphemies, they tell several miraculous things of Ali, as his moving the gates of Khaibar[e], which they urge as a plain proof that he was endued with a particle of divinity and with sovereign power, and that he was the person in whose form God appeared, with whose hands he created all things, and with whose tongue he published his commands, and therefore they say he was in being before the creation of heaven and earth[f]. In so impious a manner do they seem to wrest those things which are said in scripture of Christ, by applying them to Ali These extravagant fancies of the Shiites, however, in making their Imâms partakers of the divine nature, and the impiety of some of those Imâms in laying claim thereto, are so far from being peculiar to this sect, that most of the other Mohammedan sects are tainted with the same madness, there being many found among them, and among the Sûfis especially, who pretend to be nearly related to heaven, and who boast of strange revelations before the credulous people[g] It may not be amiss to hear what al Ghazâli has written on this occasion. Matters are come to that pass, says

[b] Al Shahrest ib p 265 [c] V D'Herbel Bib Or Art Hakem beamrillah [d] Idem, ib Abulfar p 169 [e] See Prid Life of Mah p 93 [f] Al Shah ubi supr p 266 [g] Pocock Spec p 267

he,

he, that ſome boaſt of an union with God, and of diſcourſing familiarly with him, without the interpoſition of a vail, ſaying, It hath been thus ſaid to us, and We have thus ſpoken, affecting to imitate Hoſein al Hallâj, who was put to death for ſome words of this kind uttered by him, he having ſaid, (as was proved by credible witneſſes,) I am the Truth[h], or Abu Yazîd al Baſtâmi, of whom it is related that he often uſed the expreſſion, Sobhâni, i e Praiſe be unto me[i] But this way of talking is the cauſe of great miſchief among the common people, inſomuch that huſbandmen, neglecting the tillage of their land, have pretended to the like privileges, nature being tickled with diſcourſes of this kind, which furniſh men with an excuſe for leaving their occupations, under pretence of purifying their ſouls, and attaining I know not what degrees and conditions. Nor is there any thing to hinder the moſt ſtupid fellows from forming the like pretenſions, and catching at ſuch vain expreſſions for, whenever what they ſay is denied to be true, they fail not to reply, that our unbelief proceeds from learning and logic, affirming learning to be a vail, and logic the work of the mind, whereas what they tell us appears only within, being diſcovered by the light of truth But this is that truth the ſparks whereof have flown into ſeveral countries, and occaſioned great miſchiefs, ſo that it is more for the advantage of God's true religion to put to death one of thoſe who utter ſuch things, than to beſtow life on ten others[k]

Thus far have we treated of the chief ſects among the Mohammedans of the firſt ages, omitting to ſay any thing of the more modern ſects, becauſe the ſame are taken little or no notice of by their own writers, and would be of no uſe to our preſent deſign[l] It may be proper, however, to mention a word or two of the great ſchiſm at this day ſubſiſting between

[h] V D'Herbel Bibl Orient Art Hallage [i] V ibid Art Baſtham
[k] Al Ghazali, apud Poc ubi ſup [l] The reader may meet with ſome account of them in Ricaut's State of the Ottom Empire, l 2 chap 12

the

the Sonnites and the Shiites, or partisans of Ali, and maintained on either side with implacable hatred and furious zeal. Though the difference arose at first on a political occasion, it has notwithstanding been so well improved by additional circumstances, and the spirit of contradiction, that each party detest and anathematize the other as abominable heretics, and farther from the truth than either the Christians or the Jews[m]. The chief points wherein they differ are, 1. That the Shiites reject Abu Becr, Omar, and Othmân, the three first Khalîfs, as usurpers and intruders; whereas the Sonnites acknowledge and respect them as rightful Imâms 2 The Shiites prefer Ali to Mohammed, or, at least, esteem them both equal, but the Sonnites admit neither Ali, nor any of the prophets, to be equal to Mohammed 3 The Sonnites charge the Shiites with corrupting the Korân, and neglecting its precepts, and the Shiites retort the same charge on the Sonnites 4 The Sonnites receive the Sonna, or book of traditions of their prophet, as of canonical authority, whereas the Shiites reject it as apocryphal, and unworthy of credit And to these disputes, and some others of less moment, is principally owing the antipathy which has long reigned between the Turks, who are Sonnites, and the Persians, who are of the sect of Ali It seems strange that Spinosa, had he known of no other schism among the Mohammedans, should yet never have heard of one so publicly notorious as this between the Turks and Persians, but it is plain he did not, or he would never have assigned it as the reason of his preferring the order of the Mohammedan church to that of the Roman, that there have arisen no schisms in the former since its birth[n].

[m] V ibid chap 10 & Chardin Voy de Perse, T II p 169, 170, &c

[n] The words of Spinosa are Ordinem Romanæ ecclesiæ——politicum et plurimis lucrosum esse fateor, nec ad decipiendam plebem, et hominum animos coercendum commodiorem isto crederum, ni ordo Mahumedanæ ecclesiæ esset, qui longe eundem antecellit Nam a quo tempore hæc superstitio incepit, nulla in eorum ecclesia schismata orta sunt Opera Posth p 613

As

Of perſons pretending to propheſy in Mohammed's time, and ſince

As ſucceſs in any project ſeldom fails to draw in imitators, Mohammed's having raiſed himſelf to ſuch a degree of power and reputation, by acting the prophet, induced others to imagine they might arrive at the ſame height by the ſame means His moſt conſiderable competitors in the prophetic office were Moſeilama and al Aſwad, whom the Mohammedans uſually call the two liars.

Of Moſeilama

The former was of the tribe of Honeifa, who inhabited the province of Yamâma, and a principal man among them He headed an embaſſy ſent by his tribe to Mohammed in the ninth year of the Hejra, and profeſſed himſelf a Moſlem[o] but, on his return home, conſidering that he might poſſibly ſhare with Mohammed in his power, the next year he ſet up for a prophet alſo, pretending to be joined with him in the commiſſion to recal mankind from idolatry to the worſhip of the true God[p], and he publiſhed written revelations, in imitation of the Korân, of which Abu'lfaragius[q] has preſerved the following paſſage, viz. Now hath God been gracious unto her that was with child, and hath brought forth from her the ſoul, which runneth between the peritonæum and the bowels Moſeilama, having formed a conſiderable party among thoſe of Honeifa, began to think himſelf upon equal terms with Mohammed, and ſent him a letter, offering to go halves with him[r], in theſe words From Moſeilama the apoſtle of God, to Mohammed the apoſtle of God Now let the earth be half mine, and half thine But Mohammed, thinking himſelf too well eſtabliſhed to need a partner, wrote him this anſwer From Mohammed the apoſtle of God, to Moſeilama the liar. The earth is God's. he giveth the ſame for inheritance unto ſuch of his ſervants as he pleaſeth, and the happy iſſue ſhall attend thoſe who fear him[s]. During the few months which Mohammed lived after this revolt, Moſeilama rather gained than loſt ground,

[o] Abulfed p 160 Dynaſt p 164 [p] Idem, Elmac p 9 [r] Abulfed ubi ſup [q] Hiſt [s] Al Beidâwi, in Kor c 5

and

and grew very formidable; but Abu Becr, his ſucceſſor, in the eleventh year of the Hejra, ſent a great army againſt him, under the command of that conſummate general Khâled Ebn al Walîd, who engaged Moſeilama in a bloody battle, wherein the falſe prophet happening to be ſlain by Wahſha, the negro ſlave who had killed Hamza at Ohod, and by the ſame lance[t], the Moſlems gained an entire victory, ten thouſand of the apoſtates being left dead on the ſpot, and the reſt returning to Mohammediſm[u].

Al Aſwad, whoſe name was Aihala, was of the tribe of Ans, and governed that and the other tribes of Arabs deſcended from Madhhaj[w]. This man was likewiſe an apoſtate from Mohammediſm, and ſet up for himſelf the very year that Mohammed died[x]. He was ſurnamed Dhu'lhemâr, or the maſter of the aſs, becauſe he uſed frequently to ſay, The maſter of the aſs is coming unto me[y], and pretended to receive his revelations from two angels, named Sohaik and Shoraik[z]. Having a good hand at legerdemain, and a ſmooth tongue, he gained mightily on the multitude by the ſtrange feats which he ſhewed them, and the eloquence of his diſcourſe[a] by theſe means he greatly increaſed his power, and having made himſel maſter of Najrân and the territory of al Tâyef[b], on the death of Badhân, the governor of Yaman for Mohammed, he ſeized that province alſo, killing Shahr, the ſon of Badhân, and taking to wife his widow, whoſe father, the uncle of Firûz the Deilamite, he had alſo ſlain[c]. This news being brought to Mohammed, he ſent to his friends, and to thoſe of Hamdân, a party of whom, conſpiring with Kais Ebn Abd'al Yaghûth, who bore al Aſwad a grudge, and with Firûz and al Aſwad's wife, broke by night into his houſe, where Firûz ſurpriſed him, and cut off his

Of al Aſwad al Anſi

[t] Abulfed ubi ſup [u] Idem ib Abulfarag, p 173 Elmac p 16, &c See Ockley's Hiſt of the Sarac Vol I p 15, &c [w] Al Soheili, apud Gagnier in not ad Abulf vit Moh p 158 [x] Elmac p 9 [y] Abulfed ubi ſup [z] Al Soheili, ubi ſupra [a] Abulfed ubi ſup [b] Idem & Elmac ubi ſup [c] Idem, al Jannabi, ubi ſup

head.

head. While he was diſpatching, he roared like a bull, at which his guards came to the chamber-door, but were ſent away by his wife, who told them the prophet was only agitated by the divine inſpiration. This was done the very night before Mohammed died. The next morning the conſpirators cauſed the following proclamation to be made, viz. I bear witneſs that Mohammed is the apoſtle of God, and that Aihala is a liar, and letters were immediately ſent away to Mohammed, with an account of what had been done but a meſſenger from heaven out-ſtripped them, and acquainted the prophet with the news, which he imparted to his companions but a little before his death, the letters themſelves not arriving till Abu Becr was choſen Khalîf. It is ſaid that Mohammed, on this occaſion, told thoſe who attended him, that, before the day of judgment, thirty more impoſtors, beſides Moſeilama and al Aſwad, ſhould appear, and every one of them ſet up for a prophet The whole time, from the beginning of al Aſwad's rebellion to his death, was about four months[d].

In the ſame eleventh year of the Hejra, but after the death of Mohammed, as ſeems moſt probable, Toleiha Ebn Khowailed ſet up for a prophet, and Sejâj Bint al Mondar[e] for a propheteſs.

Toleiha was of the tribe of Aſwad, which adhered to him, together with great numbers of the tribes of Ghatfân and Tay. Againſt them likewiſe was Khâled ſent, who engaged and put them to flight, obliging Toleiha with his ſhattered troops to retire into Syria, where he ſtaid till the death of Abu Becr: then he went to Omar, and embraced Mohammediſm in his preſence, and having taken the oath of fidelility to him, returned to his own country and people[f]

Sejâj, ſurnamed Omm Sâder, was of the tribe of Tamîm, and the wife of Abu Cahdala, a foothſayer of

[d] Abulfed ubi ſup ibid

[e] Ebn Shohnah & Elmacinus call her the daughter of al Hareth

[f] Elmac p 16 al Beidawi in Kor c 5

Yamâma. She was followed not only by those of her own tribe, but by several others. Thinking a prophet the most proper husband for her, she went to Moseilama, and married him but after she had staid with him three days, she left him, and returned home[g] What became of her afterwards I do not find Ebn Shohnah has given us part of the conversation which passed at the interview between those two pretenders to inspiration, but the same is a little too immodest to be translated Of Sejaj

In succeeding ages several impostors from time to time started up, most of whom quickly came to nothing but some made a considerable figure, and propagated sects which continued long after their decease. I shall give a brief account of the most remarkable of them, in order of time

In the reign of al Mohdi, the third Khalîf of the race of al Abbâs, one Hakem Ebn Hâshem[h], originally of Merû, in Khorasân, who had been an under secretary to Abu Moslem, the governor of that province, and afterwards turned soldier, passed thence into Mawarâ lnahr, where he gave himself out for a prophet. He is generally named by the Arab writers al Mokanna, and sometimes al Borkaí, that is the Veiled, because he used to cover his face with a veil, or a gilded mask, to conceal his deformity, having lost an eye in the wars, and being otherwise of a despicable appearance, though his followers pretended he did it for the same reason as Moses did, viz lest the splendour of his countenance should dazzle the eyes of the beholders He made a great many proselytes at Nakhshab and Kash, deluding the people with several juggling performances, which they swallowed for miracles, and particularly by causing the appearance of a moon to rise out of a well for many nights together, whence he was also called, in the Persian tongue, Sa- Of al Mokanna

[g] Ebn Shohnah V Elmac p 16

[h] Or Ebn Ata, according to Ebn Shohnah

zendeh mah, or the Moon-maker This impious impoſtor, not content with being reputed a prophet, arrogated divine honours to himſelf, pretending that the deity reſided in his perſon and the doctrine whereon he built this, was the ſame with that of the Gholaites above-mentioned, who affirmed a tranſmigration or ſucceſſive manifeſtation of the divinity through and in certain prophets and holy men, from Adam to theſe latter days, (of which opinion was alſo Abu Moſlem himſelf[1],) but the particular doctrine of al Mokanna was, that the perſon in whom the deity had laſt reſided, was the aforeſaid Abu Moſlem, and that the ſame had, ſince his death, paſſed into himſelf. The faction of al Mokanna, who had made himſelf maſter of ſeveral fortified places in the neighbourhood of the cities above-mentioned, growing daily more and more powerful, the Khalîf was at length obliged to ſend an army to reduce him, at the approach whereof al Mokanna retired into one of his ſtrongeſt fortreſſes, which he had well provided for a ſiege, and ſent his emiſſaries abroad to perſuade people that he raiſed the dead to life, and knew future events But being ſtraitly beſieged by the Khalîf's forces, when he found there was no poſſibility for him to eſcape, he gave poiſon in wine to his whole family, and all that were with him in the caſtle, and when they were dead, he burnt their bodies, together with their clothes, and all the proviſions and cattle and then, to prevent his own body s being found, he threw himſelf into the flames, or, as others ſay, into a tub of aqua fortis, or ſome other preparation, which conſumed every part of him, except only his hair ſo that when the beſiegers entered the place, they found no creature in it, ſave one of al Mokanna's concubines, who, ſuſpecting his deſign, had hid herſelf, and diſcovered the whole matter This contrivance, however, failed not

[1] This explains a doubt of Mr Bayle concerning a paſſage of Elmacinus as tranſlated by Erpenius, and corrected by Bulpier V Bayle, Dict Hiſt Art Abumuſlimus, vers la fin, & Rem B

to

to produce the effect which the impostor designed among the remaining part of his followers, for he had promised them that his soul should transmigrate into the form of a grey-headed man, riding on a greyish beast, and that after so many years he would return to them, and give them the earth for their possession the expectation of which promise kept the sect in being for several ages after[k], under the name of Mobeyyidites, or, as the Persians call them, Sefid jâmehghiân, i e The clothed in white, because they wore their garments of that colour, in opposition, as is supposed, to the Khalîfs of the family of Abbâs, whose banners and habits were black The historians place the death of al Mokanna in the 162d or 163d year of the Hejra[l].

Of Babec al Khorrem

In the year of the Hejra 201, Bâbec, surnamed al Khorremi, and Khorremdîn, either because he was of a certain district near Ardebîl, in Adherbijân, called Khorrem, or because he instituted a merry religion, which is the signification of the word in Persian, began to take on him the title of a prophet I do not find what doctrine he taught, but it is said he professed none of the religions then known in Asia. He gained a great number of devotees in Adherbijan and the Persian Irâk, and grew powerful enough to wage war with the Khalîf al Mámûn, whose troops he often beat, killing several of his generals, and one of them with his own hand, and by these victories he became so formidable, that al Mótasem, the successor of al Mámûn, was obliged to employ the forces of the whole empire against him The general sent to reduce Bâbec was Afshîd, who having overthrown him in battle, took his castles one after another with invincible patience, notwithstanding the rebels gave him great annoyance, and at last shut up the impostor

[k] They were a sect in the days of Abu'lfaragius, who lived above five hundred years after this extraordinary event, and may, for aught I know, be so still

[l] Ex Abu'lfarag Hist Dyn p 296 Lobb al Tawarikh, Ebn Shohnah, al Tabari, & Khondamir V D Herbel Bibl Orient Art Hakem Ben Hashem

in his principal fortreſs, which being taken, Bâbec found means to eſcape thence in diſguiſe, with ſome of his family and principal followers, but taking a refuge in the territories of the Greeks, was betrayed in the following manner. Sahel, an Armenian officer, happening to know Bâbec, enticed him, by offers of ſervices and reſpect, into his power, and treated him as a mighty prince, till, when he ſat down to eat, Sahel clapt himſelf down by him, at which Bâbec being ſurpriſed, aſked him how he dared to take that liberty unaſked? It is true, great king, replied Sahel, I have committed a fault, for who am I, that I ſhould ſit at your majeſty's table? And immediately ſending for a ſmith, he made uſe of this bitter ſarcaſm, Stretch forth your legs, great king, that this man may put fetters on them. After this Sahel ſent him to Afſhîd, though he had offered a large ſum for his liberty, having firſt ſerved him in his own kind, by cauſing his mother, ſiſter, and wife, to be raviſhed before his face, for ſo Bâbec uſed to treat his priſoners. Afſhîd, having the arch-rebel in his power, conducted him to al Mótaſem, by whoſe order he was put to an ignominious and cruel death.

This man had maintained his ground againſt the power of the Khalîfs for twenty years, and had cruelly put to death above two hundred and fifty thouſand people, it being his cuſtom never to ſpare man, woman, or child, either of the Mohammedans or their allies[m]. The ſectaries of Bâbec which remained after his death, ſeem to have been entirely diſperſed, there being little or no mention made of them by hiſtorians.

Of Mahmud Ebn Faraj.

About the year 235, one Mahmûd Ebn Faraj pretended to be Moſes reſuſcitated, and played his part ſo well that ſeveral people believed on him, and attended him when he was brought before the Khalîf al Motawakkel. That prince, having been an ear witneſs of his extravagant diſcourſes, condemned him to

[m] Ex Abulfarag p. 252, &c. Elmacin p. 141, &c. & Khondemir V. D'Herbel Art. Babec.

receive

receive ten buffets from every one of his followers, and then to be drubbed to death, which was accordingly executed, and his disciples were imprisoned till they came to their right minds[n].

The Karmatians, a sect which bore an inveterate malice against the Mohammedans, began first to raise disturbances in the year of the Hejra 278, and the latter end of the reign of al Mótamed. Their origin is not well known, but the common tradition is, that a poor fellow, whom some call Karmata, came from Khûzistân to the villages near Cûfa, and there feigned great sanctity and strictness of life, and that God had enjoined him to pray fifty times a day, pretending also to invite people to the obedience of a certain Imâm of the family of Mohammed and this way of life he continued till he had made a very great party, out of whom he chose twelve, as his apostles, to govern the rest, and to propagate his doctrines. But the governor of the province, finding men neglected their work, and their husbandry in particular, to say those fifty prayers a day, seized the fellow, and having put him into prison, swore he should die, which being overheard by a girl belonging to the governor, she, pitying the man, at night took the key of the dungeon from under her master's head as he slept, and having let the prisoner out, returned the key to the place whence she had it The next morning the governor found the bird flown, and the accident being publicly known, raised great admiration, his adherents giving it out that God had taken him into heaven Afterwards he appeared in another province, and declared to a great number of people he had got about him, that it was not in the power of any to do him hurt, notwithstanding which, his courage failing him, he retired into Syria, and was not heard of any more His sect, however, continued and increased, pretending that their master had manifested himself to be a true prophet, and had left them a new law, where- Of the Karmatians

[n] Ebn Snohrah V D Herbel p 537

in

in he had changed the ceremonies and form of prayer uſed by the Moſlems, and introduced a new kind of faſt, and that he had allowed them to drink wine, and diſpenſed with ſeveral things commanded in the Korân. They alſo turned the precepts of that book into allegory, teaching that prayer was the ſymbol of their obedience to their Imâm, and faſting, that of ſilence, or concealing their dogmas from ſtrangers They alſo believed fornication to be the ſin of infidelity, and the guilt thereof to be incurred by thoſe who revealed the myſteries of their religion, or paid not a blind obedience to their chief. They are ſaid to have produced a book, wherein was written (among other things) In the name of the moſt merciful GOD. Al Faraj Ebn Othmân, of the town of Naſrâna, ſaith, that CHRIST appeared unto him in a human form, and ſaid, Thou art the invitation thou art the demonſtration thou art the camel thou art the beaſt thou art John the ſon of Zacharias · thou art the Holy Ghoſt[o]. From the year above-mentioned the Karmatians, under ſeveral leaders, gave almoſt continual diſturbance to the Khalîfs and their Mohammedan ſubjects for ſeveral years, committing great diſorders and outrages in Chaldea, Arabia, Syria, and Meſopotamia, and at length eſtabliſhing a conſiderable principality, the power whereof was in its meridian in the reign of Abu Dhâher, famous for his taking of Mecca, and the indignities by him offered to the temple there, but which declined ſoon after his time, and came to nothing[p]

The Iſmaelians

To the Karmatians the Iſmaelians of Aſia were very near of kin, if they were not a branch of them. For theſe, who were alſo called al Molâhedah, or the Impious, and by the writers of the hiſtory of the holy wars, Aſſaſſins, agreed with the former in many reſpects ſuch as their inveterate malice againſt thoſe of other religions, and eſpecially the Mohammedan,

[o] Apud Abulfar p 275 [p] Ex Abulfar ibid Elmacino p 174, &c Ebn Shohnah, Khondamir, V D'Herbel. Art Carmath

their

their unlimited obedience to their prince, at whose command they were ready for assassinations, or any other bloody and dangerous enterprise, their pretended attachment to a certain Imâm of the house of Ali, &c. These Ismaelians, in the year 483, possessed themselves of al Jebâl, in the Persian Irâk, under the conduct of Hasan Sabah, and that prince and his descendants enjoyed the same for an hundred and seventy-one years, till the whole race of them was destroyed by Holagu, the Tartar [q].

The Bâtenites, which name is also given to the Ismaelians by some authors, and likewise to the Karmatians [r], were a sect which professed the same abominable principles, and were dispersed over several parts of the east [s]. The word signifies Esoterics, or People of inward or hidden light or knowledge And Batenites

Abu'l Teyyeb Ahmed, surnamed al Motanabbi, of the tribe of Jófa, is too famous on another account not to claim a place here He was one of the most excellent poets among the Arabians, there being none besides Abu Temâm who could dispute the prize with him. His poetical inspiration was so warm and exalted, that he either mistook it, or thought he could persuade others to believe it to be prophetical, and therefore gave himself out to be a prophet indeed, and thence acquired his surname, by which he is generally known. His accomplishments were too great not to have some success, for several tribes of the Arabs of the deserts, particularly that of Kelab, acknowledged him to be what he pretended But Ibn Tûlu, governor in those parts for Akhshîd, king of Egypt and Syria, soon put a stop to the further progress of this new sect, by imprisoning their prophet, and obliging him to renounce his chimerical dignity, which having done, he regained his liberty, and applied himself solely to his poetry, by means whereof he got very considerable riches, being in high esteem at the courts of several princes. Of al Motanabbi

[q] V Abulfar p 505 &c D Herbel p 104 437
[r] V Elmacin p 174, & 286 D Herb p 104 371 380, 483

Al Motanabbi loſt his life, together with his ſon, on the bank of the Tigris, in defending the money which had been given him by Adado'ddawla, Soltân of Perſia, againſt ſome Arabian robbers who demanded it of him, with which money he was returning to Cûfa, his native city This accident happened in the year 354[t].

Of Baba

The laſt pretender to prophecy I ſhall now take notice of, is one who appeared in the city of Amaſia, in Natolia, in the year 638, and by his wonderful feats ſeduced a great multitude of people there He was by nation a Turkmân, and called himſelf Bâba, and had a diſciple named Iſaac, whom he ſent about to invite thoſe of his own nation to join him. Iſaac accordingly, coming to the territory of Someiſat, publiſhed his commiſſion, and prevailed on many to embrace his maſter's ſect, eſpecially among the Turkmâns, ſo that at laſt he had ſix thouſand horſe at his heels, beſides foot. With theſe Bâba and his diſciple made open war on all who would not cry out with them, There is no God but God Bâba is the apoſtle of God[u] and they put great numbers of Mohammedans, as well as Chriſtians, to the ſword in thoſe parts till at length both Mohammedans and Chriſtians, joining together, gave them battle, and having entirely routed them, put them all to the ſword, except their two chiefs, who being taken alive, had their heads ſtruck off by the executioner.

I could mention ſeveral other impoſtors of the ſame kind, which have ariſen among the Mohammedans ſince their prophet's time, and very near enough to complete the number foretold by him but I apprehend the reader is by this time tired as well as myſelf and ſhall therefore here conclude this diſcourſe which may be thought already too long for an introduction

[t] Præf in opera Motanabbis MS V D'Herbel p 638, &c [u] Abulfa p 479 Ebn Shohnah, D Herb Art Baba

AL

KORAN.

CHAP. I.

Intitled, The PREFACE, or INTRODUCTION. Revealed at MECCA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

PRAISE be to GOD, the LORD of all creatures[b], the moſt merciful, the king of the day of judgment. Thee do we worſhip, and of thee do we beg aſſiſtance. Direct us in the right way, in the way of thoſe to whom thou

[a] The Preface, &c] In Arabic al Fatihat This chapter is a prayer, and held in great veneration by the Mohammedans, who give it ſeveral other honourable titles, as the chapter of prayer, of praiſe, of thankſgiving, of treaſure, &c They eſteem it as the quinteſſence of the whole Korân, and often repeat it in their devotions both public and private, as the Chriſtians do the Lord's-Prayer (1)

[b] Lord of all creatures] The original words are, Rabbi 'lâlamîna, which literally ſignify Lord of the worlds, but âlamîna in this and other places of the Korân, properly mean the three ſpecies of rational creatures, Men, Genii, and Angels Father Marracci has endeavoured to prove from this paſſage, that Mohammed believed a plurality of worlds, which he calls the error of the Manichees, &c (2) but this imputation the learned Reland has ſhewn to be entirely groundleſs (3)

(1) V BOBOVIUM de precib Mohammed p 3 & ſeq (2) In Prodromo ad refut Alcorani, Part IV p 76 & in Notis ad Alc cap 1 (3) De religion Mohammed p 262

haſt been gracious; not of thoſe againſt whom thou art incenſed, nor of thoſe who go aſtray [c].

[c] Direct us in the right way, &c.] This laſt ſentence contains a petition, that GOD would lead the ſupplicants into the true religion, by which is meant the Mohammedan, in the Koran often called The right way, in this place more particularly defined to be, The way of thoſe to whom GOD hath been gracious, that is, of the prophets and faithful who preceded Mohammed, under which appellations are alſo comprehended the Jews and Chriſtians, ſuch as they were in the times of their primitive purity, before they had deviated from their reſpective inſtitutions, not the way of the modern Jews, whoſe ſignal calamities are marks of the juſt anger of GOD againſt them for their obſtinacy and diſobedience, nor of the Chriſtians of this age, who have departed from the true doctrine of Jeſus, and are bewildered in a labyrinth of error (1)

This is the common expoſition of the paſſage, though al Zamakhſhari, and ſome others, by a different application of the negatives, refer the whole to the true believers, and then the ſenſe will run thus The way of thoſe to whom thou haſt been gracious, againſt whom thou art not incenſed, and who have not erred Which tranſlation the original will very well bear

(1) JALLALO'DDIN Al BEIDAWI, &c

CHAP. II.

Intitled, The Cow[d]; revealed partly at MECCA, and partly at MEDINA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

A. L. M [e] There is no doubt in this book; it is a direction to the pious, who believe in the myſteries [f] of faith, who obſerve the appointed times of prayer, and diſtribute alms out of what we have beſtowed on them and who believe in that revelation, which hath been ſent down unto thee, and that which hath been ſent down unto the prophets before thee,

[d] This title was occaſioned by the ſtory of the red heifer, mentioned p 15

[e] A L M] As to the meaning of theſe letters, ſee the Preliminary Diſcourſe, Sect 3

[f] Myſteries] The Arabic word is gheib, which properly ſignifies a thing

thee[g], and have firm aſſurance in the life to come[h]: theſe are directed by their LORD, and they ſhall proſper. As for the unbelievers, it will be equal to them whether thou admoniſh them, or do not admoniſh them; they will not believe. GOD hath ſealed up their hearts and their hearing, a dimneſs covereth their ſight, and they ſhall ſuffer a grievous puniſhment. There are ſome who ſay, We believe in GOD, and the laſt day, but are not really believers: they ſeek to deceive GOD, and thoſe who do believe, but they deceive themſelves only, and are not ſenſible thereof. There is an infirmity in their hearts, and GOD hath increaſed that infirmity[i], and they ſhall ſuffer a moſt painful puniſhment, becauſe they have diſbelieved. When one ſaith unto them, Act not corruptly[k] in the earth, they reply, Verily we are men of integrity[l]. Are not they themſelves corrupt doers? but they are not ſenſible thereof.

thing that is abſent, at a great diſtance, or inviſible, ſuch as the reſurrection, paradiſe, and hell And this is agreeable to the language of ſcripture, which defines faith to be the evidence of things not ſeen (1)

[g] The prophets before thee] The Mohammedans believe that GOD gave written revelations not only to Moſes, Jeſus, and Mohammed, but to ſeveral other prophets (2), though they acknowledge none of thoſe which preceded the Korân to be now extant, except the Pentateuch of Moſes, the Pſalms of David, and the Goſpel of Jeſus, which yet they ſay were even before Mohammed's time altered and corrupted by the Jews and Chriſtians, and therefore will not allow our preſent copies to be genuine

[h] The life to come] The original word al-âkherat properly ſignifies the latter part of any thing, and, by way of excellence, the next life, the latter or future ſtate after death, and is oppoſed to al-donya, this world, and al-oula, the former or preſent life The Hebrew word ahharith, from the ſame root, is uſed by Moſes in this ſenſe, and is tranſlated latter end (3)

[i] Mohammed here, and elſewhere frequently, imitates the truly inſpired writers, in making GOD by operation on the minds of reprobates to prevent their converſion This fatality or predeſtination, as believed by the Mohammedans, hath been ſufficiently treated of in the Preliminary Diſcourſe

[k] Act not corruptly] Literally corrupt not in the earth, by which ſome expoſitors underſtand the ſowing of falſe doctrine, and corrupting people's principles

[l] Men of integrity] According to the explication in the preceding note, this word muſt be tranſlated reformers, who promote true piety by their doctrine and example

(1) Heb xi 1 See alſo Rom xxiv 25 2 Corinth iv 18 & v 7 (2) V RELAND De relig Moham p 34 & Diſſert de Samaritanis, p 34, &c (3) Num xxiv 20 Deut viii 16

And when one ſaith unto them, believe ye as others [m] believe, they anſwer, Shall we believe as fools believe? Are not they themſelves fools? but they know it not. When they meet thoſe who believe, they ſay, We do believe but when they retire privately to their devils [n], they ſay, We really hold with you, and only mock at thoſe people GOD ſhall mock at them, and continue them in their impiety, they ſhall wander in confuſion Theſe are the men who have purchaſed error at the price of true direction. but their traffic hath not been gainful, neither have they been rightly directed They are like unto one who kindleth a fire [o], and when it hath enlightened all around him [p], GOD taketh away their light, [q] and leaveth them in darkneſs, they ſhall not ſee, they are deaf, dumb, and blind, therefore will they not repent Or like a ſtormy cloud from heaven, fraught with darkneſs, thunder, and lightning [r], they put

[m] Others] The firſt companions and followers of Mohammed (1)

[n] Devils] The prophet, making uſe of the liberty zealots of all religions have, by preſcription, of giving ill language, beſtows this name on the Jewiſh rabbins and Chriſtian prieſts, though he ſeems chiefly to mean the former, againſt whom he had by much the greater ſpleen

[o] In this paſſage Mohammed compares thoſe who believed not on him, to a man who wants to kindle a fire, but as ſoon as it burns up, and the flames give a light, ſhuts his eyes, leſt he ſhould ſee As if he had ſaid You, O Arabians, have long deſired a prophet of your own nation, and now I am ſent unto you, and have plainly proved my miſſion by the excellence of my doctrine and revelation, you reſiſt conviction, and refuſe to believe in me, therefore ſhall GOD leave you in your ignorance

[p] The ſenſe ſeems to be here imperfect, and may be completed, by adding the words, he turns from it, ſhuts his eyes, or the like

[q] Their light] This is of the unbelievers, to whom the word their, being in the plural, ſeems to refer, though it is not uſual for Mohammed, in affectation of the prophetic ſtyle, ſuddenly to change the number againſt all rules of grammar

[r] Here he compares the unbelieving Arabs to people caught in a violent ſtorm To perceive the beauty of this compariſon, it muſt be obſerved, that the Mohammedan doctors ſay, this tempeſt is a type or image of the Koran itſelf the thunder ſignifying the threats therein contained, the lightning, the promiſes, and the darkneſs, the myſteries The terror of the threats makes them ſtop their ears unwilling to hear truths ſo diſagreeable when the promiſes are read to them, they attend with pleaſure, but when any thing myſterious or difficult of belief occurs, they ſtand ſtock ſtill, and will not ſubmit to be directed

(1) JALALO'DDIN

their

their fingers in their ears, becauſe of the noiſe of the thunder, for fear of death; GOD encompaſſeth the infidels. the lightning wanteth but little of taking away their ſight. ſo often as it enlighteneth them, they walk therein, but when darkneſs cometh on them, they ſtand ſtill, and if GOD ſo pleaſed, he would certainly deprive them of their hearing and their ſight, for GOD is almighty. O men of MECCA, ſerve your LORD who hath created you, and thoſe who have been before you peradventure ye will fear him, who hath ſpread the earth as a bed for you, and the heaven as a covering, and hath cauſed water to deſcend from heaven, and thereby produced fruits for your ſuſtenance. Set not up therefore any equals unto GOD, againſt your own knowledge If ye be in doubt concerning that revelation which we have ſent down unto our ſervant, produce a chapter like unto it, and call upon your witneſſes, beſides GOD[s], if ye ſay truth. But if ye do it not, nor ſhall ever be able to do it, juſtly fear the fire whoſe fewel is men and ſtones, prepared for the unbelievers But bear good tidings unto thoſe who believe, and do good works, that they ſhall have gardens watered by rivers, ſo often as they eat of the fruit thereof for ſuſtenance, they ſhall ſay, This is what we have formerly eaten of, and they ſhall be ſupplied with ſeveral ſorts of fruit having a mutual reſemblance to one another[t]. There ſhall they enjoy wives ſubject to no impurity, and there ſhall they continue for ever Moreover GOD will not be aſhamed to propound in a parable a gnat, or even a more deſpicable thing[u] for they who believe will

[s] Your witneſſes beſides GOD] i e Your falſe gods and idols

[t] Some commentators (1) approve of this ſenſe, ſuppoſing the fruits of paradiſe, though of various taſtes, are alike in colour and outward appearance but others (2) think the meaning to be, that the inhabitants of that place will find there fruits of the ſame or the like kinds as they uſed to eat while on earth

[u] This was revealed to take off an objection made to the Koran by the infidels, for condeſcending to ſpeak of ſuch inſignificant inſects, as the ſpider, the piſmire, the bee, &c (3)

(1) JALLALO'DDIN (2) Al ZAMAKHSHARI (3) YAHYA

know it to be the truth from their LORD; but the unbelievers will ſay, What meaneth GOD by this parable? he will thereby miſlead many, and will direct many thereby; but he will not miſlead any thereby, except the tranſgreſſors, who make void the covenant of GOD after the eſtabliſhing thereof, and cut in ſunder that which GOD hath commanded to be joined, and act corruptly in the earth, they ſhall periſh How is it that ye believe not in GOD? Since ye were dead, and he gave you life [w], he will hereafter cauſe you to die, and will again reſtore you to life, then ſhall ye return unto him It is he who hath created for you whatſoever is on earth, and then ſet his mind to the creation of heaven, and formed it into ſeven heavens, he knoweth all things. When thy LORD ſaid unto the angels, I am going to place a ſubſtitute on earth [x], they ſaid, Wilt thou place there one who will do evil therein, and ſhed blood?

[w] Ye were dead, and he gave you life, &c] i e Ye were dead while in the loins of your fathers and he gave you life in your mother's womb and after death ye ſhall be again raiſed at the reſurrection (1)

[x] Concerning the creation of Adam, here intimated, the Mohammedans have ſeveral peculiar traditions They ſay the Angels, Gabriel, Michael, and Iſrafil, were ſent by GOD, one after another, to fetch for that purpoſe ſeven handfuls of earth from different depths, and of different colours, (whence ſome account for the various complexion of mankind) (2), but the earth being apprehenſive of the conſequence, and deſiring them to repreſent her fear to GOD, that the creature he deſigned to form would rebel againſt him, and draw down his curſe upon her, they returned without performing GOD's command, whereupon he ſent Azrail on the ſame errand, who executed his commiſſion without remorſe, for which reaſon, GOD appointed that angel to ſeparate the ſouls from the bodies, being therefore called the angel of death The earth he had taken was carried into Arabia, to a place between Mecca and Tayef, were being firſt kneaded by the angels, it was afterwards faſhioned by GOD himſelf into a human form, and left to dry (3) for the ſpace of forty days, or, as others ſay, as many years, the angels in the mean time often viſiting it, and Eblis (then one of the angels who are neareſt to GOD's preſence, afterwards the devil) among the reſt, but he not contented with looking on it, kicked it with his foot till it rung, and knowing GOD deſigned that creature to be his ſuperior, took a ſecret reſolution never to acknowledge him as ſuch After this, GOD animated the figure of clay, and indued it with an intelligent ſoul, and when he had placed him in paradiſe, formed Eve out of his left ſide (4)

(1) JALLALO'DDIN (2) Al TERMEDI, from a tradition of ABU MUSA al ASHARI (3) Koran c 55 (4) KHOND AMIR JALLALO'DDIN, Comment. in Korân, &c V D'HERBELOT Biblioth Orient p 55

but we celebrate thy praiſe, and ſactify thee. GOD anſwered, Verily I know that which ye know not; and he taught ADAM the names of all things, and then propoſed them to the angels, and ſaid, Declare unto me the names of theſe things if ye ſay truth. They anſwered, Praiſe be unto thee, we have no knowledge but what thou teacheſt us, for thou art knowing and wiſe. GOD ſaid, O ADAM, tell them their names And, when he had told them their names, GOD ſaid, Did I not tell you that I know the ſecrets of heaven and earth, and know that which ye diſcover, and that which ye conceal [y]? And when we ſaid unto the angels, Worſhip [z] ADAM; they all worſhipped him, except EBLIS, who refuſed, and was puffed up with pride, and became of the number of unbelievers [a]. And we ſaid, O ADAM, dwell thou and thy wife in the garden [b], and eat of the fruit thereof plentifully wherever ye will, but approach not this tree [c], leſt ye become of the number of

[y] This ſtory Mohammed borrowed from the Jewiſh traditions, which ſay, that the angels having ſpoken of man with ſome contempt, when GOD conſulted them about his creation, GOD made anſwer, that the man was wiſer than they, and to convince them of it, he brought all kinds of animals to them, and aſked them their names which they not being able to tell, he put the ſame queſtion to the man, who named them one after another, and being aſked his own name, and GOD's name, he anſwered very juſtly, and gave GOD the name of JEHOVAH (1) The angels adoring of Adam is alſo mentioned in the Talmud (2)

[z] Worſhip] The original word ſignifies properly to proſtrate one's ſelf, till the forehead touches the ground which is the humbleſt poſture of adoration, and ſtrictly due to GOD only, but it is ſometimes in this place uſed to expreſs that civil worſhip or homage which may be paid to creatures (3)

[a] This occaſion of the devil's fall has ſome affinity with an opinion which has been pretty much entertained among Chriſtians (4), viz that the angels being informed of GOD's intention to create man after his own image, and to dignify human nature by Chriſt's aſſuming it, ſome of them thinking their glory to be eclipſed thereby, envied man's happineſs, and ſo revolted

[b] Mohammed, as appears by what preſently follows, does not place this garden or paradiſe on earth, but in the ſeventh heaven (5)

[c] Concerning this tree, or the forbidden fruit, the Mohammedans, as well as the Chriſtians, have various opinions Some ſay it was an ear of wheat, ſome will have it to have been

(1) V RIVIN Serpent ſeduct p 56 (2) R MOSES HADDARSHAN, in Bereſhit rabbah (3) JALLALODDIN (4) IRENÆUS, LACT GREG NYSSEN &c (5) Vid MARRACC in Alc p 24

of the tranſgreſſors. But SATAN cauſed them to forfeit paradiſe[d], and turned them out of the ſtate of happineſs wherein they had been, whereupon we ſaid, Get ye down[e], the one of you an enemy unto the other, and there ſhall be a dwelling-place for you on earth, and a proviſion for a ſeaſon. And ADAM learned words of prayer from his LORD, and GOD turned unto him, for he is eaſy to be reconciled, and merciful. We ſaid, Get ye all down from hence; hereafter ſhall there come unto you a direction from me[f], and whoever ſhall follow my direction, on them ſhall no fear come, neither ſhall they be grieved, but they who ſhall be unbelievers, and accuſe our ſigns

been a fig-tree, and others a vine (1) The ſtory of the fall is told, with ſome further circumſtances, in the beginning of the 7th chapter

[d] Satan cauſed them to forfeit paradiſe] They have a tradition that the devil offering to get into paradiſe to tempt Adam, was not admitted by the guard whereupon he begged of the animals, one after another, to carry him in, that he might ſpeak to Adam and his wife, but they all refuſed him, except the ſerpent, who took him between two of his teeth, and ſo introduced him They add, that the ſerpent was then of a beautiful form, and not in the ſhape he now bears (2)

[e] Get ye down] The Mohammedans ſay, that when they were caſt down from paradiſe, Adam fell on the iſle of Ceylon, or Serendib, and Eve near Joddah (the port of Mecca) in Arabia, and that after a ſeparation of 200 years, Adam was, on his repentance, conducted by the angel Gabriel to a mountain near Mecca, where he found and knew his wife, the mountain being thence named Arafât, and that he afterwards retired with her to Ceylon, where they continued to propagate their ſpecies (3)

It may not be improper here to mention another tradition concerning the gigantic ſtature of our firſt parents Their prophet, they ſay, affirmed Adam to have been as tall as a high palm-tree (4), but this would be too much in proportion, if that were really the print of his foot, which is pretended to be ſuch, on the top of a mountain in the iſle of Ceylon, thence named Pico de Adam, and by the Arab writers Rahun, being ſomewhat above two ſpans long (5), though others ſay it is ſeventy cubits long, and that when Adam ſet one foot here, he had the other in the ſea (6), and too little, if Eve were of ſo enormous a ſize, as is ſaid, that when her head lay on one hill near Mecca, her knees reſted on two others in the plain, about two muſket ſhot aſunder (7)

[f] A direction from me] GOD here promiſes Adam that his will ſhould be revealed to him and his poſterity, which promiſe the Mohammedans believe was fulfilled at ſeveral times by the miniſtry of ſeveral prophets, from Adam himſelf, who was the firſt, to Mohammed, who was the laſt The number of books revealed

(1) V MARRACC in Alc p 22 (2) V ib (3) D'HERBELOT, Bibl Orient p 55 (4) YAHYA (5) MONCONY's Voyage, part 1 p 372 &c See KNOX's Account of Ceylon (6) Anciennes relations des Indes, &c p 3 (7) MONCONY's, ubi ſup

ſigns[g] of falſehood, they ſhall be the companions of hell-fire, therein ſhall they remain for ever. O children of ISRAEL[h], remember my favour wherewith I have favoured you, and perform your covenant with me, and I will perform my covenant with you; and revere me and believe in the revelation which I have ſent down, confirming that which is with you, and be not the firſt who believe not therein, neither exchange my ſigns for a ſmall price, and fear me. Clothe not the truth with vanity, neither conceal the truth againſt your own knowledge, obſerve the ſtated times of prayer, and pay your legal alms, and bow down yourſelves with thoſe who bow down. Will ye command men to do juſtice, and forget your own ſouls? yet ye read the book of the law do ye not therefore underſtand? Aſk help with perſeverance and prayer this indeed is grievous, unleſs to the humble, who ſeriouſly think they ſhall meet their LORD, and that to him they ſhall return. O children of ISRAEL, remember my favour wherewith I have favoured you, and that I have preferred you above all nations, dread the day wherein one ſoul ſhall not make ſatisfaction for another ſoul, neither ſhall any intercceſſion be accepted from them, nor ſhall any compenſation be received, neither ſhall they be helped. Remember when we delivered you from the people of PHARAOH, who grievouſly oppreſſed you, they ſlew your male children, and let your females live. therein was a great trial from your LORD. And when we divided the ſea for you, and delivered you, and

vealed unto Adam they ſay was ten (1)

[g] Signs] This word has various ſignifications in the Korân, ſometimes, as in this paſſage, it ſignifies divine revelation, or ſcripture in general, ſometimes the verſes of the Koran in particular, and at other times viſible miracles But the ſenſe is eaſily diſtinguiſhed by the context

[h] The Jews are here called upon to receive the Korân, as verifying and confirming the Pentateuch, particularly with reſpect to the unity of GOD, and the miſſion of Mohammed (2) And they are exhorted not to conceal the paſſages of their law, which bear witneſs to thoſe truths, nor to corrupt them by publiſhing falſe copies of the Pentateuch, for which the writers were but poorly paid (3)

(1) V HOTTINGER, Hiſt Orient p 11 RELAND, de relig Mohammed p 21 (2) YAHYA. (3) JALLALO'DDIN

drowned

drowned PHARAOH's people while ye looked on[i]. And when we treated with MOSES forty nights, then ye took the calf[k] for your GOD, and did evil; yet afterwards we forgave you, that peradventure ye might give thanks. And when we gave MOSES the book of the law, and the diſtinction between good and evil, that peradventure ye might be directed. And when MOSES ſaid unto his people, O my people, verily ye have injured your own ſouls, by your taking the calf for your GOD, therefore be turned unto your Creator, and ſlay thoſe among you who have been guilty of that crime[l], this will be better for you in the ſight of your Creator and thereupon he turned unto you, for he is eaſy to be reconciled, and merciful. And when ye ſaid, O MOSES, we will not believe thee, until we ſee GOD manifeſtly, therefore a puniſhment came upon you, while ye looked on, then we raiſed you to life after ye had been dead,

[i] See the ſtory of Moſes and Pharaoh more particularly related chap vii & xx &c

[k] The calf] The perſon who caſt this calf, the Mohammedans ſay, was (not Aaron, but) al Sameri, one of the principal men among the children of Iſrael, ſome of whoſe deſcendants, it is pretended, ſtill inhabit an iſland of that name in the Arabian gulph (1) It was made of the rings (2) and bracelets of gold, ſilver, and other materials, which the Iſraelites had borrowed of the Egyptians, for Aaron, who commanded in his brother's abſence, having ordered al Sameri to collect thoſe ornaments from the people, who carried on a wicked commerce with them, and to keep them together till the return of Moſes, al Sâmeri, underſtanding the founder's art, put them all together into a furnace, to melt them down into one maſs, which came out in the form of a calf (3) The Iſraelites, accuſtomed to the Ægyptian idolatry, paying a religious worſhip to this image, al Sameri went farther, and took ſome duſt from the footſteps of the horſe of the angel Gabriel, who marched at the head of the people, and threw it into the mouth of the calf, which immediately began to low, and became animated (4), for ſuch was the virtue of that duſt (5) One writer ſays that all the Iſraelites adored this calf, except only 12000 (6)

[l] And ſlay the guilty] In this particular, the narration agrees with that of Moſes, who ordered the Levites to ſlay every man his brother (7) but the ſcripture ſays, there fell of the people that day about 3000 (the Vulgate ſays 23000) men (8), whereas the commentators of the Koran make the number of the ſlain to amount to 70000, and add, that GOD ſent a dark cloud, which hindered them from ſeeing one another, leſt the ſight ſhould move thoſe who executed the ſentence to compaſſion (9)

(1) Geogr Nubienſ p 45 (2) Koran, c 7 (3) See Exod xxxii 24 (4) Koran, c 7 (5) JALLALO'DDIN, Vid D'HERBELOT, Bibl Orient p 650 (6) ABU'LFEDA (7) Exod xxxii 26, 27 (8) Ibid 28 (9) JALLALO'DDIN, &c

that

that peradventure ye might give thanks[m]. And we cauſed clouds to overſhadow you, and manna and quails[n] to deſcend upon you, ſaying, Eat of the good things which we have given you for food and they injured not us, but injured their own ſouls. And when we ſaid, Enter into this city[o], and eat of the proviſions thereof plentifully as ye will, and enter the gate worſhipping, and ſay, Forgiveneſs[p]! we will pardon you your ſins, and give increaſe unto the well-doers. But the ungodly changed the expreſſion into another[q], different from what had been ſpoken unto them, and we ſent down upon the ungodly indignation from heaven[r], becauſe they had tranſgreſſed. And when Moſes aſked drink for his people, we ſaid, Strike the rock[s] with thy rod, and there guſhed

[m] The perſons here meant, are ſaid to have been ſeventy men, who were made choice of by Moſes, and heard the voice of GOD talking with him But, not being ſatisfied with that, they demanded to ſee GOD, whereupon they were all ſtruck dead by l[illegible] and, on Moſes's interceſſion, reſtored to life[illegible]

[n] The eaſtern writers ſay, theſe quails were of a peculiar kind, to be found no where but in Yaman, from whence they were brought by a ſouth wind in great numbers to the Iſraelites' camp in the deſert (2) The Arabs call theſe birds Salwá, which is plainly the ſame with the Hebrew Salwim, and ſay they have no bones, but are eaten whole (3)

[o] This city] Some commentators ſuppoſe it to be Jericho, others, Jeruſalem

[p] Forgiveneſs] The Arabic word is Hittaton, which ſome take to ſignify that profeſſion of the unity of GOD, ſo frequently uſed by the Mohammedans, La ilaha illa 'llaho, There is no god but GOD

[q] Changed the expreſſion into another] According to Jallalo'ddin, inſtead of Hittaton, they cried Habbat fi ſhairat, i e a grain in an ear of barley, and, in ridicule of the divine command to enter the city in an humble poſture, they indecently crept in upon their breech

[r] Indignation from heaven] A peſtilence, which carried off near [illegible] of them (4)

[s] The rock] The ca[illegible] ſay this was a ſtone which Moſes brought from mount Sinai, and the ſame that fled away with his garments [illegible] upon it one day while he waſhed [illegible] after the ſtone naked, till he found himſelf, ere he was aware, in the midſt of the people, who, on this accident, were convinced of the falſehood of a report, which had been raiſed of their prophet, that he was burſten, or, as others write, an hermaphrodite (5)

They deſcribe it to be a ſquare piece of white marble, ſhaped like a man's head, wherein they differ not much from the accounts of European travellers, who ſay this rock ſtands among ſeveral leſſer ones, about 100 paces from mount Horeb, and appears to have been looſened from the

(1) ISMAEI EBN ALI BELOT Bibl Orient p 477 YAHYA (2) See Pſalm lxxviii 26 (3) V D'HER- (4) JALLALO'DDIN (5) JALLALO'DDIN,

guſhed thereout twelve fountains [t], according to the number of the tribes, and all men knew their reſpective drinking-place. Eat and drink of the bounty of GOD, and commit not evil in the earth, acting unjuſtly. And when ye ſaid, O MOSES, we will by no means be ſatisfied with one kind of food, pray unto thy LORD therefore for us, that he would produce for us of that which the earth bringeth forth, herbs, and cucumbers, and garlic, and lentils, and onions [u], MOSES anſwered, Will ye exchange that which is better, for that which is worſe? Get ye down into EGYPT, for there ſhall ye find what ye deſire and they were ſmitten with vileneſs and miſery, and drew on themſelves indignation from GOD This they ſuffered, becauſe they believed not in the ſigns of GOD, and killed the prophets unjuſtly, this, becauſe they rebelled and tranſgreſſed. Surely thoſe who believe, and thoſe who Judaize, and Chriſtians, and Sabians [w], whoever

the neighbouring mountains, having no coherence with the others, that it is a huge maſs of red granite, almoſt round on one ſide, and flat on the other, 12 feet high, and as many thick, but broader than it is high, and about 50 feet in circumference (1)

[t] Twelve fountains] Marracci thinks this circumſtance looks like a Rabbinical fiction, or elſe that Mohammed confounds the water of the rock at Horeb with the twelve wells at Elim (2), for he ſays, ſeveral who have been on the ſpot, affirm there are but three orifices whence the water iſſued (3) But it is to be preſumed, that Mohammed had better means of information in this reſpect, than to fall into ſuch a miſtake, for the rock ſtands within the borders of Arabia, and ſome of his countrymen muſt needs have ſeen it, if he himſelf did not, as it is moſt probable he did And, in effect, he ſeems to be in the right For one, who went into thoſe parts in the end of the 15th century, tells us expreſsly, that the water iſſued from twelve places of the rock, according to the number of the tribes of Iſrael, egreſſæ ſunt aquæ largiſſimæ in duodecim locis petræ, juxta numerum duodecim tribuum Iſrael (4) A late curious traveller (5) obſerves, that there are 24 holes in the ſtone, which may be eaſily counted, that is to ſay, twelve on the flat ſide, and as many on the oppoſite round ſide, every one being a foot deep, and an inch wide, and he adds, that the holes on one ſide do not communicate with thoſe on the other, which a leſs accurate ſpectator not perceiving (for they are placed horizontally, within two feet of the top of the rock) might conclude they pierced quite through the ſtone, and ſo reckon them to be but twelve

[u] See Numb xi 5, &c

[w] Jews, Chriſtians, and Sabians, whoever believeth, &c] From theſe

(1) BREYDENBACH Itinerar chartâ in p 1 SICARD, dans les Memoires des Miſſions, tom 7 p 14 (2) Exod xv 27 Numb xxxiii 9
(3) MARRAC Prodr part 4 p 80 (4) BREYDENBACH, ubi ſup.
(5) SICARD, ubi ſup

whoever believeth in GOD, and the laſt day, and doth that which is right, they ſhall have their reward with their LORD, there ſhall come no fear on them, neither ſhall they be grieved. Call to mind alſo when we accepted your covenant, and lifted up the mountain of SINAI over you [x], ſaying, Receive the law which we have given you, with a reſolution to keep it, and remember that which is contained therein, that ye may beware After this ye again turned back, ſo that, if it had not been for GOD's indulgence and mercy towards you, ye had certainly been deſtroyed. Moreover ye know what befell thoſe of your nation who tranſgreſſed on the ſabbath-day [y], We

theſe words, which are repeated in the 5th chapter, ſeveral writers (1) ha e wrongly concluded, that the Mohammedans hold it to be the doctrine of their prophet, that every man may be ſaved in his own religion, provided he be ſincere, and lead a good life It is true ſome of their doctors do agree this to be the purport of the words (2), but then they ſay the latitude hereby granted was ſoon revoked, for that this paſſage is abrogated by ſeveral others in the Korân, which expreſsly declare, that none can be ſaved who is not of the Mohammedan faith, and particularly by thoſe words of the 3d chapter, Whoever followeth any other religion than Iſlâm, (i e the Mohammedan,) it ſhall not be accepted of him, and at the laſt day he ſhall be of thoſe who periſh (3) However, others are of opinion that this paſſage is not abrogated, but interpret it differently, taking the meaning of it to be, that no man, whether he be a Jew, a Chriſtian, or a Sabian, ſhall be excluded from ſalvation, provided he quit his erroneous religion, and become a Moſlem, which they ſay is intended by the following words, Whoever believeth in GOD and the laſt day, and doth that which is right And this interpretation is approved by Mr Reland, who thinks the words here import no more than thoſe of the apoſtle, In every nation he that feareth GOD, and worketh righteouſneſs, is accepted with him (4), from which it muſt not be inferred, that the religion of nature, or any other, is ſufficient to ſave, without faith in CHRIST (5)

[x] When we lifted up mount Sinai over you] The Mohammedan tradition is, that, the Iſraelites refuſing to receive the law of Moſes, GOD tore up the mountain by the roots, and ſhook it over their heads, to terrify them into a compliance (6)

[y] Thoſe who tranſgreſſed on the ſabbath-day, &c] The ſtory to which this paſſage refers, is as follows In the days of David ſome Iſraelites dwelt at Ailah, or Elath, on the Red ſea, where on the night of the ſabbath the fiſh uſed to come in great numbers to the ſhore, and ſtay there all the ſabbath, to tempt them, but the night following they returned

(1) SELDEN de Jure nat & gentium ſec Hebr l 6 c 12 ANGELUS JOSEPH Gazophylac Perſic p 365 NICOLAUS CUSANUS in Cribratione Alcorani, l 3 c 2, &c (2) See CHARDIN's Voyages, vol 2 p 326, 331 (3) ABU-KASEM HEBATALLAH de abrogante & abrogato (4) Acts x 35 (5) VID de rel Moham p 128, &c (6) JALIALO'DDIN

We ſaid unto them, Be ye changed into apes, driven away from the ſociety of men. And we made them an example unto thoſe who were contemporary with them, and unto thoſe who came after them, and a warning to the pious. And when MOSES ſaid unto his people, Verily GOD commandeth you to ſacrifice a cow [z], they anſwered, Doſt thou make a jeſt of

returned into the ſea again At length, ſome of the inhabitants neglecting GOD's command, catched fiſh on the ſabbath, and dreſſed and ate them, and afterwards cut canals from the ſea, for the fiſh to enter, with ſluices, which they ſhut on the ſabbath, to prevent their return to the ſea The other part of the inhabitants, who ſtrictly obſerved the ſabbath, uſed both perſuaſion and force to ſtop this impiety, but to no purpoſe, the offenders growing only more and more obſtinate, whereupon David curſed the ſabbath-breakers, and GOD transformed them into apes It is ſaid, that one going to ſee a friend of his that was among them, found him in the ſhape of an ape, moving his eyes about wildly, and aſking him whether he was not ſuch a one? the ape made a ſign with his head, that it was he whereupon the friend ſaid to him, Did not I adviſe you to deſiſt? at which the ape wept They add, that theſe unhappy people remained three days in this condition, and were afterwards deſtroyed by a wind which ſwept them all into the ſea (1)

[z] GOD commandeth you to ſacrifice a cow, &c.] The occaſion of this ſacrifice is thus related A certain man at his death left his ſon, then a child, a cow-calf, which wandered in the deſert till he came to age, at which time his mother told him the heifer was his and bid him fetch her, and ſell her for three pieces of gold When the young man came to the market with his heifer, an angel in the ſhape of a man accoſted him, and bid him ſix pieces of gold for her, but he would not take the money, till he had aſked his mother's conſent, which, when he had obtained, he returned to the market-place, and met the angel, who now offered him twice as much for the heifer, provided he would ſay nothing of it to his mother, but the young man refuſing, went and acquainted her with the additional offer The woman perceiving it was an angel, bid her ſon go back, and aſk him what muſt be done with the heifer, whereupon the angel told the young man, that in a little time, the children of Iſrael would buy that heifer of him at any price And ſoon after it happened that an Iſraelite, named Hammiel, was killed by a relation of his, who, to prevent diſcovery, conveyed the body to a place conſiderably diſtant from that where the fact was committed The friends of the ſlain man accuſed ſome other perſons of the murther before Moſes, but they denying the fact, and there being no evidence to convict them, GOD commanded a cow, of ſuch and ſuch particular marks, to be killed, but there being no other which anſwered the deſcription, except the orphan's heifer, they were obliged to buy her for as much gold as her hide would hold, according to ſome, for her full weight in gold, and as others ſay, for ten times as much This heifer they ſacrificed, and the dead body being, by divine direction, ſtruck with a part of it, revived, and, ſtanding up, named the perſon who had killed him, after which it immediately fell down dead again (2) The whole ſtory ſeems to be borrowed

(1) ABU'LFEDA (2) ABU'LFEDA

of us? MOSES ſaid, GOD forbid that I ſhould be one of the fooliſh. They ſaid, Pray for us unto thy LORD, that he would ſhew us what cow it is. MOSES anſwered, He ſaith, She is neither an old cow, nor a young heifer, but of a middle age between both: do ye therefore that which ye are commanded. They ſaid, Pray for us unto thy LORD, that he would ſhew us what colour ſhe is of. MOSES anſwered, He ſaith, She is a red cow [a], intenſely red, her colour rejoiceth the beholders. They ſaid, Pray for us unto thy LORD, that he would further ſhew us what cow it is, for ſeveral cows with us are like one another, and we, if GOD pleaſe, will be directed. MOSES anſwered, He ſaith, She is a cow not broken to plough the earth, or water the field, a ſound one, there is no blemiſh in her They ſaid, Now haſt thou brought the truth Then they ſacrificed her, yet they wanted but little of leaving it undone [b] And when ye ſlew a man, and contended among yourſelves concerning him, GOD brought forth to light that which ye concealed. For we ſaid, Strike the dead body with part of the ſacrificed cow [c] ſo GOD raiſed the dead to life, and ſheweth you his ſigns, that peradventure ye may underſtand. Then were your hearts hardened after this, even as ſtones, or exceeding them in hardneſs for from ſome ſtones have rivers burſted forth, others have been rent in ſunder, and water hath iſſued from them, and others have fallen down for fear of GOD. But GOD is not regardleſs of that which ye do Do ye therefore deſire that the Jews ſhould believe you? yet a part of them heard the word of GOD, and then perverted

rowed from the red heifer which was ordered by the Jewiſh law to be burnt, and the aſhes kept for purifying thoſe who happened to touch a dead corpſe (1) —And from the heifer directed to be ſlain for the expiation of uncertain murder See Deut xxi 1--9

[a] A red cow] The epithet in the original is yellow, but this word we do not uſe in ſpeaking of the colour of cattle

[b] And they wanted but little of leaving it undone] Becauſe of the exorbitant price which they were obliged to pay for the heifer

[c] With part of the cow] i e Her tongue, or the end of her tail (2)

(1) Numb xix (2) JALLALO DDIN

it, after they had underſtood it, againſt their own conſcience. And when they meet the true believers, they ſay, We believe but when they are privately aſſembled together, they ſay, Will ye acquaint them with what GOD hath revealed unto you, that they may diſpute with you concerning it in the preſence of your LORD? Do ye not therefore underſtand? Do not they know that GOD knoweth that which they conceal as well as that which they publiſh? But there are illiterate men among them, who know not the book of the law, but only lying ſtories, although they think otherwiſe. And woe unto them who tranſcribe corruptly the book of the law[d] with their hands, and then ſay, This is from GOD. that they may ſell it for a ſmall price Therefore woe unto them becauſe of that which their hands have written, and woe unto them for that which they have gained They ſay, The fire of hell ſhall not touch us but for a certain number of days[e]. Anſwer, Have ye received any promiſe from GOD to that purpoſe? for GOD will not act contrary to his promiſe Or do ye ſpeak concerning GOD that which ye know not? Verily whoſo doth evil[f], and is encompaſſed by his iniquity, they ſhall be the companions of hell-fire, they ſhall remain therein for ever: but they who believe and do good works, they ſhall be the companions of paradiſe, they ſhall continue therein for ever. Remember alſo, when we ac-

[d] Mohammed again accuſes the Jews of corrupting their ſcripture

[e] The fire of hell ſhall not touch us, but for a certain number of days] ----That is, ſays Jallalo'ddin, forty, being the number of days that their forefathers worſhipped the golden calf, after which they gave out that their puniſhment ſhould ceaſe It is a received opinion among the Jews at preſent, that no perſon, be he ever ſo wicked, or of whatever ſect, ſhall remain in hell above eleven months, or at moſt a year, except Dathan and Abiram, and atheiſts, who will be tormented there to all eternity (1)

[f] Whoſo doth evil, &c] By evil in this place the commentators generally underſtand polytheiſm, or idolatry, which ſin the Mohammedans believe, unleſs repented of in this life, is unpardonable, and will be puniſhed by eternal damnation, but all other ſins, they hold, will at length be forgiven This therefore is that irremiſſible impiety, in their opinion, which in the New Teſtament is called the ſin againſt the Holy Ghoſt

(1) V BARTOLOCCII Biblioth Rabbinic Tom 2 p 128 & T 3 p 421

cepted

cepted the covenant of the children of ISRAEL, ſaying, Ye ſhall not worſhip any other except GOD, and ye ſhall ſhew kindneſs to your parents and kindred, and to orphans, and to the poor, and ſpeak that which is good unto men, and be conſtant at prayer, and give alms. Afterwards ye turned back, except a few of you, and retired afar off And when we accepted your covenant, ſaying, Ye ſhall not ſhed your brother's blood, nor diſpoſſeſs one another of your habitations, then ye confirmed it, and were witneſſes thereto Afterwards ye were they who ſlew one another[g], and turned ſeveral of your brethren out of their houſes, mutually aſſiſting each other againſt them with injuſtice and enmity, but if they come captives unto you, ye redeem them yet it is equally unlawful for you to diſpoſſeſs them Do ye therefore believe in part of the book of the law, and reject other part thereof? But whoſo among you doth this, ſhall have no other reward than ſhame in this life, and on the day of reſurrection they ſhall be ſent to a moſt grievous puniſhment, for GOD is not regardleſs of that which ye do Theſe are they who have purchaſed this preſent life at the price of that which is to come, wherefore their puniſhment ſhall not be mitigated, neither ſhall they be helped. We formerly delivered the book of the law unto MOSES, and cauſed apoſtles to ſucceed him, and gave evident miracles to JESUS the ſon of MARY, and ſtrengthened him with the holy ſpirit[h]. Do ye therefore, whenever an apoſtle cometh unto you

[g] Ye ſlew one another, &c] This paſſage was revealed on occaſion of ſome quarrels which aroſe between the Jews of the tribes of Koreidha, and thoſe of al Aws, al Nadhir, and al Khazraj, and came to that height that they took arms, and deſtroyed one another's habitations, and turned one another out of their houſes, but, when any were taken captive, they redeemed them When they were aſked the reaſon of their acting in this manner, they anſwered, That they were commanded by their law to redeem the captives, but that they fought out of ſhame, leſt their chiefs ſhould be deſpiſed (1)

[h] The holy ſpirit] We muſt not imagine Mohammed here means the Holy Ghoſt, in the Chriſtian acceptation The commentators ſay, this ſpirit was the angel Gabriel, who ſanctified Jeſus, and conſtantly attended on him (2)

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(2) JALLALO'DDIN

with that which your ſouls deſire not, proudly reject him, and accuſe ſome of impoſture, and ſlay others? The Jews ſay, Our hearts are uncircumciſed. but GOD hath curſed them with their infidelity, therefore few ſhall believe. And when a book came unto them from GOD, confirming the ſcriptures which were with them, although they had before prayed for aſſiſtance againſt thoſe who believed not[i], yet when that came unto them which they knew to be from GOD, they would not believe therein therefore the curſe of GOD ſhall be on the infidels. For a vile price have they ſold their ſouls, that they ſhould not believe in that which GOD hath ſent down[k]; out of envy, becauſe GOD ſendeth down his favours to ſuch of his ſervants as he pleaſeth. therefore they brought on themſelves indignation on indignation, and the unbelievers ſhall ſuffer an ignominious puniſhment. When one ſaith unto them, believe in that which GOD hath ſent down; they anſwer, We believe in that which hath been ſent down unto us[l] and they reject what hath been revealed ſince, although it be the truth, confirming that which is with them Say, Why therefore have ye ſlain the prophets of GOD in times paſt, if ye be true believers? MOSES formerly came unto you with evident ſigns, but ye afterwards took the calf for your god, and did wickedly And when we accepted your covenant, and lifted the mountain of SINAI over you[m], ſaying, Receive the law which we have given you, with a reſolution to perform it, and hear; they ſaid, We have heard, and have rebelled and they were made to drink down the calf into their hearts[n] for their unbelief. Say, A grievous thing hath

[i] Although they had before prayed, &c] The Jews, in expectation of the coming of Mohammed, (according to the tradition of his followers,) uſed this prayer O God, help us againſt the unbelievers by the prophet, who is to be ſent in the laſt times (1)

[k] The Korân

[l] The Pentateuch

[m] See before p 13

[n] They were made to drink down the calf, &c] Moſes took the calf which they had made, and burnt it in the fire, and ground it to powder, and

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hath your faith commanded you, if ye be true believers[o]. Say, If the future manſion with GOD be prepared peculiarly for you, excluſive of the reſt of mankind, wiſh for death, if ye ſay truth. but they will never wiſh for it, becauſe of that which their hands have ſent before them[p], GOD knoweth the wicked doers, and thou ſhalt ſurely find them of all men the moſt covetous of life, even more than the idolaters. one of them would deſire his life to be prolonged a thouſand years, but none ſhall reprieve himſelf from puniſhment, that his life may be prolonged. GOD ſeeth that which they do. Say, Whoever is an enemy to GABRIEL[q], (for he hath cauſed the KORAN to deſcend on thy heart, by the permiſſion of GOD, confirming that which was before revealed, a direction, and good tidings to the faithful,) whoſoever is an enemy to GOD, or his angels, or his apoſtles, or to GABRIEL, or MICHAEL, verily GOD is an enemy to the unbelievers. And now we have ſent down unto thee evident

ſtrewed it upon the water (of the brook that deſcended from the mount,) and made the children of Iſrael drink of it (1)

[o] A grievous thing, &c.] Mohammed here infers, from their forefathers' diſobedience in worſhipping the calf, at the ſame time that they pretended to believe in the law of Moſes, that the faith of the Jews in his time was as vain and hypocritical, ſince they rejected him, who was foretold therein, as an impoſtor (2)

[p] Which their hands have ſent before them] That is, by reaſon of the wicked forgeries which they have been guilty of in reſpect to the ſcriptures An expreſſion much like that of St Paul, where he ſays, That ſome men's ſins are open before-hand, going before to judgment (3)

[q] Whoever is an enemy to Gabriel, &c.] The commentators ſay, that the Jews aſked, what angel it was that brought the divine revelations to Mohammed, and being told that it was Gabriel, they replied, that he was their enemy, and the meſſenger of wrath and puniſhment, but, if it had been Michael, they would have believed on him, becauſe that angel was their friend, and the meſſenger of peace and plenty And on this occaſion, they ſay, this paſſage was revealed (4)

That Michael was really the protector or guardian angel of the Jews, we know from ſcripture (5), and it ſeems that Gabriel was, as the Perſians call him, the angel of revelations, being frequently ſent on meſſages of that kind (6), for which reaſon, it is probable, Mohammed pretended he was the angel from whom he received the Koran

(1) Exod xxxii 20 Deut ix 21 (2) JALLALO'DDIN, YAHYA, al BEIDAWI (3) 1 Tim v 24 (4) JALLALO'DDIN, al ZAMAKH YAHYA (5) Dan xii 1 (6) Ibid ch viii 16 and ix 21 Luke i 19, 26 See Hyde de rel vet Perſar p 263

ſigns[r], and none will diſbelieve them but the evil-doers. Whenever they make a covenant, will ſome of them reject it? yea the greater part of them do not believe. And when there came unto them an apoſtle from GOD, confirming that ſcripture which was with them, ſome of thoſe to whom the ſcriptures were given, caſt the book of GOD behind their backs, as if they knew it not and they followed the device which the devils deviſed againſt the kingdom of SOLOMON[s], and SOLOMON was not an unbeliever, but the devils believed not, they taught men ſorcery, and that which was ſent down to the two angels at BABEL, HARUT and MARUT[t]. yet thoſe

[r] Evident ſigns] i e the revelations of this book

[s] They followed the device of the devils againſt Solomon, &c] The devils having, by GOD's permiſſion, tempted Solomon without ſucceſs, they made uſe of a trick to blaſt his character For they wrote ſeveral books of magic, and hid them under that prince's throne, and, after his death, told the chief men, that if they wanted to know by what means Solomon had obtained his abſolute power over men, genii, and the winds, they ſhould dig under his throne, which having done, they found the aforeſaid books, which contained impious ſuperſtitions The better ſort refuſed to learn the evil arts therein delivered, but the common people did, and the prieſts publiſhed this ſcandalous ſtory of Solomon, which obtained credit among the Jews, till GOD, ſay the Mohammedans, cleared that king by the mouth of their prophet, declaring that Solomon was no idolater (1)

[t] The devils taught ſorcery, and that which was ſent down to Harut and Marut, &c] Some ſay only that theſe were two magicians, or angels ſent by GOD to teach men magic, and to tempt them (2) But others tell a longer fable, that the angels expreſſing their ſurpriſe at the wickedneſs of the ſons of Adam, after prophets had been ſent to them with divine commiſſions, GOD bid them chooſe two out of their own number to be ſent down to be judges on earth Whereupon they pitched upon Harut and Marut, who executed their office with integrity for ſome time, till Zohara, or the planet Venus, deſcended, and appeared before them in the ſhape of a beautiful woman, bringing a complaint againſt her huſband, (though others ſay ſhe was a real woman) As ſoon as they ſaw her, they fell in love with her, and endeavoured to prevail on her to ſatisfy their deſires, but ſhe flew up again to heaven, whither the two angels alſo returned, but were not admitted However, on the interceſſion of a certain pious man, they were allowed to chooſe whether they would be puniſhed in this life, or in the other, whereupon they choſe the former, and now ſuffer puniſhment accordingly in Babel, where they are to remain till the day of judgment They add, that if a man has a fancy to learn magic, he may go to them, and hear their voice, but cannot ſee them (3)

This ſtory Mohammed took directly from the Perſian Magi, who mention

(1) YAHYA, JALLALO'DDIN (2) JALLALO'DDIN (3) YAHYA

thoſe two taught no man until they had ſaid, Verily we are a temptation, therefore be not an unbeliever. So men learned from thoſe two a charm by which they might cauſe diviſion between a man and his wife; but they hurt none thereby, unleſs by GOD's permiſſion, and they learned that which would hurt them, and not profit them, and yet they knew that he who bought that art ſhould have no part in the life to come, and woeful is the price for which they have ſold their ſouls, if they knew it. But if they had believed, and feared GOD, verily the reward they would have had from GOD would have been better, if they had known it. O true believers, ſay not to our apoſtle, RAINA; but ſay ONDHORNA[u], and hearken the infidels ſhall ſuffer a grievous puniſhment. It is not the deſire of the unbelievers, either among thoſe unto whom the ſcriptures have been given, or among the idolaters, that any good ſhould be ſent down unto you from your LORD but GOD will appropriate his mercy unto whom he pleaſeth, for GOD is exceeding beneficent. Whatever verſe we ſhall abrogate, or cauſe thee to forget, we will bring a better than it, or one like unto it. Doſt thou not know that GOD is almighty? Doſt thou not know that unto GOD belongeth the kingdom of heaven and earth? neither have ye any protector or helper except GOD. Will ye require of your apoſtle according to that which was formerly required of MOSES[w]? but he

mention two rebellious angels of the ſame names, now hung up by the feet, with their heads downwards, in the territory of Babel (1) And the Jews have ſomething like this, of the angel Shamhozai, who, having debauched himſelf with women, repented, and, by way of penance, hung himſelf up between heaven and earth (2)

[u] Say not unto our apoſtle, Raina, but Ondhorna] Thoſe two Arabic words have both the ſame ſignification, viz Look on us, and are a kind of ſalutation Mohammed had a great averſion to the firſt, becauſe the Jews frequently uſed it in deriſion, it being a word of reproach in their tongue (3) They alluded, it ſeems, to the Hebrew verb רוּעַ ruâ, which ſignifies to be bad or miſchievous

[w] What was formerly required of Moſes] Namely, to ſee GOD manifeſtly (4)

(1) V HYDE, ubi ſup cap 12 (2) Berreſhit rabbah, in Geneſ vi 2, (3) JALLALO'DDIN (4) See before p 13

that hath exchanged faith for infidelity, hath already erred from the ſtrait way. Many of thoſe unto whom the ſcriptures have been given, deſire to render you again unbelievers, after ye have believed, out of envy from their ſouls, even after the truth is become manifeſt unto them; but forgive them, and avoid them, till GOD ſhall ſend his command; for GOD is omnipotent. Be conſtant in prayer, and give alms, and what good ye have ſent before for your ſouls, ye ſhall find it with GOD; ſurely GOD ſeeth that which ye do. They ſay, Verily none ſhall enter paradiſe, except they who are Jews or Chriſtians[x] this is their wiſh. Say, Produce your proof of this, if ye ſpeak truth. Nay, but he who reſigneth himſelf[y] to GOD, and doth that which is right[z], he ſhall have his reward with his LORD, there ſhall come no fear on them, neither ſhall they be grieved. The Jews ſay, The Chriſtians are grounded on nothing[a], and the Chriſtians ſay, The Jews are grounded on nothing yet they both read the ſcriptures So likewiſe ſay they who know not the ſcripture, according to their ſaying. But GOD ſhall judge between them on the day of the reſurrection, concerning that about which they now diſagree. Who is more unjuſt than he who prohibiteth the temples of GOD[b], that his name

[x] None ſhall enter paradiſe, except Jews or Chriſtians] This paſſage was revealed on occaſion of a diſpute which Mohammed had with the Jews of Medina, and the Chriſtians of Najrân, each of them aſſerting, that thoſe of their religion only ſhould be ſaved (1)

[y] Reſigneth himſelf, &c] Literally, reſigneth his face, &c

[z] And doth that which is right, &c] That is, aſſerteth the unity of GOD (2)

[a] The Jews ſay, the Chriſtians are grounded on nothing, &c] The Jews and Chriſtians are here accuſed of denying the truth of each other's religion, notwithſtanding they read the ſcriptures Whereas the Pentateuch bears teſtimony to JESUS, and the Goſpel bears teſtimony to Moſes (3)

[b] Who prohibiteth the temples of GOD, &c] Or hindreth men from paying their adorations to GOD in thoſe ſacred places This paſſage, ſays Jallalo'ddin, was revealed on news being brought, that the Romans had ſpoiled the temple of Jeruſalem, or elſe when the idolatrous Arabs obſtructed Mohammed's viſiting the temple of Mecca, in the expedition of al Hodeibiya, which happened in the 6th year of the Hejra (4)

(1) JALLALO'DDIN (2) Idem. (3) Idem. (4) V ABU'LFEDÆ vit. Moham p 84, &c

ſhould

ſhould be remembered therein, and who haſteth to deſtroy them? Thoſe men cannot enter therein, but with fear: they ſhall have ſhame in this world, and in the next a grievous puniſhment. To GOD belongeth the eaſt and the weſt, therefore, whitherſoever ye turn yourſelves to pray, there is the face of GOD, for GOD is omnipreſent and omniſcient. They ſay, GOD hath begotten children[c] GOD forbid! To him belongeth whatever is in heaven, and on earth, all is poſſeſſed by him, the Creator of heaven and earth, and, when he decreeth a thing, he only ſaith unto it, Be, and it is. And they who know not the ſcriptures, ſay, Unleſs GOD ſpeak unto us, or thou ſhew us a ſign, we will not believe. So ſaid thoſe before them, according to their ſaying their hearts reſemble each other. We have already ſhewn manifeſt ſigns unto people who firmly believe, we have ſent thee in truth, a bearer of good tidings, and a preacher, and thou ſhalt not be queſtioned concerning the companions of hell. But the Jews will not be pleaſed with thee, neither the Chriſtians, until thou follow their religion, ſay, The direction of GOD is the true direction. And verily if thou follow their deſires, after the knowledge which hath been given thee, thou ſhall find no patron or protector againſt GOD. They to whom we have given the book of the KORAN, and who read it with its true reading, they believe therein; and whoever believeth not therein, they ſhall periſh. O children of ISRAEL, remember my favour wherewith I have favoured you, and that I have preferred you before all nations, and dread the day wherein one ſoul ſhall not make ſatisfaction for another ſoul, neither ſhall any compenſation be accepted from them, nor ſhall any interceſſion avail, neither ſhall they be helped. Remember when the LORD tried ABRAHAM

[c] They ſay GOD hath begotten children] This is ſpoken not only of the Chriſtians, and of the Jews, (for they are accuſed of holding Ozair, or Ezra, to be the ſon of GOD,) but alſo the pagan Arabs, who imagined the angels to be daughters of GOD

by certain words[d], which he fulfilled. GOD ſaid, Verily I will conſtitute thee a model of religion[e] unto mankind he anſwered, And alſo of my poſterity GOD ſaid, My covenant doth not comprehend the ungodly. And when we appointed the holy houſe[f] of MECCA to be a place of reſort for mankind, and a place of ſecurity, and ſaid, Take the ſtation of ABRAHAM[g] for a place of prayer; and we covenanted with ABRAHAM and ISMAEL, that they ſhould cleanſe my houſe for thoſe who ſhould compaſs it, and thoſe who ſhould be devoutly aſſiduous there, and thoſe who ſhould bow down and worſhip. And when ABRAHAM ſaid, LORD, make this a territory of ſecurity, and bounteouſly beſtow fruits on its inhabitants, ſuch of them as believe in GOD and the laſt day, GOD anſwered, And whoever believeth not, I will beſtow on him little, afterwards I will drive him to the puniſhment of hell-fire, an ill journey ſhall it be! And when ABRAHAM and ISMAEL raiſed the foundations of the houſe, ſaying, LORD, accept it from us, for thou art he who heareth and knoweth: LORD, make us alſo reſigned[h] unto thee, and of our poſterity a people reſigned unto thee, and ſhew us our holy ceremonies, and be turned unto us, for thou art eaſy to be reconciled, and merci-

[d] When the LORD tried Abraham, &c.] GOD tried Abraham chiefly by commanding him to leave his native country, and to offer his ſon But the commentators ſuppoſe the trial here meant related only to ſome particular ceremonies, ſuch as circumciſion, pilgrimage to the Caaba, ſeveral rites of purification, and the like (1)

[e] A model of religion] I have rather expreſſed the meaning, than truly tranſlated the Arabic word Imam, which anſwers to the Latin Antiſtes This title the Mohammedans give to their prieſts, who begin the prayers in their Moſques, and whom all the congregation follow

[f] The holy houſe, &c.] That is, the Caaba, which is uſually called, by way of eminence, the Houſe Of the ſanctity of this building, and other particulars relating to it, ſee the Preliminary Diſcourſe, ſect IV

[g] The ſtation of Abraham, &c.] A place ſo called within the inner incloſure of the Caaba where they pretend to ſhew the print of his foot in a ſtone (2)

[h] Reſigned] The Arabic word is Moſlemuna, in the ſingular, Moſlem, which the Mohammedans take as a title peculiar to themſelves The Europeans generally write and pronounce it Muſulman

(1) JALLALO'DDIN. (2) See the Prelim Diſ ſect IV.

ful:

ful LORD, ſend them likewiſe an apoſtle from among them, who may declare thy ſigns unto them, and teach them the book of the KORAN and wiſdom, and may purify them, for thou art mighty and wiſe. Who will be averſe to the religion of ABRAHAM, but he whoſe mind is infatuated? Surely we have choſen him in this world, and in that which is to come he ſhall be one of the righteous. When his LORD ſaid unto him, Reſign thyſelf unto me, he anſwered, I have reſigned myſelf unto the LORD of all creatures And ABRAHAM bequeathed this religion to his children, and JACOB did the ſame, ſaying, My children, verily GOD hath choſen this religion for you, therefore die not, unleſs ye alſo be reſigned Were ye preſent when JACOB was at the point of death? when he ſaid to his ſons, Whom will ye worſhip after me? They anſwered, We will worſhip thy GOD, and the GOD of thy fathers ABRAHAM, and ISMAEL, and ISAAC, one GOD, and to him will we be reſigned. That people are now paſſed away, they have what they have gained[1], and ye ſhall have what ye gain, and ye ſhall not be queſtioned concerning that which they have done They ſay, Become Jews or Chriſtians, that ye may be directed. Say, Nay, we follow the religion of ABRAHAM the orthodox, who was no idolater Say, We believe in GOD, and that which hath been ſent down unto us, and that which hath been ſent down unto ABRAHAM, and ISMAEL, and ISAAC, and JACOB, and the tribes, and that which was delivered unto MOSES, and JESUS, and that which was delivered unto the prophets from their LORD we make no diſtinction between any of them, and to GOD are we reſigned. Now, if they believe according to what ye believe, they are ſurely directed; but, if they turn back, they are in ſchiſm. GOD ſhall ſupport thee

[1] What they have gained] Or deſerved The Mohammedan notion, as to the imputation of moral actions to man, which they call gain, or acquiſition, is ſufficiently explained in the Preliminary Diſcourſe

againſt

againſt them, for he is the hearer, the wiſe. The baptiſm of GOD[k] have we received, and who is better than GOD to baptize? him do we worſhip. Say, Will ye diſpute with us concerning GOD[l], who is our LORD, and your LORD? we have our works, and ye have your works, and unto him are we ſincerely devoted. Will ye ſay, truly ABRAHAM, and ISMAEL, and ISSAAC, and JACOB, and the tribes were Jews or Chriſtians? Say, Are ye wiſer, or GOD? And who is more unjuſt than he who hideth the teſtimony which he hath received from GOD[m]? But GOD is not regardleſs of that which ye do That people are paſſed away, they have what they have gained, and ye ſhall have what ye gain, nor ſhall ye be queſtioned concerning that which they have done * The fooliſh men will ſay, What hath turned them from their KEBLAH, towards which they formerly prayed[n]? Say, Unto GOD belongeth the eaſt and the weſt he directeth whom he pleaſeth into the right way Thus have we placed you, O ARABIANS, an intermediate nation[o], that ye may be witneſſes againſt the reſt

[k] The baptiſm of GOD] By baptiſm is to be underſtood the religion which GOD inſtituted in the beginning, becauſe the ſigns of it appear in the perſon who profeſſes it, as the ſigns of water appear in the clothes of him that is baptiſed (1)

[l] Will ye diſpute with us concerning GOD?] Theſe words were revealed, becauſe the Jews inſiſted, that they firſt received the ſcriptures, that their KEBLAH was more ancient, and that no prophets could ariſe among the Arabs and therefore, if Mohammed was a prophet, he muſt have been of their nation (2)

[m] Who hideth the teſtimony, &c] The Jews are again accuſed of corrupting and ſuppreſſing the prophecies in the Pentateuch relating to Mohammed

[n] What hath turned them from their KEBLAH, &c] At firſt Mohammed and his followers obſerved no particular rite in turning their faces towards any certain place, or quarter of the world, when they prayed, it being declared to be perfectly indifferent (3) Afterwards, when the prophet fled to Medina, he directed them to turn towards the temple of Jeruſalem, (probably to ingratiate himſelf with the Jews,) which continued to be their KEBLAH for ſix or ſeven months, but either finding the Jews too intractable, or deſpairing otherwiſe to gain the pagan Arabs, who could not forget their reſpect to the temple of Mecca, he ordered that prayers for the future ſhould be towards the laſt This change was made in the ſecond year of the Hejra (4), and occaſioned many to fall from him, taking offence at his inconſtancy (5)

[o] An intermediate nation, &c] This ſeems to be the ſenſe of the words, though the commentators (6) will have the meaning to be, that the Arabians are here declared to be a moſt juſt and good nation

(1) JALLALO'DDIN (2) Idem (3) See before, p 23 (4) V ABULF vit Moham. p 54 (5) JALLALO'DDIN. (6) Idem, YAHYA, &c.

of

of mankind, and that the apoſtle may be a witneſs againſt you. We appointed the KEBLAH towards which thou didſt formerly pray, only that we might know him who followeth the apoſtle, from him who turneth back on his heels [p], though this change ſeem a greater matter, unleſs unto thoſe whom GOD hath directed. But GOD will not render your faith of none effect [q], for GOD is gracious and merciful unto man. We have ſeen thee turn about thy face towards heaven with uncertainty, but we will cauſe thee to turn thyſelf towards a KEBLAH that will pleaſe thee Turn therefore thy face towards the holy temple of MECCA, and, wherever ye be, turn your faces towards that place. They to whom the ſcripture hath been given, know this to be truth from their LORD. GOD is not regardleſs of that which ye do. Verily, although thou ſhouldeſt ſhew unto thoſe, to whom the ſcripture hath been given, all kinds of ſigns, yet they will not follow thy KEBLAH, neither ſhalt thou follow their KEBLAH, nor will one part of them follow the KEBLAH of the other. And, if thou follow their deſires, after the knowledge which hath been given thee, verily thou wilt become one of the ungodly They to whom we have given the ſcripture, know our apoſtle, even as they know their own children, but ſome of them hide the truth againſt their own knowledge Truth is from thy LORD, therefore thou ſhalt not doubt Every ſect hath a certain tract of heaven to which they turn themſelves in prayer, but do ye ſtrive to run after good things wherever ye be, GOD will bring you all back at the reſurrection, for GOD is almighty And, from what place ſoever thou comeſt forth, turn thy face towards the holy temple, for this is truth from thy LORD, neither is GOD regardleſs of that which ye do. From what place ſoever thou comeſt forth, turn thy face towards the holy temple, and

[p] Who turneth back on his heels] i e returneth to Judaiſm

[q] God will not render your faith of none effect] Or will not ſuffer it to go without its reward, while ye prayed towards Jeruſalem

wherever

wherever ye be, thitherward turn your faces, leſt men have matter of diſpute againſt you but as for thoſe among them who are unjuſt doers, fear them not, but fear me, that I may accompliſh my grace upon you, and that ye may be directed. As we have ſent unto you an apoſtle from among you[r], to rehearſe our ſigns unto you, and to purify you, and to teach you the book of the KORAN and wiſdom, and to teach you that which ye knew not therefore remember me, and I will remember you, and give thanks unto me, and be not unbelievers. O true believers, beg aſſiſtance with patience and prayer, for GOD is with the patient. And ſay not of thoſe who are ſlain in fight for the religion of GOD[s], that they are dead, yea, they are living[t] but ye do not underſtand We will ſurely prove you by afflicting you in ſome meaſure with fear, and hunger, and decreaſe of wealth, and loſs of lives, and ſcarcity of fruits but bear good tidings unto the patient, who, when a misfortune befalleth them, ſay, We are GOD's, and unto him ſhall we ſurely return[u] Upon them ſhall be bleſſings from their LORD and mercy, and they are the rightly directed Moreover SAFA and MERWAH are two of the monuments of GOD whoever therefore goeth on pilgrimage to the temple of MECCA, or viſiteth it, it ſhall be no crime in him if he compaſs them both[w]. And as for him who voluntarily performeth

[r] An apoſtle from among you] That is of your own nation

[s] Who are ſlain in fight for the religion of GOD] The original words are literally, Who are ſlain the Way of GOD, by which expreſſion, frequently occurring in the Korân, is always meant war undertaken againſt unbelievers for the propagation of the Mohammedan faith

[t] They are living] The ſouls of martyrs (for ſuch they eſteem thoſe who die in battle againſt infidels) ſays Jallalo'ddin, are in the crops of green birds, which have liberty to fly wherever they pleaſe in paradiſe, and feed on the fruits thereof

[u] We are GOD's, and unto him ſhall we ſurely return] An expreſſion frequently in the mouths of the Mohammedans, when under any great affliction, or in any imminent danger

[w] Whoever goeth on pilgrimage to Mecca, it ſhall be no crime in him if he compaſs them both] Safa and Merwah are two mountains near Mecca, whereon were anciently two idols, to which the pagan Arabs uſed to pay a ſuperſtitious veneration (1) Jallalo'ddin ſays this paſſage was revealed

(1) See the Prelim Dif p 38

performeth a good work, verily GOD is grateful and knowing. They who conceal any of the evident ſigns, or the direction which we have ſent down, after what we have manifeſted unto men in the ſcripture, GOD ſhall curſe them, and they who curſe ſhall curſe them [x]. But as for thoſe who repent and amend, and make known what they concealed, I will be turned unto them, for I am eaſy to be reconciled and merciful Surely they who believe not, and die in their unbelief, upon them ſhall be the curſe of GOD, and of the angels, and of all men, they ſhall remain under it for ever, their puniſhment ſhall not be alleviated, neither ſhall they be regarded [y] Your GOD is one GOD, there is no GOD but He, the moſt merciful Now in the creation of heaven and earth, and the viciſſitude of night and day, and in the ſhip which ſaileth in the ſea, loaden with what is profitable for mankind, and in the rain-water which GOD ſendeth from heaven, quickening thereby the dead earth, and repleniſhing the ſame with all ſorts of cattle, and in the change of winds, and the clouds that are compelled to do ſervice [z] between heaven and earth, are ſigns

vealed becauſe the followers of Mohammed made a ſcruple of going round theſe mountains, as the idolaters did But the true reaſon of his allowing this relic of ancient ſuperſtition, ſeems to be the difficulty he found in preventing it Abu'l Kaſem Hebato'llah thinks theſe laſt words are abrogated by thoſe other, Who will reject the religion of Abraham, except he who hath infatuated his ſoul (1)? So that he will have the meaning to be quite contrary to the letter, as if it had been, It ſhall be no crime in him if he do not compaſs them. However, the expoſitors are all againſt him (2), and the ceremony of running between theſe two hills is ſtill obſerved at the pilgrimage (3)

[x] They who curſe ſhall curſe them] That is, the angels, the believers, and all things in general (4) But Yahya interprets it of the curſes which will be given to the wicked, when they cry out becauſe of the puniſhment of the ſepulchre (5), by all who hear them, that is, by all creatures, except men and genii

[y] Regarded] Or, as Jallalo'ddin expounds it, GOD will not wait for their repentance

[z] Compelled] The original word ſignifies properly, That are preſſed or compelled to do perſonal ſervice without hire, which kind of ſervice is often exacted by the eaſtern princes of their ſubjects, and is called, by the Greek and Latin writers, Angaria

The

(1) See before p 25. (2) V MARRACC in Alc p. 69, &c (3) See the Prelim Diſ. ſect. IV. (4) JALLALO'DDIN (5) See Prelim. Diſ. ſect. IV.

ſigns to people of underſtanding yet ſome men take idols beſide GOD, and love them as with the love due to GOD, but the true believers are more fervent in love towards GOD. Oh that they who act unjuſtly did perceive[a], when they behold their puniſhment, that all power belongeth unto GOD, and that he is ſevere in puniſhing! When thoſe who have been followed, ſhall ſeparate themſelves from their followers[b], and ſhall ſee the puniſhment, and the cords of relation between them ſhall be cut in ſunder; the followers ſhall ſay, If we could return to life, we would ſeparate ourſelves from them, as they have now ſeparated themſelves from us. So GOD will ſhew them their works, they ſhall ſigh grievouſly, and ſhall not come forth from the fire of hell. O men, eat of that which is lawful and good on the earth, and tread not in the ſteps of the devil, for he is your open enemy. Verily he commandeth you evil and wickedneſs, and that ye ſhould ſay that of GOD which ye know not And when it is ſaid unto them who believe not, Follow that which GOD hath ſent down, they anſwer, Nay, but we will follow that which we found our fathers practiſe. What? though their fathers knew nothing, and were not rightly directed? The unbelievers are like unto one who crieth aloud to that which heareth not ſo much as his calling, or the ſound of his voice. They are deaf, dumb, and blind, therefore do they not underſtand. O true believers, eat of the good things which we have beſtowed on you for food, and return thanks unto GOD, if ye ſerve him. Verily he hath

The ſcripture often mentions this ſort of compulſion or force (1)

[a] Oh that they who act unjuſtly did perceive, &c] Or it may be tranſlated, Although the ungodly will perceive, &c But ſome copies, inſtead of yara, in the third perſon, read tara, in the ſecond, and then it muſt be rendered, Oh, if thou didſt ſee when the ungodly behold their puniſhment, &c

[b] When thoſe who have followed ſhall ſeparate themſelves from their followers, &c] That is, when the broachers or heads of new ſects ſhall at the laſt day forſake or waſh their hands of their diſciples, as if they were not accomplices in their ſuperſtitions

(1) Matt v 41 xxvii 32, &c

forbidden

forbidden you to eat that which dieth of itſelf, and blood, and ſwine's fleſh, and that on which any other name but GOD's hath been invocated[c]. But he who is forced by neceſſity, not luſting, nor returning to tranſgreſs, it ſhall be no crime in him if he eat of thoſe things, for GOD is gracious and merciful. Moreover, they who conceal any part of the ſcripture which GOD hath ſent down unto them, and ſell it for a ſmall price, they ſhall ſwallow into their bellies nothing but fire, GOD ſhall not ſpeak unto them on the day of reſurrection, neither ſhall he purify them, and they ſhall ſuffer a grievous puniſhment These are they who have ſold direction for error, and pardon for puniſhment but how great will their ſuffering be in the fire! This they ſhall endure, becauſe GOD ſent down the book of the KORAN with truth; and they who diſagree concerning that book are certainly in a wide miſtake. It is not righteouſneſs that ye turn your faces in prayer towards the eaſt and the weſt, but righteouſneſs is of him who believeth in GOD and the laſt day, and the angels, and the ſcriptures, and the prophets, who giveth money for GOD's ſake unto his kindred, and unto orphans, and the needy, and the ſtranger, and thoſe who aſk, and for redemption of captives; who is conſtant at prayer, and giveth alms, and of thoſe who perform their covenant, when they have covenanted, and who behave themſelves patiently in adverſity, and hardſhips, and in time of violence: theſe are they who are true, and theſe are they who fear GOD. O true believers, the law of retaliation is ordained you for the ſlain: the free ſhall die for the free, and the ſervant for the ſervant, and a woman for a woman[d] but he

[c] For this reaſon, whenever the Mohammedans kill any animal for food, they always ſay Biſmi'llah, or, In the name of GOD, which, if it be neglected, they think it not lawful to eat of it

[d] A woman for a woman] This is not to be ſtrictly taken, for, according to the Sonna, a man alſo is to be put to death for the murder of a woman Regard is alſo to be had to difference in religion, ſo that a Mohammedan, though a ſlave is not to be put to death for an infidel, though a freeman (1) But the civil magiſtrates do not think themſelves always obliged to conform to this laſt determination of the Sonna

(1) JALLALO'DDIN.

whom his brother ſhall forgive, may be proſecuted, and obliged to make ſatisfaction according to what is juſt, and a fine ſhall be ſet on him[e] with humanity. This is indulgence from your LORD, and mercy. And he who ſhall tranſgreſs after this, by killing the murtherer, ſhall ſuffer a grievous puniſhment. And in this law of retaliation ye have life, O ye of underſtanding! that peradventure ye may fear. It is ordained you, when any of you is at the point of death, if he leave any goods, that he bequeath a legacy to his parents, and kindred, according to what ſhall be reaſonable[f]. This is a duty incumbent on thoſe who fear GOD. But he who ſhall change the legacy, after he hath heard it bequeathed by the dying perſon, ſurely the ſin thereof ſhall be on thoſe who change it, for GOD is he who heareth and knoweth Howbeit he who apprehendeth from the teſtator any miſtake or injuſtice, and ſhall compoſe the matter between them, that ſhall be no crime in him, for GOD is gracious and merciful. O true believers, a faſt is ordained you, as it was ordained unto thoſe before you, that ye may fear GOD A certain number of days ſhall ye faſt but he among you who ſhall be ſick, or on a journey, ſhall faſt an equal number of other days and thoſe who can[g] keep it, and do not, muſt redeem their neglect

[e] This is the common practice in Mohammedan countries, particularly in Perſia (1), where the relations of the deceaſed may take their choice, either to have the murtherer put into their hands, to be put to death, or elſe to accept of a pecuniary ſatisfaction

[f] That he bequeath a legacy to his parents and kindred, according to what ſhall be reaſonable, &c] That is, the legacy was not to exceed a third part of the teſtator's ſubſtance, nor to be given where there was no neceſſity But this injunction is abrogated by the law concerning inheritances

[g] Thoſe who can keep it, and do not, &c] The expoſitors differ much about the meaning of this paſſage, thinking it very improbable that people ſhould be left entirely at liberty either to faſt or not, on compounding for it in this manner Jallalo'ddin therefore ſuppoſes the negative particle not to be underſtood, and that this is allowed only to thoſe who are not able to faſt, by reaſon of age or dangerous ſickneſs but afterwards he ſays, that, in the beginning of Mohammediſm, it was free for them to chooſe whether they would faſt or maintain a poor man, which liberty was ſoon after taken away, and this paſſage

(1) V CHARDIN, Voyage de Perſe. tom II p 299, &c

neglect by maintaining of a poor man [h]. And he who voluntarily dealeth better with the poor man than he is obliged, this ſhall be better for him. But if ye faſt it will be better for you, if ye knew it. The month of RAMADAN ſhall ye faſt, in which the KORAN was ſent down from heaven [i], a direction unto men, and declarations of direction, and the diſtinction between good and evil. Therefore let him among you who ſhall be preſent [k] in this month, faſt the ſame month but he who ſhall be ſick, or on a journey, ſhall faſt the like number of other days. GOD would make this an eaſe unto you, and would not make it a difficulty unto you, that ye may fulfil the number of days, and glorify GOD, for that he hath directed you, and that ye may give thanks. When my ſervants aſk thee concerning me, Verily I am near; I will hear the prayer of him that prayeth, when he prayeth unto me but let them hearken unto me, and believe in me, that they may be rightly directed. It is lawful for you on the night of the faſt to go in unto your wives [l], they are a garment [m] unto you, and ye are a garment unto them GOD knoweth that ye defraud yourſelves therein, wherefore he turneth unto you, and forgiveth you. Now therefore go in

paſſage abrogated by the following Therefore let him who ſhall be preſent in this month, faſt the ſame month Yet this abrogation, he ſays, does not extend to women with child, or that give ſuck, leſt the infant ſuffer

Al Zamakhſhari, having firſt given an explanation of Ebn Abbas, who, by a different interpretation of the Arabic word Yotikunaho, which ſignifies Can or are able to faſt, renders it, Thoſe who find great difficulty therein, &c adds an expoſition of his own, by ſuppoſing ſomething to be underſtood, according to which the ſenſe will be, Thoſe who can faſt, and yet have a legal excuſe to break it, muſt redeem it, &c

[h] By maintaining of a poor man] —According to the uſual quantity which a man eats in a day, and the cuſtom of the country (1)

[i] See the Prelim Diſc Sect II

[k] Who ſhall be preſent]—i e at home, and not in a ſtrange country, where the faſt cannot be performed, or on a journey

[l] It is lawful for you on the faſt to go in unto your wives by night]—In the beginning of Mohammediſm, during the faſt, they neither lay with their wives, nor ate nor drank after ſupper But both are permitted by this paſſage (2)

[m] They are a garment unto you, &c]—A metaphorical expreſſion, to ſignify the mutual comfort a man and his wife find in each other

(1) JALLALO'DDIN (2) JALLALO'DDIN

unto them, and earneſtly deſire that which GOD ordaineth you, and eat and drink, until ye can plainly diſtinguiſh a white thread from a black thread by the day break then keep the faſt until night, and go not in unto them, but be conſtantly preſent in the places of worſhip. Theſe are the preſcribed bounds of GOD, therefore draw not near them to tranſgreſs them. Thus GOD declareth his ſigns unto men, that they may fear him. Conſume not your wealth among yourſelves in vain, nor preſent it unto judges, that ye may devour part of men's ſubſtance unjuſtly, againſt your own conſciences. They will aſk thee concerning the phaſes of the moon anſwer, They are times appointed unto men, and to ſhew the ſeaſon of the pilgrimage to MECCA. It is not righteouſneſs that ye enter your houſes by the back parts thereof[n], but righteouſneſs is of him who feareth GOD. Therefore enter your houſes by their doors, and fear GOD, that ye may be happy. And fight for the religion of GOD againſt thoſe who fight againſt you, but tranſgreſs not by attacking them firſt, for GOD loveth not the tranſgreſſors. And kill them wherever ye find them, and turn them out of that whereof they have diſpoſſeſſed you, for temptation to idolatry is more grievous than ſlaughter yet fight not againſt them in the holy temple, until they attack you therein, but if they attack you, ſlay them there. This ſhall be the reward of the infidels. But if they deſiſt, GOD is gracious and merciful. Fight therefore againſt them, until there be no temptation to idolatry, and the religion be GOD's but if they deſiſt, then let there be no hoſtility, except againſt the ungodly A ſacred month for a ſacred month[o], and the holy limits of MECCA, if they attack you therein, do ye alſo attack them therein in retalia-

[n] Some of the Arabs had a ſuperſtitious cuſtom after they had been at Mecca (in pilgrimage, as it ſeems) on their return home, not to enter their houſe by the old door, but to make a hole through the back part for a paſſage, which practice is here reprehended

[o] As to theſe ſacred months, wherein it was unlawful for the ancient Arabs to attack one another, ſee the Prelim Diſc ſect VII

tion;

tion, and whoever tranſgreſſeth againſt you by ſo doing, do ye tranſgreſs againſt him in like manner as he hath tranſgreſſed againſt you, and fear GOD, and know that GOD is with thoſe who fear him. Contribute out of your ſubſtance toward the defence of the religion of GOD, and throw not yourſelves with your own hands into perdition[p], and do good, for GOD loveth thoſe who do good. Perform the pilgrimage of MECCA, and the viſitation of GOD, and, if ye be beſieged, ſend that offering which ſhall be the eaſieſt, and ſhave not your heads[q], until your offering reacheth the place of ſacrifice. But, whoever among you is ſick, or is troubled with any diſtemper of the head, muſt redeem the ſhaving his head by faſting, or alms, or ſome offering[r] When ye are ſecure from enemies, he who tarrieth in the viſitation of the temple of MECCA, until the pilgrimage, ſhall bring that offering which ſhall be the eaſieſt[s]. But he who findeth not any thing to offer, ſhall faſt three days in the pilgrimage, and ſeven when ye are returned they ſhall be ten days complete This is incumbent on him, whoſe family ſhall not be preſent at the holy temple. And fear GOD, and know that GOD is ſevere in puniſhing. The pilgrimage muſt be performed in the known months[t] whoſoever, therefore, purpoſeth to go on pilgrimage therein, let him not know a woman, nor tranſgreſs, nor quarrel in the pilgrimage. The

[p] And throw not yourſelves away, &c]—i e Be not acceſſary to your own deſtruction, by neglecting your contributions towards the wars againſt infidels, and thereby ſuffering them to gather ſtrength

[q] Shave not your heads, &c]—For this was a ſign they had completed their vow, and performed all the ceremonies of the pilgrimage (1)

[r] Shall redeem the ſhaving his head by faſting, &c]—That is, either by faſting three days, or feeding ſix poor people, or ſacrificing a ſheep

[s] He who tarrieth, &c]—This paſſage is ſomewhat obſcure Yahya interprets it of him who marries a wife during the viſitation, and performs the pilgrimage the year following But Jallalo'ddin expounds it of him who ſtays within the ſacred incloſures, in order to complete the ceremonies, which (as it ſhould ſeem) he had not been able to do within the preſcribed time

[t] The known months]—i e Shawâl, Dhu'lkaada, and Dhu'lhajja See Prelim Diſc ſect IV

(1) JALLALO'DDIN

good which ye do, GOD knoweth it. Make proviſion for your journey, but the beſt proviſion is piety: and fear me, O ye of underſtanding. It ſhall be no crime in you, if ye ſeek an increaſe from your LORD, by trading during the pilgrimage. And when ye go in proceſſion[u] from ARAFAT[w], remember GOD near the holy monument[x], and remember him for that he hath directed you, although ye were before this of the number of thoſe who go aſtray. Therefore go in proceſſion from whence the people go in proceſſion, and aſk pardon of GOD, for GOD is gracious and merciful. And when ye have finiſhed your holy ceremonies, remember GOD according as ye remember your fathers, or with a more reverend commemoration. There are ſome men who ſay, O LORD, give us our portion in this world, but ſuch ſhall have no portion in the next life. and there are others who ſay, O LORD, give us good in this world, and alſo good in the next world, and deliver us from the torment of hell-fire. They ſhall have a portion of that which they have gained: GOD is ſwift in taking an account[y]. Remember GOD the appointed number of days[z] but if any haſte to depart from the valley of MINA in two days, it ſhall be no crime in him. And if any tarry longer, it ſhall

[u] When ye go in proceſſion]—The original word ſignifies To ruſh forward impetuouſly, as the pilgrims do when they proceed from Arafat to Mozdalifa

[w] Arafat]——A mountain near Mecca, ſo called becauſe Adam there met and knew his wife, after a long ſeparation (1) Yet others ſay that Gabriel, after he had inſtructed Abraham in all the ſacred ceremonies, coming to Arafât, there aſked him if he knew the ceremonies which had been ſhewn him, to which Abraham anſwering in the affirmative, the mountain had thence its name (2)

[x] The holy monument]—In Arabic, al Maſher al harâm It is a mountain in the farther part of Mozdalifa, where it is ſaid Mohammed ſtood praying and praiſing GOD, till his face became extremely ſhining (3) Bobovius calls it Farkh (4), but the true name ſeems to be Kazah, the variation being occaſioned only by the different pointing of the Arabic letters

[y] GOD is ſwift in taking an account]—For he will judge all creatures, ſays Jallalo'ddin, in the ſpace of half a day

[z] The appointed number of days] i e Three days after ſlaying the ſacrifices

(1) See before p 8 not e. (2) Al HASAN (3) JALLALO'DDIN. (4) BOBOV de Peregr Meccana, p 15

be no crime in him, in him who feareth GOD. Therefore fear GOD, and know that unto him ye ſhall be gathered There is a man who cauſeth thee to marvel [a] by his ſpeech concerning this preſent life, and calleth GOD to witneſs that which is in his heart, yet he is moſt intent in oppoſing thee, and, when he turneth away from thee, he haſteth to act corruptly in the earth, and to deſtroy that which is ſown, and ſpringeth up [b]. but GOD loveth not corrupt doing. And if one ſay unto him, Fear GOD, pride ſeizeth him, together with wickedneſs; but hell ſhall be his reward, and an unhappy couch ſhall it be. There is alſo a man who ſelleth his ſoul for the ſake of thoſe things which are pleaſing unto GOD [c]; and GOD is gracious unto his ſervants. O true believers, enter into the true religion wholly, and follow not the ſteps of SATAN, for he is your open enemy. If ye have ſlipped after the declarations of our will have come unto you, know that GOD is mighty and wiſe. Do the infidels expect leſs than that GOD ſhould come down to them overſhadowed with clouds, and the angels alſo? but the thing is decreed, and to GOD ſhall all things return. Aſk the children of ISRAEL how many evident ſigns we have ſhewed them, and whoever ſhall change the grace of GOD, after it ſhall have come unto him, verily GOD will be ſevere in puniſhing him. The preſent life was ordained for thoſe who believe not, and they laugh the faithful to ſcorn, but they who fear GOD ſhall be above them, on the day of the reſurrection for GOD is

[a] There is a man who cauſeth thee to marvel, &c.] This perſon was al Akhnas Ebn Shoraik, a fair ſpoken diſſembler, who ſwore that he believed in Mohammed, and pretended to be one of his friends, and to contemn this world But GOD here reveals to the prophet his hypocriſy and wickedneſs (1)

[b] He haſteth to act corruptly, and to deſtroy that which is ſown, &c.] Setting fire to his neighbour's corn, and killing his aſſes by night (2)

[c] There is a man who ſelleth his ſoul, &c.] The perſon here meant was one Soheib, who, being perſecuted by the idolaters of Mecca, forſook all he had, and fled to Medina (3)

(1) JALLALO'DDIN (2) Idem. (3) Idem.

bountiful unto whom he pleaſeth without meaſure. Mankind was of one faith, and GOD ſent prophets bearing good tidings, and denouncing threats, and ſent down with them the ſcripture in truth, that it might judge between men of that concerning which they diſagreed. and none diſagreed concerning it, except thoſe to whom the ſame ſcriptures were delivered, after the declarations of GOD's will had come unto them out of envy among themſelves. And GOD directed thoſe who believed, to that truth concerning which they diſagreed, by his will for GOD directeth whom he pleaſeth into the right way. Did ye think ye ſhould enter paradiſe, when as yet no ſuch thing had happened unto you, as hath happened unto thoſe who have been before you? They ſuffered calamity, and tribulation, and were afflicted, ſo that the apoſtle, and they who believed with him, ſaid, When will the help of GOD come? Is not the help of GOD nigh? They will aſk thee what they ſhall beſtow in alms Anſwer, The good which ye beſtow, let it be given to parents and kindred, and orphans, and the poor, and the ſtranger. Whatſoever good ye do, GOD knoweth it. War is injoined you againſt the infidels, but this is hateful unto you. yet perchance ye hate a thing which is better for you, and perchance ye love a thing which is worſe for you, but GOD knoweth, and ye know not. They will aſk thee concerning the ſacred month, whether they may war therein Anſwer, To war therein is grievous, but to obſtruct the way of GOD, and infidelity towards him, and to keep men from the holy temple, and to drive out his people from thence, is more grievous in the ſight of GOD, and the temptation to idolatry is more grievous than to kill in the ſacred months. They will not ceaſe to war againſt you, until they turn you from your religion, if they be able. but whoever among you ſhall turn back from his religion, and die an infidel, their works ſhall be vain in this world, and the next, they ſhall be the companions of hell-fire,

fire, they ſhall remain therein for ever. But they who believe, and who fly for the ſake of religion, and fight in GOD's cauſe, they ſhall hope for the mercy of GOD, for GOD is gracious and merciful. They will aſk thee concerning wine[d] and lots[e]. Anſwer, In both there is great ſin, and alſo ſome things of uſe unto men[f]. but their ſinfulneſs is greater than their uſe. They will aſk thee alſo what they ſhall beſtow in alms: Anſwer, What ye have to ſpare. Thus GOD ſheweth his ſigns unto you, that peradventure ye might ſeriouſly think of this preſent world, and of the next. They will alſo aſk thee concerning orphans. Anſwer, To deal righteouſly with them is beſt, and if ye intermeddle with the management of what belongs to them, do them no wrong, they are your brethren: GOD knoweth the corrupt dealer from the righteous; and if GOD pleaſe, he will ſurely diſtreſs you[g], for GOD is mighty and wiſe. Marry not women who are idolaters, until they believe verily a maid-ſervant who believeth, is better than an idolatreſs, although ſhe pleaſe you more And give not women who believe in marriage to the idolaters, until they believe, for verily a ſervant, who is a true believer, is better than an idolater, though he pleaſe you more. They invite unto hell fire, but GOD inviteth unto paradiſe and pardon through his will, and de-

[d] Wine] Under the name of wine all ſorts of ſtrong and inebriating liquors are comprehended (1)

[e] Lots] The original word, al Meiſer, properly ſignifies a particular game performed with arrows, and much in uſe with the Pagan Arabs But by lots we are here to underſtand all games whatſoever which are ſubject to chance or hazard, as dice, cards, &c (2)

[f] In both there is great ſin, and alſo ſome things of uſe] From theſe words ſome ſuppoſe that only drinking to exceſs and too frequent gaming are prohibited (3) And the moderate uſe of wine they alſo think is allowed by theſe words of the 16th chapter And of the fruits of palm-trees and grapes ye obtain inebriating drink, and alſo good nouriſhment But the more received opinion is, that both drinking wine or other ſtrong liquors in any quantity, and playing at any game of chance, are abſolutely forbidden (4)

[g] GOD will ſurely diſtreſs you] viz By his curſe, which will certainly bring to nothing what ye ſhall wrong the orphans of

(1) See the Prelim Diſc ſect V (2) See ibid (3) V JALLALO'DDIN and al ZAMAKHSHARI (4) See the Prelim Diſc ubi ſup

clareth his ſigns unto men, that they may remember. They will aſk thee alſo concerning the courſes of women. Anſwer, They are a pollution therefore ſeparate yourſelves from women in their courſes, and go not near them until they be cleanſed. But when they are cleanſed, go in unto them as GOD hath commanded you [h], for GOD loveth thoſe who repent, and loveth thoſe who are clean. Your wives are your tillage; go in therefore unto your tillage in what manner ſoever ye will [i], and do firſt ſome act that may be profitable unto your ſouls [k], and fear GOD, and know that ye muſt meet him; and bear good tidings unto the faithful. Make not GOD the object of your oaths [l], that ye will deal juſtly, and be devout, and make peace among men [m], for GOD is he who heareth and knoweth GOD will not puniſh you for an inconſiderate word [n] in your oaths; but he will puniſh you for that which your hearts have aſſented unto GOD is merciful and gracious. They who vow to abſtain from their wives, are allowed to wait four months [o], but if they go back

[h] As God hath commanded you] But not while they have their courſes, nor by uſing prepoſterous venery (1)

[i] In what manner ſoever ye will] That is, in any poſture, either ſtanding, ſitting, lying, forwards, or backwards And this paſſage, it is ſaid, was revealed to anſwer the Jews, who pretended that if a man lay with his wife backwards, he would get a more witty child (2) It has been imagined that theſe words allow that prepoſterous luſt, which the commentators ſay is forbidden by the preceding, but I queſtion whether this can be proved

[k] Do firſt ſome act that may profit your ſoul] i e Perform ſome act of devotion or charity

[l] Make not GOD the object of your oaths] i e So as to ſwear frequently by him The word tranſlated object, properly ſignifies a butt to ſhoot at with arrows (3)

[m] That ye will deal juſtly, &c] Some commentators (4) expound this negatively, That ye will not deal juſtly, nor be devout, &c For ſuch wicked oaths, they ſay, were cuſtomary among the idolatrous inhabitants of Mecca, which gave occaſion to the following ſaying of Mohammed When you ſwear to do a thing, and afterwards find it better to do otherwiſe, do that which is better, and make void your oath

[n] An inconſiderate word] When a man ſwears inadvertently, and without deſign

[o] They who vow to abſtain from their wives, are allowed to wait four months] That is, they may take ſo much time to conſider, and ſhall not, by a raſh oath, be obliged actually to divorce them

(1) EBN ABBAS, JALLALO'DDIN AL ZAMAKHSHARI Vid LUCRET de rer nat l iv v 1258, &c. (2) JALLALO'DDIN, YAHYA, (3) JALLALO'DDIN (4) Idem YAHYA

from

from their vow, verily GOD is gracious and merciful [p]; and if they reſolve on a divorce, GOD is he who heareth and knoweth. The women who are divorced ſhall wait concerning themſelves until they have their courſes thrice [q], and it ſhall not be lawful for them to conceal that which GOD hath created in their wombs [r], if they believe in GOD and the laſt day, and their huſbands will act more juſtly to bring them back at this time, if they deſire a reconciliation. The women ought alſo to behave towards their huſbands in like manner as their huſbands ſhould behave towards them, according to what is juſt. but the men ought to have a ſuperiority over them. GOD is mighty and wiſe Ye may divorce your wives twice, and then either retain them with humanity, or diſmiſs them with kindneſs. But it is not lawful for you take away any thing of what ye have given them, unleſs both fear that they cannot obſerve the ordinances of GOD [s]. And if ye fear that they cannot obſerve the ordinances of GOD, it ſhall be no crime in either of them on account of that for which the wife ſhall redeem herſelf [t]. Theſe are

[p] If they go back from their vows, &c] i e If they be reconciled to their wives within four months, or after, they may retain them, and GOD will diſpenſe with their oath

[q] This is to be underſtood of thoſe only with whom the marriage has been conſummated, for as to the others there is no time limited Thoſe who are not quite paſt childbearing (which a woman is reckoned to be after her courſes ceaſe, and ſhe is fifty-five lunar years, or about fifty-three ſolar years, old) and thoſe who are too young to have children, are allowed three months only, but they who are with child, muſt wait till they be delivered (1)

[r] They ſhall not conceal what God hath created in their wombs] That is, they ſhall tell the real truth, whether they have their courſes, or be with child, or not, and ſhall not, by deceiving their huſband, obtain a ſeparation from him before the term be accompliſhed, leſt the firſt huſband's child ſhould, by that means, go to the ſecond, or the wife, in caſe of the firſt huſband's death, ſhould ſet up her child as his heir, or demand her maintenance during the time ſhe went with ſuch child, and the expences of her lying in, under pretence that ſhe waited not her full preſcribed time (2)

[s] Unleſs both fear they cannot obſerve the ordinances of GOD] For if there be a ſettled averſion on either ſide, their continuing together may have very ill, and perhaps fatal, conſequences

[t] It ſhall be no crime if ſhe redeem herſelf] i e If ſhe prevail on her huſband to diſmiſs her, by releaſing part of her dowry

(1) JALLALO DDIN. (2) YAHYA

the

the ordinances of GOD; therefore tranſgreſs them not; for whoever tranſgreſſeth the ordinances of GOD, they are unjuſt doers. But if the huſband divorce her a third time, ſhe ſhall not be lawful for him again, until ſhe marry another huſband. But if he alſo divorce her, it ſhall be no crime in them, if they return to each other, if they think they can obſerve the ordinances of GOD, and theſe are the ordinances of GOD, he declareth them to people of underſtanding But when ye divorce women, and they have fulfilled their preſcribed time, either retain them with humanity, or diſmiſs them with kindneſs, and retain them not by violence, ſo that ye tranſgreſs[a], for he who doth this, ſurely injureth his own ſoul. And make not the ſigns of GOD a jeſt, but remember GOD's favour towards you, and that he hath ſent down unto you the book of the KORAN, and wiſdom, admoniſhing you thereby, and fear GOD, and know that GOD is omniſcient But when ye have divorced your wives, and they have fulfilled their preſcribed time, hinder them not from marrying their huſbands, when they have agreed among themſelves according to what is honourable This is given in admonition unto him among you who believeth in GOD, and the laſt day. This is moſt righteous for you, and moſt pure GOD knoweth, but ye know not Mothers after they are divorced ſhall give ſuck unto their children two full years, to him who deſireth the time of giving ſuck to be completed, and the father ſhall be obliged to maintain them and clothe them in the mean time, according to that which ſhall be reaſonable. No perſon ſhall be obliged beyond his ability. A mother ſhall not be compelled to what is unreaſonable on account of her child, nor a father on account of his child. And the heir of the father ſhall be obliged to do in like manner. But if they chuſe to wean the child before the end of two years,

[a] And retain them not by force, ſo that ye tranſgreſs] Viz by obliging them to purchaſe their liberty with part of their dowry

by

by common conſent, and on mutual conſideration, it ſhall be no crime in them. And if ye have a mind to provide a nurſe for your children, it ſhall be no crime in you, in caſe ye fully pay what ye offer her, according to that which is juſt. And fear GOD, and know that GOD ſeeth whatſoever ye do. Such of you as die, and leave wives, their wives muſt wait concerning themſelves four months and ten days[w], and when they ſhall have fulfilled their term, it ſhall be no crime in you, for that which they ſhall do with themſelves[x], according to what is reaſonable GOD well knoweth that which ye do. And it ſhall be no crime in you, whether ye make public overtures of marriage unto ſuch women, within the ſaid four months and ten days, or whether ye conceal ſuch your deſigns in your minds GOD knoweth that ye will remember them But make no promiſe unto them privately, unleſs ye ſpeak honourable words; and reſolve not on the knot of marriage, until the preſcribed time be accompliſhed, and know that GOD knoweth that which is in your minds, therefore beware of him, and know that GOD is gracious and merciful. It ſhall be no crime in you, if ye divorce your wives, ſo long as ye have not touched them, nor ſettled any dowry on them. And provide for them (he who is at his eaſe muſt provide according to his circumſtances, and he who is ſtraitened according to his circumſtances) neceſſaries, according to what ſhall be reaſonable This is a duty incumbent on the righteous But if ye divorce them before ye have touched them, and have already ſettled a dowry on them, ye ſhall give them half of what ye have ſettled, unleſs they releaſe any part, or he releaſe part in whoſe hand the

[w] The wives of ſuch as die, muſt wait four months and ten days] That is to ſay, before they marry again and this is not only for decency's ſake, but that it may be known whether they be with child by the deceaſed or not

[x] For that which they ſhall do with themſelves] That is, if they leave off their mourning weeds, and look out for new huſbands

knot

knot of marriage is [y], and if ye releaſe the whole, it will approach nearer unto piety. And forget not liberality among you, for GOD ſeeth that which ye do. Carefully obſerve the appointed prayers, and the middle prayer [z], and be aſſiduous therein, with devotion towards GOD. But if ye fear any danger, pray on foot or on horſeback; and when ye are ſafe, remember GOD, how he hath taught you what as yet ye knew not. And ſuch of you as ſhall die and leave wives, ought to bequeath their wives a year's maintenance, without putting them out of their houſes but if they go out voluntarily, it ſhall be no crime in you, for that which they ſhall do with themſelves, according to what ſhall be reaſonable, GOD is mighty and wiſe And unto thoſe who are divorced, a reaſonable proviſion is alſo due, this is a duty incumbent on thoſe who fear GOD Thus GOD declareth his ſigns unto you, that ye may underſtand. Haſt thou not conſidered thoſe who left their habitations (and they were thouſands) for fear of death [a]? And GOD

[y] Unleſs they, or he in whoſe hand the knot of marriage is, releaſe it, &c] i e Unleſs the wife agree to take leſs than half her dowry, or unleſs the huſband be ſo generous as to give her more than half, or the whole, which is here approved of as moſt commendable

[z] The middle prayer] Yahya interprets this from a tradition of Mohammed, who being aſked which was the middle prayer, anſwered, The evening prayer which was inſtituted by the prophet Solomon But Jallalo'ddin allows a greater latitude, and ſuppoſes it may be the afternoon prayer, the morning prayer, the noon prayer, or any other

[a] Haſt thou not conſidered thoſe who left their habitations for fear of death, &c ?] Theſe were ſome of the children of Iſrael, who abandoned their dwellings, becauſe of a peſtilence, or, as others ſay, to avoid ſerving in a religious war but as they fled, God ſtruck them all dead in a certain valley About eight days or more after, when their bodies were corrupted, the prophet Ezekiel, the ſon of Buzi, happening to paſs that way, at the ſight of their bones, wept, whereupon God ſaid to him, Call to them, O Ezekiel, and I will reſtore them to life And accordingly on the prophet's call they all aroſe, and lived ſeveral years after, but they retained the colour and ſtench of dead corpſe' as long as they lived, and the clothes they wore changed as black as pitch, which qualities they tranſmitted to their poſterity (1) As to the number of theſe Iſraelites, the commentators are not agreed, they who reckon leaſt ſay they were 3000, and they who reckon moſt, 70,000 This ſtory ſeems to have been taken from Ezekiel's viſion of the reſurrection of dry bones (2)

Some

(1) JALLALO'DDIN, YAHYA, ABULFEDA, &c (2) Ezek xxxvii

1---10

GOD ſaid unto them, Die, then he reſtored them to life, for GOD is gracious towards mankind, but the greater part of men do not give thanks. Fight for the religion of GOD, and know that GOD is he who heareth and knoweth. Who is he that will lend unto GOD on good uſury [b]? verily he will double it unto him manifold, for GOD contracteth and extendeth his hand as he pleaſeth, and to him ſhall ye return. Haſt thou not conſidered the aſſembly of the children of ISRAEL, after the time of MOSES; when they ſaid unto their prophet SAMUEL, Set a king over us, that we may fight for the religion of GOD? The prophet anſwered, If ye are injoined to go to war, will ye be near refuſing to fight? They anſwered, And what ſhould ail us that we ſhould not fight for the religion of GOD, ſeeing we are diſpoſſeſſed of our habitations, and deprived of our children? But when they were injoined to go to war, they turned back, except a few of them and GOD knew the ungodly. And their prophet ſaid unto them, Verily GOD hath ſet TALUT [c] king over you they anſwered, How ſhall he reign over us, ſeeing we are more worthy of the kingdom than he, neither is he poſſeſſed of great riches? SAMUEL ſaid, Verily GOD hath choſen him before you, and hath cauſed him to increaſe in knowledge and ſtature, for GOD giveth his kingdom unto whom he pleaſeth; GOD is bounteous and wiſe. And their prophet ſaid unto them, Verily the ſign of his kingdom ſhall be, that the ark ſhall come unto you [d]: therein

Some of the Mohammedan writers will have Ezekiel to have been one of the judges of Iſrael, and to have ſucceeded Othoniel, the ſon of Caleb They alſo call this prophet Ebn al ajuz, or The ſon of the old woman, becauſe they ſay his mother obtained him by her prayers in her old age (1)

[b] Who will lend unto God, on good uſury?] Viz By contributing towards the eſtabliſhment of his true religion

[c] Talut] So the Mohammedans name Saul

[d] The ark ſhall come unto you, &c] This ark, ſays Jallalo'ddin, contained the images of the prophets, and was ſent down from heaven to Adam, and at length came to the Iſraelites, who put great confidence therein, and

(1) Al THALABI, ABU ISHAK &c

therein ſhall be tranquillity from your LORD [e], and the relics [f] which have been left by the family of MOSES, and the family of AARON; the angels ſhall bring it. Verily this ſhall be a ſign unto you, if ye believe. And when TALUT departed with his ſoldiers, he ſaid, Verily GOD will prove you by the river for he who drinketh thereof, ſhall not be on my ſide (but he who ſhall not taſte thereof, he ſhall be on my ſide) except he who drinketh a draught out of his hand. And they drank thereof, except a few of them [g]. And when they had paſſed the river, he and thoſe who believed with him, they ſaid, We have no ſtrength to-day, againſt JALUT [h] and his forces. But they who conſidered that they ſhould meet GOD at the reſurrection, ſaid, How often hath a ſmall army diſcomfited a great army, by the will of GOD? and GOD is with thoſe who patiently perſevere. And when they went forth to battle againſt JALUT and his forces, they ſaid, O LORD, pour on us patience, and confirm our feet, and help us againſt the unbelieving people. Therefore they diſcomfited them, by the will of GOD, and DAVID ſlew JALUT. And GOD gave him the kingdom and wiſdom, and taught

and continually carried it in the front of their army, till it was taken by the Amalekites But on this occaſion the angels brought it back, in the ſight of all the people, and placed it at the feet of Talut, who was thereupon unanimouſly acknowledged for their king

This relation ſeems to have ariſen from ſome imperfect tradition of the taking and ſending back the ark by the Philiſtines (1)

[e] Therein ſhall be tranquillity from your Lord] That is, becauſe of the great confidence the Iſraelites placed in it, having won ſeveral battles by its miraculous aſſiſtance I imagine, however, that the Arabic word Sakînat, which ſignifies tranquillity or ſecurity of mind, and is ſo underſtood by the commentators, may not improbably mean the divine preſence or glory, which uſed to appear on the ark, and which the Jews expreſs by the ſame word Shechinah

[f] The relics, &c] Theſe were the ſhoes and rod of Moſes, the mitre of Aaron, a pot of Manna, and the broken pieces of the two tables of the law (2)

[g] And they drank thereof, except a few, &c] The number of thoſe who drank out of their hands were about 313 (3) It ſeems that Mohammed has here confounded Saul with Gideon, who, by the divine direction, took with him againſt the Midianites ſuch of his army only as lapped water out of their hands, which were 300 men (4)

[h] Jalut] Or Goliah

(1) 1 Sam iv, v and vi (2) JALLALO'DDIN (3) Idem, YAHYA (4) Judges vii

him

him his will[i]; and if GOD had not prevented men, the one by the other, verily the earth had been corrupted but GOD is beneficent towards his creatures. Theſe are the ſigns of GOD: we rehearſe them unto thee with truth, and thou art ſurely one of thoſe who have been ſent by GOD. * Theſe are the III. apoſtles; we have preferred ſome of them before others. ſome of them hath GOD ſpoken unto, and hath exalted the degree of others of them. And we gave unto JESUS the ſon of MARY manifeſt ſigns, and ſtrengthened him with the holy ſpirit[k]. And if GOD had pleaſed, they who came after thoſe apoſtles, would not have contended among themſelves, after manifeſt ſigns had been ſhewn unto them. But they fell to variance, therefore ſome of them believed, and ſome of them believed not, and if GOD had ſo pleaſed, they would not have contended among themſelves, but GOD doth what he will. O true believers, give alms of that which we have beſtowed on you, before the day cometh wherein there ſhall be no merchandiſing, nor friendſhip, nor interceſſion. The infidels are unjuſt doers. GOD! there is no GOD but he[l], the living, the ſelf-ſubſiſting, neither ſlumber nor ſleep ſeizeth him, to him belongeth whatſoever is in heaven, and on earth. Who is he that can intercede with him, but through his good pleaſure? He knoweth that which is paſt, and that which is to come unto them, and they ſhall not comprehend any thing of his knowledge, but ſo far as he pleaſeth. His throne is extended over

[i] His will Or what he pleaſed to teach him Yahya moſt rationally underſtands hereby the divine revelations which David received from GOD, but Jallalo'ddin, the art of making coats of mail (which the Mohammedans believe was that prophet's peculiar trade) and the knowledge of the language of birds

[k] See before p 17 Note [h]

[l] God! there is no God but he, &c] The following ſeven lines contain a magnificent deſcription of the divine majeſty and providence, but it muſt not be ſuppoſed the tranſlation comes up to the dignity of the original This paſſage is juſtly admired by the Mohammedans who recite it in their prayers, and ſome of them wear it about them, engraved on an agate or other precious ſtone (1)

(1) V BOBOV de prec Moham p 5 & RELAND Diſſert de Arab p 235 239

heaven

heaven and earth[m], and the preſervation of both is no burthen unto him. He is the high, the mighty. Let there be no violence in religion[n]. Now is right direction manifeſtly diſtinguiſhed from deceit: whoever therefore ſhall deny TAGUT[o], and believe in GOD, he ſhall ſurely take hold on a ſtrong handle, which ſhall not be broken, GOD is he who heareth and ſeeth. GOD is the patron of thoſe who believe; he ſhall lead them out of darkneſs into light: but as to thoſe who believe not, their patrons are TAGUT, they ſhall lead them from the light into darkneſs; they ſhall be the companions of hell-fire, they ſhall remain therein for ever. Haſt thou not conſidered him who diſputed with ABRAHAM concerning his LORD[p], becauſe GOD had given him the kingdom? When ABRAHAM ſaid, My LORD is he who giveth life, and killeth he anſwered, I give life, and I kill. ABRAHAM ſaid, Verily GOD bringeth the ſun from the eaſt, now do thou bring it from the weſt. Whereupon the infidel was confounded, for GOD directeth not the ungodly people. Or haſt thou not conſidered how he behaved who paſſed by a city which had been deſtroyed, even to her foundations[q]? He ſaid, How ſhall

[m] His throne is extended over heaven and earth, &c.] This throne, in Arabic called Corſi, is, by the Mohammedans, ſuppoſed to be GOD's tribunal, or ſeat of juſtice, being placed under that other called al Arſh, which they ſay is his imperial throne. The Corſi, allegorically, ſignifies the divine providence, which ſuſtains and governs the heaven and the earth, and is infinitely above human comprehenſion (1)

[n] Let there be no violence in religion.] This paſſage was particularly directed to ſome of Mohammed's firſt proſelytes, who having ſons that had been brought up in idolatry, or Judaiſm, would oblige them to embrace Mohammediſm by force (2)

[o] Tâgût.] This word properly ſignifies an idol, or whatever is worſhipped beſides GOD, particularly the two idols of the Meccans, Allat and al Uzza, and alſo the devil, or any ſeducer

[p] Him who diſputed with Abraham, &c.] This was Nimrod, who, as the commentators ſay, to prove his power of life and death by ocular demonſtration, cauſed two men to be brought before him at the ſame time, one of whom he ſlew, and ſaved the other alive. As to this tyrant's perſecution of Abraham, ſee chap. 21. and the notes thereon.

[q] Haſt thou not conſidered him who paſſed by a city which had been deſtroyed, &c.] The perſon here meant was

(1) Vid. D'HERBELOT, Bibl. Orient. Art. Corſi. (2) JALLALO'DDIN

ſhall GOD quicken this city, after ſhe hath been dead? And GOD cauſed him to die for an hundred years, and afterwards raiſed him to life. And GOD ſaid, How long haſt thou tarried here? He anſwered, A day, or part of a day GOD ſaid, Nay, thou haſt tarried here an hundred years. Now look on thy food and thy drink, they are not yet corrupted, and look on thine aſs: and this have we done that we might make thee a ſign unto men. And look on the bones of thine aſs, how we raiſe them, and afterwards clothe them with fleſh. And when this was ſhewn unto him, he ſaid, I know that GOD is able to do all things. And when ABRAHAM ſaid, O LORD, ſhew me how thou wilt raiſe the dead[r], GOD ſaid, Doſt thou not yet believe? He anſwered, Yea, but I aſk this that my heart may reſt at eaſe. GOD ſaid, take therefore four birds, and divide them[s], then lay a part of them

was Ozair, or Ezra, who, riding on an aſs by the ruins of Jeruſalem, after it had been deſtroyed by the Chaldeans, doubted in his mind by what means GOD could raiſe the city and its inhabitants again, whereupon GOD cauſed him to die, and he remained in that condition 100 years, at the end of which GOD reſtored him to life, and he found a baſket of figs, and a cruſe of wine, he had with him, not in the leaſt ſpoiled or corrupted, but his aſs was dead, the bones only remaining, and theſe, while the prophet looked on, were raiſed and clothed with fleſh, becoming an aſs again, which being inſpired with life, began immediately to bray(1)

This apocryphal ſtory may perhaps have taken its riſe from Nehemiah's viewing of the ruins of Jeruſalem(2)

[r] When Abraham ſaid, LORD, ſhew me how thou wilt raiſe the dead] The occaſion of this requeſt of Abraham is ſaid to have been on a doubt propoſed to him by the devil, in human form, how it was poſſible for the ſeveral parts of the corpſe of a man which lay on the ſea-ſhore, and had been partly devoured by the wild beaſts, the birds, and the fiſh, to be brought together at the reſurrection(3)

[s] Take four birds and divide them] Theſe birds, according to the commentators, were an eagle, (a dove, ſay others,) a peacock, a raven, and a cock, which Abraham cut to pieces, and mingled their fleſh and feathers together, or, as ſome tell us, pounded all in a mortar, and dividing the maſs into four parts, laid them on ſo many mountains, but kept the heads, which he had preſerved whole, in his hand Then he called them each by their name, and immediately one part flew to the other, till they all recovered their firſt ſhape, and then came to be joined to their reſpective heads(4)

This

(1) JALLALO'DDIN, YAHYA, &c See D'HERBEL Bibl Orient Art. Ozair (2) Nehem ii 12, &c (3) See D'HERBELOT, p 13
(4) JALLALO'DDIN See D'HERBELOT, ubi ſupra

them on every mountain, then call them, and they ſhall come ſwiftly unto thee and know that GOD is mighty and wiſe. The ſimilitude of thoſe who lay out their ſubſtance for advancing the religion of GOD, is as a grain of corn which produceth ſeven ears, and in every ear an hundred grains; for GOD giveth two-fold unto whom he pleaſeth. GOD is bounteous and wiſe. They who lay out their ſubſtance for the religion of GOD, and afterwards follow not what they have ſo laid out by reproaches or miſchief[t], they ſhall have their reward with their LORD, upon them ſhall no fear come, neither ſhall they be grieved. A fair ſpeech, and to forgive, is better than alms followed by miſchief. GOD is rich and merciful. O true believers, make not your alms of none effect by reproaching, or miſchief, as he who layeth out what he hath, to appear unto men to give alms, and believeth not in GOD and the laſt-day. The likeneſs of ſuch a one is as a flint covered with earth, on which a violent rain falleth, and leaveth it hard. They cannot proſper in any thing which they have gained, for GOD directeth not the unbelieving people. And the likeneſs of thoſe who lay out their ſubſtance from a deſire to pleaſe GOD, and for an eſtabliſhment for their ſouls, is as a garden on a hill, on which a violent rain falleth, and it bringeth forth its fruits two-fold, and, if a violent rain falleth not on it, yet the dew falleth thereon and GOD ſeeth that which ye do. Doth any of you deſire to have a garden of palm-trees and vines[u], through which rivers flow, wherein he may have all kinds of fruits, and that he may attain to old-age, and have a weak offſpring? then a

This ſeems to be taken from Abraham's ſacrifice of birds mentioned by Moſes (1), with ſome additional circumſtances

[t] And follow not alms by reproaches or miſchief, &c] i e Either by reproaching the perſon whom they have relieved, with what they have done for them, or by expoſing his poverty to his prejudice (2)

[u] Doth any of you deſire a garden, &c] This garden is an emblem of alms given out of hypocriſy, or attended with reproaches, which periſh, and will be of no ſervice hereafter to the giver (3)

(1) Gen xv (2) JALLALO'DDIN (3) Idem

violent

violent fiery wind ſhall ſtrike it, ſo that it ſhall be burned. Thus GOD declareth his ſigns unto you that ye may conſider. O true believers, beſtow alms of the good things which ye have gained, and of that which we have produced for you out of the earth, and chuſe not the bad thereof, to give it in alms, ſuch as ye would not accept yourſelves, otherwiſe than by connivance[w]. and know that GOD is rich, and worthy to be praiſed. The devil threateneth you with poverty, and commandeth you filthy covetouſneſs but GOD promiſeth you pardon from himſelf and abundance. GOD is bounteous and wiſe. He giveth wiſdom unto whom he pleaſeth, and he unto whom wiſdom is given, hath received much good: but none will conſider, except the wiſe of heart. And whatever alms ye ſhall give, or whatever vow ye ſhall vow, verily GOD knoweth it, but the ungodly ſhall have none to help them. If ye make your alms to appear, it is well, but if ye conceal them, and give them unto the poor, this will be better for you, and will atone for your ſins and GOD is well informed of that which ye do. The direction of them belongeth not unto thee, but GOD directeth whom he pleaſeth. The good that ye ſhall give in alms ſhall redound unto yourſelves, and ye ſhall not give unleſs out of deſire of ſeeing the face of GOD[x]. And what good thing ye ſhall give in alms, it ſhall be repaid you, and ye ſhall not be treated unjuſtly; unto the poor who are wholly employed in fighting for the religion of GOD, and cannot go to and fro in the earth, whom the ignorant man thinketh rich, becauſe of their modeſty. thou ſhalt know them by this mark, they aſk not men with importunity; and what good ye ſhall give in alms, verily GOD knoweth it. They who diſtribute alms of their ſubſtance night and day, in private and in

[w] By connivance] That is, on having ſome amends made by the ſeller of ſuch goods, either by abatement of the price, or giving ſomething elſe to the buyer to make up the value

[x] Out of deſire of ſeeing the face of GOD] i e For the ſake of a reward hereafter, and not for any worldly conſideration (1)

(1) JALLALO'DDIN

public, ſhall have their reward with their LORD; on them ſhall no fear come, neither ſhall they be grieved. They who devour uſury ſhall not ariſe from the dead, but as he ariſeth whom SATAN hath infected by a touch[y]. this ſhall happen to them becauſe they ſay, Truly ſelling is but as uſury: and yet GOD hath permitted ſelling and forbidden uſury. He therefore who, when there cometh unto him an admonition from the LORD, abſtaineth from uſury for the future, ſhall have what is paſt forgiven him, and his affair belongeth unto GOD. But whoever returneth to uſury, they ſhall be the companions of hell-fire, they ſhall continue therein for ever. GOD ſhall take his bleſſing from uſury, and ſhall increaſe alms. for GOD loveth no infidel, or ungodly perſon. But they who believe, and do that which is right, and obſerve the ſtated times of prayer, and pay their legal alms, they ſhall have their reward with their LORD. there ſhall come no fear on them, neither ſhall they be grieved O true believers, fear GOD, and remit that which remaineth of uſury[z], if ye really believe, but if ye do it not, hearken unto war, which is declared againſt you from GOD and his apoſtle yet if ye repent, ye ſhall have the capital of your money. Deal not unjuſtly with others, and ye ſhall not be dealt with unjuſtly. If there be any debtor under a difficulty of paying his debt, let his creditor wait till it be eaſy for him to do it, but if ye remit it as alms, it will be better for you, if ye knew it. And fear the day wherein ſhall return unto GOD, then ſhall every ſoul be what it hath gained, and they ſhall not be tr unjuſtly. O true believers, when ye bind yourſelves one to the other in a debt for a certain time,

[y] As he whom Satan hath infected, &c.] viz. Like demoniacs or poſſeſſed perſons, that is, in great horror and diſtraction of mind, and convulſive agitation of body

[z] Remit what remaineth of uſury.] Or the intereſt due before uſury was prohibited For this ſome of Mohammed's followers exacted of their debtors, ſuppoſing they lawfully might (1)

write it down; and let a writer write between you according to juſtice, and let not the writer refuſe writing according to what GOD hath taught him; but let him write, and let him who oweth the debt dictate, and let him fear GOD his LORD, and not diminiſh aught thereof. But if he who oweth the debt be fooliſh, or weak, or be not able to dictate himſelf, let his agent* dictate according to equity, and call to witneſs two witneſſes of your neighbouring men. but if there be not two men, let there be a man and two women of thoſe whom ye ſhall chooſe for witneſſes if one of thoſe women ſhould miſtake, the other of them will cauſe her to recollect. And the witneſſes ſhall not refuſe, whenſoever they ſhall be called. And diſdain not to write it down, be it a large debt, or be it a ſmall one, until its time of payment this will be more juſt in the ſight of GOD, and more right for bearing witneſs, and more eaſy, that ye may not doubt. But if it be a preſent bargain which ye tranſact between yourſelves, it ſhall be no crime in you, if ye write it not down And take witneſſes when ye ſell one to the other, and let no harm be done to the writer, nor to the witneſs, which if ye do, it will ſurely be injuſtice in you and fear GOD, and GOD will inſtruct you, for GOD knoweth all things And if ye be on a journey, and find no writer, let pledges be taken but if one of you truſt the other, let him who is truſted return what he is truſted with, and fear GOD his LORD. And conceal not the teſtimony, for he who concealeth it, hath ſurely a wicked heart GOD knoweth that which ye do Whatever is in heaven and on earth is GOD's and whether ye manifeſt that which is in your minds, or conceal it, GOD will call you to account for it, and will forgive whom he pleaſeth, and will puniſh whom he pleaſeth, for GOD is almighty. The apoſtle believeth in that which hath

* His agent.] Whoever manages guardian, or interpreter (1).
his affairs, whether his father, heir,

(1) JALLALO'DDIN

been ſent down unto him from his LORD, and the faithful alſo. Every one of them believeth in GOD, and his angels, and his ſcriptures, and his apoſtles. we make no diſtinction at all between his apoſtles[b]. And they ſay, We have heard, and do obey. we implore thy mercy, O LORD, for unto thee muſt we return. GOD will not force any ſoul beyond its capacity it ſhall have the good which it gaineth, and it ſhall ſuffer the evil which it gaineth. O LORD, puniſh us not, if we forget, or act ſinfully O LORD, lay not on us a burthen like that which thou haſt laid on thoſe who have been before us[c], neither make us, O LORD, to bear what we have not ſtrength to bear, but be favourable unto us, and ſpare us, and be merciful unto us. Thou art our patron, help us therefore againſt the unbelieving nations.

[a] We make no diſtinction between his apoſtles] But this, ſay the Mohammedans, the Jews do, who receive Moſes, but reject Jeſus, and the Chriſtians, who receive both thoſe prophets, but reject Mohammed (1)

[c] Lay not on us ſuch a burthen, as thou didſt lay on thoſe who have been before us] That is, on the Jews, who, as the commentators tell us, were ordered to kill a man by way of atonement, to give one fourth of their ſubſtance in alms, and to cut off an unclean ulcerous part (2), and were forbidden to eat fat, or animals that divided the hoof, and were obliged to obſerve the ſabbath, and other particulars wherein the Mohammedans are at liberty (3)

(1) JALLALO DDIN (2) Idem (3) YAHYA

CHAP. III.

Intitled, The Family of IMRAN[a]; revealed at MEDINA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

A L M[b]. There is no GOD but GOD, the living, the ſelf-ſubſiſting He hath ſent down unto thee the book of the KORAN with truth,

[a] Imrân] This name is given in the Koran to the father of the virgin Mary See below, p 59

[b] A L M] For the meaning of theſe letters, the reader is referred to the Preliminary Diſcourſe, Sect III

con-

confirming that which was revealed before it, for he had formerly ſent down the law, and the goſpel, a direction unto men, and he had alſo ſent down the diſtinction between good and evil. Verily thoſe who believe not the ſigns of GOD, ſhall ſuffer a grievous puniſhment, for GOD is mighty, able to revenge. Surely nothing is hidden from GOD, of that which is on earth, or in heaven it is he who formeth you in the wombs, as he pleaſeth, there is no GOD but he, the mighty, the wiſe. It is he who hath ſent down unto thee the book, wherein are ſome verſes clear to be underſtood, they are the foundation of the book, and others are parabolical [c]. But they whoſe hearts are perverſe will follow that which is parabolical therein, out of love of ſchiſm, and a deſire of the interpretation thereof, yet none knoweth the interpretation thereof, except GOD But they who are well grounded in knowledge ſay, We believe therein, the whole is from our LORD, and none will conſider except the prudent. O LORD, cauſe not our hearts to ſwerve from truth, after thou haſt directed us, and give us from thee mercy, for thou art he who giveth. O LORD, thou ſhalt ſurely gather mankind together, unto a day of reſurrection there is no doubt of it, for GOD will not be contrary to the promiſe. As for the infidels, their wealth ſhall not profit them any thing, nor their children, againſt GOD they ſhall be the fuel of hell-fire. According to the wont of the people of PHARAOH, and of thoſe who went before them, they charged our ſigns

[c] Wherein are ſome verſes clear to be underſtood, and others are parabolical] This paſſage is tranſlated according to the expoſition of al Zamakhſhari and al Beidawi, which ſeems to be the trueſt

The contents of the Korân are here diſtinguiſhed into ſuch paſſages as are to be taken in the literal ſenſe, and ſuch as require a figurative acceptation The former being plain and obvious to be underſtood, compoſe the fundamental part, or, as the original expreſſes it, the mother of the book, and contain the principal doctrines and precepts, agreeably to, and conſiſtently with which, thoſe paſſages which are wrapt up in metaphors, and delivered in an enigmatical, allegorical ſtyle, are always to be interpreted (1)

(1) See the Prelim Diſc ſect III

with a lie; but GOD caught them in their wickedneſs, and GOD is ſevere in puniſhing. Say unto thoſe who believe not, Ye ſhall be overcome, and thrown together into hell, an unhappy couch ſhall it be. Ye have already had a miracle ſhewn you in two armies, which attacked each other[d] one army fought for GOD's true religion, but the other were infidels; they ſaw the faithful twice as many as themſelves in their eye-ſight, for GOD ſtrengtheneth with his help whom he pleaſeth Surely herein was an example unto men of underſtanding. The love and eager deſire of wives, and children, and ſums heaped up of gold and ſilver, and excellent horſes, and cattle, and land, is prepared for men this is the proviſion of the preſent life, but unto GOD ſhall be the moſt excellent return Say, Shall I declare unto you better things than this? For thoſe

[d] Ye have already had a miracle ſhewn you in two armies, &c] The ſign or miracle here meant, was the victory gained by Mohammed, in the ſecond year of the Hejra, over the idolatrous Meccans, headed by Abu Sofian, in the valley of Bedr, which is ſituate near the ſea between Mecca and Medina Mohammed's forces conſiſted of no more than three hundred and nineteen men, but the enemy's army of near a thouſand, notwithſtanding which odds, he put them to flight, having killed ſeventy of the principal Koreiſh, and taken as many priſoners, with the loſs of only fourteen of his own men (1) This was the firſt victory obtained by the prophet, and though it may ſeem no very conſiderable action, yet it was of great advantage to him, and the foundation of all his future power and ſucceſs For which reaſon it is famous in the Arabian hiſtory, and more than once vaunted in the Koran (2), as an effect of the divine aſſiſtance The miracle, it is ſaid, conſiſted in three things 1 Mohammed, by the direction of the angel Gabriel, took a handful of gravel, and threw it towards the enemy in the attack, ſaying, May their faces be confounded, whereupon, they immediately turned their backs and fled But, though the prophet ſeemingly threw the gravel himſelf, yet he is told in the Koran (3), that it was not he but GOD who threw it, that is to ſay, by the miniſtry of his angel 2 The Mohammedan troops ſeemed to the infidels to be twice as many in number as themſelves, which greatly diſcouraged them And, 3 GOD ſent down to their aſſiſtance, firſt a thouſand, and afterwards three thouſand angels, led by Gabriel, mounted on his horſe Hiazûm, and, according to the Koran (4), theſe celeſtial auxiliaries really did all the execution, though Mohammed's men imagined themſelves did it, and fought ſtoutly at the ſame time

(1) See ELMACIN p 5 HOTTINGER Hiſt Orient. l 2 c 4 ABULFED vit Moham p 56, &c PRIDEAUX's Life of Mahom p 71, &c (2) See this chap below, & chap 8, & 32 (3) Chap 8 not far from the beginning (4) Ibid

who

who are devout are prepared with their LORD, gardens through which rivers flow, therein ſhall they continue for ever: and they ſhall enjoy wives free from impurity, and the favour of GOD; for GOD regardeth his ſervants, who ſay, O LORD, we do ſincerely believe, forgive us therefore our ſins, and deliver us from the pain of hell-fire the patient, and the lovers of truth, and the devout, and the almſgivers, and thoſe who aſk pardon early in the morning GOD hath borne witneſs that there is no GOD but he, and the angels, and thoſe who are endowed with wiſdom, profeſs the ſame, who executeth righteouſneſs, there is no GOD but he, the mighty, the wiſe Verily the true religion, in the ſight of GOD, is ISLAM[e], and they who had received the ſcriptures diſſented not therefrom, until after the knowledge of GOD's unity had come unto them, out of envy among themſelves but whoſoever believeth not in the ſigns of GOD, verily GOD will be ſwift in bringing him to account If they diſpute with thee, ſay, I have reſigned myſelf unto GOD, and he who followeth me doth the ſame. and ſay unto them who have received the ſcriptures, and to the ignorant[f], Do ye profeſs the religion of ISLAM? Now if they embrace ISLAM, they are ſurely directed, but if they turn their backs, verily unto thee belongeth preaching only, for GOD regardeth his ſervants. And unto thoſe who believe not in the ſigns of GOD, and ſlay the prophets without a cauſe, and put thoſe men to death who teach juſtice; denounce unto them a painful puniſhment. Theſe are they whoſe works periſh in this world, and in that which is to come; and they ſhall have none to help them. Haſt thou not obſerved thoſe unto whom part of

[e] Iſlam] The proper name of the Mohammedan religion, which ſignifies the reſigning or devoting one's ſelf entirely to GOD and his ſervice This, they ſay, is the religion which all the prophets were ſent to teach, being founded on the unity of GOD (1)

[f] The ignorant] i e The pagan Arabs, who had no knowledge of the ſcriptures (2)

(1) JALLALO'DDIN, al BEIDAWI (2) Idem.

the

the ſcripture [g] was given? They were called unto the book of GOD, that it might judge between them [h]; then ſome of them turned their backs, and retired afar off. This they did becauſe they ſaid, The fire of hell ſhall by no means touch us, but for a certain number of days [i] and that which they had falſely deviſed, hath deceived them in their religion. How then will it be with them, when we ſhall gather them together at the day of judgment [k], of which there is no doubt, and every ſoul ſhall be paid that which it hath gained, neither ſhall they be

[g] Thoſe unto whom part of the ſcripture was given] That is, the Jews

[h] They were called unto the book of GOD, &c] This paſſage was revealed on occaſion of a diſpute Mohammed had with ſome Jews, which is differently related by the commentators

Al Beidâwi ſays, that, Mohammed going one day into a Jewiſh ſynagogue, Naim Ebn Amru and al Hareth Ebn Zeid aſked him what religion he was of? To which he anſwering, Of the religion of Abraham, they replied, Abraham was a Jew, but, on Mohammed's propoſing that the Pentateuch might decide the queſtion, they would by no means agree to it

But Jallalo'ddin tells us, That, two perſons of the Jewiſh religion having committed adultery, their puniſhment was referred to Mohammed, who gave ſentence that they ſhould be ſtoned, according to the law of Moſes This the Jews refuſed to ſubmit to, alledging, there was no ſuch command in the Pentateuch but, on Mohammed's appealing to the book, the ſaid law was found therein Whereupon the criminals were ſtoned, to the great mortification of the Jews

It is very remarkable that this law of Moſes concerning the ſtoning of adulterers is mentioned in the New Teſtament (1), (though I know ſome diſpute the authenticity of that whole paſſage,) but is not now to be found, either in the Hebrew or Samaritan Pentateuch, or in the Septuagint, it being only ſaid that ſuch ſhall be put to death (2) This omiſſion is inſiſted on by the Mohammedans as one inſtance of the corruption of the law of Moſes by the Jews

It is alſo obſervable that there was a verſe once extant in the Korân, commanding adulterers to be ſtoned, and the commentators ſay the words only are abrogated, the ſenſe or law ſtill remaining in force (3)

[i] A certain number of days] i e. Forty, the time their forefathers worſhipped the calf (4) Al Beidawi adds, that ſome of them pretended their puniſhment was to laſt but ſeven days, that is, a day for every thouſand years which they ſuppoſed the world was to endure, and that they imagined they were to be ſo mildly dealt with, either by reaſon of the interceſſion of their fathers the prophets, or becauſe GOD had promiſed Jacob, that his offspring ſhould be puniſhed but ſlightly

[k] How will it be with them, &c] The Mohammedans have a tradition, that the firſt banner of the infidels that ſhall be ſet up, on the day of judgment, will be that of the Jews, and that GOD will firſt reproach them with their wickedneſs, over the heads of thoſe who are preſent, and then order them to hell (5)

(1) John viii 5 (2) Lev xx 10 See WHISTON's Eſſay towards reſtoring the true Text of the Old Teſt p 99, 100 (3) See the Prelim Diſ. ſect III (4) See before, p 16 Note [e] (5) Al BEIDAWI

treated

treated unjuſtly? Say, O GOD, who poſſeſſeſt the kingdom, thou giveſt the kingdom unto whom thou wilt, and thou takeſt away the kingdom from whom thou wilt Thou exalteſt whom thou wilt, and thou humbleſt whom thou wilt. In thy hand is good, for thou art almighty. Thou makeſt the night to ſucceed the day thou bringeſt forth the living out of the dead, and thou bringeſt forth the dead out of the living[1], and provideſt food for whom thou wilt, without meaſure. Let not the faithful take the infidels for their protectors, rather than the faithful: he who doth this, ſhall not be protected of GOD at all, unleſs ye fear any danger from them but GOD warneth you to beware of himſelf for unto GOD muſt ye return. Say, Whether ye conceal that which is in your breaſts, or whether ye declare it, GOD knoweth it, for he knoweth whatever is in heaven, and whatever is on earth, GOD is almighty. On the laſt day every ſoul ſhall find the good which it hath wrought, preſent, and the evil which it hath wrought, it ſhall wiſh that between itſelf and that were a wide diſtance but GOD warneth you to beware of himſelf, for GOD is gracious unto his ſervants. Say, If ye love GOD, follow me then GOD ſhall love you, and forgive you your ſins, for GOD is gracious and merciful. Say, Obey GOD, and his apoſtle but if ye go back, verily GOD loveth not the unbelievers. GOD hath ſurely choſen ADAM and NOAH, and the family of ABRAHAM, and the family of IMRAN[m] above the reſt of the world;

[1] Thou bringeſt forth the living out of the dead, and the dead out of the living] As a man from ſeed, and a bird from an egg, and vice verſa (1)

[m] Imran] Or Amrân, is the name of two ſeveral perſons, according to the Mohammedan tradition One was the father of Moſes and Aaron, and the other was the father of the virgin Mary (2), but he is called, by ſome Chriſtian writers, Joachim The commentators ſuppoſe the firſt, or rather both of them, to be meant in this place, however, the perſon intended in the next paſſage, it is agreed, was the latter, who, beſides Mary, the mother of JESUS, had alſo a ſon, named Aaron (3), and a ſiſter, named Iſha, (or Elizabeth,) who married Zacharias, and was the mother of John the Baptiſt, whence that prophet and JESUS are uſually called by the

(1) JALLALO'DDIN (2) Al ZAMAKHSHARI, al BEIDAWI. (3) Koran, c 19.

world; a race deſcending the one from the other: GOD is he who heareth and knoweth. Remember when the wife of IMRAN[n] ſaid, LORD, verily I have vowed unto thee that which is in my womb, to be dedicated to thy ſervice[o]: accept it therefore of me; for thou art he who heareth and knoweth. And when ſhe was delivered of it, ſhe ſaid, LORD, verily I have brought forth a female, (and GOD well knew what ſhe had brought forth,) and a male is not as a

the Mohammedans, The two ſons of the aunt, or the couſin-germans

From the identity of names, it has been generally imagined by Chriſtian writers (1) that the Korân here confounds Mary, the mother of JESUS, with Mary, or Miriam, the ſiſter of Moſes and Aaron, which intolerable anachroniſm, if it were certain, is ſufficient of itſelf to deſtroy the pretended authority of this book But though Mohammed may be ſuppoſed to have been ignorant enough in ancient hiſtory and chronology, to have committed ſo groſs a blunder, yet I do not ſee how it can be made out from the words of the Koran For it does not follow, becauſe two perſons have the ſame name, and have each a father and brother who bear the ſame names, that they muſt therefore neceſſarily be the ſame perſon beſides, ſuch a miſtake is inconſiſtent with a number of other places in the Koran, whereby it manifeſtly appears, that Mohammed well knew, and aſſerted, that Moſes preceded JESUS ſeveral ages And the commentators accordingly fail not to tell us, that there had paſſed about one thouſand eight hundred years between Amrân, the father of Moſes, and Amran, the father of the virgin Mary They alſo make them the ſons of different perſons the firſt, they ſay, was the ſon of Yeſhar, or Izhar, (though he was really his brother) (2) the ſon of Kâhath, the ſon of Levi, and the other was the ſon of Mathan (3), whoſe genealogy they trace, but in a very corrupt and imperfect manner, up to David, and thence to Adam (4)

It muſt be obſerved, that though the virgin Mary is called, in the Korân (5), the ſiſter of Aaron, yet ſhe is no where called the ſiſter of Moſes: however ſome Mohammedan writers have imagined, that the ſame individual Mary, the ſiſter of Moſes, was miraculouſly preſerved alive from his time till that of JESUS CHRIST, purpoſely to become the mother of the latter (6)

[n] The wife of Imran] The Imran here mentioned, was the father of the virgin Mary, and his wife's name was Hannah, or Ann, the daughter of Fakudh This woman, ſay the commentators, being aged, and barren, on ſeeing a bird feed her young ones, became very deſirous of iſſue, and begged a child of GOD, promiſing to conſecrate it to his ſervice in the temple whereupon ſhe had a child, but it proved a daughter (7)

[o] Dedicated to thy ſervice] The Arabic word is free, but here ſignifies particularly one that is free or detached from all worldly deſires and occupations, and wholly devoted to GOD's ſervice (8)

(1) V RELAND, de rel Moham p 211 MARRACC in Alc p 115, &c PRIDEAUX, Letter to the Deiſts, p 185 (2) Exod vi 18 (3) Al ZAMAKH al BEIDAWI (4) V RELAND ubi ſup D'HERBELOT Bibl Orient p 583 (5) Chap 19 (6) V GUADAGNOL Apolog pro rel Chriſt contra Ahmed Ebn Zein al Abedin p 279 (7) Al BEIDAWI, al THALABI (8) JALLALO'DDIN, al ZAMAKSHARI

female;

female[p]: I have called her MARY; and I commend her to thy protection, and alſo her iſſue, againſt SATAN driven away with ſtones[q]. Therefore the LORD accepted her with a gracious acceptance[r], and cauſed her to bear an excellent offſpring. And ZACHARIAS took care of the child. Whenever ZACHARIAS went into the chamber to her, he found proviſions with her[s]. and he ſaid, O MARY, whence hadſt thou this? She anſwered, This is from GOD: for GOD provideth for whom he pleaſeth without meaſure[t]. There ZACHARIAS called on his LORD, and ſaid, LORD, give me from thee a good offſpring,

[p] A male is not as a female] Becauſe a female could not miniſter in the temple as a male could (1)

[q] Satan driven away with ſtones] This expreſſion alludes to a tradition, that Abraham, when the devil tempted him to diſobey GOD in not ſacrificing his ſon, drove the fiend away by throwing ſtones at him, in memory of which the Mohammedans, at the pilgrimage of Mecca, throw a certain number of ſtones at the devil, with certain ceremonies, in the valley of Mina (2)

It is not improbable that the pretended immaculate conception of the virgin Mary is intimated in this paſſage For, according to a tradition of Mohammed, every perſon that comes into the world, is touched at his birth by the devil, and therefore cries out, Mary and her ſon only excepted, between whom and the evil ſpirit, GOD placed a veil, ſo that his touch did not reach them (3) And for this reaſon they ſay, neither of them were guilty of any ſin, like the reſt of the children of Adam (4), which peculiar grace they obtained by virtue of this recommendation of them by Hannah to GOD's protection

[r] The LORD accepted her, &c] Though the child happened not to be a male, yet her mother preſented her to the prieſts who had the care of the temple, as one dedicated to GOD; and, they having received her, ſhe was committed to the care of Zacharias, as will be obſerved by and by, and he built her an apartment in the temple, and ſupplied her with neceſſaries (5)

[s] Whenever Zacharias went into the chamber, he found proviſions with her, &c] The commentators ſay that none went into Mary's apartment but Zacharias himſelf, and that he locked ſeven doors upon her, yet he found ſhe had always winter-fruits in ſummer, and ſummer-fruits in winter (6)

[t] There is a ſtory of Fâtima, Mohammed's daughter, that ſhe once brought two loaves and a piece of fleſh to her father, who returned them to her, and having called for her again, when ſhe uncovered the diſh, it was full of bread and meat, and, on Mohammed's aſking her whence ſhe had it? ſhe anſwered in the words of this paſſage, This is from GOD, for GOD provideth for whom he pleaſeth without meaſure Whereupon he bleſſed GOD, who thus favoured her, as he had the moſt excellent of the daughters of Iſrael (7)

(1) JALLALO'DDIN (2) See the Prelim Diſc Sect IV (3) JALIALO'DDIN al BEIDAWI (4) KITADA (5) JALLALO'DDIN al BEIDAWI V LUD de DIEU, in not ad Hiſt Chriſti Xaverii p 542 (6) Al BEIDAWI. V de DIEU, ub. ſupr p 548 (7) Al BEIDAWI

for

for thou art the hearer of prayer. And the angels[t] called to him, while he ſtood praying in the chamber, ſaying, Verily GOD promiſeth thee a ſon named JOHN, who ſhall bear witneſs to the Word[w] which cometh from GOD, an honourable perſon, chaſt[x], and one of the righteous prophets. He anſwered, LORD, how ſhall I have a ſon, when old age hath overtaken me[y], and my wife is barren? The angel ſaid, So GOD doth that which he pleaſeth. ZACHARIAS anſwered, LORD, give me a ſign. The angel ſaid, Thy ſign ſhall be, that thou ſhalt ſpeak unto no man[z] for three days, otherwiſe than by geſture: remember thy LORD often, and praiſe him evening and morning. And when the angels ſaid, O MARY, verily GOD hath choſen thee, and hath purified thee, and hath choſen thee above all the women of the world O MARY, be devout towards thy LORD, and worſhip, and bow down with thoſe who bow down. This is a ſecret hiſtory we reveal it unto thee, although thou waſt not preſent with them when they threw in their rods to caſt lots which of them ſhould have the education of MARY[a]; neither waſt thou with them, when they ſtrove among

[t] The angels] Though the word be in the plural, yet the commentators ſay, it was the angel Gabriel only The ſame is to be underſtood where it occurs in the following paſſages

[w] The Word] That is JESUS, who, al Beidâwi ſays, is ſo called, becauſe he was conceived by the word or command of GOD, without a father

[x] Chaſt] The original word ſignifies one who refrains not only from women, but from all other worldly delights and deſires Al Beidâwi mentions a tradition, that, during his childhood, ſome boys invited him to play, but he refuſed, ſaying, that he was not created to play

[y] When old age hath overtaken me, &c.] Zacharias was then ninety-nine years old, and his wife eighty-nine (1)

[z] Thou ſhalt ſpeak unto no man for three days] Though he could not ſpeak to any body elſe, yet his tongue was at liberty to praiſe GOD, as he is directed to do by the following words

[a] When they threw in their rods, &c] When Mary was firſt brought to the temple, the prieſts, becauſe ſhe was the daughter of one of their chiefs, diſputed among themſelves who ſhould have the education of her Zacharias inſiſted that he ought to be preferred, becauſe he had married her aunt, but, the others not conſenting that it ſhould be ſo, they agreed to decide the matter by caſting of lots whereupon twenty-ſeven of them went to the river Jordan, and

(1) Al BEIDAWI

among themſelves. When the angels ſaid, O MARY, verily GOD ſendeth thee good tidings, that thou ſhalt bear the Word, proceeding from himſelf, his name ſhall be CHRIST JESUS the ſon of MARY, honourable in this world and in the world to come, and one of thoſe who approach near to the preſence of GOD, and he ſhall ſpeak unto men in the cradle [b], and when he is grown up [c]; and he ſhall be one of the righteous; ſhe anſwered, LORD, how ſhall I have a ſon, ſince a man hath not touched me? The angel ſaid, So GOD createth that which he pleaſeth: when he decreeth a thing, he only ſaith unto it, Be, and it is: GOD ſhall teach him the ſcripture, and wiſdom, and the law, and the goſpel, and ſhall appoint him his apoſtle to the children of ISRAEL, and he ſhall ſay, Verily I come unto you with a ſign from your LORD, for I will make before you, of

threw in their rods, (or arrows without heads or feathers, ſuch as the Arabs uſed for the ſame purpoſe,) on which they had written ſome paſſages of the law, but they all ſunk, except that of Zacharias, which floated on the water, and he had thereupon the care of the child committed to him (1)

[b] He ſhall ſpeak unto men in the cradle] Beſides an inſtance of this given in the Korân itſelf (2), which I ſhall not here anticipate, a Mohammedan writer, of no very great credit indeed, tells two ſtories, one of JESUS's ſpeaking while in his mother's womb, to reprove her couſin Joſeph for his unjuſt ſuſpicions of her (3), and another of his giving an anſwer to the ſame perſon ſoon after he was born For Joſeph being ſent by Zacharias to ſeek Mary (who had gone out of the city by night to conceal her delivery) and having found her, began to expoſtulate with her, but ſhe made no reply, whereupon the child ſpoke theſe words Rejoice, O Joſeph, and be of good cheer, for GOD hath brought me forth from the darkneſs of the womb to the light of the world, and I ſhall go the children of Iſrael, and invite them to the obedience of GOD (4)

Theſe ſeem all to have been taken from ſome fabulous traditions of the eaſtern Chriſtians, one of which is preſerved to us in the ſpurious goſpel of the infancy of CHRIST, where we read that JESUS ſpoke while yet in the cradle, and ſaid to his mother, Verily I am JESUS the Son of GOD, the word which thou haſt brought forth, as the angel Gabriel did declare unto thee, and my Father hath ſent me to ſave the world (5)

[c] And when he is grown up] The Arabic word properly ſignifies a man in full age, that is, between thirty or thirty-four and fifty-one, and the paſſage may relate to CHRIST's preaching here on earth But, as he had ſcarce attained this age when he was taken up into heaven, the commentators chooſe to underſtand it of his ſecond coming (6)

(1) Al BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, &c (2) Chap 19 (3) V SIKII notas in Evang Infant p 5 (4) Al KESSAI, apud eundem (5) Evang Infant p 5 (6) JALLALO'DDIN, Al BEIDAWI

clay,

clay, as it were the figure of a bird[d]; then I will breathe thereon, and it ſhall become a bird, by the permiſſion of GOD[e] and I will heal him that hath been blind from his birth; and the leper: and I will raiſe the dead[f] by the permiſſion of GOD: and I will propheſy unto you what ye eat, and what ye lay up for ſtore in your houſes. Verily herein will be a ſign unto you, if ye believe. And I come to confirm the Law which was revealed before me, and to allow unto you, as lawful, part of that which hath been forbidden you[g]. and I come unto you with a ſign from your LORD; therefore fear GOD, and obey me. Verily GOD is my LORD, and your LORD therefore ſerve him. This is the right way. But when JESUS perceived their unbelief, he ſaid, Who will be my helpers towards GOD? The

[d] I will make the figure of a bird, &c] Some ſay it was a bat (1), though others ſuppoſe JESUS made ſeveral birds of different ſorts (2)

This circumſtance is alſo taken from the following fabulous tradition, which may be found in the ſpurious goſpel above-mentioned JESUS being ſeven years old, and at play with ſeveral children of his age, they made ſeveral figures of birds and beaſts, for their diverſion, of clay, and, each preferring his own workmanſhip, JESUS told them, that he would make his walk and leap, which accordingly, at his command, they did He made alſo ſeveral figures of ſparrows, and other birds, which flew about or ſtood on his hands as he ordered them, and alſo eat and drank when he offered them meat and drink The children telling this to their parents, were forbidden to play any more with JESUS, whom they held to be a ſorcerer (3)

[e] By the permiſſion of GOD] The commentators obſerve that theſe words are added here, and in the next ſentence, leſt it ſhould be thought JESUS did theſe miracles by his own power, or was GOD (4)

[f] I will raiſe the dead, &c] Jallalo'ddin mentions three perſons whom CHRIST reſtored to life, and who lived ſeveral years after, and had children, viz Lazarus, the widow's ſon, and the publican's (I ſuppoſe he means the ruler of the ſynagogue's) daughter He adds, that he alſo raiſed Shem, the ſon of Noah, who, as another writes (5), thinking he had been called to judgment, came out of his grave with his head half grey, whereas men did not grow grey in his days, after which he immediately died again

[g] And to allow you part of that which hath been forbidden you] Such as the eating of fiſh that have neither fins nor ſcales, the cawl and fat of animals, and camels' fleſh, and to work on the ſabbath. Theſe things, ſay the commentators, being arbitrary inſtitutions in the law of Moſes, were abrogated by JESUS, as ſeveral of the ſame kind inſtituted by the latter, have been ſince abrogated by Mohammed (6)

(1) JALLALO'DDIN (2) AL THALABI (3) Evang Infant p 111, &c (4) AL BEIDAWI, &c (5) AL THALABI (6) AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN.

apoſtles[h] anſwered, We will be the helpers of GOD, we believe in GOD, and do thou bear witneſs that we are true believers. O LORD, we believe in that which thou haſt ſent down, and we have followed thy apoſtle, write us down therefore with thoſe who bear witneſs of him And the Jews deviſed a ſtratagem againſt him[i], but GOD deviſed a ſtratagem againſt them[k], and GOD is the beſt deviſer of ſtratagems.

[h] The apoſtles] In Arabic, al Hawarriyun, which word they derive from Hara, to be white, and ſuppoſe the apoſtles were ſo called, either from the candour and ſincerity of their minds, or becauſe they were princes, and wore white garments, or elſe becauſe they were by trade fullers (1) According to which laſt opinion, their vocation is thus related That, as JESUS paſſed by the ſea-ſide, he ſaw ſome fullers at work, and, accoſting them, ſaid, Ye cleanſe theſe clothes, but cleanſe not your hearts, upon which they believed on him But the true etymology ſeems to be from the Ethiopic verb Hawyra, to go, whence Hawârya ſignifies one that is ſent, a meſſenger or apoſtle (2)

[i] The Jews deviſed a ſtratagem againſt him] i e They laid a deſign to take away his life

[k] But GOD deviſed a ſtratagem againſt them] This ſtratagem of GOD's was the taking of JESUS up into heaven, and ſtamping his likeneſs on another perſon, who was apprehended and crucified in his ſtead For it is the conſtant doctrine of the Mohammedans, that it was not JESUS himſelf who underwent that ignominious death, but ſomebody elſe in his ſhape and reſemblance (3) The perſon crucified ſome will have to be a ſpy that was ſent to entrap him, others that it was one Titian, who, by the direction of Judas, entered in at a window of the houſe where JESUS was, to kill him, and others that it was Judas himſelf, who agreed with the rulers of the Jews to betray him for thirty pieces of ſilver, and led thoſe who were ſent to take him

They add, that JESUS, after his crucifixion in effigy, was ſent down again to the earth, to comfort his mother and diſciples, and acquaint them how the Jews were deceived, and was then taken up a ſecond time into heaven (4)

It is ſuppoſed by ſeveral that this ſtory was an original invention of Mohammed's, but they are certainly miſtaken for ſeveral ſectaries held the ſame opinion long before his time The Baſilidians (5), in the very beginning of Chriſtianity, denied that Chriſt himſelf ſuffered, but that Simon the Cyrenean was crucified in his place The Cerinthians before them, and the Carpocratians next, (to name no more of thoſe, who affirmed Jeſus to have been a mere man,) did believe the ſame thing, that it was not himſelf, but one of his followers, very like him, that was crucified Photius tells us, that he read a book, entitled the Journies of the Apoſtles, relating the acts of Peter, John, Andrew, Thomas, and Paul, and, among other things contained therein, this was one, that Chriſt was not crucified, but another in his ſtead, and that therefore he laughed at his

(1) Al BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN (2) V LUDOLFI Lexic Æthiop col 40 & GOLII notas ad cap 61 Koran, c 14 (3) See Koran, c 4 (4) V MARRACC in Alc p 113, &c & in Prodr part 3 p 63, &c (5) IRENÆUS l 1 c 23, &c EPIPHAN Hæreſ 24 num 3

gems. When GOD ſaid, O JESUS, verily I will cauſe thee to die[1], and I will take thee up unto

his crucifiers (1), or thoſe who thought they had crucified him (2)

I have in another place (3) mentioned an apocryphal goſpel of Barnabas, a forgery originally of ſome nominal Chriſtians, but interpolated ſince by Mohammedans, which gives this part of the hiſtory of Jeſus with circumſtances too curious to be omitted It is therein related, that, the moment the Jews were going to apprehend Jeſus in the garden, he was ſnatched up into the third heaven, by the miniſtry of four angels, Gabriel, Michael, Raphael, and Uriel that he will not die till the end of the world, and that it was Judas who was crucified in his ſtead, GOD having permitted that traitor to appear ſo like his maſter, in the eyes of the Jews, that they took and delivered him to Pilate That this reſemblance was ſo great, that it deceived the Virgin Mary, and the apoſtles themſelves, but that Jeſus Chriſt afterwards obtained leave of GOD to go and comfort them That Barnabas having then aſked him, why the divine goodneſs had ſuffered the mother and diſciples of ſo holy a prophet to believe even for one moment that he had died in ſo ignominious a manner? Jeſus returned the following anſwer "O Barnabas, believe "me that every ſin, how ſmall ſo"ever, is puniſhed by GOD with "great torment, becauſe GOD is "offended with ſin My mother "therefore, and faithful diſciples, "having loved me with a mixture "of earthly love, the juſt GOD has "been pleaſed to puniſh this love "with their preſent grief, that they "might not be puniſhed for it "hereafter in the flames of hell "And as for me, though I have "myſelf been blameleſs in the "world, yet other men having "called me GOD, and the ſon of "GOD, therefore GOD, that I "might not be mocked by the de"vils at the day of judgment, has "been pleaſed that in this world I "ſhould be mocked by men with "the death of Judas, making every "body believe that I died upon the "croſs And hence it is that this "mocking is ſtill to continue till "the coming of Mohammed, the "meſſenger of GOD, who, com"ing into the world, will undeceive "every one who ſhall believe in the "law of GOD, from this miſ"take (4)"

[1] I will cauſe thee to die, &c] It is the opinion of a great many Mohammedans, that Jeſus was taken up into heaven without dying, which opinion is conſonant to what is delivered in the ſpurious goſpel abovementioned Wherefore ſeveral of the commentators ſay, that there is a hyſteron proteron in theſe words, I will cauſe thee to die, and I will take thee up unto me, and that the copulative does not import order, or that he died before his aſſumption, the meaning being this, viz that GOD would firſt take Jeſus up to heaven, and deliver him from the infidels, and afterwards cauſe him to die which they ſuppoſe is to happen when he ſhall return into the world again before the laſt-day (5) Some, thinking the order of the words is not to be changed, interpret them figuratively, and ſuppoſe their ſignification to be, that Jeſus was lifted up while he was aſleep, or that GOD cauſed him to die a ſpiritual death to all worldly deſires But others acknowledge that he actually died a natural death, and continued in that ſtate three hours, or, according to another tradition, ſeven hours, after which he was reſtored to life, and then taken up to heaven (6)

(1) PHOTIUS, Bibl Cod 114 col 291 (2) TOLAND'S Nazarenus, p 17, &c (3) Prelim Diſ ſection IV p 97 (4) See the Menagiana, Tom 4 p 326, &c (5) See the Prelim Diſ ſect IV p 107 (6) Al BEIDAWI

me

me [m], and I will deliver thee from the unbelievers; and I will place thoſe who follow thee above the unbelievers until the day of reſurrection [n] then unto me ſhall ye return, and I will judge between you of that concerning which ye diſagree Moreover, as for the infidels, I will puniſh them with a grievous puniſhment in this world, and in that which is to come, and there ſhall be none to help them. But they who believe, and do that which is right, he ſhall give them their reward, for GOD loveth not the wicked doers These ſigns and this prudent admonition do we rehearſe unto thee. Verily the likeneſs of JESUS, in the ſight of GOD, is as the likeneſs of ADAM he created him out of the duſt, and then ſaid unto him, Be, and he was [o]. This is the truth from thy LORD, be not therefore one of thoſe who doubt and whoever ſhall diſpute with thee concerning him [p], after the knowledge which hath been given thee, ſay unto them, Come, let us call together our ſons, and your ſons, and our wives, and your wives, and ourſelves, and yourſelves, then let us make imprecations, and lay the curſe of GOD on thoſe who lie [q]. Verily this is a true hiſtory: and

[m] And I will take thee up unto me] Some Mohammedans ſay this was done by the miniſtry of Gabriel, but others that a ſtrong whirlwind took him up from mount Olivet (1)

[n] I will place thoſe who follow thee above the unbelievers, until the day of reſurrection] That is, they who believe in Jeſus (among whom the Mohammedans reckon themſelves) ſhall be for ever ſuperior to the Jews, both in arguments and in arms And accordingly ſays al Beidawi, to this very day the Jews have never prevailed either againſt the Chriſtians or Moſlems, nor have they any kingdom or eſtabliſhed government of their own

[o] Jeſus in the ſight of GOD is as Adam, &c] He was like to Adam in reſpect of his miraculous production by the immediate power of GOD (2)

[p] Him] Namely, Jeſus

[q] Let us call together our ſons, &c and imprecate the curſe of GOD on thoſe who lie] To explain this paſſage the commentators tell the following ſtory That ſome Chriſtians, w their biſhop, named Abu Hareth, co ng to Mohammed as ambaſſadors fr the inhabitants of Najran, and ing into ſome diſputes with him touching religion and the hiſtory of Jeſus Chriſt, they agreed the next morning to abide the trial here mentioned, as a quick way of deciding which of them were in the wrong Mohammed met them accordingly, accompanied by his daughter Fatima, his

(1) Al THALABI See 2 Kings ii 1, 11 (2) JALLALO'DDIN, &c

and there is no GOD, but GOD, and GOD is moſt mighty and wiſe If they turn back, GOD well knoweth the evil-doers. Say, O ye who have received the ſcripture, come to a juſt determination between us and you[r], that we worſhip not any except GOD, and aſſociate no creature with him, and that the one of us take not the other for lords[s], beſide GOD. But, if they turn back, ſay, Bear witneſs that we are true believers O ye to whom the ſcriptures have been given, why do ye diſpute concerning ABRAHAM[t], ſince the Law and the Goſpel were not ſent down until after him? Do ye not therefore underſtand? Behold ye are they who diſpute concerning that which ye have ſome knowledge in, why therefore do ye diſpute concerning that which ye have no knowledge of[u]? GOD knoweth, but ye know not. ABRAHAM was neither a Jew, nor a Chriſtian; but he was of the true religion, one reſigned unto GOD, and was not of the number of the idolaters. Verily the men who are the neareſt of kin unto ABRAHAM, are they who follow him, and this prophet, and they who believe on him GOD is the patron of the faithful. Some of thoſe who have

his ſon-in-law Ali, and his two grandſons, Haſan and Hoſein, and deſired them to wait till he had ſaid his prayers But, when they ſaw him kneel down, their reſolution failed them, and they durſt not venture to curſe him, but ſubmitted to pay him tribute (1)

[r] Let us come to a juſt determination between us and you, &c] That is, to ſuch terms of agreement as are indiſputably conſonant to the doctrine of all the prophets and ſcriptures, and therefore cannot be reaſonably rejected (2)

[s] And that the one of us take not the other for lords, &c] Beſides other charges of idolatry on the Jews and Chriſtians, Mohammed accuſed them of paying too implicit an obedience to their prieſts and monks, who took upon them to pronounce what things were lawful, and what unlawful, and to diſpenſe with the laws of GOD (3)

[t] Why do ye diſpute concerning Abraham] Viz By pretending him to have been of your religion

[u] Ye diſpute concerning that which ye have ſome knowledge in, why therefore do ye diſpute concerning that which ye have no knowledge of?] i e Ye perverſely diſpute even concerning thoſe things which ye find in the Law and the Goſpel, whereby it appears, that they were both ſent down long after Abraham's time, why then will ye offer to diſpute concerning ſuch points of Abraham's religion, of which your ſcriptures ſay nothing, and of which ye conſequently can have no knowledge (4)?

(1) JALALO'DDIN, Al BEIDAWI (2) Idem (3) Idem
(4) Al BEIDAWI

received

received the ſcriptures deſire to ſeduce you[w], but they ſeduce themſelves only, and they perceive it not. O ye who have received the ſcriptures, why do ye not believe in the ſigns of God, ſince ye are witneſſes of them? O ye who have received the ſcriptures, why do ye clothe truth with vanity, and knowingly hide the truth[x]? And ſome of thoſe to whom the ſcriptures were given, ſay, Believe in that which hath been ſent down unto thoſe who believe, in the beginning of the day, and deny it in the end thereof, that they may go back from their faith[y] and believe him only who followeth your religion. Say, Verily the true direction is the direction of GOD, that there may be given unto ſome other a revelation like unto what hath been given unto you Will they diſpute with you before your LORD? Say, Surely excellence is in the hand of GOD, he giveth it unto whom he pleaſeth, GOD is bounteous and wiſe he will confer peculiar mercy on whom he pleaſeth, for GOD is indued with great beneficence There is of thoſe who have received the ſcriptures, unto whom if thou truſt a talent, he will reſtore it unto thee[z], and

[w] Some of thoſe to whom the ſcriptures were given ſeek to ſeduce you, &c] This paſſage was revealed when the Jews endeavoured to pervert Hodheifa, Ammar, and Moadh, to their religion (1)

[x] Why do ye clothe truth with vanity, and knowingly hide the truth?] The Jews and Chriſtians are again accuſed of corrupting the ſcriptures, and ſtifling the prophecies concerning Mohammed

[y] The commentators, to explain this paſſage, ſay, that Caab Ebn al Aſhraf and Malec Ebn al Seif (two Jews of Medina) adviſed their companions, when the Keblah was changed (2), to make as if they believed it was done by the divine direction, and to pray towards the Caaba in the morning, but that in the evening they ſhould pray, as formerly, towards the temple of Jeruſalem, that Mohammed's followers, imagining the Jews were better judges of this matter than themſelves, might imitate their example But others ſay, theſe were certain Jewiſh prieſts of Khaibar, who directed ſome of their people to pretend in the morning that they had embraced Mohammediſm, but, in the cloſe of the day, to ſay, that they had looked into their books of ſcripture, and conſulted their Rabbins, and could not find that Mohammed was the perſon deſcribed and intended in the law, by which trick they hoped to raiſe doubts in the minds of the Mohammedans (3)

[z] There is of thoſe who have

(1) Al Beidawi (2) See before, c ii p 26 (3) Al Beidawi

and there is alſo of them, unto whom if thou truſt a dinar, he will not reſtore it unto thee, unleſs thou ſtand over him continually with great urgency [a]. This they do becauſe they ſay, We are not obliged to obſerve juſtice with the Heathen but they utter a lie againſt GOD knowingly Yea, whoſo keepeth his covenant, and feareth GOD, GOD ſurely loveth thoſe who fear him But they who make merchandiſe of GOD's covenant, and of their oaths, for a ſmall price, ſhall have no portion in the next life, neither ſhall GOD ſpeak to them, or regard them, on the day of reſurrection, nor ſhall he cleanſe them, but they ſhall ſuffer a grievous puniſhment

received the ſcriptures, unto whom, if thou truſt a talent, he will reſtore it] As an inſtance of this the commentators bring Abd'allah Ebn Salam, a Jew, very intimate with Mohammed (1), to whom one of the Koreiſh lent 1200 ounces of gold, which he very punctually repaid at the time appointed (2)

[a] There is alſo of them unto whom if thou truſt a dinar he will not reſtore it, &c] Al Beidawi produces an example of ſuch a piece of injuſtice in one Phineas Ebn Azura, a Jew, who borrowed a dinar, which is a gold coin worth about ten ſhillings, of a Koreiſhite, and afterwards had the conſcience to deny it

But the perſon more directly ſtruck at in this paſſage, was the above-mentioned Caab Ebn al Aſhraf, a moſt inveterate enemy of Mohammed, and his religion, of whom Jallalo ddin relates the ſame ſtory as al Beidawi does of Phineas This Caab after the battle of Bedr, went to Mecca, and there, to excite the Koreiſh to revenge themſelves, made and recited verſes, lamenting the death of thoſe who were ſlain in that battle, and reflecting very ſeverely on Mohammed and he afterwards returned to Medina, and had the boldneſs to repeat them publicly there alſo, at which Mohammed was ſo exceedingly provoked, that he proſcribed him and ſent a party of men to kill him and he was circumvented and ſlain by Mohammed Ebn Moſlema in the third year of the Hejra (3) Dr Prideaux (4) has confounded the Caab we are now ſpeaking of with another very different perſon of the ſame name, and a famous poet, but who was the ſon of Zobair and no Jew as a learned gentleman has already obſerved (5) In conſequence of which miſtake, the doctor attributes what the Arabian hiſtorians write of the latter to the former, and wrongly affirms that he was not put to death by Mohammed

Some of the commentators, however, ſuppoſe that, in the former part of this paſſage, the Chriſtians are intended, who, they ſay, are generally people of ſome honour and juſtice, and, in the latter part, the Jews, who, they think, are more given to cheating and diſhoneſty (6)

(1) See PRIDEAUX's Life of Moham p 33 (2) Al BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN (3) Al JANNABI, ELMACIN (4) Life of Moham p 78, &c (5) V GAGNIER, in Not. ad ABULFED Vit Moh p 64 and 122 (6) Al BEIDAWI

And

And there are certainly ſome of them who read the ſcriptures perverſely, that ye may think what they read to be really in the ſcriptures, yet it is not in the ſcripture, and they ſay, This is from GOD, but it is not from GOD and they ſpeak that which is falſe concerning GOD, againſt their own knowledge It is not fit for a man, that GOD ſhould give him a book of revelations, and wiſdom, and prophecy, and then he ſhould ſay unto men, Be ye worſhippers of me, beſides GOD but he ought to ſay, Be ye perfect in knowledge, and in works, ſince ye know the ſcriptures, and exerciſe yourſelves therein [b] GOD hath not commanded you to take the angels and the prophets for your Lords Will he command you to become infidels, after ye have been true believers? And remember when GOD accepted the covenant of the prophets [c], ſaying, This verily is the ſcripture and the wiſdom which I have given you hereafter ſhall an apoſtle come unto you, confirming the truth of that ſcripture which is with you, ye ſhall ſurely believe on him, and ye ſhall aſſiſt him GOD ſaid, Are ye firmly reſolved, and do ye accept my covenant on this condition? They anſwered, We are firmly reſolved GOD ſaid, Be ye therefore witneſſes, and I alſo bear witneſs with you and whoſoever turneth back after this, they are ſurely the tranſgreſſors. Do they therefore ſeek any other religion but GOD's? ſince to him is reſigned whoſoever is in heaven or on earth, voluntarily, or of force and to him ſhall

[b] It is not fit for a man, &c] This paſſage was revealed, ſay the commentators, in anſwer to the Chriſtians, who inſiſted that Jeſus had commanded them to worſhip him as GOD Al Beidawi adds, that two Chriſtians, named Abu Rafe al Koradhi and al Seyid al Najrani, offered to acknowledge Mohammed for their Lord, and to worſhip him, to which he anſwered, GOD forbid that we ſhould worſhip any beſides GOD

[c] When GOD accepted the covenant of the prophets, &c] Some commentators interpret this of the children of Iſrael themſelves, of whoſe race the prophets were But others ſay, the ſouls of all the prophets, even of thoſe who were not then born, were preſent on mount Sinai when GOD gave the law to Moſes, and that they entered into the covenant here mentioned with him A ſtory borrowed by Mohammed from the Talmudiſts, and therefore moſt probably his true meaning in this place

they return. Say, We believe in GOD, and that which hath been ſent down unto us, and that which was ſent down unto ABRAHAM, and ISMAEL, and ISAAC, and JACOB, and the tribes, and that which was delivered to MOSES, and JESUS, and the prophets, from their LORD, we make no diſtinction between any of them, and to him are we reſigned Whoever followeth any other religion than ISLAM, it ſhall not be accepted of him and in the next life he ſhall be of thoſe who periſh[d] How ſhall GOD direct men who have become infidels after they had believed, and borne witneſs that the apoſtle was true, and manifeſt declarations of the divine will had come unto them? for GOD directeth not the ungodly people Their reward ſhall be, that on them ſhall fall the curſe of GOD, and of angels, and of all mankind they ſhall remain under the ſame for ever their torment ſhall not be mitigated, neither ſhall they be regarded, except thoſe who repent after this, and amend, for GOD is gracious and merciful. Moreover they who become infidels after they have believed, and yet increaſe in infidelity, their repentance ſhall in no wiſe be accepted, and they are thoſe who go aſtray Verily they who believe not, and die in their unbelief, the world full of gold ſhall in no wiſe be accepted from any of them, even though he ſhould give it for his ranſom; they ſhall ſuffer a grievous puniſhment, and they
IV. ſhall have none to help them * Ye will never attain unto righteouſneſs, until ye give in alms of that which ye love and whatever ye give, GOD knoweth it. All food was permitted unto the children of ISRAEL, except what ISRAEL forbad unto himſelf[e], before the

[d] See before, ch ii p 12 Note w

[e] All food was permitted unto the children of Iſrael, except what Iſrael forbad unto himſelf] This paſſage was revealed on the Jews reproaching Mohammed and his followers with their eating of the fleſh and milk of camels (1), which they ſaid was forbidden Abraham, whoſe religion Mohammed pretended to fol-

(1) See Lev xi 4 Deut. xiv 7

low

the Pentateuch was ſent down[f]. Say unto the Jews, Bring hither the Pentateuch, and read it, if ye ſpeak truth. Whoever therefore contriveth a lie againſt GOD after this, they will be evil-doers Say, GOD is true follow ye therefore the religion of ABRAHAM the orthodox, for he was no idolater Verily the firſt houſe appointed unto men to worſhip in was that which is in BECCA[g], bleſſed, and a direction to all creatures[h]. Therein are manifeſt ſigns[i]. the place where ABRAHAM ſtood, and whoever entereth therein, ſhall be ſafe And it is a duty towards GOD, incumbent on thoſe who are able to go thither[k], to

low In anſwer to which he tells them, that GOD ordained no diſtinction of meats before he gave the law to Moſes, though Jacob voluntarily abſtained from the fleſh and milk of camels, which ſome commentators ſay, was the conſequence of a vow made by that Patriarch, when afflicted with the ſciatica, that, if he were cured, he would eat no more of that meat which he liked beſt, and that was camel's fleſh but others ſuppoſe he abſtained from it by the advice of phyſicians only (1)

This expoſition ſeems to be taken from the children of Iſrael's not eating of the ſinew on the hollow of the thigh, becauſe the angel, with whom Jacob wreſtled at Peniel, touched the hollow of his thigh in the ſinew that ſhrank (2)

[f] Before the Pentateuch was ſent down] Wherein the Iſraelites, becauſe of their wickedneſs and perverſeneſs, were forbidden to eat certain animals which had been allowed their predeceſſors (3)

[g] The firſt houſe appointed unto men, was that which is in Becca]—Mohammed received this paſſage, when the Jews ſaid that their Keblah, or the temple of Jeruſalem, was more ancient than that of the Mohammedans, or the Caaba (4) Becca is another name of Mecca (5) Al Beidawi obſerves that the Arabs uſed the M and B promiſcuouſly in ſeveral words

[h] A direction to all creatures] i e the Keblah, towards which they are to turn their faces in prayer

[i] Therein are manifeſt ſigns] Such as the ſtone wherein they ſhew the print of Abraham's feet, and the inviolable ſecurity of the place, immediately mentioned, that the birds light not on the roof of the Caaba and wild beaſts put off their fierceneſs there, that none who came againſt it in a hoſtile manner ever proſpered (6), as appeared particularly in the unfortunate expedition of Abraha al Aſhram (7), and other fables of the ſame ſtamp which the Mohammedans are taught to believe

[k] Thoſe who are able to go thither] According to an expoſition of this paſſage, attributed to Mohammed, he is ſuppoſed to be able to perform the pilgrimage who can ſupply himſelf with proviſions for the journey, and

(1) AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN RAN, c 4 See the notes there (2) Gen xxxii 32 (3) Koran, c 4 See the notes there (4) Al BEIDAWI, JALLALO DDIN (5) See the Prelim Diſc ſect 1 p 4 (6) JALLALO'DDIN, Al BEIDAWI (7) See the Koran, c 105

a beaſt

to viſit this houſe: but whoſoever diſbelieveth, verily GOD needeth not the ſervice of any creature. Say, O ye who have received the ſcriptures, why do ye not believe in the ſigns of GOD? Say, O ye who have received the ſcriptures, why do ye keep back, from the way of GOD, him who believeth? Ye ſeek to make it crooked, and yet are witneſſes that it is the right: but GOD will not be unmindful of what ye do. O true believers, if ye obey ſome of thoſe who have received the ſcripture, they will render you infidels, after ye have believed: and how can ye be infidels, when the ſigns of GOD are read unto you, and his apoſtle is among you? But he who cleaveth firmly unto GOD, is already directed into the right way. O believers, fear GOD with his true fear, and die not, unleſs ye alſo be true believers. And cleave all of you unto the covenant[m] of GOD, and depart

a beaſt to ride upon. Al Shâfei has decided that thoſe who have money enough, if they cannot go themſelves, muſt hire ſome other to go in their room. Malec Ebn Ans thinks he is to be reckoned able, who is ſtrong and healthy, and can bear the fatigue of the journey on foot, if he has no beaſt to ride, and can alſo earn his living by the way. But Abu Hanifa is of opinion, that both money ſufficient, and health of body, are requiſite to make the pilgrimage a duty. (1)

[l] If ye obey ſome of thoſe who have received the ſcriptures, &c.] This paſſage was revealed on occaſion of a quarrel excited between the tribes of al Aws and al Khazraj, by one Shas Ebn Kais, a Jew, who paſſing by ſome of both tribes as they were ſitting and diſcourſing familiarly together and being inwardly vexed at the friendſhip and harmony which reigned among them on their embracing Mohammediſm, whereas they had been, for 120 years before, moſt inveterate and mortal enemies, though deſcendants of two brothers, in order to ſet them at variance, ſent a young man to ſit down by them, directing him to relate the ſtory of the battle of Boath, (a place near Medina,) wherein, after a bloody fight, al Aws had the better of al Khazraj, and to repeat ſome verſes on that ſubject. The young man executed his orders whereupon thoſe of each tribe began to magnify themſelves, and to reflect on and irritate the other, till, at length, they called to arms and, great numbers getting together on each ſide, a dangerous battle had enſued, if Mohammed had not ſtepped in and reconciled them, by repreſenting to them how much they would be to blame, if they returned to Paganiſm, and revived thoſe animoſities which Iſlam had compoſed, and telling them, that what had happened was a trick of the devil, to diſturb their preſent tranquillity. (2)

[m] Cleave unto the covenant of God, &c.] Literally, Hold faſt by the cord

(1) Al BEIDAWI (2) Idem

of

depart not from it, and remember the favour of GOD towards you ſince ye were enemies, and he reconciled your hearts, and ye became companions and brethren by his favour and ye were on the brink of a pit of fire, and he delivered you thence. Thus GOD declareth unto you his ſigns, that ye may be directed. Let there be people among you, who invite to the beſt religion, and command that which is juſt, and forbid that which is evil, and they ſhall be happy And be not as they who are divided, and diſagree in matters of religion[n], after manifeſt proofs have been brought unto them they ſhall ſuffer a great torment On the day of reſurrection ſome faces ſhall become white, and other faces ſhall become black[o] And unto them whoſe faces ſhall become black, GOD will ſay, Have ye returned unto your unbelief, after ye had believed? therefore taſte the puniſhment, for that ye have been unbelievers but they whoſe faces ſhall become white, ſhall be in the mercy of GOD, therein ſhall they remain for ever. Theſe are the ſigns of GOD we recite them unto thee with truth GOD will not deal unjuſtly with his creatures And to GOD belongeth whatever is in heaven and on earth, and to GOD ſhall all things return Ye are the beſt nation that hath been raiſed up unto mankind ye command that which is juſt, and ye forbid that which is unjuſt, and ye believe in GOD And, if they who have received the ſcriptures had believed, it had ſurely been the better for

of GOD That is, Secure yourſelves by adhering to Iſlam, which is here metaphorically expreſſed by a cord, becauſe it is as ſure a means of ſaving thoſe who profeſs it from periſhing hereafter, as holding by a rope is to prevent one's falling into a well, or other like place It is ſaid that Mohammed uſed, for the ſame reaſon, to call the Koran Habl Allah al matîn, i e The ſure cord of GOD (1)

[n] And be not as thoſe who are divided, &c] i e As the Jews and Chriſtians, who diſpute concerning the unity of GOD, the future ſtate, &c (2)

[o] On the day of the reſurrection, the faces of ſome ſhall become white, &c] See the Preliminary Diſcourſe, Sect IV

(1) AL BEIDAWI (2) Idem

them

them there are believers among them[p], but the greater part of them are tranſgreſſors They ſhall not hurt you, unleſs with a ſlight hurt, and, if they fight againſt you, they ſhall turn their backs to you; and they ſhall not be helped[q] They are ſmitten with vileneſs, whereſoever they are found, unleſs they obtain ſecurity by entering into a treaty with GOD, and a treaty with men[r] and they draw on themſelves indignation from GOD, and they are afflicted with poverty This they ſuffer, becauſe they diſbelieved the ſigns of GOD, and ſlew the prophets unjuſtly, this, becauſe they were rebellious, and tranſgreſſed. Yet they are not all alike there are of thoſe who have received the ſcriptures, upright people[s], they meditate on the ſigns of GOD[t] in the night ſeaſon, and worſhip, they believe in GOD, and the laſt-day, and command that which is juſt, and forbid that which is unjuſt, and zealouſly ſtrive to excel in good works theſe are of the righteous. And ye ſhall not be denied the reward of the good which ye do[u], for GOD knoweth the pious As for the unbelievers, their wealth ſhall not profit them at all, neither their children, againſt GOD they ſhall be the companions of hell-fire, they ſhall continue therein for ever The likeneſs of that which they lay out in this preſent life, is as a wind wherein there is a ſcorching cold it falleth on the ſtanding

[p] There are believers among them] As Abd'allah Ebn Salam and his companions (1), and thoſe of the tribes of al Aws and al Khazraj, who had embraced Mohammediſm

[q] And they ſhall not be helped] This verſe, al Beidawi ſays, is one of thoſe whoſe meaning is myſterious, and relates to ſomething future, intimating the low condition to which the Jewiſh tribes of Koreidha, Nadir, Banu Kainokâ, and thoſe who dwelt at Khaibar, were afterwards reduced by Mohammed

[r] Unleſs they obtain ſecurity by entering into a treaty with GOD, and a treaty with men] i e Unleſs they either profeſs the Mohammedan religion, or ſubmit to pay tribute

[s] There are, of thoſe who have received the ſcriptures, upright people] Thoſe, namely, who have embraced Iſlam

[t] The ſigns of GOD] That is, the Koran

[u] Ye ſhall not be denied, &c] Some copies have a different reading in this paſſage, which they expreſs in the third perſon They ſhall not be denied, &c

(1) Al BEIDAWI

corn

corn of thoſe men who have injured their own ſouls, and deſtroyeth it. And GOD dealeth not unjuſtly with them, but they injure their own ſouls. O true believers, contract not an intimate friendſhip with any beſides yourſelves[w] they will not fail to corrupt you. They wiſh for that which may cauſe you to periſh their hatred hath already appeared from out of their mouths, but what their breaſts conceal is yet more inveterate. We have already ſhewn you ſigns of their ill-will towards you, if ye underſtand. Behold, ye love them, and they do not love you: ye believe in all the ſcriptures, and when they meet you, they ſay, We believe, but, when they aſſemble privately together, they bite their fingers' ends out of wrath againſt you Say unto them, Die in your wrath verily GOD knoweth the innermoſt part of your breaſts If good happen unto you, it grieveth them, and if evil befal you, they rejoice at it. But if ye be patient, and fear GOD, their ſubtlety ſhall not hurt you at all, for GOD comprehendeth whatever they do Call to mind when thou wenteſt forth early from thy family, that thou mighteſt prepare the faithful a camp for war[x], and GOD heard and knew

[w] Beſides yourſelves]—i e Of a different religion

[x] When thou wenteſt forth to prepare a camp, &c]—This was at the battle of Ohod, a mountain about four miles to the north of Medina The Koreiſh, to revenge their loſs at Bedr (1), the next year, being the third of the Hejra, got together an army of 3000 men, among whom there were 200 horſe, and 700 armed with coats of mail Theſe forces marched under the conduct of Abu Sofian, and ſat down at Dhu'lholeifa, a village about ſix miles from Medina Mohammed, being much inferior to his enemies in numbers, at firſt determined to keep himſelf within the town, and receive them there, but afterwards, the advice of ſome of his companions prevailing, he marched out againſt them at the head of 1000 men (ſome ſay he had 1050 men, and others but 900) of whom 100 were armed with coats of mail, but he had no more than one horſe, beſides his own, in his whole army With theſe forces he formed a camp in a village near Ohod, which mountain he contrived to have on his back, and, the better to ſecure his men from being ſurrounded, he placed fifty archers in the rear, with ſtrict orders not to quit their poſt When they came to engage, Mohammed had the better at firſt, but afterwards, by the fault of his archers, who left their ranks for the ſake of the plunder, and ſuffered the enemy's horſe to encompaſs the Moham-

(1) See before p 56

medans

knew it; when two companies of you were anxiously thoughtful, so that ye became faint-hearted [y]; but GOD was the supporter of them both, and in GOD let the faithful trust. And GOD had already given you the victory at BEDR [z], when ye were inferior in number, therefore fear GOD, that ye may be thankful. When thou saidst unto the faithful, Is it not enough for you, that your LORD should assist you with three thousand angels, sent down from heaven? Verily if ye persevere, and fear GOD, and your enemies come upon you suddenly, your LORD will assist you with five thousand angels, distinguished by their horses and attire [a]. And this GOD designed only as good tidings for you [b], that your hearts might rest secure. for victory is from GOD alone, the mighty, the wise That he should cut off the uttermost part of the unbelievers, or cast them down, or that they should be overthrown and unsuccessful, is nothing to thee. It is no business of thine, whether GOD be turned unto them, or whether he punish them, they are surely unjust doers [c]. To GOD belongeth

medans, and attack them in the rear, he lost the day, and was very near losing his life, being struck down by a shower of stones, and wounded in the face with two arrows, on pulling out of which his two fore-teeth dropped out Of the Moslems 70 men were slain, and among them Hamza, the uncle of Mohammed, and of the infidels 22 (1) To excuse the ill success of this battle, and to raise the drooping courage of his followers, is Mohammed's drift in the remaining part of this chapter

[y] When two companies of you were anxiously thoughtful, &c]—These were some of the families of Banu Salma, of the tribe of al Khazraj, and Banu l Hareth, of the tribe of al Aws, who composed the two wings of Mohammed's army Some ill impression had been made on them by Abda'llah Ebn Obba Solul, then an infidel, who, having drawn off 300 men, told them that they were going to certain death, and advised them to return back with him, but he could prevail on but a few, the others being kept firm by the divine influence, as the following words intimate (2)

[z] See before, p 56

[a] Distinguished, &c] The angels who assisted the Mohammedans at Bedr, rode, say the commentators, on black and white horses, and had on their heads white and yellow sashes, the ends of which hung down between their shoulders

[b] As good tidings for you]—i e As an earnest of future success

[c] It is no business of thine whether GOD be turned unto them, &c] This passage was revealed when Moham-

(1) ABULFEDA, in vita Moham p. 64, &c EIMACIN l 1 PRIDEAUX's Life of Moham p 80 (2) Al BEIDAWI

med

longeth whatſoever is in heaven and on earth; he ſpareth whom he pleaſeth, and he puniſheth whom he pleaſeth, for GOD is merciful O true believers, devour not uſury, doubling it two-fold, but fear GOD, that ye may proſper. and fear the fire which is prepared for the unbelievers, and obey GOD, and his apoſtle, that ye may obtain mercy And run with emulation to obtain remiſſion from your LORD, and paradiſe, whoſe breadth equalleth the heavens and the earth, which is prepared for the godly, who give alms in proſperity and adverſity, who bridle their anger, and forgive men. for GOD loveth the beneficent[d]. And who, after they have committed a crime, or dealt unjuſtly with their own ſouls, remember GOD, and aſk pardon for their ſins, (for who forgiveth ſins except GOD?) and perſevere not in what they have done knowingly their reward ſhall be pardon from their LORD, and gardens wherein rivers flow, they ſhall remain therein for ever and how excellent is the reward of thoſe who labour! There have already been before you examples of puniſhment of infidels, therefore go through the earth, and behold what hath been the end of thoſe who accuſe GOD's apoſtles of impoſture This book is a declaration unto men, and a direction, and an admonition to the pious. And be not diſmayed, neither be ye grieved, for ye ſhall be ſuperior to the unbelievers, if ye believe.

med received the wounds abovementioned at the battle of Ohod, and cried out, How ſhall that people proſper who have ſtained their prophet's face with blood, while he called them to their Lord? The perſon who wounded him was Otba, the ſon of Abu Wakkâs (1)

[d] It is related of Haſan, the ſon of Ali, that a ſlave, having once thrown a diſh on him boiling hot, as he ſat at table, and fearing his maſter's reſentment, fell immediately on his knees, and repeated theſe words, Paradiſe is for thoſe who bridle their anger Haſan anſwered, I am not angry The ſlave proceeded, And for thoſe who forgive men I forgive you, ſaid Haſan The ſlave, however, finiſhed the verſe, adding, For GOD loveth the beneficent Since it is ſo, replied Haſan, I give you your liberty, and four hundred pieces of ſilver (2) A noble inſtance of moderation and generoſity

(1) Al BEIDAWI ABULFED ubi ſupra (2) V D'HERBELOT, Bibl Orient Art. Haſan

If

If a wound hath happened unto you in war [e], a like wound hath already happened unto the unbelieving people [f]: and we cauſe theſe days of different ſucceſs interchangeably to ſucceed each other among men, that GOD may know thoſe who believe, and may have martyrs from among you; (GOD loveth not the workers of iniquity,) and that GOD might prove thoſe who believe, and deſtroy the infidels. Did ye imagine that ye ſhould enter paradiſe, when as yet GOD knew not thoſe among you who fought ſtrenuouſly in his cauſe, nor knew thoſe who perſevered with patience? Moreover ye did ſometime wiſh for death before that ye met it [g], but ye have now ſeen it, and ye looked on, but retreated from it. MOHAMMED is no more than an apoſtle; the other apoſtles have already deceaſed before him if he die therefore, or be ſlain, will ye turn back on your heels [h]? But he who turneth back on his heels, will not hurt GOD at all; and GOD will ſurely reward the thankful. No ſoul can die unleſs by the permiſſion of GOD, according to what is written in the

[e] If a wound hath happened unto you in war] That is, by your being worſted at Ohod

[f] A like wound hath happened to the infidels] When they were defeated at Bedr It is obſervable, that the number of Mohammedans, ſlain at Ohod, was equal to that of the idolaters ſlain at Bedr, which was ſo ordered by GOD for a reaſon to be given elſewhere (1)

[g] Ye wiſhed for death, &c] Several of Mohammed's followers, who were not preſent at Bedr, wiſhed for an opportunity of obtaining, in another action, the like honour as thoſe had gained who fell martyrs in that battle, yet were diſcouraged on ſeeing the ſuperior numbers of the idolaters in the expedition of Ohod On which occaſion this paſſage was revealed (2)

[h] Mohammed is no more than an apoſtle, &c] Theſe words were revealed when it was reported in the battle of Ohod, that Mohammed was ſlain, whereupon the idolaters cried out to his followers, Since your prophet is ſlain, return to your ancient religion, and to your friends, if Mohammed had been a prophet, he had not been ſlain It is related that a Moſlem, named Ans Ebn al Nadar, uncle to Ans Ebn Malec, hearing theſe words, ſaid aloud to his companions, My friends, though Mohammed be ſlain, certainly Mohammed's LORD liveth, and dieth not, therefore value not your lives, ſince the prophet is dead, but fight for the cauſe for which he fought Then he cried out, O GOD, I am excuſed before thee, and acquitted in thy ſight of what they ſay, and drawing his ſword, fought valiantly till he was killed (3)

(1) In not. ad cap 8 (2) Al BEIDAWI. (3) Idem

book

book containing the determinations of things[i]. And whoſo chooſeth the reward of this world, we will give him thereof: but whoſo chooſeth the reward of the world to come, we will give him thereof; and we will ſurely reward the thankful How many prophets have encountered thoſe who had many myriads of troops[j] and yet they deſponded not in their mind for what had befallen them in fighting for the religion of GOD, and were not weakened, neither behaved themſelves in an abject manner GOD loveth thoſe who perſevere patiently And their ſpeech was no other than that they ſaid, Our LORD, forgive us our offences, and our tranſgreſſions in our buſineſs, and confirm our feet, and help us againſt the unbelieving people And GOD gave them the reward of this world, and a glorious reward in the life to come, for GOD loveth the well-doers O ye who believe, if ye obey the infidels, they will cauſe you to turn back on your heels, and ye will be turned back and periſh[k] but GOD is your LORD; and he is the beſt helper We will ſurely caſt a dread into the hearts of the unbelievers[l], becauſe they have aſſociated with GOD that concerning which he ſent them down no power their dwelling ſhall be the fire of

[i] No ſoul can die, unleſs by the permiſſion of GOD, &c] Mohammed, the more effectually to ſtill the murmurs of his party on their defeat, repreſents to them, that the time of every man's death is decreed and predetermined by GOD, and that thoſe who fell in the battle, could not have avoided their fate, had they ſtaid at home, whereas they had now obtained the glorious advantage of dying martyrs for the faith Of the Mohammedan doctrine of abſolute predeſtination I have ſpoken in another place (1)

[k] If ye obey the infidels, they will cauſe you to turn back, &c] This paſſage was alſo occaſioned by the endeavours of the Koreiſh to ſeduce the Mohammedans to their old idolatry, as they fled in the battle of Ohod

[l] We will ſurely caſt a dread into the hearts of the unbelievers &c] To this Mohammed attributed the ſudden retreat of Abu Sofian and his troops, without making any farther advantage of their ſucceſs, only giving Mohammed a challenge to meet them next year at Bedr, which he accepted Others ſay that as they were on their march home, they repented they had not utterly extirpated the Mohammedans, and began to think of going back to Medina for that purpoſe, but were prevented by a ſudden conſternation, or panic fear, which fell on them from GOD (2)

(1) Prelim Diſc ſect IV

(2) Al BEIDAWI

hell; and the receptacle of the wicked ſhall be miſerable. GOD had already made good unto you his promiſe, when ye deſtroyed them by his permiſſion [m], until ye became faint-hearted, and diſputed concerning the command of the apoſtle, and were rebellious [n]; after GOD had ſhewn you what ye deſired. Some of you choſe this preſent world, and others of you choſe the world to come [o]. Then he turned you to flight from before them, that he might make trial of you, (but he hath now pardoned you, for GOD is indued with beneficence towards the faithful,) when ye went up as ye fled, and looked not back on any, while the apoſtle called you, in the uttermoſt part of you [p]. Therefore GOD rewarded you with affliction on affliction, that ye be not grieved hereafter for the ſpoils which ye fail of, nor for that which befalleth you [q], for GOD is well acquainted with whatever ye do Then he ſent down upon you, after affliction, ſecurity; a ſoft ſleep which fell on ſome part of you; but other part were troubled by

[m] GOD had already made good unto you his promiſe, &c] i e In the beginning of the battle, when the Moſlems had the advantage, putting the idolaters to flight, and killing ſeveral of them

[n] Till ye became faint-hearted, and diſputed the command of the apoſtle, &c] That is, till the bow-men, who were placed behind to prevent their being ſurrounded, ſeeing the enemy fly, quitted their poſt, contrary to Mohammed's expreſs orders, and diſperſed themſelves to ſeize the plunder, whereupon Khaled Ebn al Walid, perceiving their diſorder, fell on their rear with the horſe which he commanded, and turned the fortune of the day It is related, that though Abda'llah Ebn Jobair, their captain, did all he could to make them keep their ranks, he had not ten that ſtayed with him out of the whole fifty (1)

[o] Some of you choſe this preſent world, and others of you choſe the world to come] The former were they, who, tempted by the ſpoil, quitted their poſt, and the latter, they who ſtood firm by their leader

[p] And the apoſtle called you, &c] Crying aloud, Come hither to me, O ſervants of GOD, I am the apoſtle of GOD, he who returneth back ſhall enter paradiſe But, notwithſtanding all his endeavours to rally his men, he could not get above thirty of them about him

[q] Therefore GOD rewarded you with affliction, &c] i e GOD puniſhed your avarice and diſobedience, by ſuffering you to be beaten by your enemies, and to be diſcouraged by the report of your prophet's death, that ye might be inured to patience under adverſe fortune, and not repine at any loſs or diſappointment for the future

(1) Al BEIDAWI V ABULFED vit Moh p 65, 66 & not. ib

their

their own ſouls[r], falſely thinking of GOD a fooliſh imagination, ſaying, Will any thing of the matter happen unto us[s]? Say, Verily the matter belongeth wholly unto GOD. They concealed in their minds what they declared not unto thee, ſaying[t], If any thing of the matter had happened unto us[u], we had not been ſlain here. Anſwer, If ye had been in your houſes, verily they would have gone forth to fight, whoſe ſlaughter was decreed, to the places where they died, and this came to paſs, that GOD might try what was in your breaſts, and might diſcern what was in your hearts for GOD knoweth the innermoſt parts of the breaſts of men. Verily they among you who turned their backs on the day whereon the two armies met each other at OHOD, SATAN cauſed them to ſlip, for ſome crime which they had committed[w] but now hath GOD forgiven them; for GOD is gracious and merciful. O true believers, be not as they who believed not, and ſaid of their brethren, when they had journeyed in the land, or had been at war, If they had been with us, thoſe had not died, nor had theſe been ſlain. whereas what befel them was ſo ordained that GOD might make it matter of ſighing in their hearts. GOD giveth life, and cauſeth to die. and GOD ſeeth that which ye do. Moreover, if ye be ſlain, or die in defence of the religion of GOD; verily pardon from GOD, and mercy is better than

[r] Then he ſent down upon you a ſoft ſleep, &c] After the action, thoſe who had ſtood firm in the battle were refreſhed, as they lay in the field, by falling into an agreeable ſleep, ſo that the ſwords fell out of their hands, but thoſe who had behaved themſelves ill were troubled in their minds, imagining they were now given over to deſtruction (1)

[s] Will any thing of the matter happen unto us?] That is, Is there any appearance of ſucceſs, or of the divine favour and aſſiſtance, which we have been promiſed (2)

[t] Saying, &c] i e To themſelves, or to one another in private

[u] If any thing of the matter had happened unto us, &c] If GOD had aſſiſted us according to his promiſe, or, as others interpret the words, if we had taken the advice of Abdallah Ebn Obba Solul, and had kept within the town of Medina, our companions had not loſt their lives (3)

[w] For ſome crime which they had committed] viz For their covetouſneſs in quitting their poſt to ſeize the plunder

(1) Al BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN (2) Idem (3) Idem

what they heap together of worldly riches. And if ye die, or be ſlain, verily unto GOD ſhall ye be gathered. And as to the mercy granted unto the diſobedient from GOD, thou, O MOHAMMED! haſt been mild towards them, but if thou hadſt been ſevere, and hard-hearted, they had ſurely ſeparated themſelves from about thee. Therefore forgive them, and aſk pardon for them and conſult them in the affair of war, and, after thou haſt deliberated, truſt in GOD, for GOD loveth thoſe who truſt in him If GOD help you, none ſhall conquer you, but if he deſert you, who is it that will help you after him? Therefore in GOD let the faithful truſt. It is not the part of a prophet to defraud[x], for he who defraudeth, ſhall bring with him what he hath defrauded any one of on the day of the reſurrection[y]. Then ſhall every ſoul be paid what he hath gained and they ſhall not be treated unjuſtly. Shall he therefore who followeth that which is well-pleaſing unto GOD, be as he who bringeth on himſelf wrath from GOD, and whoſe receptacle is hell? an evil journey ſhall it be thither There ſhall be degrees of rewards and puniſhments with GOD; for GOD ſeeth what they do. Now hath GOD been gracious unto the believers when he raiſed up among them an apoſtle of their own nation[z], who ſhould recite his ſigns unto them, and

[x] It is not the part of a prophet to defraud, &c.] This paſſage was revealed, as ſome ſay, on the diviſion of the ſpoil at Bedr, when ſome of the ſoldiers ſuſpected Mohammed of having privately taken a ſcarlet carpet, made all of ſilk, and very rich which was miſſing (1) Others ſuppoſe the archers, who occaſioned the loſs of the battle of Ohod, left their ſtation becauſe they imagined Mohammed would not give them their ſhare of the plunder, becauſe, as it is related, he once ſent out a party, as an advanced guard, and in the mean time, attacking the enemy, took ſome ſpoils, which he divided among thoſe who were with him in the action, and gave nothing to the party that was abſent on duty (2)

[y] He who defraudeth ſhall bring with him what he hath defrauded any one of, on the day of reſurrection] According to a tradition of Mohammed, whoever cheateth another, will on the day of judgment carry his fraudulent purchaſe publicly on his neck

[z] Of their own nation] Some copies, inſtead of min anfoſihim, i. e. Of themſelves, read min anfaſihim, i. e. Of the nobleſt among them, for ſuch was the tribe of Koreiſh, of which Mohammed was deſcended (3)

(1) AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN (2) AL BEIDAWI (3) Idem

purify them, and teach them the book of the KORAN and wiſdom[a], whereas they were before in manifeſt error After a misfortune hath befallen you at OHOD, (ye had already obtained two equal advantages[b],) do ye ſay, Whence cometh this? Anſwer, This is from yourſelves[c] for GOD is almighty. And what happened unto you, on the day whereon the two armies met, was certainly by the permiſſion of GOD, and that he might know the faithful, and that he might know the ungodly. It was ſaid unto them, Come, fight for the religion of GOD, or drive back the enemy they anſwered, If we had known ye went out to fight, we had certainly followed you[d]. They were on that day nearer unto unbelief, than they were to faith, they ſpake with their mouths, what was not in their hearts but GOD perfectly knew what they concealed, who ſaid of their brethren, while themſelves ſtaid at home, If they had obeyed us, they had not been ſlain Say, Then keep back death from yourſelves, if ye ſay truth Thou ſhalt in no wiſe reckon thoſe who have been ſlain at OHOD in the cauſe of GOD, dead, nay, they are ſuſtained alive with their LORD[e], rejoicing for what GOD of his favour hath granted them, and being glad for thoſe, who, coming after them, have not as yet overtaken them[f], becauſe there ſhall no fear

[a] And wiſdom] i e The Sonna (1)

[b] Ye had already obtained two equal advantages] viz In the battle of Bedr, where ye ſlew ſeventy of the enemy, equalling the number of thoſe who loſt their lives at Ohod, and alſo took as many priſoners (2)

[c] This is from yourſelves] It was the conſequence of your diſobeying the orders of the prophet, and abandoning your poſt for the ſake of plunder

[d] If we had known ye went out to fight, &c] That is, if we had conceived the leaſt hopes of ſucceſs when ye marched out of Medina to encounter the infidels, and had not known that ye went rather to certain deſtruction, than to battle, we had gone with you But this Mohammed here tells them was only a feigned excuſe, the true reaſon of their ſtaying behind being their want of faith and firmneſs in their religion (3)

[e] See before, p 27

[f] Being glad for thoſe, who coming after them, have not as yet overtaken them] i e Rejoicing alſo for their ſakes, who are deſtined to ſuffer martyrdom, but have not as yet attained it (4)

(1) Al BEIDAWI (2) See before p 56 (3) Al BEIDAWI (4) V Revel vi 11

come on them, neither ſhall they be grieved. They are filled with joy for the favour which they have received from GOD, and his bounty, and for that GOD ſuffereth not the reward of the faithful to periſh. They who hearkened unto GOD and his apoſtle, after a wound had befallen them at Ohod[g], ſuch of them as do good works, and fear GOD, ſhall have a great reward, unto whom certain men ſaid, Verily the men of MECCA have already gathered forces againſt you, be ye therefore afraid of them[h], but this increaſed their faith, and they ſaid, GOD is our ſupport, and the moſt excellent patron. Wherefore

[g] They who hearkened to GOD and his apoſtle, &c.] The commentators differ a little as to the occaſion of this paſſage When news was brought to Mohammed, after the battle of Ohod, that the enemy, repenting of their retreat, were returning towards Medina, he called about him thoſe who had ſtood by him in the battle, and marched out to meet the enemy as far as Homara al Aſad, about eight miles from that town, notwithſtanding ſeveral of his men were ſo ill of their wounds that they were forced to be carried, but a panic fear having ſeized the army of the Koreiſh, they changed their reſolution, and continued their march home, of which Mohammed having received intelligence, he alſo went back to Medina and, according to ſome commentators, the Korân here approves the faith and courage of thoſe who attended the prophet on this occaſion Others ſay, the perſons intended in this paſſage were thoſe who went with Mohammed the next year, to meet Abu Sofian and the Koreiſh according to their challenge, at Bedr (1), where they waited ſometime for the enemy, and then returned home, for the Koreiſh, though they ſet out from Mecca, yet never came ſo far as the place of appointment, their hearts failing them on their march, which Mohammed attributed to their being ſtruck with a terror from GOD (2) This expedition the Arabian hiſtorians call the ſecond or leſſer expedition of Bedr

[h] Unto whom certain men ſaid, Verily thoſe of Mecca have already gathered forces againſt you, &c.] The perſons who thus endeavoured to diſcourage the Mohammedans, were, according to one tradition, ſome of the tribe of Abd Kais, who, going to Medina, were bribed by Abu Sofiân with a camel's load of dried raiſins, and, according to another tradition, it was Noaim Ebn Maſud al Aſhjai, who was alſo bribed with a ſhe-camel ten months gone with young, (a valuable preſent in Arabia) This Noaim, they ſay, finding Mohammed and his men preparing for the expedition, told them that Abu Sofian, to ſpare them the pains of coming ſo far as Bedr, would ſeek them in their own houſes, and that none of them could poſſibly eſcape, otherwiſe than by timely flight Upon which Mohammed, ſeeing his followers a little diſpirited, ſwore that he would go himſelf, though not one of them went with him And accordingly he ſet out with ſeventy horſemen, every one of them crying out Haſbna Allah, i e GOD is our ſupport (3)

(1) See before, p 83 not. l. (2) Al BEIDAWI. (3) Idem,

they

they returned with favour from GOD, and advantage[i], no evil befel them: and they followed what was well pleaſing unto GOD, for GOD is endowed with great liberality. Verily that devil[k] would cauſe you to fear his friends but be ye not afraid of them, but fear me, if ye be true believers. They ſhall not grieve thee, who emulouſly haſten unto infidelity, for they ſhall never hurt GOD at all. GOD will not give them a part in the next life, and they ſhall ſuffer a great puniſhment. Surely thoſe who purchaſe infidelity with faith, ſhall by no means hurt GOD at all, but they ſhall ſuffer a grievous puniſhment. And let not the unbelievers think, becauſe we grant them lives long and proſperous, that it is better for their ſouls we grant them long and proſperous lives only that their iniquity may be increaſed, and they ſhall ſuffer an ignominious puniſhment. GOD is not diſpoſed to leave the faithful in the condition which ye are now in[l], until he ſever the wicked from the good, nor is GOD diſpoſed to make you acquainted with what is a hidden ſecret, but GOD chooſeth ſuch of his apoſtles as he pleaſeth, to reveal his mind unto[m] believe therefore in GOD, and his apoſtles, and if ye believe, and fear GOD, ye ſhall receive a great reward. And let not thoſe who are covetous of what GOD of his bounty hath granted them, imagine that their avarice is better for them: nay, rather it is worſe for them. That which they have covetouſly reſerved ſhall be bound as a collar

[i] Wherefore they returned with advantage] While they ſtaid at Bedr, expecting the enemy, they opened a kind of fair there, and traded to very conſiderable profit (1)

[k] That devil] Meaning either Noaim, or Abu Sofian himſelf

[l] GOD will not leave the faithful in the condition ye are now in, &c] That is, he will not ſuffer the good and ſincere among you to continue indiſcriminately mixed with the wicked and hypocritical

[m] Nor is GOD diſpoſed to acquaint you with what is a hidden ſecret, but GOD chuſeth ſuch of his apoſtles as he pleaſeth] This paſſage was revealed on the rebellious and diſobedient Mohammedans telling Mohammed, that if he was a true prophet, he could eaſily diſtinguiſh thoſe who ſincerely believed from the diſſemblers (2)

(1) Al BEIDAWI (2) Idem

about their neck[n], on the day of the reſurrection: unto GOD belongeth the inheritance of heaven and earth, and GOD is well acquainted with what ye do. GOD hath already heard the ſaying of thoſe who ſaid, Verily GOD is poor, and we are rich[o] we will ſurely write down what they have ſaid, and the ſlaughter which they have made of the prophets without a cauſe, and we will ſay unto them, Taſte ye the pain of burning This ſhall they ſuffer for the evil which their hands have ſent before them, and becauſe GOD is not unjuſt towards mankind who alſo ſay, Surely GOD hath commanded us, that we ſhould not give credit to any apoſtle, until one ſhould come unto us with a ſacrifice, which ſhould be conſumed by fire[p]. Say,

[n] That which they have covetouſly reſerved ſhall be bound as a collar about their neck, &c] Mohammed is ſaid to have declared, that whoever pays not his legal contribution of alms duly, ſhall have a ſerpent twiſted about his neck at the reſurrection (1)

[o] GOD hath heard the ſaying of thoſe who ſaid, GOD is poor, and we are rich] It is related that Mohammed, writing to the Jews of the tribe of Kainoka to invite them to Iſlam, and exhorting them, among other things, in the words of the Koran (2), to lend unto GOD on good uſury Phineas Ibn Azura, on hearing that expreſſion, ſaid, Surely GOD is poor, ſince they aſk to borrow for him Whereupon Abu Beer, who was the bearer of that letter, ſtruck him on the face, and told him, that if it had not been for the truce between them, he would have ſtruck off his head and on Phineas's complaining to Mohammed of Abu Beer's ill uſage, this paſſage was revealed (3)

[p] The Jews, ſay the commentators, inſiſted that it was a peculiar proof of the miſſion of all the prophets ſent to them, that they could, by their prayers, bring down fire from heaven to conſume the ſacrifice, and therefore they expected Mohammed ſhould do the like And ſome Mohammedan doctors agree that GOD appointed this miracle as the teſt of all their prophets, except only JESUS and Mohammed (4) though others ſay any other miracle was a proof full as ſufficient as the bringing down fire from heaven (5)

The Arabian Jews ſeem to have drawn a general conſequence from ſome particular inſtances of this miracle in the Old Teſtament (6) And the Jews, at this day, ſay, that, firſt, the fire which fell from heaven on the altar of the tabernacle (7), after the conſecration of Aaron and his ſons, and afterwards that which deſcended on the altar of Solomon's temple, at the dedication of that ſtructure (8), was fed and conſtantly maintained there by the prieſts, both day and night, without being ſuffered once to go out, till it was extinguiſhed, as ſome think, in the reign of Manaſſes (9), but, accord-

(1) Al BEIDAWI, JALIALO'DDIN (2) Chap 2 p 45 (3) Al BEIDAWI (4) JALLALO'DDIN (5) Al BEIDAWI (6) Lev ix 24 1 Chron xxi 26 2 Chron vii 1 1 Kings xviii 38 (7) Levit ix 24 (8) 2 Chron vii 1 (9) Talmud, Zebachim, c 6

ing

Say, Apoſtles have already come unto you before me[q], with plain proofs, and with the miracle which ye mention why therefore have ye ſlain them, if ye ſpeak truth? If they accuſe thee of impoſture, the apoſtles before thee have alſo been accounted impoſtors, who brought evident demonſtrations, and the ſcriptures, and the book which enlighteneth the underſtanding Every ſoul ſhall taſte of death, and ye ſhall have your rewards on the day of reſurrection; and he who ſhall be far removed from hell-fire, and ſhall be admitted into paradiſe, ſhall be happy. but the preſent life is only a deceitful proviſion. Ye ſhall ſurely be proved in your poſſeſſions, and in your perſons, and ye ſhall hear from thoſe unto whom the ſcripture was delivered before you, and from the idolaters, much hurt but if ye be patient, and fear GOD, this is a matter that is abſolutely determined And when GOD accepted the covenant of thoſe to whom the book of the law was given, ſaying, Ye ſhall ſurely publiſh it unto mankind, ye ſhall not hide it yet they threw it behind their backs, and ſold it for a ſmall price, but woful is the price for which they have ſold it[r] Think not that they who rejoice at what they have done, and expect to be praiſed for what they have not done[s], think not, O prophet,

ing to the more received opinion, when the temple was deſtroyed by the Chaldeans Several Chriſtians (1) have given credit to this aſſertion of the Jews, with what reaſon I ſhall not here inquire, and the Jews, in conſequence of this notion, might probably expect, that a prophet, who came to reſtore GOD's true religion ſhould rekindle for them this heavenly fire, which they have not been favoured with ſince the Babyloniſh captivity

[q] Apoſtles have already come unto you before me] Among theſe the commentators reckon Zacharias and John the Baptiſt

[r] Woful is the price for which they have ſold it] i e Dearly ſhall they pay hereafter for taking bribes to ſtifle the truth Whoever concealeth the knowledge which GOD has given him, ſays Mohammed, GOD ſhall put on him a bridle of fire on the day of reſurrection

[s] Who rejoice at what they have done, and expect to be praiſed for what they have not done] i e Who think they have done a commendable deed in concealing and diſſembling the teſtimonies in the Pentateuch concerning Mohammed, and in diſobeying GOD's commands to the contrary It is ſaid, that Mohammed, once aſking

(1) See PRIDEAUX's Connect part 1 book 3, p 158

prophet, that they ſhall eſcape from puniſhment, for they ſhall ſuffer a painful puniſhment, and unto GOD belongeth the kingdom of heaven and earth. GOD is almighty. Now in the creation of heaven and earth, and the viciſſitude of night and day, are ſigns unto thoſe who are indued with underſtanding; who remember GOD ſtanding, and ſitting, and lying on their ſides[t], and meditate on the creation of heaven and earth, ſaying, O LORD, thou haſt not created this in vain, far be it from thee therefore deliver us from the torment of hell-fire O LORD, ſurely whom thou ſhalt throw into the fire, thou wilt alſo cover with ſhame nor ſhall the ungodly have any to help them. O LORD, we have heard a preacher[u] inviting us to the faith, and ſaying, Believe in your LORD and we believed. O LORD, forgive us therefore our ſins, and expiate our evil deeds from us, and make us to die with the righteous. O LORD, give us alſo the reward which thou haſt promiſed by thy apoſtles, and cover us not with ſhame on the day of reſurrection, for thou art not contrary to the promiſe. Their LORD therefore anſwereth them, ſaying, I will not ſuffer the work of him among you who worketh to be loſt, whether he be male, or female[w] the one of you is from the other. They therefore who have left their country, and have been turned out of their houſes, and have ſuf-

aſking ſome Jews concerning a paſſage in their law, they gave him an anſwer very different from the truth, and were mightily pleaſed that they had, as they thought, deceived him Others, however, think this paſſage relates to ſome pretended Mohammedans, who rejoiced in their hypocriſy, and expected to be commended for their wickedneſs (1)

[t] Who remember GOD ſtanding, and ſitting, and lying on their ſides] viz At all times and in all poſtures Al Beidawi mentions a ſaying of Mohammed to one Imran Ebn Hoſein, to this purpoſe, Pray ſtanding, if thou art able, if not, ſitting, and, if thou canſt not ſit up, then as thou lieſt along Al Shafei directs that the ſick ſhould pray lying on their right ſide

[u] We have heard a preacher, &c] viz Mohammed with the Korân

[w] Whether he be male or female] Theſe words were added, as ſome relate, on Omm Salma, one of the prophet's wives, telling him that ſhe had obſerved GOD often made mention of the men who fled their country for the ſake of their faith, but took no notice of the women (2)

(1) Al BEIDAWI (2) Idem

fered

fered for my ſake, and have been ſlain in battle; verily I will expiate their evil deeds from them, and I will ſurely bring them into gardens watered by rivers, a reward from GOD and with GOD is the moſt excellent reward Let not the proſperous dealing of the unbelievers in the land deceive thee[x]: it is but a ſlender proviſion[y], and then their receptacle ſhall be hell an unhappy couch ſhall it be. But they who fear their LORD ſhall have gardens through which rivers flow, they ſhall continue therein for ever this is the gift of GOD, for what is with GOD ſhall be better for the righteous than ſhort-lived worldly proſperity. There are ſome of thoſe who have received the ſcriptures, who believe in GOD, and that which hath been ſent down unto you, and that which hath been ſent down to them, ſubmitting themſelves unto GOD[z], they ſell not the ſigns of GOD for a ſmall price theſe ſhall have their reward with their LORD, for GOD is ſwift in taking an account[a]. O true believers, be patient, and ſtrive to excel in patience, and be conſtant-minded, and fear GOD, that ye may be happy.

[x] Let not the proſperous dealing, &c] The original word properly ſignifies, ſucceſs in the affairs of life, and particularly in trade It is ſaid that ſome of Mohammed's followers, obſerving the proſperity the idolaters enjoyed, expreſſed their regret that thoſe enemies of GOD ſhould live in ſuch eaſe and plenty, while themſelves were periſhing for hunger and fatigue, whereupon this paſſage was revealed (1)

[y] A ſlender proviſion] Becauſe of its ſhort continuance

[z] There are ſome of thoſe who have received the ſcriptures, who believe in GOD, &c] The perſons here meant, ſome will have to be Abdallah Ebn Salam (2) and his companions, others ſuppoſe they were forty Arabs of Najran, or thirty-two Ethiopians, or elſe eight Greeks, who were converted from Chriſtianity to Mohammediſm, and others ſay this paſſage was revealed in the ninth year of the Hejra, when Mohammed, on Gabriel's bringing him the news of the death of Aſhama, king of Ethiopia, who had embraced the Mohammedan religion ſome years before (3), prayed for the ſoul of the departed, at which ſome of his hypocritical followers were diſpleaſed, and wondered that he ſhould pray for a Chriſtian proſelyte whom he had never ſeen (4).

[a] GOD is ſwift in taking an account.] See before, p 35 and 36, and the Preliminary Diſcourſe, ſec. IV

(1) Al BEIDAWI (2) See before, p 70 and 71. (3) See the Preliminary Diſcourſe, p 59 (4) Al BEIDAWI

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Intitled, Women[b]; revealed at MEDINA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

O MEN! fear your LORD, who hath created you out of one man, and out of him created his wife, and from them two hath multiplied many men, and women and fear GOD by whom ye beſeech one another[c], and reſpect women[d] who have borne you, for GOD is watching over you. And give the orphans, when they come to age, their ſubſtance; and render them not in exchange bad for good[e] and devour not their ſubſtance by adding it to your own ſubſtance for this is a great ſin. And if ye fear that ye ſhall not act with equity towards orphans of the female ſex, take in marriage of ſuch other women as pleaſe you, two, or three, or four, and not more[f].

[b] This title was given to this chapter, becauſe it chiefly treats of matters relating to women, as marriages, divorces, dower, prohibited degrees, &c

[c] By whom ye beſeech one another] Saying I beſeech thee, for GOD's ſake (1)

[d] Women] Literally, the wombs

[e] Render them not in exchange bad for good] That is, take not what ye find of value among their effects to your own uſe, and give them worſe in its ſtead

[f] And if ye fear that ye cannot act with equity towards orphans of the female ſex, &c] The commentators underſtand this paſſage differently The true meaning ſeems to be, as it is here tranſlated, Mohammed adviſing his followers, that if they found they ſhould wrong the female orphans under their care either by marrying them againſt their inclinations, for the ſake of their riches or beauty, or by not uſing or maintaining them ſo well as they ought, by reaſon of their having already ſeveral wives, they ſhould rather chooſe to marry other women, to avoid all occaſion of ſin (2) Others ſay that when this paſſage was revealed, many of the Arabians, fearing trouble and temptation, refuſed to take upon them the charge of orphans, and yet multiplied wives to a great exceſs, and uſed them ill, or, as others write, gave themſelves up to fornication, which occaſioned the paſſage And, according to theſe, its meaning muſt be either, that if they feared they could not act juſtly towards orphans, they had as great reaſon to apprehend they could not deal equitably with ſo many wives, and therefore are commanded to marry but a certain number, or elſe, that, ſince fornication was a crime as well as wronging of orphans, they ought to avoid that alſo, by marrying according to their abilities (3)

(1) Al BEIDAWI (2) Idem (3) Idem, JALLALO'DDIN

But

But if ye fear that ye cannot act equitably towards ſo many, marry one only, or the ſlaves which ye ſhall have acquired[g]. This will be eaſier, that ye ſwerve not from righteouſneſs And give women their dowry freely but if they voluntarily remit unto you any part of it, enjoy it with ſatisfaction and advantage. And give not unto thoſe who are weak of underſtanding, the ſubſtance which GOD hath appointed you to preſerve for them, but maintain them thereout, and clothe them, and ſpeak kindly unto them And examine the orphans[h] until they attain the age of marriage[i] but if ye perceive they are able to manage their affairs well, deliver their ſubſtance unto them; and waſte it not extravagantly, or haſtily, becauſe they grow up[k]. Let him who is rich abſtain entirely from the orphans eſtates, and let him who is poor take thereof according to what ſhall be reaſonable[l]. And when ye deliver their ſubſtance unto them, call witneſſes thereof in their preſence GOD taketh ſufficient account of your actions. Men ought to have a part of what their parents and kindred leave behind them when they die and women alſo ought to have a part of what their parents and kindred leave[m], whether it be little, or whether it be much, a determinate part

[g] Or the ſlaves which ye ſhall have acquired] For ſlaves requiring not ſo large a dower, nor ſo good and plentiful a maintenance as free women, a man might keep ſeveral of the former as eaſily as one of the latter

[h] Examine the orphans, &c] i e Try whether they be well grounded in the principles of religion, and have ſufficient prudence for the management of their affairs Under this expreſſion is alſo comprehended the duty of a curator's inſtructing his pupils in thoſe reſpects

[i] Until they attain the age of marriage] Or age of maturity, which is generally reckoned to be fifteen, a deciſion ſupported by a tradition of their prophet, though Abu Hanifah thinks eighteen the proper age (1)

[k] Becauſe they grow up] i e Becauſe they will ſhortly be of age, to receive what belongs to them

[l] According to what ſhall be reaſonable] That is, no more than what ſhall make ſufficient recompence for the trouble of their education

[m] Women ought to have a part of what their parents and kindred leave] This law was given to aboliſh a cuſtom of the pagan Arabs, who ſuffered not women or children to have any part of their huſband's or father's inheritance, on pretence that they only ſhould inherit who were able to go to war (2)

(1) Al BEIDAWI (2) Idem

is due to them. And when they who are of kin are preſent at the dividing of what is left, and alſo the orphans, and the poor, diſtribute unto them ſome part thereof, and if the eſtate be too ſmall, at leaſt ſpeak comfortably unto them. And let thoſe fear to abuſe orphans, who if they leave behind them a weak-offspring are ſolicitous for them. let them therefore fear GOD, and ſpeak that which is convenient[n]. Surely they who devour the poſſeſſions of orphans unjuſtly, ſhall ſwallow down nothing but fire into their bellies, and ſhall broil in raging flames. GOD hath thus commanded you concerning your children. A male ſhall have as much as the ſhare of two females[o] but if they be females only, and above two in number, they ſhall have two third parts of what the deceaſed ſhall leave[p], and if there be but one, ſhe ſhall have the half[q]. And the parents of the deceaſed ſhall have each of them a ſixth part of what he ſhall leave, if he have a child but if he have no child, and his parents be his heirs, then his mother ſhall have the third part[r]. And if he have brethren, his mother ſhall have a ſixth part, after the legacies[s]

[n] Let them ſpeak that which is convenient] viz Either to comfort the children, or to aſſure the dying father they ſhall be juſtly dealt by (1)

[o] A male ſhall have as much as the ſhare of two females] This is the general rule to be followed in the diſtribution of the eſtate of the deceaſed, as may be obſerved in the following caſes (2)

[p] If there be above two in number, they ſhall have two third parts, &c] Or if there be two, and no more, they will have the ſame ſhare

[q] And the remaining third part, or the remaining moiety of the eſtate, which is not here expreſsly diſpoſed of, if the deceaſed leaves behind him no ſon, nor a father, goes to the public treaſury It muſt be obſerved that Mr Selden is certainly miſtaken, when, in explaining this paſſage of the Korân, he ſays, that, where there is a ſon and an only daughter, each of them will have a moiety (3), for the daughter can have a moiety but in one caſe only, that is, where there is no ſon, for if there be a ſon, ſhe can have but a third, according to the above-mentioned rule

[r] His mother ſhall have the third part] And his father conſequently the other two-thirds (4)

[s] The legacies] By legacies in this and the following paſſages are chiefly meant thoſe bequeathed to pious uſes, for the Mohammedans approve not of a perſon's giving away his ſubſtance from his family and near relations on any other account.

(1) AL BEIDAWI (2) V Prelim Diſc ſect VI (3) SELDEN, de Succeſſ ad leges Ebræor l 1 c 1. (4) AL BEIDAWI.

which

which he ſhall bequeath, and his debts be paid. Ye know not whether your parents or your children be of greater uſe unto you. This is an ordinance from GOD, and GOD is knowing and wiſe. Moreover ye may claim half of what your wives ſhall leave, if they have nō iſſue; but if they have iſſue, then ye ſhall have the fourth part of what they ſhall leave, after the legacies which they ſhall bequeath, and the debts be paid. They alſo ſhall have the fourth part of what ye ſhall leave, in caſe ye have no iſſue, but if ye have iſſue, then they ſhall have the eighth part of what ye ſhall leave, after the legacies which ye ſhall bequeath, and your debts be paid. And if a man or woman's ſubſtance be inherited by a diſtant relation [t], and he or ſhe have a brother or ſiſter, each of them two ſhall have a ſixth part of the eſtate [u]. But if there be more than this number, they ſhall be equal ſharers in a third part, after payment of the legacies which ſhall be bequeathed, and the debts without prejudice to the heirs. This is an ordinance from GOD. and GOD is knowing and gracious. Theſe are the ſtatutes of GOD. And whoſo obeyeth GOD and his apoſtle, GOD ſhall lead him into gardens wherein rivers flow, they ſhall continue therein for ever, and this ſhall be great happineſs. But whoſo diſobeyeth GOD, and his apoſtle, and tranſgreſſeth his ſtatutes, GOD ſhall caſt him into hell-fire; he ſhall remain therein for ever, and he ſhall ſuffer a ſhameful puniſhment. If any of your women be guilty of whoredom [w], produce four witneſſes from among you againſt them, and if they bear witneſs againſt them, impriſon them in ſeparate apartments until death releaſe them, or GOD affordeth

[t] For this may happen by contract, or on ſome other ſpecial occaſion.

[u] Each of them ſhall have a ſixth part, &c] Here, and in the next caſe, the brother and ſiſter are made equal ſharers, which is an exception to the general rule, of giving a male twice as much as a female, and the reaſon is ſaid to be, becauſe of the ſmallneſs of the portions, which deſerves not ſuch exactneſs of diſtribution, for, in other caſes, the rule holds between brother and ſiſter, as well as other relations (1)

[w] Whoredom] Either adultery or fornication

(1) See this chap near the end

them

them a way to eſcape [x]. And if two of you commit the like wickedneſs [y], puniſh them both [z] but if they repent and amend, let them both alone. for GOD is eaſy to be reconciled and merciful. Verily repentance will be accepted with GOD, from thoſe who do evil ignorantly, and then repent ſpeedily, unto them will GOD be turned for GOD is knowing and wiſe. But no repentance ſhall be accepted from thoſe who do evil until the time when death preſenteth itſelf unto one of them, and he ſaith, Verily I repent now, nor unto thoſe who die unbelievers for them have we prepared a grievous puniſhment O true believers, it is not lawful for you to be heirs of women againſt their will [a], nor to hinder them from marrying

[x] Impriſon them—till death releaſe them, &c.] Their puniſhment in the beginning of Mohammediſm, was to be immured till they died, but afterwards this cruel doom was mitigated, and they might avoid it by undergoing the puniſhment ordained in its ſtead by the Sonna, according to which the maidens are to be ſcourged with a hundred ſtripes, and to be baniſhed for a full year, and the married women to be ſtoned (1)

[y] And if two of you commit the like wickedneſs, &c.] The commentators are not agreed whether the text ſpeaks of fornication or ſodomy Al Zamakhſhari, and, from him, al Beidawi, ſuppoſe the former is here meant but Jallalo'ddin is of opinion that the crime intended in this paſſage muſt be committed between two men, and not between a man and a woman, not only becauſe the pronouns are in the maſculine gender, but, becauſe both are ordered to ſuffer the ſame ſlight puniſhment, and are both allowed the ſame repentance and indulgence, and eſpecially, for that a different and much ſeverer puniſhment is appointed for the women in the preceding words Abu l Kaſem Hebatallah takes ſimple fornication to be the crime intended, and that this paſſage is abrogated by that of the 24th chapter where the man and the woman, who ſhall be guilty of fornication, are ordered to be ſcourged with a hundred ſtripes each

[z] Puniſh them both.] The original is, Do them ſome hurt or damage by which ſome underſtand that they are only to reproach them in public (2), or ſtrike them on the head with their ſlippers (3), (a great indignity in the eaſt,) though ſome imagine they may be ſcourged (4)

[a] It is not lawful for you to be heirs of women againſt their will.] It was cuſtomary among the pagan Arabs, when a man died, for one of his relations to claim a right to his widow, which he aſſerted by throwing his garment over her, and then he either married her himſelf, if he thought fit, on aſſigning her the ſame dower that her former huſband had done, or kept her dower, and married her to another, or elſe refuſed to let her marry, unleſs ſhe redeemed herſelf by quitting what ſhe might claim of her huſband's goods (5) This unjuſt cuſtom is aboliſhed by this paſſage

(1) JALLALO'DDIN AL BEIDAWI (2) Idem YAHYA, ABU'L KASEM HEBATALLAH AL BEIDAWI (3) JALLALO'DDIN, AL BEIDAWI (4) AL BEIDAWI (5) Idem

others,

others [b], that ye may take away part of what ye have given them in dowry; unleſs they have been guilty of a manifeſt crime [c]: but converſe kindly with them. And, if ye hate them, it may happen that ye may hate a thing wherein GOD hath placed much good. If ye be deſirous to exchange a wife for another wife [d], and ye have already given one of them a talent [e], take not away any thing therefrom [f]. will ye take it by ſlandering her, and doing her manifeſt injuſtice? And how can ye take it, ſince the one of you hath gone in unto the other, and they have received from you a firm covenant? Marry not women whom your fathers have had to wife, (except what is already paſt) for this is uncleanneſs, and an abomination, and an evil way. Ye are forbidden to marry your mothers, and your daughters, and your ſiſters, and your aunts, both on the fathers and on the mothers ſide, and your brothers daughters, and your ſiſters daughters, and your mothers who have given you ſuck, and your foſter-ſiſters, and your wives mothers, and your daughters-in-law which are under your tuition, born of your wives unto whom ye have gone in, (but, if ye have not gone in unto them, it ſhall be no ſin in you to marry them,) and the wives of your ſons who proceed out of your loins; and ye are alſo forbidden to take to wife two ſiſters [g]: except what is is already paſt for GOD is gracious and merciful. * Ye are alſo forbidden to take to wife V. free women who are married, except thoſe women

[b] Nor to hinder them from marrying others] Some ſay theſe words are directed to huſbands who uſed to imprison their wives without any juſt cauſe, and out of covetouſneſs, merely to make them relinquiſh their dower or their inheritance (1)

[c] A manifeſt crime] Such as diſobedience, ill behaviour, immodeſty, and the like (2)

[d] If ye be deſirous to exchange a wife for another wife, &c] That is, by divorcing one, and marrying another

[e] A talent] i e Ever ſo large a dower.

[f] See chap 2 p 120

[g] Ye are forbidden to take to wife two ſiſters] The ſame was alſo prohibited by the Levitical law (3)

(1) Al BEIDAWI. (2) Idem (3) Levit. xviii 18

whom your right hands ſhall poſſeſs as ſlaves [h]. This is ordained you from GOD. Whatever is beſide this, is allowed you; that ye may, with your ſubſtance, provide wives for yourſelves, acting that which is right, and avoiding whoredom. And, for the advantage which ye receive from them, give them their reward [i], according to what is ordained: but it ſhall be no crime in you to make any other agreement among yourſelves [k], after the ordinance ſhall be complied with, for GOD is knowing and wiſe. Whoſo among you hath not means ſufficient that he may marry free women, who are believers, let him marry with ſuch of your maid-ſervants whom your right-hands poſſeſs as are true believers, for GOD well knoweth your faith. Ye are the one from the other [l]: therefore marry them with the conſent of their maſters, and give them their dower according to juſtice; ſuch as are modeſt, not guilty of whoredom, nor entertaining lovers. And, when they are married, if they be guilty of adultery, they ſhall ſuffer half the puniſhment which is appointed for the free women [m]. This is allowed unto him among you, who feareth to ſin by marrying free women; but, if ye abſtain from

[h] Ye are forbidden to take to wife free women who are married, except thoſe women whom ye ſhall poſſeſs as ſlaves] According to this paſſage, it is not lawful to marry a free woman that is already married, be ſhe a Mohammedan or not, unleſs ſhe be legally parted from her huſband by divorce, but it is lawful to marry thoſe who are ſlaves, or taken in war, after they ſhall have gone through the proper purifications, though their huſbands be living. Yet, according to the deciſion of Abu Hanifah, it is not lawful to marry ſuch whoſe huſbands ſhall be taken, or in actual ſlavery with them (1).

[i] Give them their reward] That is, aſſign them their dower

[k] It ſhall be no crime in you to make any other agreement among yourſelves, &c] That is, either to increaſe the dower, or to abate ſome part, or even the whole of it

[l] Ye are one from the other]—Being alike deſcended from Adam, and of the ſame faith (2)

[m] The ſlaves, if guilty of adultery, ſhall ſuffer half the puniſhment of the free women] The reaſon of this is, becauſe they are not preſumed to have had ſo good education. A ſlave, therefore, in ſuch a caſe, is to have fifty ſtripes, and to be baniſhed for half a year; but ſhe ſhall not be ſtoned, becauſe it is a puniſhment which cannot be inflicted by halves (3).

(1) Al BEIDAWI (2) Idem. (3) Idem

marrying ſlaves, it will be better for you. GOD is gracious and merciful. GOD is willing to declare theſe things unto you, and to direct you according to the ordinances of thoſe who have gone before you[n], and to be merciful unto you GOD is knowing and wiſe. * GOD deſireth to be gracious unto you; but they who follow their luſts[o], deſire that ye ſhould turn aſide from the truth with great deviation. GOD is minded to make his religion light unto you for man was created weak[p]. O true believers! conſume not your wealth among yourſelves in vanity[q]; unleſs there be merchandizing among you by mutual conſent. neither ſlay yourſelves[r], for GOD is merciful towards you and whoever doth this maliciouſly[s] and wickedly, he will ſurely caſt him to be broiled in hell-fire, and this is eaſy with GOD. If ye turn aſide from the grievous ſins[t] of thoſe which ye

[n] Of thoſe who have been before you] viz Of the prophets, and other holy and prudent men of former ages (1)

[o] They who follow their luſts, &c] Some commentators ſuppoſe that theſe words have a particular regard to the Magians, who formerly were frequently guilty of inceſtuous marriages, their prophet Zerduſht having allowed them to take their mothers and ſiſters to wife, and alſo to the Jews, who likewiſe might marry within ſome of the degrees here prohibited (2)

[p] For man was created weak]—Being unable to refrain from women, and too ſubject to be led away by carnal appetites (3)

[q] Conſume not your wealth in vanity] That is, employ it not in things prohibited by GOD, ſuch as uſury, extortion, rapine, gaming, and the like (4)

[r] Neither ſlay yourſelves] Literally, ſlay not your ſouls, i e ſays Jallalo'ddin, by committing mortal ſins, or ſuch crimes as will deſtroy them Others, however, are of opinion, that ſelf-murder, which the Gentile Indians did, and ſtill do, often practiſe in honour of their idols, or elſe the taking away the life of any true believer, is hereby forbidden (5)

[s] See Wiſdom xvi 14 in the vulgate

[t] Grievous ſins.] Theſe ſins al Beidâwi, from a tradition of Mohammed, reckons to be ſeven, (equalling in number the ſins called deadly by Chriſtians,) that is to ſay, idolatry, murder, falſly accuſing modeſt women of adultery, waſting the ſubſtance of orphans, taking of uſury, deſertion in a religious expedition, and diſobedience to parents But Ebn Abbâs ſays, they amount to near ſeven hundred, and others ſuppoſe that idolatry only, of different kinds, in worſhipping idols, or any crea-

(1) JALLALO'DDIN AL BEIDAWI (2) AL BEIDAWI (3) Idem, JALLALO'DDIN. (4) Idem (5) AL BEIDAWI

ye are forbidden to commit, we will cleanſe you from your ſmaller faults; and will introduce you into paradiſe with an honourable entry Covet not that which GOD hath beſtowed on ſome of you preferably to others[u]. Unto the men ſhall be given a portion of what they ſhall have gained; and unto the women ſhall be given a portion of what they ſhall have gained[w]: therefore aſk GOD of his bounty, for GOD is omniſcient. We have appointed unto every one kindred, to inherit part of what their parents and relations ſhall leave at their deaths. And unto thoſe with whom your right hands have made an alliance, give their part of the inheritance[x]; for GOD is witneſs of all things. Men ſhall have the pre-eminence above women, becauſe of thoſe advantages wherein GOD hath cauſed the one of them to excel the other[y], and for that which they expend of their

ture, either in oppoſition to, or jointly with, the true GOD, is here intended, that ſin being generally eſteemed by Mohammedans, and, in a few lines after declared, by the Korân itſelf, to be the only one which GOD will not pardon (1)

[u] Covet not that which GOD hath beſtowed on ſome of you preferably to others] Such as honour, power, riches, and other worldly advantages Some, however, underſtand this of the diſtribution of inheritances according to the preceding determinations, whereby ſome have a larger ſhare than others (2)

[w] Unto the men ſhall be given a portion of what they ſhall have gained, &c] That is, they ſhall be bleſſed according to their deſerts, and ought, therefore, inſtead of diſpleaſing GOD, by envying of others, to endeavour to merit his favour by good works, and to apply to him by prayer

[x] Unto thoſe with whom ye have made an alliance, give their part, &c] A precept conformable to an old cuſtom of the Arabs, that, where perſons mutually entered into a ſtrict friendſhip or confederacy, the ſurviving friend ſhould have a ſixth part of the deceaſed's eſtate But this was afterwards abrogated, according to Jallalo'ddin and al Zamakhſhari, at leaſt as to infidels The paſſage may likewiſe be underſtood of a private contract, whereby the ſurvivor is to inherit a certain part of the ſubſtance of him that dies firſt (3)

[y] Becauſe of thoſe advantages wherein GOD hath cauſed the one to excel the other] Such as ſuperior underſtanding and ſtrength, and the other privileges of the male ſex, which enjoys the dignities in church and ſtate, goes to war in defence of GOD's true religion, and claims a double ſhare of their deceaſed anceſtors' eſtates (4)

(1) Al BEIDAWI See before, chap 2 p 16 and 17 (2) Idem, JALLALO'DDIN (3) V Al BEIDAWI (4) Idem

ſub-

ſubſtance in maintaining their wives. The honeſt women are obedient, careful in the abſence of their huſbands [a], for that GOD preſerveth them, by committing them to the care and protection of the men. But thoſe whoſe perverſeneſs ye ſhall be apprehenſive of, rebuke, and remove them into ſeparate apartments [a], and chaſtiſe them [b]. But, if they ſhall be obedient unto you, ſeek not an occaſion of quarrel againſt them, for GOD is high and great. And, if ye fear a breach between the huſband and wife, ſend a judge [c] out of his family, and a judge out of her family. If they ſhall deſire a reconciliation, GOD will cauſe them to agree; for GOD is knowing and wiſe. Serve GOD, and aſſociate no creature with him; and ſhew kindneſs unto parents, and relations, and orphans, and the poor, and your neighbour, who is of kin to you [d], and alſo your neighbour who is a ſtranger, and to your familiar companion, and the traveller, and the captives whom your right hands ſhall poſſeſs; for GOD loveth not the proud or vainglorious, who are covetous, and recommend covetouſneſs unto men, and conceal that which GOD, of his bounty, hath given them [e], (we have prepared a ſhameful puniſhment for the unbelievers,) and who beſtow their wealth in charity to be obſerved of men, and believe not in GOD, nor in the laſt day. and

[a] Careful in the abſence of their huſbands] Both to preſerve their huſbands ſubſtance from loſs or waſte, and themſelves from all degrees of immodeſty (1)

[a] Remove them into ſeparate apartments] That is, baniſh them from your bed

[b] And chaſtiſe them] By this paſſage the Mohammedans are, in plain terms, allowed to beat their wives, in caſe of ſtubborn diſobedience, but not in a violent or dangerous manner (2)

[c] Send a judge, &c] i e Let the magiſtrate firſt ſend two arbitrators or mediators, one on each ſide, to compoſe the difference, and prevent, if poſſible, the ill conſequences of an open rupture

[d] Your neighbour who is of kin to you] Either of your own nation or religion

[e] And conceal that which GOD, of his bounty, hath given them] Whether it be wealth, knowledge, or any other talent, whereby they may help their neighbour

(1) AL BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN (2) Al

whoever hath SATAN for a companion, an evil companion hath he! And what harm would befal them if they ſhould believe in GOD, and the laſt-day, and give alms out of that which GOD hath beſtowed on them? ſince GOD knoweth them who do this. Verily GOD will not wrong any one, even the weight of an ant[f]: and, if it be a good action, he will double it, and will recompenſe it in his ſight with a great reward. How will it be with the unbelievers, when we ſhall bring a witneſs out of each nation againſt itſelf[g], and ſhall bring thee, O, MOHAMMED! a witneſs againſt theſe people[h]? In that day they who have not believed, and have rebelled againſt the apoſtle of GOD, ſhall wiſh the earth was levelled with them; and they ſhall not be able to hide any matter from GOD. O true believers! come not to prayers when ye are drunk[i], until ye underſtand what ye ſay, nor when ye are polluted by emiſſion of ſeed, unleſs ye be travelling on the road, until ye waſh yourſelves. But, if ye be ſick, or on a journey, or any of you come from eaſing nature, or have touched women, and find no water, take

[f] God will not wrong any one the weight of an ant] Either by diminiſhing the recompence due to his good actions, or too ſeverely puniſhing his ſins On the contrary, he will reward the former in the next life, far above their deſerts The Arabic word Dharra, which is tranſlated an ant, ſignifies a very ſmall ſort of that inſect, and is uſed to denote a thing that is exceeding ſmall, as a mite

[g] When we ſhall bring a witneſs out of each nation, &c] When the prophet, who was ſent to each nation in particular, ſhall, on the laſt-day, be produced to give evidence againſt ſuch of them as refuſed to believe on him, or obſerved not the laws which he brought

[h] Againſt theſe people] That is, the Arabians, to whom Mohammed was, as he pretended, more peculiarly ſent (1)

[i] Come not to prayers when ye are drunk, &c] It is related, that, before the prohibition of wine, Abd'alrahmân Ebn Awf made an entertainment, to which he invited ſeveral of the apoſtle's companions, and after they had ate and drank plentifully, the hour of evening prayer being come, one of the company roſe up to pray, but, being overcome with liquor, made a ſhameful blunder in reciting a paſſage of the Korân, whereupon, to prevent the danger of any ſuch indecency for the future, this paſſage was revealed (2)

(1) See before, c 2 p 26. (2) Al BEIDAWI

fine

fine clean ſand, and rub your faces and your hands therewith[k]; for GOD is merciful, and inclined to forgive. Haſt thou not obſerved thoſe unto whom part of the ſcripture[l] was delivered? they ſell error, and deſire that ye may wander from the right way, but GOD well knoweth your enemies. GOD is a ſufficient patron, and GOD is a ſufficient helper. Of the Jews there are ſome who pervert words from their places[m], and ſay, We have heard, and have diſobeyed; and do thou hear without underſtanding our meaning[n], and look upon us[o]. perplexing with their tongues, and reviling the true religion. But if they had ſaid, We have heard, and do obey; and do thou hear, and regard us[p] certainly it were better for them, and more right. But GOD hath curſed them by reaſon of their infidelity; therefore a few of them only ſhall believe O ye to whom the ſcriptures have been given! believe in the revelation which we have ſent down, confirming that which is with you, before we deface your countenances, and render them as the back parts thereof[q], or curſe them, as we curſed thoſe who tranſgreſſed on the ſabbath-

[k] Take ſand, and rub your faces and your hands therewith] See the Prelim Diſc ſect IV

[l] Thoſe unto whom part of the ſcripture was delivered] Meaning the Jews, and particularly their Rabbins

[m] Who pervert words from their places] That is, (according to the commentators,) who change the true ſenſe of the Pentateuch, by diſlocating paſſages, or by wreſting the words according to their own fancies and luſts (1) But Mohammed ſeems chiefly to intend here the Jews bantering of him in their addreſſes, by making uſe of equivocal words, ſeeming to bear a good ſenſe in Arabic, but ſpoken by them in deriſion according to their acceptation in Hebrew, an inſtance of which he gives in the following words

[n] Without underſtanding] Literally, without being made to hear or apprehend what we ſay,

[o] Look upon us] The original word is Raina, which being a term of reproach in Hebrew, Mohammed forbad their uſing it to him (2)

[p] And regard us] In Arabic, Ondhorna, which, having no ill equivocal meaning, the prophet ordered them to uſe inſtead of the former

[q] And render them as the back parts thereof] That is, perfectly plain, without eyes, noſe, or mouth The original, however, may alſo be tranſlated, and turn them behind, by wringing their necks backward

(1) Al BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN (2) See before, c 2 p 21

day[s]; and the command of GOD was fulfilled. Surely GOD will not pardon the giving him an equal[t], but will pardon any other ſin, except that to whom he pleaſeth[t]: and whoſo giveth a companion unto GOD, hath deviſed a great wickedneſs. Haſt thou not obſerved thoſe who juſtify themſelves[u]? But GOD juſtifieth whomſoever he pleaſeth, nor ſhall they be wronged a hair[w]. Behold, how they imagine a lie againſt GOD; and therein is iniquity ſufficiently manifeſt. Haſt thou not conſidered thoſe to whom part of the ſcripture hath been given? They believe in falſe gods and idols[x], and ſay of thoſe who believe not, Theſe are more rightly directed in the way of truth, than they who believe on MOHAMMED Thoſe are the men whom GOD hath curſed, and unto him whom GOD ſhall curſe, thou ſhalt ſurely find no helper. Shall they have a part of the kingdom[y], ſince even then they would not beſtow the

[s] Thoſe who trangreſſed on the ſabbath-day] And were therefore changed into apes (1)

[t] The giving him an equal] That is, idolatry of all kinds

[t] To whom he pleaſeth] viz To thoſe who repent (2)

[u] Thoſe who juſtify themſelves] i e The Chriſtians and Jews, who called themſelves the children of GOD, and his beloved people (3)

[w] A hair] The original word ſignifies a little ſkin in the cleft of a date-ſtone, and is uſed to expreſs a thing of no value

[x] In falſe gods and idols] The Arabic is, in Jibt and Taghût The former is ſuppoſed to have been the proper name of ſome idol, but it ſeems rather to ſignify any falſe deity in general. The latter we have explained already (4)

It is ſaid, that this paſſage was revealed on the following occaſion: Hoyai Ebn Akhtab and Caab Ebn al Aſhraf (5) two chief men among the Jews, with ſeveral others of that religion, went to Mecca, and offered to enter into a confederacy with the Koreiſh, and to join their forces againſt Mohammed But the Koreiſh, entertaining ſome jealouſy of them, told them, that the Jews pretended to have a written revelation from heaven, as well as Mohammed, and their doctrines and worſhip approached much nearer to what he taught, than the religion of their tribe, Wherefore, ſaid they, if you would ſatisfy us that you are ſincere in the matter, do as we do, and worſhip our gods Which propoſal, if the ſtory be true, theſe Jews complied with, out of their inveterate hatred to Mohammed (6)

[y] Shall they have a part of the

(1) See before, c 2 p 13 and 14 (2) Al BEIDAWI (3) Idem, JALALO'DDIN See c, 5 not far from the beginning (4) See p 48, note [o] (5) See before, p 71, note [s] (6) Al BEIDAWI

king-

the ſmalleſt matter[z] on men? Do they envy other men that which GOD, of his bounty, hath given them[a]? We formerly gave unto the family of ABRAHAM a book of revelations and wiſdom; and we gave them a great kingdom[b]. There is of them who believeth on him[c], and there is of them who turneth aſide from him but the raging fire of hell is a ſufficient puniſhment. Verily thoſe who diſbelieve our ſigns, we will ſurely caſt to be broiled in hell-fire; ſo often as their ſkins ſhall be well burned, we will give them other ſkins in exchange, that they may taſte the ſharper torment, for GOD is mighty and wiſe. But thoſe who believe, and do that which is right, we will bring into gardens watered by rivers, therein ſhall they remain for ever, and there ſhall they enjoy wives free from all impurity; and we will lead them into perpetual ſhades. Moreover, GOD commandeth you to reſtore what ye are truſted with to the owners[d], and when ye judge between

kingdom, &c.] For the Jews gave out that they ſhould be reſtored to their ancient power and grandeur (1), depending, it is to be preſumed, on the victorious Meſſiah whom they expected

[z] The ſmalleſt matter.] The original word properly ſignifies a ſmall dent on the back of a date-ſtone, and is commonly uſed to expreſs a thing of little or no value

[a] Do they envy other men that which GOD, of his bounty, hath given them?] Viz. The ſpiritual gifts of prophecy, and divine revelations, and the temporal bleſſings of victory and ſucceſs, beſtowed on Mohammed and his followers

[b] We gave them a great kingdom.] Wherefore GOD will doubtleſs ſhew equal favour to this prophet, (a deſcendant alſo of Abraham,) and thoſe who believe on him (2)

[c] Who believeth on him.] Namely, on Mohammed

[d] GOD commandeth you to return what ye are intruſted with to the owners.] This paſſage, it is ſaid, was revealed on the day of the taking of Mecca, the primary deſign of it being to direct Mohammed to return the keys of the Caaba to Othmân Ebn Telha Ebn Abdaldâr, who had then the honour to be keeper of that holy place (3), and not to deliver them to his uncle al Abbâs, who, having already the cuſtody of the well Zemzem, would fain have had alſo that of the Caaba. The prophet, obeying the divine order, Othmân was ſo affected with the juſtice of the action, notwithſtanding he had, at firſt, refuſed him entrance, that he immediately embraced Mohammediſm, whereupon the guardianſhip of the Caaba was

(1) Al BEIDAWI (2) Idem (3) See PRIDEAUX's Life of Moham. p. 2

con-

men, that ye judge according to equity. and ſurely an excellent virtue it is to which GOD exhorteth you; for GOD both heareth and ſeeth. O true believers! obey GOD, and obey the apoſtle, and thoſe who are in authority among you, and, if ye differ in any thing, refer it unto GOD[e] and the apoſtle, if ye believe in GOD, and the laſt-day this is better, and a fairer method of determination. Haſt thou not obſerved thoſe who pretend they believe in what hath been revealed unto thee, and what hath been revealed before thee? They deſire to go to judgment before TAGHUT[f], although they have been commanded not to believe in him, and SATAN deſireth to ſeduce them into a wide error. And, when it is ſaid unto them, Come unto the book which GOD hath ſent down, and to the apoſtle, thou ſeeſt the ungodly turn aſide from thee with great averſion. But how will they behave when a misfortune ſhall befal them, for that which their hands have ſent before them? Then will they come unto thee, and ſwear by GOD,

confirmed to this Othman and his heirs for ever (1)

[e] Unto GOD] i e To the deciſion of the Korân

[f] They deſire to go to judgment before Taghut] That is, before the tribunals of infidels This paſſage was occaſioned by the following remarkable accident A certain Jew having a diſpute with a wicked Mohammedan, the latter appealed to the judgment of Caab Ebn al Aſhraf, a principal Jew, and the former to Mohammed But, at length, they agreed to refer the matter to the prophet ſingly, who, giving it in favour of the Jew, the Mohammedan refuſed to acquieſce in his ſentence, but would needs have it re-heard by Omar, afterwards Khalif When they came to him, the Jew told him that Mohammed had already decided the affair in his favour, but that the other would not ſubmit to his determination, and the Mohammedan confeſſing this to be true, Omar bid them ſtay a little, and, fetching his ſword, ſtruck off the obſtinate Moſlem's head, ſaying aloud, This is the reward of him who refuſeth to ſubmit to the judgment of GOD and his apoſtle And, from this action, Omar had the ſurname of al Faruk, which alludes both to his ſeparating that knave's head from his body, and to his diſtinguiſhing between truth and falſehood (2) The name of Taghut (3), therefore, in this place, ſeems to be given to Caab Ebn al Aſhraf

(1) AL BEIDAWI See D'HERBEL Bibl Orient p 220, 221 (2) JALALO'DDIN, AL BEIDAWI See D'HERBEL Bibl Orient p 688 and OCKLEY's Hiſt of the Sarac v 1 p 365 (3) See before p 48 and 49

ſaying,

ſaying, If we intended any other, than to do good, and to reconcile the parties[g]. GOD knoweth what is in the hearts of theſe men; therefore let them alone, and admoniſh them, and ſpeak unto them a word which may affect their ſouls. We have not ſent any apoſtle, but that he might be obeyed by the permiſſion of GOD but if they, after they have injured their own ſouls[h], come unto thee, and aſk pardon of GOD, and the apoſtle aſk pardon for them, they ſhall ſurely find GOD eaſy to be reconciled, and merciful. And by thy LORD they will not perfectly believe, until they make thee judge of their controverſies; and ſhall not afterwards find in their own minds any hardſhip in what thou ſhalt determine; but ſhall acquieſce therein with entire ſubmiſſion. And, if we had commanded them, ſaying, Slay yourſelves, or depart from your houſes[i], they would not have done it, except a few of them. And, if they had done what they were admoniſhed, it would certainly have been better for them, and more efficacious for confirming their faith, and we ſhould then have ſurely given them in our ſight an exceeding great reward, and we ſhould have directed them in the right way. Whoever obeyeth GOD and the apoſtle, they ſhall be with thoſe unto whom GOD hath been gracious, of the prophets, and the ſincere, and the martyrs, and the righteous; and theſe are the moſt excellent company. This is bounty from GOD and GOD is ſufficiently knowing. O true believers! take your neceſſary precaution[k] againſt your enemies, and either go forth to

[g] They will ſwear they intended no other than to do good, &c] For this was the excuſe of the friends of the Mohammedan whom Omar ſlew, when they came to demand ſatisfaction for his blood (1)

[h] After they have injured their own ſouls] Viz By acting wickedly, and appealing to the judgment of infidels

[i] Slay yourſelves, or depart from your houſes] Some underſtand theſe words of their venturing their lives in a religious expedition, and others, of their undergoing the ſame puniſhments which the Iſraelites did, for their idolatry in worſhipping the golden calf (2)

[k] Take your precaution] i e Be vigilant, and provide yourſelves with arms and neceſſaries

(1) AL BEIDAWI (2) Idem. See before, p 10 and 11

war

war in ſeparate parties, or go forth all together in a body. There is of you who tarrieth behind[l]; and, if a misfortune befal you, he ſaith, Verily GOD hath been gracious unto me, that I was not preſent with them but, if ſucceſs attend you from GOD, he will ſay, (as if there was no friendſhip between you and him[m],) Would to GOD I had been with them, for I ſhould have acquired great merit. Let them therefore fight for the religion of GOD, who part with the preſent life in exchange for that which is to come[n], for whoſoever fighteth for the religion of GOD, whether he be ſlain, or be victorious[o], we will ſurely give him a great reward. And what ails you, that ye fight not for GOD's true religion, and in defence of the weak among men, women, and children[p]? who ſay, O LORD! bring us forth from this city, whoſe inhabitants are wicked, grant us from before thee a protector, and grant us from before thee a defender[q]. They who believe fight for the religion of

[l] Who tarrieth behind, &c.] Mohammed here upbraids the hypocritical Moſlems, who, for want of faith and conſtancy in their religion, were backward in going to war for its defence

[m] As if there was no friendſhip between you and him] i. e. As one who attendeth not to the public, but his own private intereſt. Or elſe theſe may be the words of the hypocritical Mohammedan himſelf, inſinuating that he ſtayed not behind the reſt of the army by his own fault, but was left by Mohammed, who choſe to let the others ſhare in his good fortune, preferably to him (1)

[n] Who part with the preſent life in exchange for that which is to come] By venturing their lives and fortunes in defence of the faith

[o] Whether he be ſlain, or be victorious] For no man ought to quit the field, till he either fall a martyr, or gain ſome advantage for the cauſe (2)

[p] In defence of the weak, &c.] viz. Thoſe believers who ſtayed behind at Mecca, being detained there either forcibly by the idolaters, or for want of means to fly for refuge to Medina. Al Beidawi obſerves that children are mentioned here, to ſhew the inhumanity of the Koreiſh, who perſecuted even that tender age

[q] O LORD! bring us forth from this city, and grant us from thee a protector, &c.] This petition, the commentators ſay, was heard. For GOD afforded ſeveral of them an opportunity and means of eſcaping, and delivered the reſt at the taking of Mecca by Mohammed, who left Otâb Ebn Oſaid governor of the city and, under his care and protection, thoſe who had ſuffered for their religion, became the moſt conſiderable men in the place

(1) Al BEIDAWI. (2) Idem

GOD;

GOD; but they who believe not, fight for the religion of TAGHUT[r]. Fight therefore againſt the friends of SATAN, for the ſtratagem of SATAN is weak. Haſt thou not obſerved thoſe unto whom it was ſaid, With-hold your hands from war, and be conſtant at prayers, and pay the legal alms[s]? But, when war is commanded them, behold, a part of them fear men as they ſhould fear GOD, or with a greater fear, and ſay, O LORD! wherefore haſt thou commanded us to go to war, and haſt not ſuffered us to wait our approaching end[t]? Say unto them, The proviſion of this life is but ſmall, but the future ſhall be better for him who feareth GOD; and ye ſhall not be in the leaſt injured at the day of judgment. Whereſoever ye be, death will overtake you, although ye be in lofty towers. If good befal them, they ſay, This is from GOD: but, if evil befal them, they ſay, This is from thee, O MOHAMMED[u]! ſay, All is from GOD: and what aileth theſe people, that they are ſo far from underſtanding what is ſaid unto them? Whatever good befalleth thee, O man! it is from GOD; and whatever evil befalleth thee, it is from thyſelf[w]. We have ſent thee an apoſtle unto men, and GOD is a ſufficient witneſs thereof. Whoever obeyeth the apoſtle, obeyeth GOD, and whoever turneth back, we have not ſent thee to be a keeper over them[x]. They ſay, Obedience. yet, when they go forth from thee,

[r] Taghût] See before, p 48 and 49

[s] Haſt thou not obſerved thoſe unto whom it was ſaid, With-hold your hands from war, &c] Theſe were ſome of Mohammed's followers, who readily performed the duties of their religion, ſo long as they were commanded nothing that might endanger their lives

[t] Our approaching end] That is, a natural death

[u] If evil befal them, they ſay, This is from thee] As the Jews, in particular, who pretended that their land was grown barren, and proviſions ſcarce, ſince Mohammed came to Medina (1)

[w] Whatever evil befalleth thee, it is from thyſelf] Theſe words are not to be underſtood as contradictory to the preceding, That all proceeds from GOD, ſince the evil which befals mankind, though ordered by GOD, is yet the conſequence of their own wicked actions

[x] We have not ſent thee to be a keeper over them] Or to take an account of their actions, for this is GOD's part

(1) Al BEIDAWI.

part

part of them meditate by night a matter different from what thou ſpeakeſt, but GOD ſhall write down what they meditate by night: therefore let them alone, and truſt in GOD, for GOD is a ſufficient protector. Do they not attentively conſider the KORAN? if it had been from any beſides GOD, they would certainly have found therein many contradictions. When any news cometh unto them, either of ſecurity or fear, they immediately divulge it; but if they told it to the apoſtle, and to thoſe who are in authority among them, ſuch of them would underſtand the truth of the matter, as inform themſelves thereof from the apoſtle and his chiefs. And, if the favour of GOD, and his mercy, had not been upon you, ye had followed the devil, except a few of you [y]. Fight therefore for the religion of GOD, and oblige not any to what is difficult, except thyſelf [z]: however, excite the faithful to war, perhaps GOD will reſtrain the courage of the unbelievers; for GOD is ſtronger than they, and more able to puniſh. He who intercedeth between men, with a good interceſſion [a], ſhall have a portion thereof, and he who intercedeth, with an evil interceſſion, ſhall have a portion

[y] If GOD's mercy had not been upon you, ye had followed the devil, except a few of you] That is, if GOD had not ſent his apoſtle with the Korân to inſtruct you in your duty, ye had continued in idolatry, and been doomed to deſtruction, except only thoſe, who, by GOD's favour, and their ſuperior underſtanding, ſhould have true notions of the divinity, ſuch, for example, as Zeid Ebn Amru Ebn Nofail (1), and Waraka Ebn Nawfal (2), who left idols, and acknowledged but one GOD, before the miſſion of Mohammed (3)

[z] Oblige not any to what is difficult, except thyſelf] It is ſaid this paſſage was revealed when the Mohammedans refuſed to follow their prophet to the leſſer expedition of Bedr, ſo that he was obliged to ſet out with no more than 70 (4) Some copies vary in this place, and, inſtead of La tokallafo, in the ſecond perſon ſingular, read La nokallafo, in the firſt perſon plural, We do not oblige, &c The meaning being, that the prophet only was under an indiſpenſable neceſſity of obeying GOD's commands, however difficult, but others might chooſe, though at their peril

[a] With a good interceſſion] i e. To maintain the right of a believer, or to prevent his being wronged

(1) V Millium, de Mohammediſmo ante Moham p 311 (2) See the Prelim Diſ p 56 (3) Al BEIDAWI. (4) See before, c 3. p 86

thereof;

thereof; for GOD overlooketh all things. When ye are ſaluted with a ſalutation, ſalute the perſon with a better ſalutation[b], or, at leaſt, return the ſame; for GOD taketh an account of all things. GOD! there is no GOD but he he will ſurely gather you together on the day of reſurrection; there is no doubt of it and who is more true than GOD in what he ſaith? Why are ye divided concerning the ungodly into two parties[c], ſince GOD hath overturned them for what they have committed? Will ye direct him whom GOD hath led aſtray, ſince for him whom GOD ſhall lead aſtray thou ſhalt find no true path? They deſire that ye ſhould become infidels, as they are infidels, and that ye ſhould be equally wicked with themſelves. Therefore take not friends from among them, until they fly their country for the religion of GOD, and if they turn back from the faith, take them, and kill them wherever ye find them, and take no friend from among them, nor any helper, except thoſe who go unto a people who are in alliance with you[d], or thoſe who come unto you, their hearts forbidding them either to fight againſt you, or to fight againſt their own people[e]. And, if GOD pleaſed, he would have permitted them to have prevailed againſt

[b] Salute the perſon with a better ſalutation] By adding ſomething farther As, when one ſalutes another by this form, Peace be upon thee, he ought not only to return the ſalutation, but to add, And the mercy of GOD, and his bleſſing

[c] Why are ye divided concerning the ungodly into two parties?] This paſſage was revealed, according to ſome, when certain of Mohammed's followers, pretending not to like Medina, deſired leave to go elſewhere, and having obtained it, went farther and farther, till they joined the idolaters, or, as others ſay, on occaſion of ſome deſerters at the battle of Ohod, concerning whom the Moſlems were divided in opinion, whether they ſhould be ſlain, as infidels, or not

[d] A people who are in alliance with you] The people here meant, ſay ſome, where the tribe of Khozaah, or, according to others, the Aſlamians, whoſe chief, named Helal Ebn Owaimar, agreed with Mohammed, when he ſet out againſt Mecca, to ſtand neuter, or, as others rather think Banu Becr Ebn Zeid (1)

[e] Whoſe hearts forbid them to fight either againſt you, or their own people] Theſe, it is ſaid, were the tribe of Modlaj, who came in to Mohammed, but would not be obliged to aſſiſt him in war

(1) Al BEIDAWI, JALLALO DDIN

you,

you, and they would have fought againſt you. But, if they depart from you, and fight not againſt you, and offer you peace, GOD doth not allow you to take or kill them. Ye ſhall find others who are deſirous to enter into a confidence with you, and at the ſame time to preſerve a confidence with their own people[f]: ſo often as they return to ſedition, they ſhall be ſubverted therein; and, if they depart not from you, and offer you peace, and reſtrain their hands from warring againſt you, take them and kill them whereſoever ye find them; over theſe have we granted you a manifeſt power. It is not lawful for a believer to kill a believer, unleſs it happen by miſtake[g], and whoſo killeth a believer by miſtake, the penalty ſhall be the freeing of a believer from ſlavery, and a fine to be paid to the family of the deceaſed[h], unleſs they remit it as alms: and, if the ſlain perſon be of a people at enmity with you, and be a true believer, the penalty ſhall be the freeing of a believer[i]; but, if he be of a people in confederacy with you, a fine to be paid to his family, and the freeing of a believer. And he who findeth not wherewith to do this, ſhall faſt two months conſecutively, as a penance enjoined from GOD; and GOD is knowing and wiſe. But whoſo killeth a believer deſignedly, his reward ſhall be hell, he ſhall remain therein for ever[k]; and GOD ſhall be angry with him, and ſhall

[f] Who deſire to enter into a confidence with you, &c.] The perſons hinted at here, were the tribes of Aſad and Ghatfân, or, as ſome ſay, Banu Abdaldâr, who came to Medina, and pretended to embrace Mohammediſm, that they might be truſted by the Moſlems, but, when they returned, fell back to their old idolatry (1)

[g] Unleſs it be by miſtake] That is, by accident, and without deſign This paſſage was revealed to decide the caſe of Ayâſh Ebn Abi Rabia, the brother, by the mother's ſide, of Abu Jahl, who meeting Hareth Ebn Zeid on the road, and not knowing that he had embraced Mohammediſm, ſlew him (2)

[h] And a fine to be paid to the family of the deceaſed] Which fine is to be diſtributed according to the laws of inheritances, given in the beginning of this chapter (3)

[i] The freeing of a true believer] And no fine ſhall be paid, becauſe, in ſuch caſe, his relations, being infidels, and at open war with the Moſlems, have no right to inherit what he leaves (4)

[k] He ſhall remain therein for ever] That is, unleſs he repent

(1) Al Beidawi (2) Idem. (3) Idem (4) Idem

Others,

ſhall curſe him, and ſhall prepare for him a great puniſhment. O true believers! when ye are on a march in defence of the true religion, juſtly diſcern ſuch as ye ſhall happen to meet, and ſay not unto him who ſaluteth you, Thou art not a true believer[l]; ſeeking the accidental goods of the preſent life[m]; for with GOD is much ſpoil. Such have ye formerly been, but GOD hath been gracious unto you[n]; therefore make a juſt diſcernment, for GOD is well acquainted with that which ye do. Thoſe believers who ſit ſtill at home, not having any hurt[o], and thoſe who employ their fortunes, and their perſons, for the religion of GOD, ſhall not be held equal GOD hath preferred thoſe who employ their fortunes, and their perſons, in that cauſe to a degree of honour above thoſe who ſit at home. GOD hath indeed promiſed every one paradiſe, but GOD hath preferred thoſe who fight for the faith before thoſe who ſit ſtill, by adding unto them a great reward, by degrees of honour conferred on them from him, and by granting them forgiveneſs and mercy; for GOD is indulgent

Others, however, underſtand not here an eternity of damnation, (for it is the general doctrine of the Mohammedans, that none who profeſs that faith ſhall continue in hell for ever), but only a long ſpace of time (1)

[l] Say not unto him who ſaluteth you, Thou art not a true believer] On pretence that he only feigns to be a Moſlem, that he might eſcape from you The commentators mention more inſtances than one of perſons ſlain and plundered by Mohammed's men under this pretext, notwithſtanding they declared themſelves Moſlems by repeating the uſual form of words, and ſaluting them, for which reaſon this paſſage was revealed, to prevent ſuch raſh judgments for the future

[m] Seeking the accidental goods of this life] That is, being willing to judge him an infidel, only that ye may kill and plunder him

[n] Such were ye formerly, &c] viz At your firſt profeſſion of Iſlamiſm, before ye had given any demonſtrations of your ſincerity and zeal therein

[o] Not having any hurt] i e Not being diſabled from going to war by ſickneſs, or other juſt impediment It is ſaid that, when the paſſage was firſt revealed, there was no ſuch exception therein, which occaſioned Ebn Omm Mactum, on his hearing it repeated, to object, And what though I be blind? Whereupon Mohammed, falling into a kind of trance, which was ſucceeded by ſtrong agitations, pretended he had received the divine direction to add theſe words to the text (2)

(1) Al BEIDAWI (2) Idem

and merciful. Moreover, unto thoſe whom the angels put to death, having injured their own ſouls[p], the angels ſaid, Of what religion were ye? They anſwered, We were weak in the earth[q]. The angels replied, Was not GOD's earth wide enough, that ye might fly therein to a place of refuge[r]? Therefore their habitation ſhall be hell, and an evil journey ſhall it be thither. except the weak among men, and women, and children, who were not able to find means, and were not directed in the way. theſe, peradventure, GOD will pardon, for GOD is ready to forgive, and gracious. Whoſoever flieth from his country for the ſake of GOD's true religion, ſhall find in the earth many forced to do the ſame, and plenty of proviſions. And whoever departeth from his houſe, and flieth unto GOD and his apoſtle, if death overtake him in the way[s], GOD will be obliged to reward him, for GOD is gracious and merciful. When ye march to war in the earth, it ſhall be no crime in you if ye ſhorten your prayers, in caſe ye fear the infidels may attack you; for the infidels are your open enemy. But when thou, O prophet! ſhalt be among them, and ſhalt pray with them, let a party of them ariſe to prayer with thee, and let them take their arms; and, when they ſhall have worſhipped, let them

[p] Thoſe whom the angels put to death, &c.] Theſe were certain inhabitants of Mecca, who held with the hare, and ran with the hounds, for, though they embraced Mohammediſm, yet they would not leave that city to join the prophet, as the reſt of the Moſlems did, but, on the contrary, went out with the idolaters, and were therefore ſlain with them at the battle of Bedr (1)

[q] We were weak in the earth.] Being unable to fly, and compelled to follow the infidels to war

[r] Was not GOD's earth wide enough, that ye might fly to a place of refuge?] As they did who fled to Ethiopia, and to Medina

[s] If death overtake him in the way.] This paſſage was revealed, ſays al Beidâwi, on account of Jondob Ebn Damra This perſon being ſick, was, in his flight, carried by his ſons on a couch, and, before he arrived at Medina, perceiving his end approached, he clapped his right hand on his left, and ſolemnly plighting his faith to GOD and his apoſtle, died

(1) Al BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN

ſtand

ſtand behind you[t]; and let another party come that hath not prayed, and let them pray with thee, and let them be cautious, and take their arms. The unbelievers would that ye ſhould neglect your arms, and your baggage, while ye pray, that they might turn upon you at once. It ſhall be no crime in you, if ye be incommoded by rain, or be ſick, that ye lay down your arms; but take your neceſſary precaution[u]. GOD hath prepared for the unbelievers an ignominious puniſhment. And when ye ſhall have ended your prayer, remember GOD, ſtanding, and ſitting, and lying on your ſides[w]. But, when ye are ſecure from danger, complete your prayers; for prayer is commanded the faithful, and appointed to be ſaid at the ſtated times. Be not negligent in ſeeking out the unbelieving people, though ye ſuffer ſome inconvenience; for they alſo ſhall ſuffer, as ye ſuffer, and ye hope for a reward from GOD which they cannot hope for; and GOD is knowing and wiſe[x]. We have ſent down unto thee the book of the KORAN with truth, that thou mayeſt judge between men through that wiſdom which GOD ſheweth thee therein, and be not an advocate for the fraudulent[y], but aſk pardon of

[t] And let them ſtand behind you] To defend thoſe who are at prayers, and to face the enemy

[u] Take your neceſſary precaution] By keeping ſtrict guard

[w] Standing, and ſitting, and lying on your ſides] That is, in ſuch poſture as ye ſhall be able (1)

[x] Be not negligent in ſeeking out the unbelievers, &c] This verſe was revealed on occaſion of the unwillingneſs of Mohammed's men to accompany him in the leſſer expedition of Bedr (2)

[y] And be not an advocate for the fraudulent, &c] Tima Ebn Obeirak, of the ſons of Dhafar, one of Mohammed's companions, ſtole a coat of mail from his neighbour Kitada Ebn al Noman, in a bag of meal, and hid it at a Jew's, named Zeid Ebn al Samin Tima being ſuſpected, the coat of mail was demanded of him, but he denying he knew any thing of it, they followed the track of the meal, which had ran out through a hole in the bag, to the Jew's houſe, and there ſeized it, accuſing him of the theft, but he producing witneſſes of his own religion, that he had it of Tima, the ſons of Dhafar came to Mohammed, and deſired him to defend his companion's reputation, and condemn the Jew, which he having ſome thoughts of doing, this paſſage was

(1) See before, c 3 p 90.

(2) Al

of GOD for thy wrong intention, ſince GOD is indulgent and merciful. Diſpute not for thoſe who deceive one another, for GOD loveth not him who is a deceiver or unjuſt[z] Such conceal themſelves from men, but they conceal not themſelves from GOD; for he is with them when they imagine by night a ſaying which pleaſeth him not[a], and GOD comprehendeth what they do Behold, ye are they who have diſputed for them in this preſent life, but who ſhall diſpute with GOD for them on the day of reſurrection, or who will become their patron? yet he who doth evil, or injureth his own ſoul, and afterwards aſketh pardon of GOD, ſhall find GOD gracious and merciful Whoſo committeth wickedneſs, committeth it againſt his own ſoul· GOD is knowing and wiſe. And whoſo committeth a ſin or iniquity, and afterwards layeth it on the innocent, he ſhall ſurely bear the guilt of calumny and manifeſt injuſtice. If the indulgence and mercy of GOD had not been upon thee, ſurely a part of them had ſtudied to ſeduce thee[b], but they ſhall ſeduce themſelves only, and ſhall not hurt thee at all. GOD hath ſent down unto thee the book of the KORAN and wiſdom, and hath taught thee that which thou kneweſt not[c], for the favour of GOD hath been great towards thee. There is no good in the multitude of

revealed, reprehending him for his raſh intention, and commanding him to judge, not according to his own prejudice and opinion, but according to the merit of the caſe (1)

[z] For GOD loveth not a deceiver or unjuſt perſon] Al Beidâwi, as an inſtance of the divine juſtice, adds, that Tima, after the fact above-mentioned, fled to Mecca, and returned to idolatry, and there undermining the wall of a houſe, in order to commit a robbery, the wall fell in upon him, and cruſhed him to death

[a] When they imagine by night a ſaying which pleaſeth him not] That is, when they ſecretly contrive means, by falſe evidence, or otherwiſe, to lay their crimes on innocent perſons

[b] A part of them had ſtudied to ſeduce thee] Meaning the ſons of Dhafar

[c] And hath taught thee that which thou kneweſt not] By inſtructing thee in the knowledge of right and wrong, and the rules of juſtice.

(1) Al BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, YAHYA

their

their private diſcourſes, unleſs in the diſcourſe of him who recommendeth alms, or that which is right, or agreement amongſt men whoever doth this out of a deſire to pleaſe GOD, we will ſurely give him a great reward. But whoſo ſeparateth himſelf from the apoſtle, after true direction hath been manifeſted unto him, and followeth any other way than that of the true believers, we will cauſe him to obtain that to which he is inclined [d], and will caſt him to be burned in hell, and an unhappy journey ſhall it be thither. Verily GOD will not pardon the giving him a companion, but he will pardon any crime beſides that, unto whom he pleaſeth, and he who giveth a companion unto GOD, is ſurely led aſide into a wide miſtake. The infidels invoke, beſide him, only female deities [e], and only invoke rebellious SATAN GOD curſed him, and he ſaid, Verily I will take of thy ſervants a part cut off from the reſt [f], and I will ſeduce them, and will inſinuate vain deſires into them, and I will command them, and they ſhall cut off the ears of cattle [g], and I will command them, and they ſhall change GOD's creature [h] But whoever taketh SATAN for his patron, beſides GOD [i], ſhall ſurely

[d] We will cauſe him to obtain that towards which he is inclined] Viz Error and falſe notions of religion

[e] The infidels invoke beſides him only female deities] Namely, Allat, al Uzza, and Menât, the idols of the Meccans, or the angels, whom they called the daughters of GOD (1)

[f] A part cut off from the reſt] Or, as the original may be tranſlated, A part deſtined or predetermined to be ſeduced by me

[g] And they ſhall cut off the ears of cattle] Which was done out of ſuperſtition by the old Pagan Arabs See more of this cuſtom in the notes to the 5th chapter

[h] And they ſhall change GOD's creature] Either by maiming it, or putting it to uſes not deſigned by the Creator Al Beidawi ſuppoſes the text to intend, not only the ſuperſtitious amputations of the ears, and other parts of cattle, but the caſtration of ſlaves, the marking their bodies with figures, by pricking and dying them with woad or indigo, (as the Arabs did and ſtill do,) the ſharpening their teeth by filing, and alſo ſodomy, and the unnatural amours between thoſe of the female ſex, the worſhip of the ſun, moon, and other parts of nature, and the like

[i] Beſides GOD] i e By leaving the ſervice of GOD, and doing the works of the devil

(1) See the Prelim Diſcourſe, ſect II p 23, &c

periſh with a manifeſt deſtruction. He maketh them promiſes, and inſinuateth into them vain deſires; yet SATAN maketh them only deceitful promiſes. The receptacle of theſe ſhall be hell. they ſhall find no refuge from it. But they who believe, and do good works, we will ſurely lead them into gardens, through which rivers flow, they ſhall continue therein for ever, according to the true promiſe of GOD; and who is more true than GOD in what he ſaith? It ſhall not be according to your deſires, nor according to the deſires of thoſe who have received the ſcriptures [k]. Whoſo doth evil, ſhall be rewarded for it; and ſhall not find any patron or helper, beſide GOD but whoſo doth good works, whether he be male or female, and is a true believer, they ſhall be admitted into paradiſe, and ſhall not, in the leaſt, be unjuſtly dealt with Who is better in point of religion than he who reſigneth himſelf unto GOD, and is a worker of righteouſneſs, and followeth the law of ABRAHAM the orthodox? ſince GOD took ABRAHAM for his friend [l] and to GOD belongeth whatſoever is in heaven

[k] It ſhall not be according to your deſires, nor according to the deſires of thoſe who have received the ſcriptures] That is, the promiſes of GOD are not to be gained by acting after your own fancies, nor yet after the fancies of the Jews or Chriſtians, but by obeying the commands of GOD This paſſage, they ſay, was revealed on a diſpute which aroſe between thoſe of the three religions, each preferring his own, and condemning the others Some, however, ſuppoſe the perſons here ſpoken to in the ſecond perſon, were not the Mohammedans, but the idolaters (1)

[l] Since GOD took Abraham for his friend] Therefore the Mohammedans uſually call that patriarch, as the ſcripture alſo does, Khalil Allah, The Friend of GOD, and ſimply al Khalil, and they tell the following ſtory That Abraham, in a time of dearth, ſent to a friend of his in Egypt for a ſupply of corn, but the friend denied him, ſaying, in his excuſe, That, though there was a famine in their country alſo, yet, had it been for Abraham's own family, he would have ſent what he deſired, but he knew he wanted it only to entertain his gueſts, and give way to the poor, according to his uſual hoſpitality The ſervants whom Abraham had ſent on this meſſage, being aſhamed to return empty, to conceal the matter from their neighbours, filled their ſacks with fine white ſand, which, in the eaſt, pretty much reſembles meal

(1) Al BEYDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, YAHYA

Abraham,

ven and on earth; GOD comprehendeth all things. They will conſult thee concerning women[m], anſwer, GOD inſtructeth you concerning them[n]; and that which is read unto you in the book of the KORAN concerning female orphans, to whom ye give not that which is ordained them, neither will ye marry them[o], and concerning weak infants[p], and that ye obſerve juſtice towards orphans whatever good ye do, GOD knoweth it. If a woman fear ill uſage, or averſion from her huſband, it ſhall be no crime in them if they agree the matter amicably between themſelves[q], for a reconciliation is better than a ſeparation. Mens ſouls are naturally inclined to covetouſneſs[r]. but, if ye be kind towards women,

Abraham being informed by his ſervants, on their return, of their ill ſucceſs, the concern he was under threw him into a ſleep, and, in the mean time, Sarah, knowing nothing of what had happened, opening one of the ſacks, found good flour in it, and immediately ſet about making of bread Abraham awaking, and ſmelling the new bread, aſked her whence ſhe had the flour? Why, ſays ſhe, from your friend in Egypt Nay, replied the Patriarch, it muſt have come from no other than my friend, GOD Almighty (1)

[m] They will conſult thee concerning women] i e As to the ſhare they are to have in the diſtribution of the inheritances of their deceaſed relations, for it ſeems the Arabs were not ſatisfied with Mohammed's deciſion in this point againſt the old cuſtoms

[n] GOD inſtructeth you concerning them, &c] i e He hath already made his will known unto you, by revealing the paſſages concerning inheritances in the beginning of this chapter

[o] Neither will ye marry with them] Or the words may be rendered in the affirmative, And whom ye deſire to marry For the Pagan Arabs uſed to wrong their female orphans in both inſtances, obliging them to marry againſt their inclinations, if they were beautiful or rich, or elſe not ſuffering them to marry at all, that they might keep what belonged to them (2)

[p] And concerning weak infants] That is, male children of tender years, to whom the Arabs, in the time of Paganiſm, uſed to allow no ſhare in the diſtribution of their parents eſtate (3)

[q] If they agree the matter between themſelves] Viz By the wife's remitting part of her dower, or other dues

[r] Mens ſouls are naturally inclined to covetouſneſs] So that the woman, on the one ſide, is unwilling to part with any of her right, and the huſband, on the other, cares not to retain one he has no affection for, or, if he ſhould retain her, ſhe can ſcarce expect he will uſe her in all reſpects as he ought (4)

(1) Al BEIDAWI See D'HERBEL Bibl Orient p 14 and MORGAN's Mahometiſm explained, V 1 p 132 (2) Al BEIDAWI (3) See before, p 93 not[m] (4) Al BEIDAWI

and fear to wrong them, GOD is well acquainted with what ye do. Ye can, by no means, carry yourſelves equally between women in all reſpects, although ye ſtudy to do it therefore turn not from a wife with all manner of averſion[s], nor leave her like one in ſuſpenſe[t] if ye agree, and fear to abuſe your wives, GOD is gracious and merciful, but, if they ſeparate, GOD will ſatisfy them both of his abundance[u], for GOD is extenſive and wiſe, and unto GOD belongeth whatſoever is in heaven and on earth. We have already commanded thoſe unto whom the ſcriptures were given before you, and we command you alſo, ſaying, Fear GOD, but, if ye diſbelieve, unto GOD belongeth whatſoever is in heaven and on earth, and GOD is ſelf-ſufficient[w], and to be praiſed, for unto GOD belongeth whatſoever is in heaven and on earth, and GOD is a ſufficient protector. If he pleaſeth, he will take you away, O men! and will produce others[x] in your ſtead, for GOD is able to do this. Whoſo deſireth the reward of this world, verily with GOD is the reward of this world, and alſo of that which is to come; GOD both heareth and ſeeth O true believers! obſerve juſtice when ye bear witneſs before GOD, although it be againſt yourſelves, or your parents, or relations, whether the party be rich, or whether he be poor, for GOD is more worthy than them both, therefore follow not your own luſt in bearing teſtimony, ſo that ye ſwerve from juſtice And

[s] Turn not from a wife with all manner of averſion] i e Though you cannot uſe her equally well with a beloved wife, yet obſerve ſome meaſures of juſtice towards her, for, if a man is not able perfectly to perform his duty, he ought not, for that reaſon, entirely to neglect it (1)

[t] Nor leave her like one in ſuſpenſe] Or, like one that neither has a huſband, nor is divorced, and at liberty to marry elſewhere

[u] GOD will ſatisfy them both, &c] That is, either will bleſs them with a better and more advantageous match, or with peace and tranquillity of mind (2)

[w] GOD is ſelf-ſufficient] Wanting the ſervice of no creature

[x] And will produce others, &c] i e Either another race of men, or a different ſpecies of creatures

(1) Al BEIDAWI (2) Idem

whether

whether ye wreſt your evidence, or decline giving it, GOD is well acquainted with that which ye do. O true believers[t] believe in GOD and his apoſtle, and the book which he hath cauſed to deſcend unto his apoſtle, and the book which he hath formerly ſent down[y]. And whoſoever believeth not in GOD, and his angels, and his ſcriptures, and his apoſtles, and the laſt-day, he ſurely erreth in a wide miſtake. Moreover, they who believed, and afterwards became infidels, and then believed again, and, after that, diſbelieved, and increaſed in infidelity[z], GOD will, by no means, forgive them, nor direct them into the right way. Declare unto the ungodly[a] that they ſhall ſuffer a painful puniſhment. They who take the unbelievers for their protectors, beſides the faithful, do they ſeek for power with them? ſince all power belongeth unto GOD. And he hath already revealed unto you, in the book of the KORAN[b], the following paſſage When ye ſhall hear the ſigns of GOD, they ſhall not be believed, but they ſhall be laughed to ſcorn. Therefore ſit not with them who believe not, until they engage in different diſcourſe; for, if ye do, ye will certainly become like unto them. GOD will ſurely gather the ungodly and the unbe-

[y] Believe in GOD and his apoſtle, &c] It is ſaid, that Abdallah Ebn Salam and his companions told Mohammed, that they believed in him, and his Koran, and in Moſes, and the pentateuch, and in Ezra, but no farther, whereupon this paſſage was revealed, declaring that a partial faith is little better that none at all, and that a true believer muſt believe in all GOD's prophets and revelations without exception (1)

[z] They who believed, and, afterwards became infidels, and then believed again, and, after that, diſbelieved, and again increaſed in infidelity] Theſe were the Jews, who firſt believed in Moſes, and, afterwards, fell into idolatry by worſhipping the golden calf, and, though they repented of that, yet, in after-ages, rejected the prophets who were ſent to them, and, particularly, Jeſus, the ſon of Mary, and now filled up the meaſure of their unbelief by rejecting of Mohammed (2)

[a] Declare unto the ungodly, &c] Mohammed here means thoſe who hypocritically pretended to believe in him, but really did not, and, by their treachery, did great miſchief to his party (3)

[b] In the Korân] Chap 6

(1) Al BEIDAWI (2) Idem (3) Idem

lievers

lievers together in hell. They who wait to obſerve what befalleth you, if victory be granted you from GOD, ſay, Were we not with you[c]? But, if any advantage happen to the infidels, they ſay unto them, Were we not ſuperior to you[d], and have we not defended you againſt the believers? GOD ſhall judge between you on the day of reſurrection, and GOD will not grant the unbelievers means to prevail over the faithful. The hypocrites act deceitfully with GOD, but he will deceive them: and, when they ſtand up to pray, they ſtand careleſsly, affecting to be ſeen of men, and remember not GOD, unleſs a little[e], wavering between faith and infidelity, and adhering neither unto theſe, nor unto thoſe[f]: and, for him whom GOD ſhall lead aſtray, thou ſhalt find no true path. O true believers! take not the unbelievers for your protectors, beſides the faithful. Will ye furniſh GOD with an evident argument of impiety againſt you? Moreover the hypocrites ſhall be in the loweſt bottom of hell fire[g], and thou ſhalt not find any to help them thence. But they who repent and amend, and adhere firmly unto GOD, and approve the ſincerity of their religion to GOD, they ſhall be numbered with the faithful, and GOD will ſurely give the faithful a great reward. And how ſhould GOD go about to puniſh you, if ye be thankful and believe? for GOD
VI. is grateful and wiſe. * GOD loveth not the ſpeaking ill of any one in public, unleſs he who is injured call for aſſiſtance, and GOD heareth and knoweth whether

[c] Were we not with you?] i. e. Did we not aſſiſt you? Therefore give us of a part of the ſpoil (1).

[d] Were we not ſuperior to you?] Would not our army have cut you off, if it had not been for our ſaint aſſiſtance, or rather deſertion, of the Moſlems, and our diſheartening them (2)?

[e] Unleſs a little] That is, with the tongue, and not with the heart.

[f] Adhering neither unto theſe, nor unto thoſe] Halting between two opinions, and being ſtaunch friends neither to the Moſlems, nor the infidels.

[g] The hypocrites ſhall be in the loweſt bottom of hell-fire] See the Preliminary Diſcourſe, ſection IV. p. 122.

(1) AL BEIDAWI. (2) Idem.

ye

ye publiſh a good action, or conceal it, or forgive evil, verily GOD is gracious and powerful. They who believe not in GOD, and his apoſtles, and would make a diſtinction between GOD and his apoſtles [h], and ſay, We believe in ſome of the prophets, and reject others of them, and ſeek to take a middle way in this matter, theſe are really unbelievers and we have prepared for the unbelievers an ignominious puniſhment. But they who believe in GOD and his apoſtles, and make no diſtinction between any of them, unto thoſe will we ſurely give their reward; and GOD is gracious and merciful. They who have received the ſcriptures [i] will demand of thee, that thou cauſe a book to deſcend unto them from heaven: they formerly aſked of MOSES a greater thing than this; for they ſaid, Shew us GOD viſibly [k]. Wherefore a ſtorm of fire from heaven deſtroyed them, becauſe of their iniquity. Then they took the calf for their GOD [l], after that evident proofs of the divine unity had come unto them but we forgave them that, and gave MOSES a manifeſt power to puniſh them [m]. And we lifted the mountain of SINAI over them [n], when we exacted from them their covenant, and ſaid unto them, Enter the gate of the city worſhipping [o]. We alſo ſaid unto them, Tranſgreſs not on the ſabbath-day. And we received from them a firm covenant, that they would obſerve theſe things. Therefore for that [p] they have made void their covenant, and

[h] See chap ii p 54, note [h]

[i] They who have received the ſcriptures, &c] That is, the Jews, who demanded of Mohammed, as a proof of his miſſion, that they might ſee a book of revelations deſcend to him from heaven, or, that he would produce one written in a celeſtial character, like the two tables of Moſes

[k] Shew us GOD viſibly, &c] See chap ii p 10

This ſtory ſeems to be an addition to what Moſes ſays of the ſeventy elders, who went up to the mountain with him, and with Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, and ſaw the GOD of Iſrael (1)

[l] See chap ii p 10

[m] See ibid p 10 note [l]

[n] See ibid p 13

[o] See ibid p 11

[p] Therefore for that, &c] There being nothing in the following words

(1) Exod xxiv 9, 10, 11.

of

and have not believed in the ſigns of GOD, and have ſlain the prophets unjuſtly, and have ſaid, Our hearts are uncircumciſed, (but GOD hath ſealed them up, becauſe of their unbelief, therefore they ſhall not believe, except a few of them) and, for that they have not believed on JESUS, and have ſpoken againſt MARY a grievous calumny [q], and have ſaid, Verily we have ſlain CHRIST JESUS, the ſon of MARY, the apoſtle of GOD, yet they ſlew him not, neither crucified him, but he was repreſented by one in his likeneſs [r], and verily they who diſagreed concerning him [s], were in a doubt as to this matter, and had no ſure knowledge thereof, but followed only an uncertain opinion. They did not really kill him; but GOD took him up unto himſelf and GOD is mighty and wiſe And there ſhall not be one of thoſe who have received the ſcriptures, who ſhall not believe in him, before his death [t], and, on the day of reſur-

of this ſentence, to anſwer to the cauſal for that, Jallalo'ddin ſuppoſes ſomething to be underſtood to complete the ſenſe, as, Therefore we have curſed them, or the like

[q] And have ſpoken againſt Mary a grievous calumny] By accuſing her of fornication (1)

[r] Yet they ſlew him not, &c] See chap iii p 64, and the notes there

[s] Who diſagreed concerning him] For ſome maintained that he was juſtly and really crucified Some inſiſted that it was not Jeſus who ſuffered, but another who reſembled him in the face, pretending the other parts of his body, by their unlikeneſs, plainly diſcovered the impoſition Some ſaid, he was taken up into heaven, and others, that his manhood only ſuffered, and that his godhead aſcended into heaven (2)

[t] There ſhall not be one of thoſe who have received the ſcriptures, who ſhall not believe in him before his death] This paſſage is expounded two ways

Some, referring the relative his, to the firſt antecedent, take the meaning to be, that no Jew or Chriſtian ſhall die before he believes in Jeſus for they ſay, that when one of either of thoſe religions is ready to breathe his laſt, and ſees the angel of death before him, he ſhall then believe in that prophet as he ought, though his faith will not then be of any avail According to a tradition of Hejâj, when a Jew is expiring, the angels will ſtrike him on the back and face and ſay to him, O thou enemy of God! Jeſus was ſent as a prophet unto thee, and thou didſt not believe on him, to which he will anſwer, I now believe him to be the ſervant of God And to a dying Chriſtian they will ſay, Jeſus was ſent as a prophet unto thee, and thou haſt imagined him to be God, or the Son of God, whereupon he will believe him to be the ſervant of GOD only, and his apoſtle

Others, taking the abovementioned relative to refer to Jeſus, ſuppoſe

(1) See the Kor chap xix and that virulent book entitled Toldoth Jeſu
(2) Al BEIDAWI

the

reſurrection, he ſhall be a witneſs againſt them [u]. Becauſe of the iniquity of thoſe who Judaize, we have forbidden them good things, which had been formerly allowed them [w], and becauſe they ſhut out many from the way of GOD, and have taken uſury, which was forbidden them by the law, and devoured mens ſubſtance vainly, we have prepared for ſuch of them as are unbelievers a painful puniſhment. But thoſe among them who are well grounded in knowledge [x], and the faithful, who believe in that which hath been ſent down unto thee, and that which hath been ſent down unto the prophets before thee, and who obſerve the ſtated times of prayer, and give alms, and believe in GOD and the laſt day, unto theſe will we give a great reward. Verily we have revealed our will unto thee, as we have revealed it unto NOAH, and the prophets who ſucceeded him, and as we revealed it unto ABRAHAM, and ISMAEL, and ISAAC, and JACOB, and the tribes, and unto JESUS, and JOB, and JONAS, and AARON, and SOLOMON, and we have given thee the KORAN, as we gave the pſalms unto DAVID ſome apoſtles have we ſent, whom we have formerly mentioned unto thee, and other apoſtles have we ſent, whom we have not mentioned unto thee, and GOD ſpake unto MOSES, diſcourſing with him, apoſtles declaring good tidings, and denouncing threats, leſt men ſhould have an argument of excuſe againſt GOD, after the apoſtles had been ſent unto them, GOD is mighty and wiſe. GOD is

the intent of the paſſage to be, that all Jews and Chriſtians, in general, ſhall have a right faith in that prophet before his death, that is, when he deſcends from heaven, and returns into the world, where he is to kill Antichriſt, and to eſtabliſh the Mohammedan religion, and a moſt perfect tranquillity and ſecurity on earth (1)

[u] He ſhall be a witneſs againſt them] i e Againſt the Jews, for rejecting him, and againſt the Chriſtians, for calling him GOD, and the Son of GOD (2)

[w] See chap iii p 64 and 72, and the notes there

[x] Thoſe among them who are well grounded in knowledge] as Abdallah Ebn Salâm, and his companions (3)

(1) JALLALO'DDIN, YAHYA, Al ZAMAKHSHARI, and Al BEIDAWI See the Prelim Diſc ſect iv p 100 (2) Al BEIDAWI (3) Idem

witneſs

witneſs of that revelation which he hath ſent down unto thee; he ſent it down with his ſpecial knowledge: the angels alſo are witneſſes thereof; but GOD is a ſufficient witneſs. They who believe not, and turn aſide others from the way of GOD, have erred in a wide miſtake. Verily thoſe who believe not, and act unjuſtly, GOD will by no means forgive, neither will he direct them into any other way, than the way of hell; they ſhall remain therein for ever: and this is eaſy with GOD. O men! now is the apoſtle come unto you, with truth from your LORD, believe therefore, it will be better for you. But, if ye diſbelieve, verily unto GOD belongeth whatſoever is in heaven and on earth; and GOD is knowing and wiſe. O ye, who have received the ſcriptures! exceed not the juſt bounds in your religion[y], neither ſay of GOD any other than the truth. Verily CHRIST JESUS, the ſon of MARY, is the apoſtle of GOD, and his word which he conveyed into MARY, and a ſpirit proceeding from him. Believe, therefore, in GOD and his apoſtles, and ſay not, There are three GODS[z], forbear this; it will be better for you. GOD is but one GOD. Far be it from him that he ſhould have a ſon! unto him belongeth whatſoever is in heaven and on earth; and GOD is a ſufficient protector. CHRIST doth not proudly diſdain to be a ſervant unto GOD; neither the angels who approach near to his preſence: and

[y] Exceed not the juſt bounds in your religion] Either by rejecting and contemning of Jeſus, as the Jews do, or raiſing him to an equality with GOD, as do the Chriſtians (1)

[z] Say not, there are three Gods.] Namely, God, Jeſus, and Mary (2) For the eaſtern writers mention a ſect of Chriſtians, which held the Trinity to be compoſed of thoſe three (3), but it is allowed that this hereſy has been long ſince extinct (4) The paſſage, however, is equally levelled againſt the Holy Trinity, according to the doctrine of the orthodox Chriſtians, who, as al Beidâwi acknowledges, believe the divine nature to conſiſt of three perſons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt by the Father, underſtanding God's eſſence, by the Son, his knowledge, and, by the Holy Ghoſt, his life

(1) Al BEIDAWI (2) Idem, JALLALO'DDIN, YAHYA (3) ELMACIN, p 227 EUTYCH p 120 See the Prelim Diſc. ſect II p 45. (4) AHMED EBN ABD'AL HALIM

whoſo

whoſo diſdaineth his ſervice, and is puffed up with pride, GOD will gather them all to himſelf on the laſt-day. Unto thoſe who believe, and do that which is right, he ſhall give their rewards, and ſhall ſuperabundantly add unto them of his liberality: but thoſe who are diſdainful and proud, he will puniſh with a grievous puniſhment, and they ſhall not find any to protect or to help them, beſides GOD. O men! now is an evident proof come unto you from your LORD, and we have ſent down unto you manifeſt light[a]. They who believe in GOD, and firmly adhere to him, he will lead them into mercy from him, and abundance, and he will direct them in the right way to himſelf[b]. They will conſult thee for thy deciſion in certain caſes ſay unto them, GOD giveth you theſe determinations, concerning the more remote degrees of kindred[c]. If a man die without iſſue, and have a ſiſter, ſhe ſhall have the half of what he ſhall leave[d]. and he ſhall be heir to her[e], in caſe ſhe have no iſſue. But, if there be two ſiſters, they ſhall have, between them, two third parts of what he ſhall leave; and, if there be ſeveral, both brothers and ſiſters, a male ſhall have as much as the portion of two females. GOD declareth unto you theſe precepts, leſt ye err and GOD knoweth all things.

[a] An evident proof and manifeſt light] That is, Mohammed and his Korân

[b] In the right way to him] Viz Into the religion of Iſlam, in this world, and the way to paradiſe in the next (1)

[c] See the beginning of this chapter, p 95

[d] She ſhall have the half of what he ſhall leave] And the other half will go to the public treaſury

[e] And he ſhall be heir to her] That is, he ſhall inherit her whole ſubſtance

(1) Al Beidawi

CHAP. V.

Intitled, The Table[f]; revealed at MEDINA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

O TRUE believers! perform your contracts. Ye are allowed to eat the brute cattle[g], other than what ye are commanded to abſtain from, except the game which ye are allowed at other times, but not while ye are on pilgrimage to MECCA, GOD ordaineth that which he pleaſeth O true believers! violate not the holy rites of GOD[h], nor the ſacred month[i], nor the offering, nor the ornaments hung thereon[k], nor thoſe who are travelling to the holy houſe, ſeeking favour from their LORD, and to pleaſe him. But, when ye ſhall have finiſhed your pilgrimage, then hunt. And let not the malice of ſome, in that they hindered you from entering the ſacred temple[l], provoke you to tranſgreſs, by taking revenge on them in the ſacred months. Aſſiſt one another, according to juſtice and piety, but aſſiſt not one another in injuſtice and malice. therefore fear GOD, for GOD is ſevere in puniſhing. Ye are forbidden to eat that which dieth of itſelf, and

[f] This title is taken from the Table, which, towards the end of the chapter, is fabled to have been let down from heaven to Jeſus It is ſometimes alſo called the chapter of Contracts, which word occurs in the firſt verſe

[g] The brute cattle, &c] As camels, oxen, and ſheep, and alſo wild cows, antelopes, &c (1) but not ſwine, nor what is taken in hunting during the pilgrimage

[h] The holy rites of GOD] i e The ceremonies uſed in the pilgrimage of Mecca

[i] See the Preliminary Diſcourſe, ſect VII

[k] Nor the offering, nor the ornaments hung thereon] The offering here meant, is the ſheep led to Mecca, to be there ſacrificed, about the neck of which they uſe to hang garlands, green boughs, or ſome other ornament, that it may be diſtinguiſhed as a thing ſacred (2)

[l] In that they hindered you from entering the ſacred temple] In the expedition of Al Hodeibiya (3)

(1) JALI AL O'DDIN, Al BEIDAWI (2) See the Prelim Diſ ſect IV.
(3) See the Prelim Diſ ſect II. p 69

blood,

blood, and ſwine's fleſh, and that on which the name of any beſides GOD hath been invocated [m]; and that which hath been ſtrangled, or killed by a blow, or by a fall, or by the horns of another beaſt; and that which hath been eaten by a wild beaſt [n], except what ye ſhall kill yourſelves [o], and that which hath been ſacrificed unto idols [p] It is likewiſe unlawful for you to make diviſion by caſting lots with arrows [q]. This is an impiety. On this day [r], woe be unto thoſe who have apoſtatized from their religion; therefore fear not them, but fear me. This day have I perfected your religion for you [s], and have completed my mercy upon you [t], and I have choſen for you ISLAM, to be your religion. But whoſoever ſhall be driven by neceſſity, through hunger, to eat of what we have forbidden, not deſigning to ſin, ſurely GOD will be indulgent and merciful unto him. They will aſk thee what is allowed them as lawful to eat? Anſwer, Such things as are good [u] are allowed you, and what ye ſhall teach animals of prey to catch [w], training them

[m] On which the name of any beſides GOD hath been invocated] For the idolatrous Arabs uſed, in killing any animal for food, to conſecrate it, as it were, to their idols, by ſaying, In the name of Allât, or al Uzza (1)

[n] Which hath been eaten by a wild beaſt] Or by a creature trained up to hunting (2)

[o] Except what ye ſhall kill yourſelves] That is, unleſs ye come up time enough to find life in the animal, and to cut its throat

[p] Idols] The word alſo ſignifies certain ſtones, which the Pagan Arabs uſed to ſet up near their houſes, and on which they ſuperſtitiouſly ſlew animals, in honour of their gods (3)

[q] See Prelim Diſ Sect V

[r] On this day, &c] This paſſage, it is ſaid, was revealed on Friday evening, being the day of the pilgrims viſiting mount Arafât, the laſt time Mohammed viſited the temple of Mecca, therefore called the Pilgrimage of valediction (4)

[s] This day have I perfected your religion for you] And therefore the commentators ſay, that, after this time, no poſitive or negative precept was given (5)

[t] And have completed my mercy upon you] By having given you a true and perfect religion; or, by the taking of Mecca, and the deſtruction of idolatry

[u] Such things as are good] Not ſuch as are filthy, or unwholeſome

[w] Animals of prey] Whether beaſts or birds

(1) See ch 2 p 31 (2) Al BEIDAWI (3) Idem (4) Idem See PRID Life of Mahom p 99 (5) V ABULFED vit Moham p 131

up for hunting, after the manner of dogs, and teaching them according to the ſkill which GOD hath taught you. Eat therefore of that which they ſhall catch for you, and commemorate the name of GOD thereon[x]; and fear GOD, for GOD is ſwift in taking an account. This day are ye allowed to eat ſuch things as are good, and the food of thoſe to whom the ſcriptures were given[y] is alſo allowed as lawful unto you, and your food is allowed as lawful unto them. And ye are alſo allowed to marry free women that are believers, and alſo free women of thoſe who have received the ſcriptures before you, when ye ſhall have aſſigned them their dower; living chaſtly with them, neither committing fornication, nor taking them for concubines. Whoever ſhall renounce the faith, his work ſhall be vain, and in the next life he ſhall be of thoſe who periſh. O true believers! when ye prepare yourſelves to pray, waſh your faces, and your hands unto the elbows; and rub your heads, and your feet unto the ancles, and if ye be polluted by having lain with a woman, waſh yourſelves all over. But if ye be ſick, or on a journey, or any of you cometh from the privy, or if ye have touched women, and ye find no water, take fine clean ſand, and rub your faces and your hands therewith GOD would not put a difficulty upon you; but he deſireth to purify you, and to complete his favour upon you, that ye may give thanks. Remember the favour of GOD towards you, and his covenant which he hath made with you, when ye ſaid, We have heard, and will obey[z]. Therefore

[x] And commemorate the name of GOD thereon] Either when ye let go the hound, hawk, or other animal, after the game, or when ye kill it

[y] Viz Slain or dreſſed by Jews or Chriſtians

[z] We have heard, and will obey] Theſe words are the form uſed at the inauguration of a prince, and Mohammed here intends the oath of fidelity which his followers had taken to him at al Akaba (x)

(x) V ABULFED vit Moham p 43 and the Prelim Diſ ſect II p 63.

feaſt

fear GOD for GOD knoweth the innermoſt parts of the breaſts of men. O true believers! obſerve juſtice when ye appear as witneſſes before GOD, and let not hatred towards any induce you to do wrong. but act juſtly, this will approach nearer unto piety, and fear GOD, for GOD is fully acquainted with what ye do GOD hath promiſed unto thoſe who believe, and do that which is right, that they ſhall receive pardon and a great reward. But they who believe not, and accuſe our ſigns of falſehood, they ſhall be the companions of hell. O true believers! remember GOD's favour towards you, when certain men deſigned to ſtretch forth their hands againſt you, but he reſtrained their hands from hurting you [a], therefore fear GOD, and in GOD let the faithful truſt. GOD formerly accepted the covenant of the children of ISRAEL, and we appointed out of them twelve

[a] When certain men deſigned to ſtretch forth their hands againſt you, but he reſtrained them] The commentators tell ſeveral ſtories as the occaſion of this paſſage One ſays, that Mohammed, and ſome of his followers, being at Oſfan, (a place not far from Mecca, in the way to Medina,) and performing their noon devotions, a company of idolaters, who were in view, repented they had not taken that opportunity of attacking them, and therefore waited till the hour of evening prayer, intending to fall upon them then but GOD defeated their deſign, by revealing the verſe of fear Another relates, that the prophet going to the tribe of Koreidha, (who were Jews,) to levy a fine for the blood of two Moſlems, who had been killed by miſtake, by Amru Ebn Ommeya al Dimri, they deſired him to ſit down and eat with them, and they would pay the fine Mohammed, complying with their requeſt, while he was ſitting, they laid a deſign againſt his life, one Amru Ebn Jahâſh undertaking to throw a millſtone upon him, but GOD withheld his hand, and Gabriel immediately deſcended to acquaint the prophet with their treachery, upon which he roſe up, and went his way A third ſtory is, that Mohammed, having hung up his arms on a tree, under which he was reſting himſelf, and his companions being diſperſed ſome diſtance from him, an Arab of the deſart came up to him, and drew his ſword, ſaying, Who hindereth me from killing thee? To which Mohammed anſwered, GOD and Gabriel beating the ſword out of the Arab's hand, Mohammed took it up, and aſked him the ſame queſtion, Who hinders me from killing thee? The Arab replied, Nobody and immediately profeſſed Mohammediſm (1) Abûlfeda (2) tells the ſame ſtory, with ſome variation of circumſtances

(1) Al Beidawi (2) Vit. Moham p 73

leaders. And GOD ſaid, Verily I am with you[b]: if ye obſerve prayer, and give alms, and believe in my apoſtles, and aſſiſt them, and lend unto GOD on good uſury[c], I will ſurely expiate your evil deeds from you, and I will lead you into gardens wherein rivers flow but he among you who diſbelieveth after this, erreth from the ſtrait path. Wherefore becauſe they have broken their covenant, we have curſed them, and hardened their hearts they diſlocate the words of the pentateuch from their places, and have forgotten part of what they were admoniſhed; and thou wilt not ceaſe to diſcover deceitful practices among them, except a few of them. But forgive them[d], and pardon them, for GOD loveth the beneficent. And from thoſe who ſay, We are Chriſtians, we have received their covenant, but they have forgotten part of what they were admoniſhed, wherefore we have raiſed up enmity and hatred among them, till the day of reſurrection; and GOD will then ſurely declare unto them what they have been doing. O ye who have received the ſcriptures! now is our apoſtle come unto you, to make manifeſt unto you many things which ye concealed in the

[b] GOD appointed them twelve leaders, and ſaid, Verily I am with you, &c.] After the Iſraelites had eſcaped from Pharaoh, GOD ordered them to go againſt Jericho, which was then inhabited by giants, of the race of the Canaanites, promiſing to give it into their hands, and Moſes, by the divine direction, appointed a prince or captain over each tribe, to lead them in that expedition (1), and, when they came to the borders of the land of Canaan, ſent the captains as ſpies to get information of the ſtate of the country, enjoining them ſecrecy, but they being terrified at the prodigious ſize and ſtrength of the inhabitants, diſheartened the people, by publicly telling what they had ſeen, except only Caleb, the ſon of Yufanna, (Jephunneh,) and Joſhua, the ſon of Nun (2)

[c] And lend unto GOD on good uſury.] By contributing towards this holy war

[d] Forgive them, and pardon them.] That is, if they repent and believe, or ſubmit to pay tribute Some, however, think theſe words are abrogated by the verſe of the ſword (3)

(1) See Num i 4, 5 (2) Al BEIDAWI. See Num xiii and xiv
(3) Al BEIDAWI

ſcriptures;

ſcriptures[e], and to paſs over[f] many things. Now is light and a perſpicuous book of revelations come unto you from GOD. Thereby will GOD direct him who ſhall follow his good pleaſure, into the paths of peace, and ſhall lead them out of darkneſs into light, by his will, and ſhall direct them in the right way. They are infidels, who ſay, Verily GOD is CHRIST, the ſon of MARY Say unto them, And who could obtain any thing from GOD to the contrary, if he pleaſed to deſtroy CHRIST, the ſon of MARY, and his mother, and all thoſe who are on the earth? For unto GOD belongeth the kingdom of heaven and earth, and whatſoever is contained between them, he createth what he pleaſeth, and GOD is almighty. The Jews and the Chriſtians ſay, We are the children of GOD, and his beloved Anſwer, Why therefore doth he puniſh you for your ſins? Nay, but ye are men, of thoſe whom he hath created He forgiveth whom he pleaſeth, and puniſheth whom he pleaſeth, and unto GOD belongeth the kingdom of heaven and earth, and of what is contained between them both, and unto him ſhall all things return O ye who have received the ſcriptures! now is our apoſtle come unto you, declaring unto you the true religion, during the ceſſation of apoſtles[g], leſt ye ſhould ſay, There came unto us no bearer of good tidings, nor any warner but now is a bearer of good tidings, and a warner come unto you, and GOD is almighty. Call to mind when MOSES ſaid

[e] To make manifeſt unto you many things which ye concealed in the ſcriptures] Such as the verſe of ſtoning adulterers (1), the deſcription of Mohammed, and Chriſt's prophecy of him by the name of Ahmed (2)

[f] And to paſs over many things] i e Thoſe which it was not neceſſary to reſtore

[g] During the ceſſation of apoſtles] The Arabic word al Fatra ſignifies the intermediate ſpace of time between two prophets, during which no new revelation, or diſpenſation, was given, as the interval between Moſes and JESUS, and between JESUS and Mohammed, at the expiration of which laſt, Mohammed pretended to be ſent

(1) See Chap 3 p 58 (2) Al BEIDAWI.

unto his people, O my people! remember the favour of GOD towards you, ſince he hath appointed prophets among you, and conſtituted you kings [h], and beſtowed on you what he hath given to no other nation in the world [i]. O my people! enter the holy land, which GOD hath decreed you, and turn not your backs, leſt ye be ſubverted and periſh. They anſwered, O MOSES! verily there are a gigantic people in the land [k], and we will by no means enter it, until they depart thence, but if they depart thence, then will we enter therein. And two men [l] of thoſe who feared GOD, unto whom GOD had been gracious, ſaid, Enter ye upon them ſuddenly by the gate of the city, and when ye ſhall have entered the ſame, ye ſhall ſurely be victorious therefore truſt in GOD, if ye are true believers They replied, O MOSES! we will never enter the land, while they remain therein go therefore thou, and thy LORD, and fight; for we will ſit here MOSES ſaid, O LORD! ſurely I am not maſter of any except myſelf, and my brother, therefore make a diſtinction between us and the ungodly people. GOD anſwered, Verily the land ſhall be forbidden them forty years, during which time they ſhall wander like men aſtoniſhed in the earth [m]. therefore be not thou ſolicitous

[h] And conſtituted you kings] This was fulfilled, either by GOD's giving them a kingdom, and a long ſeries of princes, or, by his having made them kings or maſters of themſelves, by delivering them from the Egyptian bondage

[i] And beſtowed on you what he hath given to no other nation] Having divided the Red-Sea for you, and guided you by a cloud, and fed you with quails and manna, &c (1)

[k] A gigantic people] The largeſt of theſe giants, the commentators ſay, was Og, the ſon of Anak, concerning whoſe enormous ſtature, his eſcaping the flood, and the manner of his being ſlain by Moſes, the Mohammedans relate ſeveral abſurd fables (2)

[l] Two men] Namely, Caleb and Joſhua

[m] The land ſhall be forbidden them forty years, during which they ſhall wander in the earth like men aſtoniſhed] The commentators pretend that the Iſraelites, while they thus wandered in the deſart, were kept

(1) Al BEIDAWI (2) V MARRACC in Alcor p 231, &c D'HERBEL Bib Orient. p 336

within

citous for the ungodly people. Relate alſo unto them the hiſtory of the two ſons of Adam[n], with truth. When they offered their offering[o], and it was accepted from one of them[p], and was not accepted from the other, CAIN ſaid to his brother, I will certainly kill thee. ABEL anſwered, GOD only accepteth the offering of the pious. If thou ſtretcheſt forth thy hand againſt me, to ſlay me, I will not ſtretch forth my hand againſt thee, to ſlay thee, for I fear GOD, the LORD of all creatures[q]. I chooſe that thou ſhouldeſt bear my iniquity, and thine own iniquity, and that thou become a companion of hell-fire, for that is the reward of the unjuſt[r]. But his ſoul ſuffered him to ſlay his brother, and he ſlew him[s]; where-

within the compaſs of about eighteen (or, as ſome ſay, twenty-ſeven) miles, and that, though they travelled from morning to night, yet they conſtantly found themſelves, the next day, at the place from whence they ſet out (1)

[n] The two ſons of Adam] Viz Cain and Abel, whom the Mohammedans call Kabil and Habil

[o] When they offered their offering] The occaſion of their making this offering is thus related, according to the common tradition in the eaſt (2) Each of them being born with a twin-ſiſter, when they were grown up, Adam, by GOD's direction, ordered Cain to marry Abel's twin-ſiſter, and that Abel ſhould marry Cain's; (for it being the common opinion that marriages ought not to be had in the neareſt degrees of conſanguinity, ſince they muſt neceſſarily marry their ſiſters, it ſeemed reaſonable to ſuppoſe they ought to take thoſe of the remoter degree,) but this, Cain refuſing to agree to, becauſe his own ſiſter was the handſomeſt, Adam ordered them to make their offerings to GOD, thereby referring the diſpute to his determination (3) The commentators ſay, Cain's offering was a ſheaf of the very worſt of his corn, but Abel's, a fat lamb, of the beſt of his flock

[p] And it was accepted from one of them] Namely, from Abel, whoſe ſacrifice GOD declared his acceptance of in a viſible manner, by cauſing fire to deſcend from heaven, and conſume it, without touching that of Cain (4)

[q] I will not ſtretch forth my hand againſt thee] To enhance Abel's patience, al Beidawi tells us, that he was the ſtronger of the two, and could eaſily have prevailed againſt his brother

[r] The converſation between the two brothers is related ſomewhat to the ſame purpoſe in the Jeruſalem Targum, and that of Jonathan ben Uzziel

[s] And he ſlew him] Some ſay he knocked out his brains with a ſtone (5), and pretend, that as Cain

(1) Al BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN (2) V ABU'LFARAC p 6, 7 EUTYCH annal p 15, 16 and D'HERBELOT, Bibl Orient Art Cabil (3) Al BEIDAWI (4) Idem, JALLALO'DDIN (5) V EUTYCH ubi ſupra

wherefore he became of the number of thoſe who periſh. And GOD ſent a raven, which ſcratched the earth, to ſhew him how he ſhould hide the ſhame of his brother[t], and he ſaid, Wo is me! am I unable to be like this raven, that I may hide my brother's ſhame? and he became one of thoſe who repent. Wherefore we commanded the children of ISRAEL, that he who ſlayeth a ſoul, without having ſlain a ſoul, or committed wickedneſs in the earth[u], ſhall be as if he had ſlain all mankind[w]: but he who ſaveth a ſoul alive, ſhall be as if he had ſaved the lives of all mankind. Our apoſtles formerly came unto them, with evident miracles, then were many of them after this, tranſgreſſors on the earth. But the recompence of thoſe who fight againſt GOD and his apoſtle, and ſtudy to act corruptly in the earth, ſhall be, that they ſhall be ſlain or crucified, or have their hands and their feet cut off on the oppoſite ſides, or be baniſhed the land[x]. This ſhall be their diſgrace in this world;

was conſidering which way he ſhould effect the murder, the devil appeared to him in a human ſhape, and ſhewed him how to do it, by cruſhing the head of a bird between two ſtones (1).

[t] GOD ſent a raven which ſcratched the earth, and ſhewed him how to hide his brother's ſhame] i. e. His dead corpſe. For Cain, having committed this fratricide, became exceedingly troubled in his mind, and carried the dead body about on his ſhoulders for a conſiderable time, not knowing where to conceal it, till it ſtank horridly, and then GOD taught him to bury it by the example of a raven, who, having killed another raven in his preſence, dug a pit with his claws and beak, and buried him therein (2). For this circumſtance of the raven, Mohammed was beholden to the Jews, who tell the ſame ſtory, except only that they make the raven to appear to Adam, and that he thereupon buried his ſon (3).

[u] Without committing wickedneſs on the earth] Such as idolatry, or robbing on the highway (4).

[w] Shall be as if he had ſlain all mankind] Having broken the commandment which forbids the ſhedding of blood.

[x] The lawyers are not agreed as to the applying of theſe puniſhments. But the commentators ſuppoſe, that they who commit murder only, are to be put to death in the ordinary way, thoſe who murder and rob too, to be crucified, thoſe who rob, without committing murder, to have

(1) V. D'HERBEL. ubi ſupra.
(2) JALLALO'DDIN, Al BEIDAWI.
(3) V. R. ELIEZER, Pirke, c. 20.
(4) Al BEIDAWI.

their

and in the next world they ſhall ſuffer a grievous puniſhment, except thoſe who ſhall repent, before ye prevail againſt them, for know that GOD is inclined to forgive, and merciful. O true believers! fear GOD, and earneſtly deſire a near conjunction with him, and fight for his religion, that ye may be happy. Moreover, they who believe not, although they had whatever is in the earth, and as much more withal, that they might therewith redeem themſelves from puniſhment on the day of reſurrection, it ſhall not be accepted from them, but they ſhall ſuffer a painful puniſhment. They ſhall deſire to go forth from the fire, but they ſhall not go forth from it, and their puniſhment ſhall be permanent. If a man or a woman ſteal, cut off their hands[y], in retribution for that which they have committed, this is an exemplary puniſhment appointed by GOD, and GOD is mighty and wiſe. But whoever ſhall repent after his iniquity, and amend, verily GOD will be turned unto him[z], for GOD is inclined to forgive and merciful. Doſt thou not know that the kingdom of heaven and earth is GOD's? He puniſheth whom he pleaſeth, and he pardoneth whom he pleaſeth, for GOD is almighty. O apoſtle! let not them grieve

their right-hand, and their left-foot, cut off, and they who aſſault perſons, and put them in fear, to be baniſhed (1) It is alſo a doubt whether they who are to be crucified ſhall be crucified alive, or be firſt put to death, or whether they ſhall hang on the croſs till they die (2)

[y] Cut off their hands] But this puniſhment, according to the Sonna, is not to be inflicted, unleſs the value of the thing ſtolen amount to four dinars, or about forty ſhillings For the firſt offence, the criminal is to loſe his right-hand, which is to be cut off at the wriſt, for the ſecond offence, his left-foot, at the ancle, for the third, his left-hand, for the fourth, his right-foot, and, if he continue to offend, he ſhall be ſcourged at the diſcretion of the judge (3)

[z] But whoever ſhall repent and amend, GOD will be turned unto him, &c] That is, GOD will not puniſh him for it hereafter, but his repentance does not ſuperſede the execution of the law here, nor excuſe him from making reſtitution Yet, according to al Shafei, he ſhall not be puniſhed, if the party wronged forgive him before he be carried before a magiſtrate (4)

(1) Al BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN
(2) AL BEIDAWI
(3) JALLALO'DDIN, Al BEIDAWI.
(4) Idem

thee,

thee, who haſten to infidelity[a]; either of thoſe who ſay, We believe, with their mouths, but whoſe hearts believe not[b]; or of the Jews, who hearken to a lie, and hearken to other people[c]; who come not unto thee: they pervert the words of the law from their true places[d], and ſay, If this be brought unto you, receive it; but if it be not brought unto you, beware of receiving aught elſe[e], and, in behalf of him whom GOD ſhall reſolve to ſeduce, thou ſhalt not prevail with GOD at all. They whoſe hearts GOD ſhall not pleaſe to cleanſe, ſhall ſuffer ſhame in this world, and a grievous puniſhment in the next: who hearken to a lie, and eat that which is forbidden[f]. But if they come unto thee for judgment, either judge between them, or leave them[g]; and if thou

[a] Who haſten to infidelity] i e Who take the firſt opportunity to throw off the maſk, and to join the unbelievers

[b] Who ſay, We believe, with their mouths, &c] viz The hypocritical Mohammedans

[c] Who hearken to a lie, and hearken to other people] Theſe words are capable of two ſenſes, and may either mean that they attended to the lies and forgeries of their Rabbins, neglecting the remonſtrances of Mohammed, or elſe, that they came to hear Mohammed as ſpies only, that they might report what he ſaid to their companions, and repreſent him as a liar (1)

[d] See ch iv p 103, note [m]

[e] If this be brought unto you, receive it, but if it be not brought unto you, beware of receiving aught elſe] That is, if what Mohammed tells you, agrees with ſcripture, as corrupted and diſlocated by us, then you may accept it as the word of GOD, but if not, reject it Theſe words, it is ſaid, relate to the ſentence pronounced by that prophet on an adulterer and an adultereſs (2), both perſons of ſome figure among the Jews For they, it ſeems, though they referred the matter to Mohammed, yet directed the perſons who carried the criminals before him, that, if he ordered them to be ſcourged, and to have their faces blackened, (by way of ignominy,) they ſhould acquieſce in his determination, but, in caſe he condemned them to be ſtoned, they ſhould not And Mohammed pronouncing the latter ſentence againſt them, they refuſed to execute it, till Ebn Suriya, (a Jew,) who was called upon to decide the matter, acknowledged the law to be ſo Whereupon they were ſtoned at the door of the moſque (3)

[f] And eat that which is forbidden] Some underſtand this of unlawful meats, but others, of taking or devouring, as it is expreſſed, of uſury and bribes (4)

[g] Either judge between them, or leave them] i e Take thy choice, whether thou wilt determine their

(1) Al BEIDAWI (2) See ch 3 p 58, note [b]
(3) Al BEIDAWI. (4) Idem

differences

thou leave them, they ſhall not hurt thee at all. But if thou undertake to judge, judge between them with equity; for GOD loveth thoſe who obſerve juſtice. And how will they ſubmit to thy deciſion, ſince they have the law, containing the judgment of GOD[h]? Then will they turn their backs, after this[i], but thoſe are not true believers[k]. We have ſurely ſent down the law, containing direction, and light; thereby did the prophets, who profeſſed the true religion, judge thoſe who Judaized, and the doctors and prieſts alſo judged by the book of GOD, which had been committed to their cuſtody; and they were witneſſes thereof[l]. Therefore fear not men, but fear me, neither ſell my ſigns for a ſmall price. And whoſo judgeth not according to what GOD hath revealed, they are infidels. We have therein commanded them, that they ſhould give life for life[m],

differences or not Hence al Shafeï was of opinion that a judge was not obliged to decide cauſes between Jews or Chriſtians, though, if one or both of them be tributaries, or under the protection of the Mohammedans, they are obliged this verſe not regarding them Abu Hanifa, however, thought that the magiſtrates were obliged to judge all caſes which were ſubmitted to them (1)

[h] And how will they ſubmit to thy deciſion, ſince they have the law, &c] In the following paſſage Mohammed endeavours to anſwer the objections of the Jews and Chriſtians, who inſiſted that they ought to be judged, the former by the law of Moſes, and the latter by the goſpel He allows that the law was the proper rule of judging till the coming of Jeſus Chriſt, after which the goſpel was the rule, but pretends, that both are ſet aſide by the revelation of the Koran, which is ſo far from being contradictory to either of the former, that it is more full and explicit, declaring ſeveral points which had been ſtifled, or corrupted therein, and requiring a rigorous execution of the precepts in both, which had been too remiſsly obſerved, or rather neglected, by the latter profeſſors of thoſe religions

[i] Then will they turn their backs [illegible] ing their outward ſubmiſſion, they will not abide by the ſentence, though conformable to the law, if it contradict their own falſe and looſe deciſions

[k] Theſe are not true believers] As gainſaying the doctrine of the books which they acknowledge for ſcripture

[l] And they were witneſſes thereof] That is, vigilant to prevent any ruptio[illegible]

[m] L
ſoul

(1) Al BEIDAWI

and

and eye for eye, and noſe for noſe, and ear for ear, and tooth for tooth, and that wounds ſhould alſo be puniſhed by retaliation[n] but whoever ſhould remit it as alms, it ſhould be accepted as an atonement for him. And whoſo judgeth not according to what GOD hath revealed, they are unjuſt. We alſo cauſed JESUS, the ſon of MARY, to follow the footſteps of the prophets, confirming the law which was ſent down before him, and we gave him the goſpel, containing direction and light, confirming alſo the law which was given before it, and a direction and admonition unto thoſe who fear GOD that they who have received the goſpel, might judge according to what GOD hath revealed therein: And whoſo judgeth not according to what GOD hath revealed, they are tranſgreſſors. We have alſo ſent down unto thee the book of the KORAN with truth, confirming that ſcripture which was revealed before it, and preſerving the ſame ſafe from corruption. Judge, therefore, between them according to that which GOD hath revealed, and follow not their deſires, by ſwerving from the truth which hath come unto thee. Unto every of you have we given a law, and an open path, and, if GOD had pleaſed, he had ſurely made you one people[o], but he hath thought fit to give you different laws, that he might try you in that which he hath given you reſpectively. Therefore, ſtrive to excel each other in good works. unto GOD ſhall ye all return, and then will he declare unto you that concerning which ye have diſagreed. Wherefore, do thou, O prophet! judge between them according to that which GOD hath revealed, and follow not their deſires, but, beware of them, leſt they cauſe thee to err[p] from part

[n] See Exod xxi 24, &c

[o] He had made you one people] i e He had given you the ſame laws, which ſhould have continued in force through all ages, without being aboliſhed or changed by new diſpenſations, or, he could have forced you all to embrace the Mohammedan religion (1).

[p] And follow not their deſires; but beware of them, leſt they cauſe thee to err, &c] It is related, that

(1) Al BEIDAWI.

certain

part of thoſe precepts which GOD hath ſent down unto thee, and, if they turn back[q], know that GOD is pleaſed to puniſh them for ſome of their crimes; for a great number of men are tranſgreſſors. Do they, therefore, deſire the judgment of the time of ignorance[r]? but, who is better than GOD, to judge between people who reaſon aright? O true believers! take not the Jews, or Chriſtians, for your friends; they are friends the one to the other; but whoſo among you taketh them for his friends, he is ſurely one of them: verily, GOD directeth not unjuſt people. Thou ſhalt ſee thoſe in whoſe hearts there is an infirmity, to haſten unto them, ſaying, We fear leſt ſome adverſity befal us[s]; but it is eaſy for GOD to give victory, or a command from him[t], that they may repent of that which they concealed in their minds. And they who believe, will ſay, Are theſe the men who have ſworn by GOD, with a moſt firm oath, that they ſurely held with you[u]? their works are become vain, and they are of thoſe who periſh.

certain of the Jewiſh prieſts came to Mohammed with a deſign to entrap him, and, having firſt repreſented to him, that, if they acknowledged him for a prophet, the reſt of the Jews would certainly follow their example, made this propoſal, that, if he would give judgment for them in a controverſy of moment, which they pretended to have with their own people, and which was agreed to be referred to his deciſion, they would believe on him: but this Mohammed abſolutely refuſed to comply with (1)

[q] If they turn back] Or refuſe to be judged by the Koran

[r] The judgment of the time of ignorance] That is, to be judged according to the cuſtoms of Paganiſm, which indulge the paſſions and vicious appetites of mankind: for this, it ſeems, was demanded by the Jewiſh tribes of Koreidha and al Nadir (2)

[s] We fear leſt ſome adverſity befal us] Theſe were the words of Ebn Obba, who, when Obadah Ebn al Samat publicly renounced the friendſhip of the infidels, and profeſſed, that he took GOD and his apoſtle for his patrons, ſaid, that he was a man apprehenſive of the ſickleneſs of fortune, and, therefore, would not throw off his old friends, who might be of ſervice to him hereafter (3)

[t] A command from him] To extirpate and baniſh the Jews, or, to detect and puniſh the hypocrites

[u] Are theſe the men who have ſworn, &c] Theſe words may be ſpoken by the Mohammedans, either to one another or to the Jews, ſince theſe hypocrites had given their oaths to both (4)

(1) Al BEIDAWI (2) Idem (3) Idem (4) Idem

O true

O true believers! whoever of you apoſtatizeth from his religion, GOD will certainly bring other people to ſupply his place *, whom he will love, and who will love him; who ſhall be humble towards the believers, but ſevere to the unbelievers: they ſhall fight for the religion of GOD, and ſhall not fear the obliquy of the detractor. This is the bounty of GOD, he beſtoweth it on whom he pleaſeth: GOD is extenſive and wiſe. Verily, your protector is GOD, and his apoſtle, and thoſe who believe, who obſerve the ſtated times of prayer, and give alms, and who bow down to worſhip. And whoſo taketh GOD, and

* Whoever of you apoſtatizeth from his religion, GOD will certainly bring others to ſupply his place, &c.] This is one of thoſe accidents, which, it is pretended, were foretold by the Korân long before they came to paſs For, in the latter days of Mohammed, and after his death, conſiderable numbers of the Arabs quitted his religion, and returned to Paganiſm, Judaiſm, or Chriſtianity Al Beidawi reckons them up in the following order 1 Three companies of Banu Modlaj, ſeduced by Dhu'lhamar al Aſwad al Anſi, who ſet up for a prophet in Yaman, and grew very powerful there (1) 2 Banu Honeifa, who followed the famous falſe prophet Moſeilama (2) 3 Banu Aſad, who acknowledged Toleiha Ebn Khowailed, another pretender to divine revelation (3), for their prophet All theſe fell off in Mohammed's life-time The following, except only the laſt, apoſtatized in the reign of Abu Becr 4 Certain of the tribe of Fezarah, headed by Oyeyma Ebn Hoſein 5 Some of the tribe of Ghatfan, whoſe leader was Korrah Ebn Salma 6 Banu Soleim, who followed al Fajaah Ebn Abd Yalil 7 Banu Yarbu, whoſe captain was Malec Ebn Noweirah Ebn Kais 8 Part of the tribe of Tamim, the proſelytes of Sajaj, the daughter of al Mondhar, who gave herſelf out for a propheteſs (4) 9 The tribe of Kendah, led by al Aſhâth Ebn Kais 10 Banu Becr Ebn al Wayel, in the province of Bahrein, headed by al Horam Ebn Zeid And, 11 Some of the tribe of Ghaſſân, who, with their prince, Jabalah Ebn al Ayham, renounced Mohammediſm in the time of Omar, and returned to their former profeſſion of Chriſtianity (5)

But, as to the perſons who fulfilled the other part of this prophecy, by ſupplying the loſs of ſo many renegates, the commentators are not agreed Some will have them to be the inhabitants of Yaman, and others, the Perſians, the authority of Mohammed himſelf being vouched for both opinions Others, however, ſuppoſe them to be 2,000 of the tribe of al Nakhâ, (who dwelt in Yaman,) 5,000 of thoſe of Kendah and Bajilah, and 3,000 of unknown deſcent, who were preſent at the famous battle of Kadeſia (6), fought in the Khalifat of Omar, and which put an end to the Perſian empire (7)

(1) See the Prelim Diſc ſect VIII (2) See ib (3) See ib. (4) See ib (5) See ib ſect I p 14 (6) D'HERBELOT Bibl Orient p 226 (7) Al

his

his apoſtle, and the believers for his friends, they are the party of GOD, and they ſhall be victorious. O true believers! take not ſuch of thoſe to whom the ſcriptures were delivered before you, or of the infidels, for your friends, who make a laughing-ſtock and a jeſt of your religion[x]; but fear GOD, if ye be true believers; nor thoſe who, when ye call to prayer, make a laughing-ſtock and a jeſt of it[y]: this they do, becauſe they are people who do not underſtand. Say, O ye who have received the ſcriptures! do ye reject us for any other reaſon than becauſe we believe in GOD, and that revelation which hath been ſent down unto us, and that which was formerly ſent down, and for that the greater part of you are tranſgreſſors? Say, Shall I denounce unto you a worſe thing than this, as to the reward which ye are to expect with GOD? He whom GOD hath curſed, and with whom he hath been angry, having changed ſome of them into apes and ſwine[z], and who worſhip TAGHUT[a], they are in the worſe condition, and err more widely from the ſtraitneſs of the path. When they came unto you, they ſaid, We believe: yet they entered into your company with infidelity, and went

[x] Take not thoſe for your friends, who make a laughing-ſtock of your religion] This paſſage was primarily intended to forbid the Moſlems entering into a friendſhip with two hypocrites, named, Rafaa Ebn Zeid, and Soweid Ebn al Hareth, who, though they had embraced Mohammediſm, yet ridiculed it on all occaſions, and were, notwithſtanding, greatly beloved among the prophet's followers

[y] Nor thoſe who, when ye call to prayer, make a jeſt of it] Theſe words were added on occaſion of a certain Chriſtian, who, hearing the Muadhdhin, or cryer, in calling to prayers, repeat this part of the uſual form, I profeſs that Mohammed is the apoſtle of GOD, ſaid aloud, May GOD burn the liar but, a few nights after, his own houſe was accidentally ſet on fire by a ſervant, and himſelf and his family periſhed in the flames (1)

[z] Having changed ſome of them into apes and ſwine] The former were the Jews of Ailah, who broke the ſabbath (2), and the latter, thoſe who believed not in the miracle of the Table, which was let down from heaven to JESUS (3) Some, however, imagine, that the Jews of Ailah only are meant in this place, pretending, that the young men among them were metamorphoſed into apes, and the old men into ſwine (4)

[a] See chap ii p 48

(1) Al BEIDAWI (2) See chap ii p 13 (3) See towards the end of this chapter (4) Al BEIDAWI

forth

forth from you with the ſame; but GOD well kne what they concealed. Thou ſhalt ſee many of them haſtening unto iniquity and malice, and to eat things forbidden[b], and woe unto them for what they have done. Unleſs their doctors and prieſts forbid them uttering wickedneſs, and eating things forbidden; woe unto them for what they ſhall have committed. The Jews ſay, The hand of GOD is tied up[c]. Their hands ſhall be tied up[d], and they ſhall be curſed for that which they have ſaid. Nay, his hands are both ſtretched forth. he beſtoweth as he pleaſeth. that which hath been ſent down unto thee from thy LORD[e] ſhall increaſe the tranſgreſſion and infidelity of many of them; and we have put enmity and hatred between them, until the day of reſurrection. So often as they ſhall kindle a fire for war, GOD ſhall extinguiſh it[f]; and they ſhall ſet their minds to act corruptly in the earth, but GOD loveth not the corrupt doers. Moreover, if they, who have received the ſcriptures, believe, and fear GOD, we will ſurely expiate their ſins from them, and we will lead them in-

[b] See before, p 128

[c] GOD's hand is tied up] That is, he is become niggardly and cloſe-fiſted Theſe were the words of Phineas Ebn Azura, another indecent expreſſion of whom, almoſt to the ſame purpoſe, is mentioned elſewhere (1), when the Jews were much impoveriſhed by a dearth, which the commentators will have to be a judgment on them for their rejecting of Mohammed, and the other Jews, who heard him, inſtead of reproving him, expreſſed their approbation of what he had ſaid (2)

[d] Their hands ſhall be tied up] i e They ſhall be puniſhed with want and avarice The words may alſo allude to the manner wherein the reprobates ſhall appear at the laſt-day, having their right-hands tied up to their necks (3), which is the proper ſignification of the Arabic word

[e] Viz The Korân

[f] So often as they kindle fire for war, GOD ſhall extinguiſh it] Either by raiſing feuds and quarrels among themſelves, or by granting the victory to the Moſlems Al Beidâwi adds, that, on the Jews neglecting the true obſervance of their law, and corrupting their religion, GOD has ſucceſſively delivered them into the hands, firſt, of Bakht Naſr, or Nebuchadnezzar, then of Titus, the Roman, and afterwards of the Perſians, and has now, at laſt, ſubjected them to the Mohammedans.

(1) Chap iii p 88. (2) Al BEIDAWI (3) See the Prelim Diſc Sect IV p 117

to

to gardens of pleaſure, and if they obſerve the law, and the goſpel, and the other ſcriptures, which have been ſent down unto them from their LORD, they ſhall ſurely eat of good things both from above them, and from under their feet[g]. Among them there are people who act uprightly, but how evil is that which many of them do work! O apoſtle! publiſh the whole of that which hath been ſent down unto thee from thy LORD for if thou do not, thou doſt not, in effect, publiſh any part thereof[h], and GOD will defend thee againſt wicked men[i], for GOD directeth not the unbelieving people Say, O ye who have received the ſcriptures, ye are not grounded on any thing, until ye obſerve the law and the goſpel, and that which hath been ſent down unto you from your LORD That which hath been ſent down unto thee from thy LORD, ſhall ſurely increaſe the tranſgreſſion and infidelity of many of them but be not thou ſolicitous for the unbelieving people. Verily, they who believe, and thoſe who Judaize, and the Sabians, and the Chriſtians, whoever of them believeth in GOD and the laſt-day, and doth that which is right, there ſhall come no fear on them, neither ſhall they be grieved[k] We formerly accepted the covenant of the children of ISRAEL, and ſent apoſtles unto them. So often as an apoſtle came unto them with that which their ſouls deſired not, they accuſed ſome of

[g] They ſhall eat of the good things both from above them, and from under their feet] That is, they ſhall enjoy the bleſſings both of heaven and earth

[h] If thou publiſh not the whole, thou doſt not, in effect, publiſh any part thereof] That is, if thou do not complete the publication of all thy revelations, without exception, thou doſt not anſwer the end for which they were revealed, becauſe, the concealing of any part, renders the ſyſtem of religion, which GOD has thought fit to publiſh to mankind by thy miniſtry, lame and imperfect (1)

[i] GOD will defend thee, &c]—Until this verſe was revealed, Mohammed entertained a guard of armed men for his ſecurity, but, on his receiving this aſſurance of GOD's protection, he immediately diſmiſſed them (2)

[k] See chap II p 13

(1) Al BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN (2) Idem

them of impoſture, and ſome of them they killed! and they imagined that there ſhould be no puniſhment for thoſe crimes, and they became blind, and deaf[l]. Then was GOD turned unto them[m] afterwards many of them again became blind and deaf; but GOD ſaw what they did. They are ſurely infidels, who ſay, Verily, GOD is CHRIST, the ſon of MARY, ſince CHRIST ſaid, O children of ISRAEL! ſerve GOD, my LORD and your LORD: whoever ſhall give a companion unto GOD, GOD ſhall exclude him from paradiſe, and his habitation ſhall be hell fire, and the ungodly ſhall have none to help them. They are certainly infidels, who ſay, GOD is the third of three[n]; for there is no GOD, beſides one GOD: and if they refrain not from what they ſay, a painful torment ſhall ſurely be inflicted on ſuch of them as are unbelievers. Will they not, therefore, be turned unto GOD, and aſk pardon of him? ſince GOD is gracious and merciful. CHRIST, the ſon of MARY, is no more than an apoſtle, other apoſtles have preceded him, and his mother was a woman of veracity[o]: they both ate food[p]. Behold, how we declare unto them the ſigns of GOD's unity, and then, behold, how they turn aſide from the truth. Say unto them, Will ye worſhip, beſides GOD, that which can cauſe you neither harm nor profit? GOD is he who heareth and ſeeth. Say, O ye who have received the ſcriptures! exceed not the juſt bounds in your religion[q], by ſpeaking beſide the truth, neither follow

[l] And they became blind and deaf] Shutting their eyes and ears againſt conviction, and the remonſtrances of the law, as when they worſhipped the calf

[m] Then was GOD turned unto them] i. e. Upon their repentance

[n] See chap. iv. p. 126.

[o] His mother was a woman of veracity] Never pretending to partake of the divine nature, or to be the mother of GOD (1)

[p] They both ate food] Being obliged to ſupport their lives by the ſame means, and being ſubject to the ſame neceſſities and infirmities, as the reſt of mankind, and, therefore, no GODS (2)

[q] See chap. iv. p. 126. But here the words are principally directed to the Chriſtians.

(1) JALLALO'DDIN (2) Idem, AL BEIDAWI

the

the deſires of people who have heretofore erred, and who have ſeduced many, and have gone aſtray from the ſtrait path[r]. Thoſe among the children of ISRAEL who believed not, were curſed by the tongue of DAVID, and of JESUS the ſon of MARY[s]. This befel them becauſe they were rebellious and tranſgreſſed they forbade not one another the wickedneſs which they committed, and woe unto them for what they committed. Thou ſhalt ſee many of them take for their friends, thoſe who believe not Woe unto them for what their ſouls have ſent before them[t], for that GOD is incenſed againſt them, and they ſhall remain in torment for ever But, if they had believed in GOD, and the prophet, and that which hath been revealed unto him, they had not taken them for their friends, but many of them are evil doers. Thou ſhalt ſurely find the moſt violent of all men in enmity againſt the true believers, to be the Jews, and the idolaters, and thou ſhalt ſurely find thoſe among them to be the moſt inclinable to entertain friendſhip for the true believers, who ſay, We are Chriſtians. This cometh to paſs, becauſe there are prieſts and monks among them, and becauſe they are not elated with pride[u] * And when they hear that which hath VII. been ſent down to the apoſtle read unto them, thou ſhalt ſee their eyes overflow with tears, becauſe of the truth which they perceive therein[w], ſaying, O LORD!

[r] Neither follow the deſires of people who have heretofore erred, &c] That is, of their prelates and predeceſſors, who erred in aſcribing divinity to Chriſt, before the miſſion of Mohammed (1)

[s] See before, p 144, not [z]

[t] See chap ii p 18 not [p]

[u] And are not elated with pride] Having not that high conceit of themſelves as the Jews have, but being humble, and well-diſpoſed to receive the truth qualities, ſays al Beidawi, which are to be commended even in infidels

[w] And when they hear that which hath been ſent down to the apoſtle read unto them, their eyes overflow with tears, &c] The perſons directly intended, in this paſſage, were, either Aſhama, king of Ethiopia, and ſeveral biſhops and prieſts, who, being aſſembled for that purpoſe, heard Jaafar Ebn Abi Taleb, who

(1) JALLALO'DDIN, Al BEIDAWI

LORD! we believe, write us down, therefore, with thoſe who bear witneſs to the truth and what ſhould hinder us from believing in GOD, and the truth which hath come unto us, and from earneſtly deſiring that our LORD would introduce us into paradiſe with the righteous people? Therefore hath GOD rewarded them, for what they have ſaid, with gardens through which rivers flow, they ſhall continue therein for ever, and this is the reward of the righteous. But, they who believe not, and accuſe our ſigns of falſehood, they ſhall be the companions of hell O true believers! forbid not the good things which GOD hath allowed you[x], but, tranſgreſs not, for GOD loveth not the tranſgreſſors And eat of what GOD hath given you for food, that which is lawful and good and fear GOD, in whom ye believe. GOD will not puniſh you for an inconſiderate word in your oaths[y], but he will puniſh you for what ye ſolemnly ſwear with deliberation And the expiation of ſuch an oath ſhall be the feeding of ten poor men with ſuch moderate food as ye feed your

fled to that country in the firſt flight (1), read the 29th and 30th, and, afterwards, the 18th and 19th, chapters of the Koran on hearing of which the king, and the reſt of the company, burſt into tears, and confeſſed what was delivered therein to be conformable to truth, that prince, himſelf, in particular, becoming a proſelyte to Mohammediſm (2) or elſe, thirty, or, as others ſay, ſeventy perſons, ſent ambaſſadors to Mohammed, by the ſame king of Ethiopia, to whom the prophet himſelf read the thirty-ſixth chapter, entitled Y S whereupon they began to weep, ſaying, How like is this to that which was revealed unto Jeſus! and immediately profeſſed themſelves Moſlems (3)

[x] Forbid not the good things which GOD hath allowed you] Theſe words were revealed, when certain of Mohammed's companions agreed to oblige themſelves to continual faſting and watching, and to abſtain from women, eating fleſh, ſleeping on beds and other lawful enjoyments of life, in imitation of ſome ſelf-denying Chriſtians, but this the prophet diſapproved, declaring, that he would have no monks in his religion (4)

[y] See chap ii p 40

(1) See the Prelim Diſc p 58, 59 (2) Al BEIDAWI Al THALABI V ABULFED vit Moh p 25, &c MARRAC Prodr ad refut Alcor part 1 p 45 (3) Al BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN V MARRACC ubi ſup (4) JALLALO'DDIN, Al BEIDAWI

own

own families withal, or to clothe them[z], or to free the neck of a true believer from captivity but he who shall not find wherewith to perform one of these three things, shall fast three days[a] This is the expiation of your oaths, when ye swear inadvertently Therefore, keep your oaths Thus God declareth unto you his signs, that ye may give thanks O true believers! surely wine and lots[b], and images[c], and divining arrows[d], are an abomination, of the work of SATAN, therefore avoid them, that ye may prosper. SATAN seeketh to sow dissension and hatred among you, by means of wine and lots, and to divert you from remembering GOD, and from prayer will ye not, therefore, abstain from them? Obey GOD, and obey the apostle, and take heed to yourselves but, if ye turn back, know that the duty of our apostle is only to preach publicly[e] In those who believe and do good works, it is no sin that they have tasted wine or gaming before they were forbidden, if they fear GOD, and believe, and do good works, and shall, for the future, fear GOD, and believe, and shall persevere to fear him, and to do good[f], for GOD loveth those

[z] The commentators give us the different opinions of the doctors, as to the quantity of food and clothes to be given in this case, which I think scarce worth describing

[a] Shall fast three days] That is, three days together, says Abu Hanifa But this is not observed in practice, being neither explicitly commanded in the Koran, nor ordered in the Sonna (1)

[b] Wine and lots] That is, all inebriating liquors, and games of chance See the Prelim Disc sect V and chap II p 39

[c] Images] Al Beidawi, and some other commentators, expound this of idols, but others, with more probability, of the carved pieces, or men, with which the Pagan Arabs played at chess, being little figures of men elephants, horses, and dromedaries and this is supposed to be the only thing which Mohammed disliked in that game for which reason, the Sonnites play with plain pieces of wood or ivory, but the Persians and Indians, who are not so scrupulous, still make use of the carved ones (2)

[d] See the Prelim Disc sect V

[e] See ibid sect II p 64, &c

[f] The commentators endeavour to excuse the tautology of this passage, by supposing the threefold repetition of fearing and believing, to refer either to the three parts of time past present, and future, or to the threefold duty of man, towards GOD, himself, and his neighbour, &c (3)

(1) Al Beidawi (2) V Prelim Disc sect V (3) Al Beidawi

who do good. O true believers! GOD will ſurely prove you, in offering you plenty of game, which ye may take with your hands or your lances[g], that GOD may know who feareth him in ſecret, but, whoever tranſgreſſeth after this, ſhall ſuffer a grievous puniſhment. O true believers! kill no game while ye are on pilgrimage[h] whoſoever among you ſhall kill any deſignedly, ſhall reſtore the like of what he ſhall have killed in domeſtic animals[i], according to the determination of two juſt perſons among you, to be brought as an offering to the CAABA, or, in atonement thereof, ſhall feed the poor, or, inſtead thereof, ſhall faſt, that he may taſte the heinouſneſs of his deed. GOD hath forgiven what is paſt; but, whoever returneth to tranſgreſs, GOD will take vengeance on him, for GOD is mighty, and able to avenge. It is lawful for you to fiſh in the ſea[k], and to eat what ye ſhall catch, as a proviſion for you, and for thoſe

[g] GOD will prove you, in offering you plenty of game, &c] This temptation, or trial, was at al Hodeibiya, where Mohammed's men, who had attended him thither, with an intent to perform a pilgrimage to the Caaba, and had initiated themſelves with the uſual rites, were ſurrounded by ſo great a number of birds and beaſts, that they impeded their march, from which unuſual accident, ſome of them concluded, that GOD had allowed them to be taken, but this paſſage was to convince them of the contrary (1)

[h] While ye are on pilgrimage] Literally, while ye are Mohrims, or have actually initiated yourſelves as pilgrims, by putting on the garment worn at that ſolemnity Hunting and fowling are hereby abſolutely forbidden to perſons in this ſtate, though they are allowed to kill certain kinds of noxious animals (2)

[i] Shall reſtore the like in domeſtic animals, &c] That is, he ſhall bring an offering to the temple of Mecca, to be ſlain there, and diſtributed among the poor, of ſome domeſtic or tame animal, equal in value to what he ſhall have killed as a ſheep, for example, in lieu of an antelope, a pigeon for a partridge, &c And of this value two prudent perſons were to be judges If the offender was not able to do this, he was to give a certain quantity of food to one or more poor men, or, if he could not afford that, to faſt a proportionable number of days (3)

[k] This, ſays Jallalo'ddin, is to be underſtood of fiſh that live altogether in the ſea, and not of thoſe that live in the ſea and on land both, as crabs, &c The Turks, who are Hanifites, never eat this ſort of fiſh, but the ſect of Malec Ebn Ans, and, perhaps, ſome others, make no ſcruple of it

(1) Al BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN.
(2) See the Prelim Diſc Sec V
(3) JALLALO'DDIN, Al BEIDAWI

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who travel; but it is unlawful for you to hunt by land, while ye are performing the rites of pilgrimage[l], therefore, fear GOD, before whom ye ſhall be aſſembled at the laſt-day. GOD hath appointed the CAABA, the holy houſe, an eſtabliſhment[m] for mankind, and hath ordained the ſacred month[n], and the offering, and the ornaments hung thereon[o]. This hath he done, that ye might know that GOD knoweth whatſoever is in heaven and on earth, and that GOD is omniſcient. Know that GOD is ſevere in puniſhing, and that GOD is alſo ready to forgive, and merciful The duty of our apoſtle is to preach only[p], and GOD knoweth that which ye diſcover, and that which ye conceal Say, Evil and good ſhall not be equally eſteemed of, though the abundance of evil pleaſeth thee[q], therefore, fear GOD, O ye of underſtanding! that ye may be happy O true believers! inquire not concerning things, which, if they be declared unto you, may give you pain[r];

[l] See above note [h]

[m] An eſtabliſhment] That is, the place where the practice of their religious ceremonies is chiefly eſtabliſhed, where thoſe who are under any apprehenſion of danger may find a ſure aſylum, and the merchant certain gain, &c (1)

[n] The ſacred month] Al Beidawi underſtands this of the month of Dhu'lhajja, wherein the ceremonies of the pilgrimage are performed, but Jallalo'ddin ſuppoſes all the four ſacred months are here intended (2)

[o] See before, p 128

[p] See the Prelim Diſc Sect II p 64

[q] Evil and good ſhall not be equally eſteemed, though the abundance of evil pleaſeth thee] For judgment is to be made of things, not from their plenty or ſcarcity, but from their intrinſic good or bad qualities (3)

[r] Inquire not concerning things which if they be declared unto you may give you pain, &c] The Arabs, continually teazing their prophet with queſtions, which, probably, he was not always prepared to anſwer, they are here ordered to wait till GOD ſhould think fit to declare his pleaſure by ſome farther revelation and, to abate their curioſity, they are told, at the ſame time, that, very likely, the anſwers would not be agreeable to their inclinations Al Beidawi ſays, that, when the pilgrimage was firſt commanded, Soraka Ebn Malec aſked Mohammed, Whether they were obliged to perform it every year? To this queſtion, the prophet, at firſt, turned a deaf ear, but, being aſked it a ſecond, and a third time, he, at laſt, ſaid, No but, if I had ſaid, yes, it would have become a duty, and, if it were a duty, ye would not be able to perform it therefore, give me no trouble as to things wherein I give you none whereupon this paſſage was revealed

(1) JALLALO'DDIN, Al BEIDAWI (2) See the Prelim Diſc Sect VII (3) Al BEIDAWI

but, if ye aſk concerning them, when the KORAN is ſent down, they will be declared unto you GOD pardoneth you as to theſe matters, for GOD is ready to forgive, and gracious People, who have been before you, formerly inquired concerning them, and afterwards diſbelieved therein. GOD hath not ordained any thing concerning BAHIRA, nor SAIBA, nor WASILA, nor HAMI[s], but the unbelievers have invented a lie againſt GOD and the greater part of them do not underſtand And when it was ſaid unto them, Come unto that which GOD hath revealed, and to the apoſtle, they anſwered, That religion which we found our fathers to follow is ſufficient for us What though their fathers knew nothing, and were not rightly directed? O true believers! take care of your ſouls He who erreth ſhall not hurt you, while ye are rightly directed[t] unto GOD ſhall ye all return, and he will tell you that which ye have done O true believers! let witneſſes be taken between you, when death approaches any of you, at the time of making the teſtament, let there be two witneſſes, juſt men, from among you[u], or two others of a different tribe or faith from yourſelves[w], if ye be journeying in the earth, and the accident of death befal you Ye ſhall ſhut them both up,

[s] GOD hath not ordained any thing concerning Bahira, nor Saiba, nor Wasila, nor Hami, &c] Theſe were the names given by the Pagan Arabs to certain camels or ſheep, which were turned looſe to feed and exempted from common ſervices, in ſome particular cases, having their ears ſlit or ſome other mark, that they might be known, and this they did in honour of their gods (1) Which ſuperſtitions are here declared to be no ordinances of GOD, but the inventions of fooliſh men

[t] He who erreth ſhall not hurt you, &c] This was revealed when the infidels reproached thoſe who embraced Mohammediſm, and renounced their old idolatry, that, by ſo doing, they arraigned the wiſdom of their forefathers (2)

[u] Two juſt men from among you] That is, of your kindred, or religion

[w] Or two others of a different tribe or faith] They who interpret theſe words of perſons of another religion, ſay, they are abrogated, and that the teſtimony of ſuch ought not to be received againſt a Moſlem (3)

(1) See the Prelim Diſc Sect V (2) AL BEIDAWI (3) Idem

after

after the afternoon prayer[x], and they ſhall ſwear by GOD, if ye doubt them, and they ſhall ſay, We will not ſell our evidence for a bribe, although the perſon concerned be one who is related to us, neither will we conceal the teſtimony of GOD, for then ſhould we certainly be of the number of the wicked. But if it appear that both have been guilty of iniquity, two others ſhall ſtand up in their place, of thoſe who have convicted them of falſehood, the two neareſt in blood, and they ſhall ſwear by GOD, ſaying, Verily our teſtimony is more true than the teſtimony of theſe two, neither have we prevaricated, for then ſhould we become of the number of the unjuſt. This will be eaſier, that men may give teſtimony according to the plain intention thereof, or fear leſt a different oath be given after their oath. Therefore fear GOD, and hearken, for GOD directeth not the unjuſt people[y]. On a certain day

[x] Ye ſhall ſhut them both up after the afternoon prayer, &c.] In caſe there was any doubt, the witneſſes were to be kept apart from company, leſt they ſhould be corrupted, till they gave their evidence, which they generally did when the afternoon prayer was over, becauſe that was the time of people's aſſembling in public, or, ſay ſome, becauſe the guardian angels then relieve each other, ſo that there would be four angels to witneſs againſt them, if they gave falſe evidence. But others ſuppoſe they might be examined after the hour of any other prayer, when there was a ſufficient aſſembly (1).

The occaſion of the preceding paſſage is ſaid to have been this. Tamim al Dari and Addi Ebn Yazid, both Chriſtians, took a journey into Syria to trade, in company with Bodeil, the freed-man of Amru Ebn al [illegible], who was a Moſlem. When they came to Damaſcus, Bodeil fell ſick, and died, having firſt wrote down a liſt of his effects on a piece of paper which he hid in his baggage, without acquainting his companions with it, and deſired them only to deliver what he had to his friends of the tribe of Sahm. The ſurvivors, however, ſearching among his goods, found a veſſel of ſilver of conſiderable weight, and inlaid with gold, which they concealed, and, on their return, delivered the reſt to the deceaſed's relations, who, finding the liſt of Bodeil's writing, demanded the veſſel of ſilver of them, but they denied it, and the affair being brought before Mohammed, theſe words, viz. O believers! take witneſſes, &c. were revealed, and he ordered them to be ſworn at the pulpit in the moſque, juſt as afternoon prayer was over, and, on their making oath, that they knew nothing of the plate demanded, diſ-

(1) Al BEIDAWI

miſſed

day[a] ſhall GOD aſſemble the apoſtles, and ſhall ſay unto them, What anſwer was returned you, when ye preached unto the people to whom ye were ſent? They ſhall anſwer, We have no knowledge, but thou art the knower of ſecrets[a]. When GOD ſhall ſay, O JESUS, ſon of MARY! remember my favour towards thee, and towards thy mother, when I ſtrengthened thee with the Holy Spirit[b], that thou ſhouldeſt ſpeak unto men in the cradle, and when thou waſt grown up[c]! and when I taught thee the ſcripture, and wiſdom, and the law, and the goſpel, and when thou didſt create of clay, as it were, the figure of a bird, by my permiſſion, and didſt breathe thereon, and it became a bird by my permiſſion, and thou didſt heal one blind from his birth, and the leper, by my permiſſion; and when thou didſt bring forth the dead from their graves, by my permiſſion[d]; and when I with-held the children of ISRAEL from killing thee[e], when thou hadſt come unto them with evident miracles; and ſuch of them as believed not, ſaid, This is nothing but manifeſt ſorcery. And when I commanded the apoſtles of JESUS, ſaying, Believe in me, and in my meſſenger; they anſwered, We do believe, and do thou bear witneſs that we are reſigned unto thee. Remember, when the apoſtles ſaid,

miſſed them But, afterwards, the veſſel being found in their hands, the Sahmites, ſuſpecting it was Bodeil's, charged them with it, and they confeſſed it was his, but inſiſted that they had bought it of him, and that they had not produced it, becauſe they had no proof of the bargain Upon this they went again before Mohammed, to whom theſe words, And if it appear, &c were revealed, and thereupon Amru Ebn al As and al Motalleb Ebn Abi Refâa, both of the tribe of Sahm, ſtood up, and were ſworn againſt them, and judgment was given accordingly (1)

[a] On a certain day] That is, on the day of judgment

[a] We have no knowledge, &c] That is, We are ignorant whether our proſelytes were ſincere, or whether they apoſtatized after our deaths, but thou well knoweſt, not only what anſwer they gave us, but the ſecrets of their hearts, and whether they have ſince continued firm in their religion, or not

[b] See chap ii p 17

[c] See chap iii p 63.

[d] See ibid

[e] See ibid p 65.

(1) Al BEIDAWI.

O JESUS,

O JESUS, ſon of MARY! is thy LORD able to cauſe a table to deſcend unto us from heaven[f]? He anſwered, Fear GOD, if ye be true believers. They ſaid, We deſire to eat thereof, and that our hearts may reſt at eaſe; and that we may know that thou haſt told us the truth, and that we may be witneſſes thereof. JESUS, the ſon of MARY, ſaid, O GOD, our LORD! cauſe a table to deſcend unto us from heaven, that the day of its deſcent may become

[f] Is thy LORD able to cauſe a table to deſcend unto us from heaven, &c.] This miracle is thus related by the commentators Jeſus having, at the requeſt of his followers, aſked it of GOD, a red table immediately deſcended, in their ſight, between two clouds, and was ſet before them, whereupon he roſe up, and, having made the ablution, prayed, and then took off the cloth which covered the table, ſaying, In the name of GOD, the beſt provider of food What the proviſions were, with which this table was furniſhed, is a matter wherein the expoſitors are not agreed One will have them to be nine cakes of bread, and nine fiſhes, another, bread and fleſh, another, all ſorts of food, except fleſh, another, all ſorts of food except bread and fleſh, another, all, except bread and fiſh, another, one fiſh, which had the taſte of all manner of food, and another, fruits of paradiſe but the moſt received tradition is, that, when the table was uncovered, there appeared a fiſh ready dreſſed, without ſcales or prickly fins, dropping with fat, having ſalt placed at its head, and vinegar at its tail, and round it all ſorts of herbs, except leeks, and five loaves of bread, on one of which there were olives, on the ſecond, honey, on the third, butter, on the fourth, cheeſe, and on the fifth, dried fleſh. They add, that Jeſus, at the requeſt of the apoſtles, ſhewed them another miracle, by reſtoring the fiſh to life, and cauſing its ſcales and fins to return to it, at which the ſtanders-by being affrighted, he cauſed it to become as it was before that one thouſand three hundred men and women, all afflicted with bodily infirmities, or poverty, ate of theſe proviſions, and were ſatisfied, the fiſh remaining whole as it was at firſt that then the table flew up to heaven in the ſight of all, and every one who had partaken of this food, were delivered from their infirmities and misfortunes and, that it continued to deſcend for forty days together, at dinner-time, and ſtood on the ground till the ſun declined, and was then taken up into the clouds. Some of the Mohammedan writers are of opinion, that this table did not really deſcend, but that it was only a parable, but moſt think the words of the Korân are plain to the contrary A further tradition is, that ſeveral men were changed into ſwine, for diſbelieving this miracle, and attributing it to magic art, or, as others pretend, for ſtealing ſome of the victuals from off it (1) Several other fabulous circumſtances are alſo told, which are ſcarce worth tranſcribing (2)

(1) Al BEIDAWI Al THALABI p 238, &c

(2) V MARRACC in Alc.

a feſtival-

a feſtival-day[g] unto us, unto the firſt of us, and unto the laſt of us, and a ſign from thee, and do thou provide food for us, for thou art the beſt provider GOD ſaid, Verily I will cauſe it to deſcend unto you, but, whoever among you ſhall diſbelieve hereafter, I will ſurely puniſh him with a puniſhment wherewith I will not puniſh any other creature. And when GOD ſhall ſay unto JESUS, at the laſt-day, O JESUS, ſon of MARY! haſt thou ſaid unto men, Take me, and my mother, for two gods, beſide GOD? He ſhall anſwer, Praiſe be unto thee! it is not for me to ſay that which I ought not; if I had ſaid ſo, thou wouldeſt ſurely have known it. thou knoweſt what is in me, but I know not what is in thee, for thou art the knower of ſecrets I have not ſpoken to them any other than what thou didſt command me, namely, Worſhip GOD, my LORD and your LORD and I was a witneſs of their actions while I ſtayed among them, but ſince thou haſt taken me to thyſelf[h], thou haſt been the watcher over them, for thou art witneſs of all things If thou puniſh them, they are ſurely thy ſervants, and, if thou forgive them, thou art mighty and wiſe. GOD will ſay, This day ſhall their veracity be of advantage unto thoſe who ſpeak truth, they ſhall have gardens wherein rivers flow, they ſhall remain therein for ever GOD hath been well-pleaſed in them, and they have been well-pleaſed in him. This ſhall be

[g] A feſtival-day] Some ſay, the table deſcended on a Sunday, which was the reaſon of the Chriſtians obſerving that day as ſacred Others pretend, this day is ſtill kept among them as a very great feſtival, and it ſeems as if the ſtory had its riſe from an imperfect notion of Chriſt's laſt ſupper, and the inſtitution of the Euchariſt

[h] Since thou haſt taken me to thyſelf] Or, ſince thou haſt cauſed me to die but, as it is a diſpute, among the Mohammedans, whether Chriſt actually died, or not, before his aſſumption (1), and the original may be tranſlated either way, I have choſen the former expreſſion, which leaves the matter undecided

(1) See chap iii p 66

great

great felicity. Unto GOD belongeth the kingdom of heaven and of earth, and of whatever therein is, and he is almighty.

CHAP. VI.

Intitled, Cattle[a], revealed at MECCA[b].

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

PRAISE be unto GOD, who hath created the heavens and the earth, and hath ordained the darkneſs and the light, nevertheleſs, they who believe not in the LORD, equalize other gods with him. It is he who hath created you of clay, and then decreed the term of your lives, and the prefixed term is with him[c] yet do ye doubt thereof He is GOD in heaven and in earth, he knoweth what ye keep ſecret, and what ye publiſh, and knoweth what ye deſerve There came not unto them any ſign, of the ſigns of their LORD, but they retired from the ſame; and they have gainſayed the truth, after that it hath come unto them but a meſſage ſhall come unto them, concerning that which they have mocked at[d]. Do they not conſider how many generations we have deſtroyed before them? We had eſtabliſhed them in the earth in a manner wherein we have not eſtabliſhed you[e], we ſent the heaven to rain abundantly upon them,

[a] This chapter is ſo intitled, becauſe ſome ſuperſtitious cuſtoms of the Meccans, as to certain cattle, are therein incidentally mentioned

[b] Except only ſix verſes, or, ſay others, three verſes, which are taken notice of in the notes

[c] And then decreed the term of their lives, and the prefixed term is with him] By the laſt term, ſome underſtand the time of the reſurrection Others think, that, by the firſt term is intended, the ſpace between creation and death, and, by the latter, that between death and the reſurrection

[d] A meſſage ſhall come unto them, &c] That is, they ſhall be convinced of the truth which they have made a jeſt of, when they ſee the puniſhment which they ſhall ſuffer for ſo doing, both in this world, and the next, or, when they ſhall ſee the glorious ſucceſs of Mohammedaniſm

[e] We had eſtabliſhed them in the earth, as we have not eſtabliſhed you,

them, and we gave them rivers which flowed under their feet. yet we deſtroyed them in their ſins, and raiſed up other generations after them. Although we had cauſed to deſcend unto thee a book written on paper, and they had handled it with their hands, the unbelievers had ſurely ſaid, This is no other than manifeſt ſorcery. They ſaid, Unleſs an angel be ſent down unto him, we will not believe. But if he had ſent down an angel, verily the matter had been decreed[f], and they ſhould not have been borne with, by having time granted them to repent And if we had appointed an angel for our meſſenger, we ſhould have ſent him in the form of a man[g], and have clothed him before them, as they are clothed Other apoſtles have been laughed to ſcorn, before thee, but the judgment which they made a jeſt of, encompaſſed thoſe who laughed them to ſcorn. Say, Go through the earth, and behold what hath been the end of thoſe who accuſed our prophets of impoſture Say, Unto whom belongeth whatſoever is in heaven and earth? Say unto GOD, He hath preſcribed unto himſelf mercy He will ſurely gather you together on the day of reſurrection, there is no doubt of it. They who deſtroy their own ſouls are thoſe who will not believe Unto him is owing whatſoever happeneth by night, or by day; it is he who heareth and knoweth. Say, Shall I take any other protector than GOD, the creator of heaven and earth, who feedeth

you, &c] i e We had bleſſed them with greater power, and length of proſperity, than we have granted you, O men of Mecca (1) Mohammed ſeems here to mean the ancient and potent tribes of Ad, and Thamud, &c (2)

[f] Verily the matter had been decreed, &c] That is to ſay, as they would not have believed, even if an angel had deſcended to them from heaven, GOD has ſhewn his mercy in not complying with their demands, for, if he had, they would have ſuffered immediate condemnation, and would have been allowed no time for repentance

[g] We ſhould have ſent him in the form of a man] As Gabriel generally appeared to Mohammed, who, though a prophet, was not able to bear the ſight of him, when he appeared in his proper form, much leſs would others be able to ſupport it

(1) Al BEIDAWI (2) See the Prelim Diſ. Sect. I p 7, &c

all,

all, and is not fed by any? Say, Verily I am commanded to be the firſt who profeſſeth ISLAM[h], and it was ſaid unto me, Thou ſhalt by no means be one of the idolaters Say, Verily I fear, if I ſhould rebel againſt my LORD, the puniſhment of the great day: from whomſoever it ſhall be averted on that day, GOD will have been merciful unto him, this will be manifeſt ſalvation If GOD afflict thee with any hurt, there is none who can take it off from thee, except himſelf, but, if he cauſe good to befal thee, he is almighty, he is the ſupreme LORD over his ſervants, and he is wiſe and knowing Say, What thing is the ſtrongeſt in bearing teſtimony[i]? Say, GOD! he is witneſs between me and you. And this KORAN was revealed unto me, that I ſhould admoniſh you thereby, and alſo thoſe unto whom it ſhall reach. Do ye really profeſs that there are other gods together with GOD? Say, I do not profeſs this Say, Verily he is one GOD, and I am guiltleſs of what ye aſſociate with him They unto whom we have given the ſcripture know our apoſtle, even as they know their own children[k], but they who deſtroy their own ſouls, will not believe Who is more unjuſt than he who inventeth a lie againſt GOD[l], or chargeth his ſigns with impoſture? Surely the unjuſt ſhall not proſper And, on the day of reſurrection, we will aſſemble them all then will we ſay unto thoſe who aſſociated others with GOD, Where are your companions[m], whom ye imagined to be thoſe of GOD? But they ſhall have no other excuſe than

[h] The firſt who profeſſeth Iſlâm] That is, the firſt of my nation (1)

[i] What thing is the ſtrongeſt in bearing teſtimony, &c] This paſſage was revealed when the Koreiſh told Mohammed, that they had aſked the Jews and Chriſtians concerning him, who aſſured them, they found no mention or deſcription of him in their books of ſcripture Therefore, ſaid they, who bears witneſs to thee, that thou art the apoſtle of GOD (2)?

[k] See chap 11 p 27

[l] Who inventeth a lie againſt GOD] Saying the angels are the daughters of GOD, and interceſſors for us with him, &c (3)

[m] Your companions] i e Your idols and falſe gods

(1) AL BEIDAWI (2) Idem, JALLALO'DDIN (3) AL BEIDAWI

that

that they ſhall ſay, By GOD our LORD, we have not been idolaters Behold, how they lie againſt themſelves, and what they have blaſphemouſly imagined to be the companion of GOD flieth from them [n] There is of them who hearkeneth unto thee when thou readeſt the KORAN [o], but we have caſt veils over their hearts, that they ſhould not underſtand it, and a deafneſs in their ears and though they ſhould ſee all kinds of ſigns, they will not believe therein, and their infidelity will arrive to that height, that they will even come unto thee, to diſpute with thee The unbelievers will ſay, This is nothing but ſilly fables of ancient times And they will forbid others from believing therein, and will retire afar off from it, but they will deſtroy their own ſouls only, and they are not ſenſible thereof. If thou didſt ſee, when they ſhall be ſet over the fire of hell! and they ſhall ſay, Would to GOD we might be ſent back into the world; we would not charge the ſigns of our LORD with impoſture, and we would become true believers. nay, but that is become manifeſt unto them which they formerly concealed [p], and, though they ſhould be ſent back into the world, they would ſurely return to that which was forbidden them, and they are ſurely liars And they ſaid, There is no other life than our preſent life, neither ſhall we be raiſed again. But, if thou couldeſt ſee when they ſhall be

[n] And what they have blaſphemouſly imagined flieth from them] That is, their imaginary deities prove to be nothing, and diſappear like vain phantoms and chimeras

[o] The perſons here meant were Abu Sofian, al Walid, al Nodar, Otha, Abu Jahl, and their comrades, who went to hear Mohammed repeat ſome of the Koran, and Nodar, being aſked what he ſaid, anſwered, with an oath, that he knew not, only that he moved his tongue, and told a parcel of fooliſh ſtories, as he had done to them (1)

[p] That is become manifeſt unto them which they formerly concealed] Viz Their hypocriſy and vile actions nor does their promiſe proceed from any ſincere intention of amendment, but from the anguiſh and miſery of their condition (2)

(1) Al BEIDAWI (2) Idem.

ſet

ſet before their LORD[q]! He ſhall ſay unto them, Is this in truth come to paſs? They ſhall anſwer, Yea, by our LORD. GOD ſhall ſay, Taſte therefore the puniſhment due unto you, for that ye have diſbelieved. They are loſt who reject as a falſehood the meeting of GOD in the next life, until the hour[r] cometh ſuddenly upon them Then will they ſay, Alas! for that we have behaved ourſelves negligently in our life-time and they ſhall carry their burdens on their backs[s], will it not be evil which they ſhall be loaden with? This preſent life is no other than a play, and a vain amuſement, but ſurely the future manſion ſhall be better for thoſe who fear GOD will they not therefore underſtand? Now we know, that what they ſpeak grieveth thee yet they do not accuſe thee of falſehood, but the ungodly contradict the ſigns of GOD[t] And apoſtles before thee have been accounted liars but they patiently bore their being accounted liars, and their being vexed, until

[q] When they ſhall be ſet before their LORD, &c] Viz In order for judgment

[r] The hour] The laſt-day is here called the Hour, as it is in ſcripture (1) and the preceding expreſſion of meeting GOD on that day is alſo agreeable to the ſame (2)

[s] They ſhall carry their burdens on their backs, &c] When an infidel comes forth from his grave, ſays Jallalo'ddin, his works ſhall be repreſented to him under the ugliеſt form that ever he beheld, having a moſt deformed countenance, a filthy ſmell, and a diſagreeable voice, ſo that he ſhall cry out, GOD defend me from thee, what art thou? I never ſaw any thing more deteſtable To which the figure will anſwer, Why doſt thou wonder at my uglineſs? I am thy evil works (3), thou didſt ride upon me while thou waſt in the world, but now will I ride upon thee, and thou ſhalt carry me And immediately it ſhall get upon him, and whatever he ſhall meet ſhall terrify him, and ſay, Hail thou enemy of GOD thou art he who was meant by (theſe words of the Koran) And they ſhall carry their burdens, &c (4)

[t] They do not accuſe thee of falſehood, but the ungodly contradict the ſigns of GOD] That is, It is not thou, but GOD, whom they injure by their impious gainſaying of what has been revealed to thee It is ſaid, that Abu Jahl once told Mohammed, that they did not accuſe him of falſehood, becauſe he was known to be a man of veracity, but only they did not believe the revelations which he brought them which occaſioned this paſſage (5)

(1) 1 John v 25, &c (2) 1 Theſ iv 17 (3) See MILTON's Paradiſe Loſt, book II v 737, &c (4) See alſo ch iii p 84 (5) Al BEIDAWI

our help came unto them, for there is none who can change the words of GOD and thou haſt received ſome information concerning thoſe who have been formerly ſent from him[u]. If their averſion to thy admonitions be grievous unto thee, if thou canſt ſeek out a den whereby thou mayeſt penetrate into the inward parts of the earth, or a ladder by which thou mayeſt aſcend into heaven, that thou mayeſt ſhew them a ſign, do ſo, but thy ſearch will be fruitleſs; for if GOD pleaſed, he would bring them all to the true direction be not therefore one of the ignorant[w]. He will give a favourable anſwer unto thoſe only who ſhall hearken with attention and GOD will raiſe the dead, then unto him ſhall they return. The infidels ſay, Unleſs ſome ſign be ſent down unto him from his LORD, we will not believe anſwer, Verily GOD is able to ſend down a ſign but the greater part of them know it not[x]. There is no kind of beaſt on earth, nor fowl which flieth with its wings, but the ſame is a people like unto you[y], we have not omitted any thing in the book[z] of our decrees;

[u] And thou haſt received ſome information concerning thoſe who have been formerly ſent from him] i e Thou haſt been acquainted with the ſtories of ſeveral of the preceding prophets what perſecutions they ſuffered from thoſe to whom they were ſent, and in what manner GOD ſupported them, and puniſhed their enemies, according to his unalterable promiſe (1)

[w] In this paſſage Mohammed is reproved for his impatience, in not bearing with the obſtinacy of his countrymen, and for his indiſcreet deſire of effecting what GOD hath not decreed, namely, the converſion and ſalvation of all men (2)

[x] The greater part of them know it not] Being both ignorant of GOD's almighty power, and of the conſequence of what they aſk, which might prove their utter deſtruction

[y] A people like unto you] Being created and preſerved by the ſame omnipotence and providence as ye are

[z] We have not omitted any thing in the book, &c] That is, in the preſerved table; wherein GOD's decrees are written, and all things which come to paſs in the world, as well the moſt minute as the more momentous, are exactly regiſtered (3)

(1) Al Beidawi (2) Idem. (3) See the Prelim Diſ ſect IV p 137

then

then unto their LORD ſhall they return[a]. They who accuſe our ſigns of falſehood, are deaf and dumb, walking in darkneſs GOD will lead into error whom he pleaſeth, and whom he pleaſeth he will put in the right way. Say, What think ye? if the puniſhment of GOD come upon you, or the hour of the reſurrection come upon you, will ye call upon any other than GOD, if ye ſpeak truth? yea, him ſhall ye call upon, and he ſhall free you from that which ye ſhall aſk him to deliver you from, if he pleaſeth, and ye ſhall forget that which ye aſſociated with him[b]. We have already ſent meſſengers unto ſundry nations before thee, and we afflicted them with trouble and adverſity, that they might humble themſelves yet, when the affliction which we ſent came upon them, they did not humble themſelves, but their hearts became hardened, and SATAN prepared for them that which they committed. And when they had forgotten that concerning which they had been admoniſhed, we opened unto them the gates of all things[c]; until, while they were rejoicing for that which had been given them, we ſuddenly laid hold on them; and, behold, they were ſeized with deſpair, and the utmoſt part of the people which had acted wickedly, was cut off praiſe be unto GOD, the LORD of all creatures! Say, What think ye? if GOD ſhould take away your hearing, and your ſight, and ſhould

[a] Then unto their LORD ſhall they return] For, according to the Mohammedan belief, the irrational animals will alſo be reſtored to life at the reſurrection, that they may be brought to judgment, and have vengeance taken on them for the injuries they did one another while in this world (1)

[b] Ye ſhall forget that which ye aſſociated with him] That is, Ye ſhall then forſake your falſe gods, when ye ſhall be effectually convinced that GOD alone is able to deliver you from eternal puniſhment But others rather think, that this forgetting will be the effect of the diſtreſs and terror which they will then be in (2)

[c] We opened unto them the gates of all things] That is, we gave them all manner of plenty, that ſince they took no warning by their afflictions, their proſperity might become a ſnare to them, and they might bring down upon themſelves ſwifter deſtruction

(1) See the Prelimin Diſ p 114 (2) Al BEIDAWI

ſeal up your hearts; What god, beſides GOD, will reſtore them unto you? See how variouſly we ſhew forth the ſigns of GOD's unity[d], yet do they turn aſide from them. Say unto them, What think ye? if the puniſhment of GOD come upon you ſuddenly, or in open view[e], will any periſh, except the ungodly people? We ſend not our meſſengers otherwiſe than bearing good tidings, and denouncing threats. Whoſo, therefore, ſhall believe, and amend, on them ſhall no fear come, neither ſhall they be grieved: but whoſo ſhall accuſe our ſigns of falſehood, a puniſhment ſhall fall on them, becauſe they have done wickedly. Say, I ſay not unto you, The treaſures of GOD are in my power neither do I ſay, I know the ſecrets of GOD neither do I ſay unto you, Verily I am an angel I follow only that which is revealed unto me Say, Shall the blind, and the ſeeing, be held equal? do ye not therefore conſider? Preach it unto thoſe who fear, that they ſhall be aſſembled before their LORD they ſhall have no patron nor interceſſor, except him, that, peradventure, they may take heed to themſelves. Drive not away thoſe who call upon their LORD morning and evening, deſiring to ſee his face[f], it belongeth not

[d] How variouſly we ſhew forth the ſigns, &c] Saying them before you in different views, and making uſe of arguments and motives drawn from various conſiderations

[e] Suddenly, or in open view] That is, ſays al Beḍawi, either without any previous notice, or after ſome warning given

[f] Drive not away thoſe who call upon their LORD, &c] Theſe words were occaſioned when the Koreiſh deſired Mohammed not to admit the poor, or more inferior people, ſuch as Ammar, Soheib, Khobbâb, and Salman, into his company, pretending that then they would come and diſcourſe with him, but he refuſing to turn away any believers, they inſiſted, at leaſt, that he ſhould order them to riſe up, and withdraw, when they came, which he agreed to do Others ſay, that the chief men of Mecca expelled all the poor out of their city, bidding them go to Mohammed, which they did, and offered to embrace his religion, but he made ſome difficulty to receive them, ſuſpecting their motive to be neceſſity, and not real conviction (1) whereupon this paſſage was revealed

(1) Al BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN

unto

unto thee to paſs any judgment on them[g], nor doth it belong unto them to paſs any judgment on thee. therefore, if thou drive them away, thou wilt become one of the unjuſt Thus have we proved ſome part of them by other part, that they may ſay, Are theſe the people among us unto whom GOD hath been gracious[h]? Doth not GOD moſt truly know thoſe who are thankful? And when they who believe in our ſigns ſhall come unto thee, ſay, Peace be upon you. Your LORD hath preſcribed unto himſelf mercy, ſo that whoever among you worketh evil through ignorance, and afterwards repenteth, and amendeth; unto him will he ſurely be gracious and merciful. Thus have we diſtinctly propounded our ſigns, that the path of the wicked might be made known Say, Verily I am forbidden to worſhip the falſe deities which ye invoke, beſides GOD. Say, I will not follow your deſires, for then ſhould I err, neither ſhould I be one of thoſe who are rightly directed Say, I behave according to the plain declaration which I have received from my LORD, but ye have forged lies concerning him That which ye deſire ſhould be haſtened, is not in my power[i] judgment belongeth only unto GOD, he will determine the truth, and he is the beſt diſcerner Say, If what ye deſire ſhould be haſtened were in my power, the matter had been determined between me and you[k] but GOD well

[g] It belongeth not unto thee to paſs any judgment on them, &c.] i e Raſhly to decide whether their intentions be ſincere or not, ſince thou canſt not know their heart, and their faith may poſſibly be more firm than that of thoſe who would perſuade thee to diſcard them

[h] Thus have we proved ſome part of them by other part, &c.] That is to ſay, the noble by thoſe of mean extraction, and the rich by the poor, in that GOD choſe to call the latter to the faith before the former (1)

[i] That which ye deſire ſhould be haſtened is not in my power, &c.] This paſſage is an anſwer to the audacious defiances of the infidels, who bade Mohammed, if he were a true prophet, to call for a ſhower of ſtones from heaven, or ſome other ſudden and miraculous puniſhment, to deſtroy them (2)

[k] The matter had been determined] For I ſhould ere now have deſtroyed you, out of zeal for GOD's honour, had it been in my power (3)

(1) Al BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN (2) Al BEIDAWI (3) Idem

knoweth the unjuſt. With him are the keys of the ſecret things, none knoweth them beſides himſelf: he knoweth that which is on the dry land, and in the ſea, there falleth no leaf, but he knoweth it; neither is there a ſingle grain in the dark parts of the earth, neither a green thing, nor a dry thing, but it is written in the perſpicuous book[l]. It is he who cauſeth you to ſleep by night, and knoweth what ye merit by day, he alſo awaketh you therein, that the prefixed term of your lives may be fulfilled, then unto him ſhall ye return, and he ſhall declare unto you that which ye have wrought He is ſupreme over his ſervants, and ſendeth the guardian angels to watch over you[m], until, when death overtaketh one of you, our meſſengers[n] cauſe him to die, and they will not neglect our commands Afterwards ſhall they return unto GOD, their true LORD doth not judgment belong unto him? he is the moſt quick in taking an account[o] Say, Who delivereth you from the darkneſs[p] of the land, and of the ſea, when ye call upon him humbly, and in private, ſaying, Verily if thou deliver us[q] from theſe dangers, we will ſurely be thankful? Say, GOD delivereth you from them, and from every grief of mind, yet afterwards ye give him companions[r]. Say, He is able to ſend on you a puniſhment from above you[s], or from under your feet[t], or to engage you in diſſenſion, and

[l] In the perſpicuous book] i e The preſerved table, or regiſter of GOD's decrees

[m] See the Prelim Diſ ſect IV p 94

[n] Our meſſengers] That is, the angel of death, and his aſſiſtants (1)

[o] See the Prelim Diſ ſect IV p 117

[p] The darkneſs] That is, the dangers and diſtreſſes

[q] If thou deliver us] The Cufic copies read it in the third perſon, if he deliver us, &c

[r] Yet afterwards, ye give him companions] Returning to your old idolatry

[s] A puniſhment from above you] That is, by ſtorms from heaven, as he deſtroyed the unbelieving people of Noah, and of Lot, and the army of Abraha, the lord of the elephant (2)

[t] Or from under your feet] Either by drowning you, as he did Pharaoh and his hoſt, or cauſing the earth to open, and ſwallow you up, as happened to Korah, or (as the Mohammedans name him) Karun (3)

(1) See the Prelim Diſ ſect IV p 94 (2) Al BEIDAWI (3) Idem

to

to make ſome of you taſte the violence of others. Obſerve how variouſly we ſhew forth our ſigns, that, peradventure, they may underſtand. This people hath accuſed the revelation which thou haſt brought of falſehood, although it be the truth. Say, I am not a guardian over you every prophecy hath its fixed time of accompliſhment, and ye will hereafter know it When thou ſeeſt thoſe who are engaged in cavilling at, or ridiculing our ſigns, depart from them, until they be engaged in ſome other diſcourſe and if SATAN cauſe thee to forget this precept, do not ſit with the ungodly people, after recollection. They who fear GOD are not at all accountable for them; but their duty is to remember, that they may take heed to themſelves[u]. Abandon thoſe who make their religion a ſport and a jeſt, and whom the preſent life hath deceived and admoniſh them by the KORAN, that a ſoul becometh liable to deſtruction for that which it committeth: it ſhall have no patron nor interceſſor beſides GOD; and if it could pay the utmoſt price of redemption, it would not be accepted from it. They who are delivered over to perdition for that which they have committed, ſhall have boiling water to drink, and ſhall ſuffer a grievous puniſhment, becauſe they have diſbelieved Say, Shall we call upon that, beſides GOD, which can neither profit us, nor hurt us? and ſhall we turn back on our heels, after that GOD hath directed us, like him whom the devils have infatuated, wandering amazedly in the earth, and yet having companions who call him to the true direction,

[u] Thoſe who fear GOD are not accountable for them, &c.] And therefore need not be troubled at the indecent and impious talk of the infidels, provided they take care not to be infected by them When the preceding paſſage was revealed, the Moſlems told their prophet, that if they were obliged to riſe up whenever the idolaters ſpoke irreverently of the Koran, they could never ſit quietly in the temple, nor perform their devotions there, whereupon theſe words were added (1)

(1) Al BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN

ſaying, Come unto us? Say, The direction of GOD is the true direction we are commanded to reſign ourſelves unto the LORD of all creatures, and it is alſo commanded us, ſaying, Obſerve the ſtated times of prayer, and fear him, for it is he before whom ye ſhall be aſſembled It is he who hath created the heavens, and the earth, in truth, and whenever he ſaith unto a thing, Be, it is. His word is the truth; and his will be the kingdom on the day whereon the trumpet ſhall be ſounded[w] he knoweth whatever is ſecret, and whatever is public, he is the wiſe, the knowing Call to mind when ABRAHAM ſaid unto his father AZER[x], Doſt thou take images for gods[y]? Verily I perceive that thou and thy people

[w] See the Prelim Diſ Sect IV p 95 and 108, &c

[x] Azer] This is the name which the Mohammedans give to Abraham's father, named in ſcripture Terah However, ſome of their writers pretend, that Azer was the ſon of Terah (1), and D'Herbelot ſays, that the Arabs always diſtinguiſh them in their genealogies as different perſons, but that, becauſe Abraham was the ſon of Terah, according to Moſes, it is therefore ſuppoſed [by European writers] that Terah is the ſame with the Azer of the Arabs (2) How true this obſervation may be in relation to ſome authors, I cannot ſay, but I am ſure it cannot be true of all, for ſeveral Arab and Turkiſh writers expreſsly make Azer and Terah the ſame perſon (3) Azer, in ancient times, was the name of the planet Mars, and the month of March was ſo called by the moſt ancient Perſians, for the word originally ſignifying fire (as it ſtill does) it was therefore given by them and the Chaldeans to that planet (4), which partaking, as was ſuppoſed, of a fiery nature, was acknowledged by the Chaldeans and Aſſyrians as a god, or planetary deity, whom, in old times, they worſhipped under the form of a pillar whence Azer became a name among the nobility, who eſteemed it honourable to be denominated from their gods (5), and is found in the compoſition of ſeveral Babyloniſh names For theſe reaſons, a learned author ſuppoſes Azer to have been the heathen name of Terah, and that the other was given him on his converſion (6) Al Beidawi confirms this conjecture, ſaying, that Azer was the name of the idol which he worſhipped It may be obſerved, that Abraham's father is alſo called Zarah in the Talmud, and Athar by Euſebius

[y] Do ye take images for gods?] That Azer, or Terah, was an ido-

(1) Tarikh Montakhab, apud D'HERBEL Bibl Orient p 12 (2) D'HERBELI ibid (3) Al BEIDAWI, JALALO'DDIN, YAHYA, EBN SHOHNAH, MIRAT KAINAT, &c Vetiam Pharhang Jehanghiri, apud HYDE de rel vet Perſar p 68 (4) HYDE, ibid p 63 (5) Idem ibid p 64 (6) Idem, ibid p 62

later,

people are in a manifeſt error. And thus did we ſhew unto ABRAHAM the kingdom of heaven and earth, that he might become one of thoſe who firmly believe[z]. And when the night over-ſhadowed him, he ſaw a ſtar, and he ſaid, This is my LORD[a]; but

later, is allowed on all hands, nor can it be denied, ſince he is expreſsly ſaid in ſcripture to have ſerved ſtrange gods (1) The eaſtern authors unanimouſly agree, that he was a ſtatuary, or carver of idols, and he is repreſented as the firſt who made images of clay, pictures only having been in uſe before (2), and taught that they were to be adored as gods (3) However, we are told his employment was a very honourable one (4), and that he was a great lord, and in high favour with Nimrod, whoſe ſon-in-law he was (5), becauſe he made his idols for him, and was excellent in his art Some of the Rabbins ſay, Terah was a prieſt, and chief of the order (6)

[z] And thus we ſhewed Abraham the kingdom of heaven and earth, &c] That is, we gave him a right apprehenſion of the government of the world, and of the heavenly bodies, that he might know them all to be ruled by GOD, by putting him on making the following reflections

[a] He ſaw a ſtar, and he ſaid, This is my LORD, &c] Since Abraham's parents were idolaters, it ſeems to be a neceſſary conſequence that himſelf was one alſo in his younger years, the ſcripture, not obſcurely, intimates as much (7), and the Jews themſelves acknowledge it (8) At what age he came to the knowledge of the true GOD, and left idolatry, opinions are various Some Jewiſh writers tell us he was then but three years old (9), and the Mohammedans likewiſe ſuppoſe him very young, and that he aſked his father and mother ſeveral ſhrewd queſtions when a child (10) Others, however, allow him to have been a middle-aged man at that time (11) Maimonides, in particular, and R Abraham Zacuth, think him to have been forty years old, which age is alſo mentioned in the Koran But the general opinion of the Mohammedans is, that he was about fifteen or ſixteen (12) As the religion wherein Abraham was educated was the Sabian, which conſiſted chiefly in the worſhip of the heavenly bodies (13), he is introduced examining their nature and properties, to ſee whether they had a right to the worſhip which was paid them, or not, and the firſt which he obſerved was the planet Venus, or, as others will have it, Jupiter (14) This method of Abraham's attaining to the knowledge of the Supreme Creator of all things, is conformable to what Joſephus writes, viz That he drew his notions from the changes which he had obſerved in the earth

(1) Joſh xxiv 2, 14 (2) EPIPHAN adv Hær 1 1 p 7, 8 (3) SUIDAS in LEXICO, voce Σεβέχ (4) V HYDE, ubi ſupra p 63 (5) D'HERBEL ubi ſup (6) Shalſhel hakkab p 94 (7) V Joſh xxiv 2, 14 and HYDE, ubi ſup p 59 (8) JOSEPH Ant l 1 c 7 MAIMON More Nev part 3 c 29 & Yad Hazzak de Id c 1, &c (9) TANCHUMA, Talmud Nedarim, 32, 1 & apud MAIMON Yad Hazz ubi ſup (10) V D'HERBEL Bibl Orient Art Abraham (11) MAIMON ubi ſup R ABR ZACUTH in Sefer Juchaſin, Shalſhel hakkab, &c (12) V HYDE, ubi ſup p 60, 61 & HOTTING Smegma Orient p 290, &c GENEBR in Chron (13) See the Prelim Diſ Sect I p 18 (14) Al BEIDAWI

and

but when it ſet, he ſaid, I like not gods which ſet. And when he ſaw the moon riſing, he ſaid, This is my LORD, but when he ſaw it ſet, he ſaid, Verily if my LORD direct me not, I ſhall become one of the people who go aſtray. And when he ſaw the ſun riſing, he ſaid, This is my LORD, this is the greateſt, but when it ſet, he ſaid, O my people! verily I am clear of that which ye aſſociate with GOD I direct my face unto him who hath created the heavens and the earth, I am orthodox, and am not one of the idolaters. And his people diſputed with him and he ſaid, Will ye diſpute with me concerning GOD? ſince he hath now directed me; and I fear not that which ye aſſociate with him, unleſs that my LORD willeth a thing, for my LORD comprehendeth all things by his knowledge[b]: will ye not therefore conſider? And how ſhould I fear that which ye aſſociate with GOD, ſince ye fear not to have aſſociated with GOD that concerning which he hath ſent down unto you no authority? which, therefore, of the two parties is the more ſafe, if ye underſtand aright? They who believe, and clothe not their faith with injuſtice[c], they ſhall enjoy ſecurity, and they are rightly directed. And this is our argument wherewith we furniſhed ABRAHAM, that he might make uſe of it againſt his people we exalt unto degrees of wiſdom and knowledge whom we pleaſe, for

and the ſea, and in the ſun and the moon, and the reſt of the celeſtial bodies, concluding that they were ſubject to the command of a ſuperior power, to whom alone all honour and thanks are due (1) The ſtory itſelf is certainly taken from the Talmud (2) Some of the commentators, however, ſuppoſe this reaſoning of Abraham with himſelf was not the firſt means of his converſion, but that he uſed it only by way of argument, to convince the idolaters among whom he then lived

[b] I fear not what ye aſſociate with him, unleſs that my LORD willeth a thing, &c] That is, I am not afraid of your falſe gods, which cannot hurt me, except GOD permitteth it, or is pleaſed to afflict me himſelf

[c] Injuſtice] By injuſtice, in this place, the commentators underſtand idolatry, or open rebellion againſt GOD

(1) JOSEPH Ant l 1 c 7 (2) R BECHAI, in Midraſh V BARTOLOCC, Bibl, Rabb part. 1. p 640

thy

thy LORD is wiſe and knowing. And we gave unto him ISAAC and JACOB, we directed them both: and NOAH had we before directed, and of his poſterity[d] DAVID and SOLOMON, and JOB[e], and JOSEPH, and MOSES, and AARON thus do we reward the righteous: and ZACHARIAS, and JOHN, and JESUS, and ELIAS[f]; all of them were upright men and ISMAEL, and ELISHA[g], and JONAS[h], and LOT[i]; all theſe have we favoured above the reſt of the world; and alſo divers of their fathers, and their iſſue, and their brethren; and we choſe them, and directed them into the right way. This is the direction of GOD, he directeth thereby ſuch of his ſervants as he pleaſeth, but, if they had been guilty of idolatry, that which they wrought would have become utterly fruitleſs unto them. Thoſe were the perſons unto whom we gave the ſcripture, and wiſdom, and prophecy; but if theſe[k] believe not therein, we will commit the care of them to a people who ſhall not deſbelieve the ſame. Thoſe were the perſons whom GOD hath directed, therefore follow their direction. Say unto the inhabitants of MECCA, I aſk of you no recompenſe for preaching the KORAN, it is no other than an admonition unto all creatures. They make not a due eſtimation of GOD[l], when they ſay,

[d] Of his poſterity] Some refer the relative his, to Abraham, the perſon chiefly ſpoken of in this paſſage, ſome to Noah, the next antecedent, becauſe Jonas and Lot were not (ſay they) of Abraham's ſeed and others ſuppoſe the perſons named in this and the next verſe are to be underſtood as the deſcendants of Abraham, and thoſe in the following verſe, as thoſe of Noah (1)

[e] Job] The Mohammedans ſay he was of the race of Eſau See Chap xxi and xxxviii

[f] Elias] See chap xxxvii

[g] Eliſha] This prophet was the ſucceſſor of Elias, and, as the commentators will have it, the ſon of Okhtub, though the ſcripture make him the ſon of Shaphat

[h] Jonas] See chap x xxi, and xxxvii

[i] Lot] See chap vii, &c

[k] Theſe] That is, the Koreiſh (2)

[l] They make not a due eſtimation of GOD, &c] That is, they know him not truly, nor have juſt notions of his goodneſs and mercy towards man The perſons here meant, according

(1) Al Beidawi (2) Idem

ſay, GOD hath not ſent down unto man any thing at all [m] Say, Who ſent down the book which MOSES brought, a light and a direction unto men; which ye tranſcribe on papers, whereof ye publiſh ſome part, and great part whereof ye conceal? and ye have been taught by MOHAMMED what ye knew not, neither your fathers Say, GOD ſent it down then leave them to amuſe themſelves with their vain diſcourſe. This book, which we have ſent down, is bleſſed, confirming that which was revealed before it; and is delivered unto thee, that thou mayeſt preach it unto the metropolis of MECCA, and to thoſe who are round about it. And they who believe in the next life, will believe therein, and they will diligently obſerve their times of prayer. Who is more wicked than he who forgeth a lie concerning GOD [n], or ſaith, This was revealed unto me, when nothing hath been revealed unto him [o]? and who ſaith,

cording to ſome commentators, are the Jews, and, according to others, the idolaters (1)

This verſe, and the two next, as Jallalo'ddin thinks, were revealed at Medina

[m] GOD hath not ſent down unto man any thing, &c] By theſe words, the Jews (if they were the perſons meant) chiefly intended to deny the Koran to be of divine revelation though they might, in ſtrictneſs, inſiſt that GOD never revealed, or ſent down, as the Koran expreſſes it, any real compoſition, or material writing, from heaven, in the manner that Mohammed pretended his revelations were delivered (2), if we except only the decalogue, GOD having left to the inſpired pen-men, not only the labour of writing, but the liberty, in a great meaſure, at leaſt, of putting the truths into their own words, and manner of expreſſion

[n] Who is more unjuſt than he who forgeth a lie concerning GOD, &c ?] Falſely pretending to have received revelations from him, as did Moſeilama, al Aſwad, al Anſi, and others

[o] Or ſaith, This was revealed unto me, when nothing hath been revealed unto him] As did Abda'llah Ebn Saad Ebn Abi Sarah, who, for ſome time, was the prophet's amanuenſis, and when theſe words were dictated to him as revealed, viz We created man of a purer kind of clay, &c (3), cried out, by way of admiration, Bleſſed be GOD, the beſt Creator! and being ordered by Mohammed to write theſe words down alſo, as part of the inſpired paſſage, began to think himſelf as great a

(1) Al BEIDAWI (2) See the Prelim Diſ Sect III p 84, &c
(3) Koran, chap xxiii

prophet

ſaith, I will produce a revelation like unto that which GOD hath ſent down[p]? If thou didſt ſee when the ungodly are in the pangs of death, and the angels[q] reach out their hands, ſaying, Caſt forth your ſouls; this day ſhall ye receive an ignominious puniſhment for that which ye have falſely ſpoken concerning GOD, and becauſe ye have proudly rejected his ſigns. And now are ye come unto us alone[r], as we created you at firſt[s], and ye have left that which we had beſtowed on you behind your backs, neither do we ſee with you your interceſſors[t], whom ye thought to have been partners with GOD among you now is the relation between you cut off, and what ye imagined hath deceived you[u] GOD cauſeth the grain, and the date-ſtone, to put forth he bringeth forth the living from the dead, and he bringeth forth the dead from the living[w]. This is GOD. Why, therefore, are ye turned away from him? He cauſeth the morning to appear, and hath ordained the night for reſt, and the ſun and the moon for the computing of time This is the diſpoſition of the mighty, the wiſe GOD It is he who hath ordained the ſtars for you, that ye may be directed thereby in the darkneſs of the land, and of the ſea. We

prophet as his maſter (1) Whereupon he took upon himſelf to corrupt and alter the Koran according to his own fancy, and, at length, apoſtatizing, was one of the ten who were proſcribed at the taking of Mecca (2), and narrowly eſcaped with life on his recantation, by the interpoſition of Othman Ebn Affan, whoſe foſter-brother he was (3)

[p] And who ſaith, I will produce a revelation, &c] For ſome Arabs, it ſeems, had the vanity to imagine, and gave out, that, if they pleaſed, they could write a book nothing inferior to the Koran

[q] See before p 166 not [n]

[r] Alone] That is, without your wealth, your children, or your friends, which ye ſo much depended on in your life-time

[s] As we created you at firſt] i e Naked and helpleſs

[t] Your interceſſors] Or falſe gods

[u] What ye imagined, &c] Concerning the intercſſion of your idols, or the diſbelief of future rewards and puniſhments

[w] See chap iii p 59

(1) Al BEIDAWI (2) See the Prelim Diſ p 72 (3) V ABU'LFED Vit Moham p 109

have

have clearly ſhewn forth our ſigns unto people who underſtand. It is he who hath produced you from one ſoul and hath provided for you a ſure receptacle, and a repoſitory [x]. We have clearly ſhewn forth our ſigns unto people who are wiſe. It is he who ſendeth down water from heaven, and we have thereby produced the ſpringing buds of all things, and have thereout produced the green thing, from which we produce the grain growing in rows, and palm-trees, from whoſe branches proceed cluſters of dates hanging cloſe together, and gardens of grapes, and olives, and pomegranates, both like and unlike to one another. Look on their fruits, when they bear fruit, and their growing to maturity. Verily herein are ſigns unto people who believe. Yet they have ſet up the genii [y] as partners with GOD, although he created them and they have falſely attributed unto him ſons and daughters [z], without knowledge. Praiſe be unto him, and far be that from him which they attribute unto him! He is the maker of heaven and earth how ſhould he have iſſue ſince he hath no conſort? he hath created all things, and he is omniſcient This is GOD your LORD, there is no GOD but he, the creator of all things therefore ſerve him, for he taketh care of all things. The ſight comprehendeth him not, but he comprehendeth the ſight, he is the gracious [a], the wiſe.

[x] A ſure receptacle, and a repoſitory] Namely, in the loins of your fathers, and the wombs of your mothers (1)

[y] Genii] This word ſignifies properly the genus of rational, inviſible beings, whether angels, devils, or that intermediate ſpecies uſually called genii Some of the commentators, therefore, in this place, underſtand the angels, whom the Pagan Arabs worſhipped, and others the devils, either becauſe they became their ſervants, by adoring idols at their inſtigation, or elſe becauſe, according to the Magian ſyſtem, they looked on the devil as a ſort of creator, making him the author and principle of all evil, and GOD the author of good only (2)

[z] See the Prelim Diſ p 23 and 51

[a] The gracious] Or, as the word may be tranſlated, the incomprehenſible (3)

(1) Al BEIDAWI (2) Idem. (3) Idem

Now

Now have evident demonſtrations come unto you from your LORD; whoſo ſeeth them, the advantage thereof will redound to his own ſoul: and whoſo is wilfully blind, the conſequence will be to himſelf. I am not a keeper over you. Thus do we variouſly explain our ſigns; that they may ſay, Thou haſt ſtudied diligently [b], and that we may declare them unto people of underſtanding. Follow that which hath been revealed unto thee from thy LORD, there is no GOD but he retire, therefore, from the idolaters. If GOD had ſo pleaſed, they had not been guilty of idolatry. We have not appointed thee a keeper over them; neither art thou a guardian over them. Revile not the idols which they invoke beſides GOD, leſt they maliciouſly revile GOD, without knowledge. Thus have we prepared for every nation their works: hereafter unto GOD ſhall they return, and he ſhall declare unto them that which they have done They have ſworn by GOD, by the moſt ſolemn oath, that if a ſign came unto them, they would certainly believe therein Say, Verily ſigns are in the power of GOD alone; and he permitteth you not to underſtand that when they come, they will not believe [c]. And we will turn aſide their hearts, and their ſight, from the truth, as they believed not therein [d] the firſt time, and we will leave them to wander in their error. * And though we had ſent down angels unto VIII.

[b] That they may ſay, Thou haſt ſtudied diligently] That is, Thou haſt been inſtructed by the Jews and Chriſtians in theſe matters, and only retaileſt to us what thou haſt learned of them For this the infidels objected to Mohammed, thinking it impoſſible for him to diſcourſe on ſubjects of ſo high a nature, and in ſo clear and pertinent a manner, without being well verſed in the doctrines and ſacred writings of thoſe people.

[c] In this paſſage Mohammed endeavours to excuſe his inability of working a miracle, as had been demanded of him, declaring that GOD did not think fit to comply with their deſires, and that, if he had ſo thought fit, yet it had been in vain, becauſe, if they were not convinced by the Koran, they would not be convinced by the greateſt miracle (1)

[d] Therein] i e In the Koran

(1) Confer Luke xvi 31

them,

them, and the dead had ſpoken unto them, and we had gathered together before them all things in one view [e], they would not have believed, unleſs GOD had ſo pleaſed but the greater part of them know it not. Thus have we appointed unto every prophet an enemy, the devils of men, and of genii, who privately ſuggeſt the one to the other ſpecious diſcourſes to deceive, but if thy LORD pleaſed, they would not have done it. Therefore leave them, and that which they have falſely imagined, and let the hearts of thoſe be inclined thereto, who believe not in the life to come, and let them pleaſe themſelves therein, and let them gain that which they are gaining. Shall I ſeek after any other judge beſides GOD to judge between us? It is he who hath ſent down unto you the book of the KORAN, diſtinguiſhing between good and evil, and they to whom we gave the ſcripture, know that it is ſent down from thy LORD, with truth. Be not therefore one of thoſe who doubt thereof The words of thy LORD are perfect, in truth and juſtice, there is none who can change his words [f] he both heareth and knoweth. But if thou obey the greater part of them who are in the earth, they will lead thee aſide from the path of GOD. they follow an uncertain opinion only [g], and ſpeak nothing but lies verily thy LORD well knoweth thoſe who go aſtray from his path, and well

[e] And though we had ſent down angels unto them, &c.] For the Meccans required that Mohammed ſhould either ſhew them an angel deſcending from heaven in their ſight, or raiſe their dead fathers, that they might diſcourſe with them, or prevail on GOD, and his angels, to appear to them in a body

[f] There is none who can change his words.] Some interpret this of the immutability of GOD's decree, and the certainty of his threats and promiſes, others, of his particular promiſe to preſerve the Korân from any ſuch alterations, or corruptions, as they imagine to have happened to the Pentateuch and the Goſpel (1), and others, of the unalterable duration of the Mohammedan law, which they hold is to laſt till the end of the world, there being no other prophet, law, or diſpenſation, to be expected after it

[g] They follow an uncertain opinion only.] Imagining that the true religion was that which their idolatrous anceſtors profeſſed

(1) See the Prelim Diſ p 98 and Kor c xv

knoweth

knoweth thoſe who are rightly directed. Eat of that whereon the name of GOD hath been commemorated [h], if ye believe in his ſigns and why do ye not eat of that whereon the name of GOD hath been commemorated? ſince he hath plainly declared unto you what he hath forbidden you, except that which ye be compelled to eat of by neceſſity. Many lead others into error, becauſe of their appetites, being void of knowledge, but thy LORD well knoweth who are the tranſgreſſors. Leave both the outſide of iniquity, and the inſide thereof [i]: for they who commit iniquity, ſhall receive the reward of that which they ſhall have gained. Eat not, therefore, of that whereon the name of GOD hath not been commemorated, for this is certainly wickedneſs but the devils will ſuggeſt unto their friends, that they diſpute with you concerning this precept, but if ye obey them, ye are ſurely idolaters Shall he who hath been dead, and whom we have reſtored unto life, and unto whom we have ordained a light, whereby he may walk among men, be as he whoſe ſimilitude is in darkneſs, from whence he ſhall not come forth [k]? Thus was that which the infidels are doing prepared for them. And thus have we placed in every city chief leaders of the wicked men thereof [l], that they may act deceitfully therein, but they ſhall act deceitfully againſt their own ſouls only; and they know it not. And when a ſign [m] cometh unto them, they ſay, We will, by no means, believe, until a revelation be brought unto us, like unto that which hath been delivered unto the meſſengers of

[h] See chap ii p 31 and chap v p 129

[i] Leave the outſide of iniquity, and the inſide thereof] That is, Both open and ſecret ſins

[k] The perſons primarily intended in this paſſage, were Hamza, Mohammed's uncle, and Abu Jahl others, inſtead of Hamza, name Omar, or Ammâr

[l] And thus have we placed in every city, chief leaders of the wicked men thereof] In the ſame manner as we have done in Mecca

[m] A ſign] i e Any verſe or paſſage of the Korân.

GOD[n]. GOD beſt knoweth whom he will appoint for his meſſenger[o]. Vileneſs, in the ſight of GOD, ſhall fall upon thoſe who deal wickedly, and a grievous puniſhment, for that they have dealt deceitfully. And whomſoever GOD ſhall pleaſe to direct, he will open his breaſt to receive the faith of ISLAM: but, whomſoever he ſhall pleaſe to lead into error, he will render his breaſt ſtrait and narrow, as though he were climing up to heaven[p]. Thus doth GOD inflict a terrible puniſhment on thoſe who believe not. This is the right way of thy LORD. Now have we plainly declared our ſigns unto thoſe people who will conſider. They ſhall have a dwelling of peace with their LORD, and he ſhall be their patron, becauſe of that which they have wrought. Think on the day whereon GOD ſhall gather them all together, and ſhall ſay, O company of genii[q]! ye have been much concerned with mankind[r], and their friends from among mankind ſhall ſay, O LORD! the one of us hath received advantage from the other[s], and we are arrived at our limited term[t] which thou haſt appointed us. GOD will

[n] We will not believe until a revelation be brought unto us, &c.] Theſe were the words of the Koreiſh, who thought there were perſons among themſelves more worthy of the honour of being GOD's meſſenger than Mohammed

[o] GOD beſt knoweth whom he will appoint for his meſſenger.] Literally, Where he will place his commiſſion. GOD, ſays al Beidawi, beſtows not the gift of prophecy on any one on account of his nobility or riches, but for their ſpiritual qualifications, making choice of ſuch of his ſervants as he pleaſes, and who he knows will execute their commiſſions faithfully

[p] As though he were climbing up to heaven.] Or had undertaken the moſt impoſſible thing in the world. In like manner ſhall the heart of ſuch a man be incapable of receiving the truth

[q] O company of genii!] That is, of devils (1)

[r] Ye have been much concerned with mankind.] In tempting and ſeducing them to ſin

[s] The one of us hath received advantage from the other.] The advantage which men received from the evil ſpirits, was, their raiſing and ſatisfying their luſts and appetites, and that which the latter received in return, was the obedience paid them by the former, &c (2)

[t] Our limited term, &c.] Viz. The day of reſurrection, which we believed not in the other world

(1) Al BEIDAWI (2) Idem, JALLALO'DDIN

ſay, Hell-fire ſhall be your habitation, therein ſhall ye remain for ever, unleſs, as GOD ſhall pleaſe to mitigate your pains[u], for thy LORD is wiſe and knowing. Thus do we ſet ſome of the unjuſt over others of them, becauſe of that which they have deſerved. O company of genii and men! did not meſſengers from among yourſelves come unto you[w], rehearſing my ſigns unto you, and forewarning you of the meeting of this your day? They ſhall anſwer, We bear witneſs againſt ourſelves the preſent life deceived them and they ſhall bear witneſs againſt themſelves, that they were unbelievers. This hath been the method of GOD's dealing with his creatures, becauſe thy LORD would not deſtroy the cities in their iniquity, while their inhabitants were careleſs[x]. Every one ſhall have degrees of recompenſe of that which they ſhall do, for thy LORD is not regardleſs of that which they do, and thy LORD is ſelf-ſufficient, and indued with mercy. If he pleaſeth, he can deſtroy you, and cauſe ſuch as he pleaſeth to ſucceed you, in like manner as he produced you from the poſterity of other people. Verily that which is threatened you, ſhall ſurely come to paſs, nei-

[u] Unleſs as GOD ſhall pleaſe to mitigate your pains] The commentators tell us, that this alleviation of the pains of the damned, will be when they ſhall be taken out of the fire to drink the boiling water (1), or to ſuffer the extreme cold, called al Zamharir, which is to be one part of their puniſhment, but others think, the reſpite which GOD will grant to ſome before they are thrown into hell, is here intended (2) According to the expoſition of Ebn Abbas, theſe words may be rendered, Unleſs him whom GOD ſhall pleaſe to deliver thence (3)

[w] Did not meſſengers from among yourſelves come unto you, &c] It is the Mohammedan belief, that apoſtles were ſent by GOD for the converſion both of genii and of men, being generally of human race, (as Mohammed, in particular, who pretended to have a commiſſion to preach to both kinds), according to this paſſage, it ſeems, there muſt have been prophets of the race of genii alſo, though their miſſion be a ſecret to us

[x] While their inhabitants were careleſs] Or conſidered not their danger, but GOD firſt ſent ſome prophet to them, to warn them of it, and to invite them to repentance

(1) JALLALO'DDIN (2) Al BEIDAWI (3) See the Prelim Diſ Sect IV p 121, 122

ther ſhall ye cauſe it to fail. Say unto thoſe of MECCA, O my people! act according to your power: verily I will act according to my duty [y] and hereafter ſhall ye know whoſe will be the reward of paradiſe. The ungodly ſhall not proſper. Thoſe of MECCA ſet a part unto GOD a portion of that which he hath produced of the fruits of the earth, and of cattle; and ſay, This belongeth unto GOD, (according to their imagination,) and this unto our companions [z]. And that which is deſtined for their companions cometh not unto GOD, yet that which is ſet apart unto GOD cometh unto their companions [a]. How ill do they judge! In like manner have their companions induced many of the idolaters to ſlay their children [b], that they might bring them to perdition, and that they might render their religion obſcure and confuſed unto them [c]. But if GOD had pleaſed, they had not done this therefore leave them, and that which they falſely imagine. They alſo ſay, Theſe cattle and fruits of the earth are ſacred, none ſhall eat thereof but who we pleaſe [d], (according to their

[y] Act according to your power, and I will act according to my duty] That is, ye may proceed in your rebellion againſt GOD, and your malice towards me, and be confirmed in your infidelity, but I will perſevere to bear your inſults with patience, and to publiſh thoſe revelations which GOD has commanded me (1)

[z] Our companions] i e Our idols In which ſenſe this word is to be taken through the whole paſſage

[a] As to this cuſtom of the Pagan Arabs, ſee the Prelim Diſ ſect I p 21 To what is there ſaid we may add, that the ſhare ſet apart for GOD was employed chiefly in relieving the poor, and ſtrangers, and the ſhare of the idols, for paying their prieſts, and providing ſacrifices for them (2)

[b] To ſlay their children] Either by that inhuman cuſtom, which prevailed among thoſe of Kendah, and ſome other tribes, of burying their daughters alive, as ſoon as they were born, if they apprehended they could not maintain them (3), or elſe by offering them to their idols, at the inſtigation of thoſe who had the cuſtody of their temples (4)

[c] And render their religion obſcure and confuſed, &c] By corrupting, with horrid ſuperſtitions, that religion which Iſmael had left to his poſterity (5)

[d] But who we pleaſe] That is, Thoſe who ſerve our idols, and are of the male ſex, for the women were not allowed to eat of them (6)

(1) AL BEIDAWI (2) Idem, JALI AL'O'DDIN (3) See chap xviii.
(4) AL BEIDAWI (5) Idem (6) Idem

imagination;

imagination,) and there are cattle whoſe backs are forbidden to be rode on, or loaden with burdens[e], and there are cattle on which they commemorate not the name of GOD when they ſlay them[f], deviſing a lie againſt him GOD ſhall reward them for that which they falſely deviſe. And they ſay, That which is in the bellies of theſe cattle[g], is allowed our males to eat, and is forbidden to our wives but if it prove abortive, then they are both partakers thereof[h]. GOD ſhall give them the reward of their attributing theſe things to him he is knowing and wiſe. They are utterly loſt who have ſlain their children fooliſhly[i], without knowledge[k], and have forbidden that which GOD hath given them for food, deviſing a lie againſt GOD They have erred, and were not rightly directed He it is who produceth gardens of vines, both thoſe which are ſupported on trails of wood, and thoſe which are not ſupported[l], and palm-trees, and the corn affording various food, and olives, and pomegranates, alike and unlike unto one another. Eat of their fruit, when they bear fruit, and pay the due thereof on the day whereon ye ſhall gather it[m], but be not profuſe[n], for GOD loveth not thoſe who

[e] And there are cattle whoſe backs are forbidden to be rode on, &c] Which they ſuperſtitiouſly exempted from ſuch ſervices, in ſome particular caſes, as they did the Bahira, the Saiba, and the Hami (1)

[f] See chap v p 128

[g] That which is in the bellies of theſe cattle] That is, the fœtus, or embryos of the Bahira and the Sâiba, which ſhall be brought forth alive

[h] But if it prove abortive, they both partake thereof] For if thoſe cattle caſt their young, the women might eat thereof as well as the men

[i] See above, note [b]

[k] Without knowledge] Not having a due ſenſe of GOD's providence

[l] Supported on trails of wood, and not ſupported] Or, as ſome chooſe to interpret the words, trees or plants which are planted by the labour of man, and thoſe which grow naturally in the deſerts and on mountains

[m] And pay the due thereof, &c] That is, give alms thereof to the poor And theſe alms, as al Beidawi obſerves, were what they uſed to give before the Zacat, or legal alms, was inſtituted, which was done after Moh mmed had retired from Mecca, where this verſe was revealed Yet ſome are of another opinion, and, for this very reaſon, will have the verſe to have been revealed at Medina

[n] Be not profuſe] i e Give not ſo much thereof in alms, as to leave your own families in want, for charity begins at home

(1) See chap v p 152, and Prelim. Diſ. ſect V.

are too profuſe. And GOD hath given you ſome cattle fit for bearing of burdens, and ſome fit for ſlaughter only. Eat of what GOD hath given you for food, and follow not the ſteps of SATAN, for he is your declared enemy. Four pair[o] of cattle hath GOD given you, of ſheep one pair, and of goats one pair Say unto them, Hath GOD forbidden the two males, of ſheep and of goats, or the two females; or that which the wombs of the two females contain? Tell me with certainty, if ye ſpeak truth And of camels hath GOD given you one pair, and of oxen one pair. Say, Hath he forbidden the two males of theſe, or the two females, or that which the wombs of the two females contain[p]? Were ye preſent when GOD commanded you this? And who is more unjuſt than he who deviſeth a lie againſt GOD[q], that he may ſeduce men without underſtanding? Verily GOD directeth not unjuſt people Say, I find not in that which hath been revealed unto me, any thing forbidden unto the eater, that he eat it not, except it be that which dieth of itſelf, or blood poured forth[r], or ſwine's fleſh for this is an abomination or that which is prophane, having been ſlain in the name of ſome other than GOD But whoſo ſhall be compelled by neceſſity to eat of theſe things, not luſting, nor wilfully tranſgreſſing, verily thy LORD will be gracious unto him and merciful Unto the Jews did we for-

[o] Four pair] Or, literally, eight males and females paired together, that is, four of each ſex, and two of every diſtinct kind

[p] In this paſſage Mohammed endeavours to convince the Arabs of their ſuperſtitious folly, in making it unlawful, one while, to eat the males of theſe four kinds of cattle, another while, the females, and at another time, their young (1)

[q] Who is more unjuſt than he who deviſeth a lie againſt GOD, &c] The perſon particularly intended here, ſome ſay, was Amru Ebn Lohai, king of Hajaz, a great introducer of idolatry and ſuperſtition among the Arabs (2)

[r] Blood poured forth] That is, fluid blood, in oppoſition to what the Arabs ſuppoſe to be alſo blood, but not fluid, as the liver and the ſpleen (3)

(1) Al BEIDAWI (2) Idem See Prelim Diſc p 26, and POCOCK Spec p 80 (3) Al BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN

bid

bid every beaſt having an undivided hoof; and of bullocks and ſheep, we forbade them the fat of both, except that which ſhould be on their backs, or their inwards[s], or which ſhould be intermixed with the bone[t]. This have we rewarded them with, becauſe of their iniquity, and we are ſurely ſpeakers of truth If they accuſe thee of impoſture, ſay, Your LORD is indued with extenſive mercy, but his ſeverity ſhall not be averted from wicked people. The idolaters will ſay, if GOD had pleaſed, we had not been guilty of idolatry, neither our fathers, and pretend that we have not forbidden them any thing. Thus did they who were before them accuſe the prophets of impoſture, until they taſted our ſevere puniſhment. Say, Is there with you any certain knowledge of what ye alledge, that ye may produce it unto us? Ye follow only a falſe imagination, and ye only utter lies. Say, Therefore, unto GOD belongeth the moſt evident demonſtration, for if he had pleaſed, he had directed you all. Say, Produce your witneſſes, who can bear teſtimony that GOD hath forbidden this. But if they bear teſtimony of this, do not thou bear teſtimony with them, nor do thou follow the deſires of thoſe who accuſe our ſigns of falſehood, and who believe not in the life to come, and equalize idols with their LORD. Say, Come[u], I will rehearſe that which your LORD hath forbidden you, that is to ſay, that ye be not guilty of idolatry, and that ye ſhew kindneſs to your parents, and that ye murder not your children for fear leſt ye be reduced to poverty we will provide for you and them, and draw not near unto heinous crimes[w], neither openly,

[s] We forbade them the fat, &c.] See Levit vii 23, and iii 16

[t] Or that which is intermixed with the bone] Viz The fat of the rumps or tails of ſheep, which are very large in the eaſt, a ſmall one weighing ten or twelve pounds, and ſome no leſs than threeſcore

[u] This and the two following verſes Jallalo'ddin ſuppoſes to have been revealed at Medina

[w] Heinous crimes] The original word ſignifies peculiarly fornication and avarice

nor in ſecret; and ſlay not the ſoul which GOD hath forbidden you to ſlay, unleſs for a juſt cauſe [x]. This hath he enjoined you that ye may underſtand. And meddle not with the ſubſtance of the orphan, otherwiſe than for the improving thereof, until he attain his age of ſtrength, and uſe a full meaſure, and a juſt balance. We will not impoſe a taſk on any ſoul beyond its ability And when ye pronounce judgment obſerve juſtice, although it be for or againſt one who is near of kin, and fulfil the covenant of GOD This hath GOD commanded you, that ye may be admoniſhed; and that ye may know that this is my right way; therefore follow it, and follow not the paths of others, leſt ye be ſcattered from the path of GOD. This hath he commanded you that ye may take heed We gave alſo unto MOSES the book of the Law, a perfect rule unto him who ſhould do right, and a determination concerning all things needful, and a direction, and mercy, that the children of ISRAEL might believe the meeting of their LORD. And this book which we have now ſent down is bleſſed, therefore follow it, and fear GOD, that ye may obtain mercy leſt ye ſhould ſay, The ſcriptures were only ſent down unto two people [y] before us, and we neglected to peruſe them with attention [z] or leſt ye ſhould ſay, If a book of divine revelations had been ſent down unto us, we would ſurely have been better directed than they [a] And now hath a manifeſt declaration come unto you from your LORD, and a direction and mercy and who is more unjuſt than he who deviſeth lies againſt the ſigns of GOD, and

[x] Unleſs for a juſt cauſe] As for murder, apoſtaſy, or adultery (1)

[y] Unto two people] That is, the Jews and the Chriſtians

[z] And we neglected to peruſe them, &c] Either becauſe we knew nothing of them, or did not underſtand the language wherein they were written

[a] We would ſurely have been better directed than they] Becauſe of the acuteneſs of our wit, the clearneſs of our underſtanding, and our facility of learning ſciences, as appears from our excelling in hiſtory, poetry, and oratory, notwithſtanding we are an illiterate people (2)

(1) Al BEIDAWI (2) Idem

turneth

turneth aſide from them? We will reward thoſe who turn aſide from our ſigns with a grievous puniſhment, becauſe they have turned aſide. Do they wait for any other than that the angels ſhould come unto them, to part their ſouls from their bodies, or that thy LORD ſhould come to puniſh them, or that ſome of the ſigns of thy LORD ſhould come to paſs, ſhewing the day of judgment to be at hand[b]? On the day whereon ſome of thy LORD's ſigns ſhall come to paſs, its faith ſhall not profit a ſoul which believed not before, or wrought not good in its faith[c]. Say, Wait ye for this day; we ſurely do wait for it. They who make a diviſion in their religion[d], and become ſectaries, have thou nothing to do with them; their affair belongeth only unto GOD. Hereafter ſhall he declare unto them that which they have done He who ſhall appear with good works, ſhall receive a ten-fold recompenſe for the ſame, but he who ſhall appear with evil works, ſhall receive only an equal puniſhment for the ſame, and they ſhall not be treated unjuſtly. Say, Verily my LORD hath directed me into a right way, a true religion, the ſect of ABRAHAM the orthodox, and he was no idolater. Say, Verily my prayers, and my worſhip, and my life, and my death, are dedicated unto GOD, the LORD of all creatures:

[b] Al Beidâwi, from a tradition of Mohammed, ſays, that ten ſigns will precede the laſt day, viz the ſmoke, the beaſt of the earth, an eclipſe in the eaſt, another in the weſt, and a third in the peninſula of Arabia, the appearance of Antichriſt, the ſun's riſing in the weſt, the eruption of Gog and Magog, the deſcent of Jeſus on earth, and fire which ſhall break forth from Aden (1)

[c] Its faith ſhall not profit a ſoul which believed not, &c.] For faith in the next life will be of no advantage to thoſe who have not believed in this, nor yet faith in this life, without good works

[d] They who make a diviſion in their religion] That is, who believe in part of it, and diſbelieve other part of it, or who form ſchiſms therein. Mohammed is reported to have declared, that the Jews were divided into ſeventy-one ſects, and the Chriſtians into ſeventy-two, and that his own followers would be ſplit into ſeventy-three ſects, and that all of them would be damned, except only one of each. (2)

(1) See the Prelim Diſ Sect IV p 105, 106, 107 (2) Al BEIDAWI.

he

he hath no companion. This have I been commanded I am the firſt Moſlem[e]. Say, Shall I deſire any other LORD beſides GOD? ſince he is the LORD of all things, and no ſoul ſhall acquire any merits or demerits but for itſelf; and no burdened ſoul ſhall bear the burden of another[f]. Moreover unto your LORD ſhall ye return, and he ſhall declare unto you that concerning which ye now diſpute. It is he who hath appointed you to ſucceed your predeceſſors in the earth, and hath raiſed ſome of you above others, by various degrees of worldly advantages, that he might prove you by that which he hath beſtowed on you. Thy LORD is ſwift in puniſhing and he is alſo gracious and merciful.

[e] See before, p 158, 159

[f] No burdened ſoul ſhall bear the burden of another] This was revealed in anſwer to the preſſing inſtances of the idolaters, who offered to take the crime upon themſelves, if Mohammed would conform to their worſhip (1)

(1) Al BEIDAWI.

CHAP. VII.

Intitled, Al ARAF[a]; revealed at MECCA[b].

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

A L. M. S.[c] A book hath been ſent down unto thee and therefore let there be no doubt in thy breaſt concerning it that thou mayeſt preach the ſame, and that it may be an admonition unto the faithful. Follow that which hath been ſent down unto you from your LORD, and follow no guides

[a] Al Araf ſignifies the partition between paradiſe and hell, which is mentioned in this chapter (1)

[b] Some, however, except five or eight verſes, and begin at theſe words, And aſk them concerning the city, &c

[c] The ſignification of theſe letters, the more ſober Mohammedans confeſs, GOD alone knows Some, however, imagine they ſtand for, Allah, Gabriel, Mohammed, on whom be peace

(1) See the Prelim Diſ Sect IV p 125

beſide

beſide him how little will ye be warned! How many cities have we deſtroyed, which our vengeance overtook by night[d], or while they were repoſing themſelves at noon-day[e]! And their ſupplication, when our puniſhment came upon them, was no other than that they ſaid, Verily we have been unjuſt. We will ſurely call thoſe to an account, unto whom a prophet hath been ſent, and we will alſo call thoſe to account who have been ſent unto them. And we will declare their actions unto them with knowledge, for we are not abſent from them. The weighing of mens' actions on that day ſhall be juſt[f]; and they whoſe balances, laden with their good works, ſhall be heavy, are thoſe who ſhall be happy, but they whoſe balances ſhall be light, are thoſe who have loſt their ſouls, becauſe they injured our ſigns. And now have we placed you on the earth, and have provided you food therein. but how little are ye thankful! We created you, and afterwards formed you, and then ſaid unto the angels, Worſhip ADAM, and they all worſhipped him, except EBLIS, who was not one of thoſe who worſhipped[g]. GOD ſaid unto him, What hindered thee from worſhipping ADAM, ſince I had commanded thee? He anſwered, I am more excellent than he: thou haſt created me of fire, and haſt created him of clay. GOD ſaid, Get thee down therefore from paradiſe; for it is not fit that thou behave thyſelf proudly therein get thee hence; thou ſhalt be one of the contemptible He anſwered, Give me reſpite until the day of reſurrection GOD ſaid, Verily thou ſhalt be one of thoſe who are reſpited[h]. The devil

[d] Which our puniſhment overtook by night] As it did the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah, to whom Lot was ſent

[e] Or while they were repoſing themſelves at noon] As happened to the Midianites, to whom Shoaib preached

[f] See the Prelim Diſ ſect IV p 117, 118

[g] See chap ii p 6, &c

[h] Verily thou ſhalt be one of thoſe who are reſpited] As the time till which the devil is reprieved is not particularly expreſſed, the commentators ſuppoſe his requeſt was not wholly granted, but agree that he ſhall die, as well as other creatures, at the ſecond ſound of the trumpet (1)

(1) Al BEIDAWI See the Prelim Diſ ſect IV p 109, and D'HERBELOT, Bibl Orient Art Eblis

ſaid,

ſaid, Becauſe thou haſt depraved me, I will lay wait for men in thy ſtrait way, then will I come upon them from before, and from behind, and from their right-hands, and from their left[i], and thou ſhalt not find the greater part of them thankful. GOD ſaid unto him, Get thee hence, deſpiſed, and driven far away verily whoever of them ſhall follow thee, I will ſurely fill hell with you all but as for thee, O ADAM! dwell thou and thy wife in paradiſe, and eat of the fruit thereof wherever ye will, but approach not this tree, leſt ye become of the number of the unjuſt And SATAN ſuggeſted unto them both, that he would diſcover unto them their nakedneſs, which was hidden from them, and he ſaid, Your LORD hath not forbidden you this tree, for any other reaſon but leſt ye ſhould become angels, or leſt ye become immortal. And he ſware unto them, ſaying, Verily I am one of thoſe who counſel you aright. And he cauſed them to fall through deceit[k]. And when they had taſted of the tree, their nakedneſs appeared unto them[l]; and they began to join together the leaves

[i] I will come upon them from before, and from behind, and from their right-hands, and from their left, &c] i e I will attack them on every ſide that I ſhall be able The other two ways, viz from above, and from under their feet, are omitted, ſay the commentators, to ſhew that the devil's power is limited (1)

[k] The Mohammedan goſpel of Barnabas tells us, that the ſentence which GOD pronounced on the ſerpent for introducing the devil into paradiſe (2), was, that he ſhould not only be turned out of paradiſe, but that he ſhould have his legs cut off by the angel Michael, with the ſword of GOD, and that the devil himſelf, ſince he had rendered our firſt parents unclean, was condemned to eat the excrements of them, and all their poſterity, which two laſt circumſtances I do not remember to have read elſewhere The words of the manuſcript are theſe Y llamo [Dios] a la ſerpiente, y a Michael, aquel que tiene la eſpada de Dios, y le dixo, Aquеſta ſierpe es acelerada, echala la primera del parayſo, y cortale las piernas, y ſi quiſiere caminar, arraſtrara la vida por tierra Y llamo a Satanas, el qual vino riendo, y dixole, Porque tu reprobo has engañado a aqueſtos, y los has hecho immundos? Yo quiero que toda immundicia ſuya, y de todos ſus hijos, en ſaliendo de ſus cuerpos entre por tu boca, porque en verdad ellos haran penitencia, y tu quedaras harto de immundicia

[l] Their nakedneſs appeared unto them] Which they had not perceived before, being clothed, as ſome ſay, with light, or garments of paradiſe,

(1) Al BEIDAWI (2) See the notes to chap ii p 8

leaves of paradiſe [m], to cover themſelves. And their LORD called to them, ſaying, Did I not forbid you this tree, and did I not ſay unto you, Verily SATAN is your declared enemy? They anſwered, O LORD! we have dealt unjuſtly with our own ſouls, and if thou forgive us not, and be not merciful unto us, we ſhall ſurely be of thoſe who periſh GOD ſaid, Get ye down, the one of you an enemy unto the other, and ye ſhall have a dwelling-place upon earth, and a proviſion for a ſeaſon He ſaid, Therein ſhall ye live, and therein ſhall ye die, and from thence ſhall ye be taken forth at the reſurrection. O children of ADAM, we have ſent down unto you apparel [n], to conceal your nakedneſs, and fair garments, but the clothing of piety is better This is one of the ſigns of GOD, that, peradventure, ye may conſider O children of ADAM! let not SATAN ſeduce you, as he expelled your parents out of paradiſe, by ſtripping them of their clothing, that he might ſhew them their nakedneſs verily he ſeeth you, both he and his companions, whereas ye ſee not them [o]. We have appointed the devils to be the patrons of thoſe who believe not and when they commit a filthy action, they ſay, We found our fathers practiſing the ſame, and GOD hath commanded us to do it. Say, Verily GOD commandeth not filthy actions. Do ye ſpeak concerning GOD that which ye know not? Say, My LORD hath commanded me to obſerve juſtice, therefore ſet your faces to pray at every place of worſhip, and call upon him, approving unto him the ſincerity of your religion. As he

radiſe, which fell from them on their diſobedience * Yahya imagines their nakedneſs was hidden by their hair

[m] The leaves of paradiſe] Which it is ſaid were fig-leaves (1)

[n] We have ſent down unto you apparel] Not only proper materials, but alſo ingenuity of mind, and dexterity of hand, to make uſe of them (2)

[o] Whereas ye ſee not them] Becauſe of the ſubtility of their bodies, and their being void of all colour (3)

(1) See the notes to chap. 11 (2) Idem (3) JALLALO'DDIN

produced

produced you at firſt, ſo unto him ſhall ye return. A part of mankind hath he directed; and a part hath been juſtly led into error, becauſe they have taken the devils for their patrons beſides GOD, and imagine that they are rightly directed. O children of ADAM! take your decent apparel at every place of worſhip [p], and eat and drink [q], but be not guilty of exceſs; for he loveth not thoſe who are guilty of exceſs. Say, Who hath forbidden the decent apparel of GOD, which he hath produced for his ſervants, and the good things which he hath provided for food? Say, Theſe things are for thoſe who believe in this preſent life, but peculiarly on the day of reſurrection [r]. Thus do we diſtinctly explain our ſigns unto people who underſtand. Say, Verily my LORD hath forbidden filthy actions, both that which is diſcovered thereof, and that which is concealed, and alſo iniquity, and unjuſt violence; and hath forbidden you to aſſociate with GOD that concerning which he hath ſent you down no authority, or to ſpeak of GOD that which ye know not. Unto every nation there is a prefixed term; therefore when their term is expired, they ſhall not have reſpite for an hour, neither ſhall they be anticipated. O children of ADAM!

[p] Take your decent apparel at every place of worſhip, &c.] This paſſage was revealed to reprove an immodeſt cuſtom of the Pagan Arabs, who uſed to encompaſs the Caaba naked, becauſe clothes, they ſaid, were the ſigns of their diſobedience to GOD (1) The Sonna orders that when a man goes to prayers, he ſhould put on his better apparel, out of reſpect to the divine majeſty before whom he is to appear But as the Mohammedans think it indecent, on the one hand, to come into GOD's preſence in a ſlovenly manner, ſo they imagine, on the other, that they ought not to appear before him in habits too rich or ſumptuous, and particularly in clothes adorned with gold or ſilver, leſt they ſhould ſeem proud

[q] And eat and drink] The ſons of Amer, it is ſaid, when they performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, uſed to eat no more than was abſolutely neceſſary, and that not of the moſt delicious ſort of food neither, which abſtinence they looked upon as a piece of merit, but they are here told the contrary (2)

[r] But peculiarly on the day of reſurrection] Becauſe then the wicked, who alſo partook of the bleſſings of this life, will have no ſhare in the enjoyments of the next

(1) JALLALO DDIN, Al BEIDAWI (2) Idem

verily

verily apoſtles from among you ſhall come unto you, who ſhall expound my ſigns unto you whoſoever, therefore, ſhall fear GOD, and amend, there ſhall come no fear on them, neither ſhall they be grieved. But they who ſhall accuſe our ſigns of falſehood, and ſhall proudly reject them, they ſhall be the companions of hell-fire, they ſhall remain therein for ever. And who is more unjuſt than he who deviſeth a lie concerning GOD, or accuſeth his ſigns of impoſture? Unto theſe ſhall be given their portion of worldly happineſs, according to what is written in the book of GOD's decrees, until our meſſengers[s] come unto them, and ſhall cauſe them to die, ſaying, Where are the idols which ye called upon, beſides GOD? They ſhall anſwer, They have diſappeared from us. And they ſhall bear witneſs againſt themſelves, that they were unbelievers. GOD ſhall ſay unto them at the reſurrection, Enter ye with the nations which have preceded you, of genii and of men, into hell-fire ſo often as one nation ſhall enter, it ſhall curſe its ſiſter[t], until they ſhall all have ſucceſſively entered therein. The latter of them ſhall ſay of the former of them, O LORD! theſe have ſeduced us, therefore inflict on them a double puniſhment of the fire of hell. GOD ſhall anſwer, It ſhall be doubled unto all[u], but ye know it not. And the former of them ſhall ſay unto the latter of them, Ye have not therefore any favour above us, taſte the puniſhment for that which ye have gained. Verily they who ſhall charge our ſigns with falſehood, and ſhall proudly reject them, the gates of heaven ſhall not be opened

[s] Our meſſengers] Viz The angel of death, and his aſſiſtants

[t] It ſhall curſe its ſiſter] That is, the nation whoſe example betrayed them into their idolatry, and other wickedneſs

[u] It is doubled unto you all] Unto thoſe who ſet the example, becauſe they not only tranſgreſſed themſelves, but were alſo the occaſion of the others tranſgreſſing, and unto thoſe who followed them, becauſe of their own infidelity, and their imitating an ill example (1)

(1) JALLALO'DDIN, Al

unto

unto them[w], neither ſhall they enter into paradiſe, until a camel paſs through the eye of a needle[x], and thus will we reward the wicked doers. Their couch ſhall be in hell, and over them ſhall be coverings of fire; and thus will we reward the unjuſt. But they who believe, and do that which is right, (we will not load any ſoul but according to its ability,) they ſhall be the companions of paradiſe, they ſhall remain therein for ever And we will remove all grudges from their minds[y], rivers ſhall run at their feet, and they ſhall ſay, Praiſed be GOD, who hath directed us unto this felicity! for we ſhould not have been rightly directed, if GOD had not directed us now are we convinced by demonſtration that the apoſtles of our LORD came unto us with truth. And it ſhall be proclaimed unto them, This is paradiſe, whereof ye are made heirs, as a reward for that which ye have wrought. And the inhabitants[z] of paradiſe ſhall call out to the inhabitants of hell-fire, ſaying, Now have we found that which our LORD promiſed us to be true. have ye alſo found that which your LORD promiſed you to be true? They ſhall anſwer, Yea. And a crier[a] ſhall proclaim between them, The curſe of GOD ſhall be on the wicked; who turn men aſide from the way of GOD, and ſeek to render it crooked, and who deny the life to come. And between the bleſſed and the damned there ſhall be a

[w] The gates of heaven ſhall not be opened unto them] That is, when their ſouls ſhall, after death, aſcend to heaven, they ſhall not be admitted, but ſhall be thrown down into the dungeon under the ſeventh earth (1)

[x] This expreſſion was probably taken from our Saviour's words in the goſpel (2), though it be proverbial in the eaſt

[y] And we will remove all grudges from their minds] So that whatever differences, or animoſities, there had been between them in their life-time, they ſhall now be forgotten, and give place to ſincere love and amity This Ali is ſaid to have hoped would prove true to himſelf and his inveterate enemies, Othman, Telha, and al Zobeir (3)

[z] The inhabitants] Literally, the companions

[a] This crier, ſome ſay, will be the angel Iſrafil

(1) JALI ALO'DDIN See the Prelim Diſ ubi ſup p 103
(2) Matth xix 24 (3) Al BEIDAWI

veil;

veil, and men ſhall ſtand on Al Araf [b], who ſhall know every one of them by their marks [c], and ſhall call unto the inhabitants of paradiſe, ſaying, Peace be upon you yet they ſhall not enter therein, although they earneſtly deſire it [d] And when they ſhall turn their eyes towards the companions of hell-fire, they ſhall ſay, O LORD, place us not with the ungodly people! And thoſe who ſtand on Al Araf ſhall call unto certain men [e], whom they ſhall know by their marks, and ſhall ſay, What hath your gathering of riches availed you, and that ye were puffed up with pride? Are theſe the men on whom ye ſware that GOD would not beſtow mercy [f]? Enter ye into paradiſe, there ſhall come no fear on you, neither ſhall ye be grieved [g] And the inhabitants of hell-fire ſhall call unto the inhabitants of paradiſe, ſaying, Pour upon us ſome water, or of thoſe refreſh-

[b] And men ſhall ſtand on Al Araf] Al Araf is the name of the wall, or partition, which, as Mohammed taught, will ſeparate paradiſe from hell (1) But, as to the perſons who are to be placed thereon, the commentators differ, as has been elſewhere obſerved (2)

[c] Who ſhall know every one of them by their marks] i e Who ſhall diſtinguiſh the bleſſed from the damned, by their proper characteriſtics, ſuch as the whiteneſs and ſplendor of the faces of the former, and the blackneſs of thoſe of the latter (3)

[d] Yet they ſhall not enter therein, although they earneſtly deſire it] From this circumſtance it ſeems, that their opinion is the moſt probable, who make this intermediate partition a ſort of purgatory for thoſe, who, though they deſerve not to be ſent to hell, yet have not merits ſufficient to gain them immediate admittance into paradiſe, and will be tantalized here, for a certain time, with a bare view of the felicity of that place

[e] Certain men] That is, the chiefs and ringleaders of the infidels (4)

[f] On whom ye ſware that GOD would not beſtow mercy] Theſe were the inferior and poorer among the believers, whom they deſpiſed in their life-times, as unworthy of GOD's favour

[g] Enter ye into paradiſe, &c] Theſe words are directed, by an apoſtrophe, to the poor and deſpiſed believers above-mentioned Some commentators, however, imagine that theſe, and the next preceding words, are to be underſtood of thoſe who will be confined in Al Araf, and that the damned will, in return for their reproachful ſpeech, ſwear that they ſhall never enter paradiſe themſelves, whereupon GOD, of his mercy, ſhall order them to be admitted by theſe words (5)

(1) See the Prelim Diſc ſect IV p 125 (2) See ibid (3) Al BEIDAWI (4) Idem (5) Idem

ments which GOD hath beſtowed on you[k]. They ſhall anſwer, Verily GOD hath forbidden them unto the unbelievers, who made a laughing-ſtock, and a ſport, of their religion, and whom the life of the world hath deceived: therefore this day will we forget them, as they did forget the meeting of this day, and for that they denied our ſigns to be from GOD. And now have we brought unto thoſe of MECCA a book of divine revelations we have explained it with knowledge; a direction and mercy unto people who ſhall believe. Do they wait for any other than the interpretation thereof[l]? On the day whereon the interpretation thereof ſhall come, they who had forgotten the ſame before, ſhall ſay, Now are we convinced, by demonſtration, that the meſſengers of our LORD came unto us with truth ſhall we therefore have any interceſſors, who will intercede for us? or ſhall we be ſent back into the world, that we may do other works than what we did in our lifetime? But now have they loſt their ſouls, and that which they impiouſly imagined, hath fled from them[k]. Verily your LORD is GOD, who created the heavens and the earth in ſix days, and then aſcended his throne: he cauſeth the night to cover the day, it ſucceedeth the ſame ſwiftly he alſo created the ſun, and the moon, and the ſtars, which are abſolutely ſubject unto his command. Is not the whole creation, and the empire thereof, his? Bleſſed be GOD, the LORD of all creatures! Call upon your LORD humbly, and in ſecret, for he loveth not thoſe who tranſgreſs[l]. And act not corruptly in the earth,

[k] Or of that which GOD hath beſtowed on you] i e Of the other liquors or fruits of paradiſe Compare this paſſage with the parable of Dives and Lazarus

[l] The interpretation thereof] That is, the event of the promiſes and menaces therein

[k] See chap vi p 160 not [a]

[l] Who tranſgreſs] Behaving themſelves arrogantly while they pray, or praying with an obſtreperous voice, or a multitude of words, and vain repetitions (1).

(1) Al BEIDAWI

after

after its reformation[m]; and call upon him with fear and desire; for the mercy of GOD is near unto the righteous. It is he who sendeth the winds, spread abroad[n] before his mercy[o], until they bring a cloud heavy with rain, which we drive into a dead country[p], and we cause water to descend thereon, by which we cause all sorts of fruits to spring forth. Thus will we bring forth the dead from their graves[q]; that, paradventure, ye may consider. From a good country shall its fruit spring forth abundantly, by the permission of its LORD, but from the land which is bad, it shall not spring forth otherwise than scarcely. Thus do we explain the signs of divine providence unto people who are thankful We formerly sent NOAH[r] unto his people. and he said, O my people!

[m] After its reformation] i e After that GOD had sent his prophets, and revealed his laws, for the reformation and amendment of mankind

[n] Spread abroad] Or ranging over a large extent of land Some copies, instead of Noshran, which is the reading I have here followed, have Boshran, which signifies Good tidings, the rising of the wind in such a manner being the forerunner of rain

[o] Before his mercy] That is, rain For the east wind, says al Beidawi, raises the clouds, the north-wind drives them together, the south-wind agitates them so as to make the rain fall, and the south-wind disperses them again (1)

[p] A dead country] Or a dry and parched land

[q] See the Prelim Disc sect IV p 104, 110, &c

[r] Noah, the son of Lamech, according to the Mohammedan writers, was one of the six principal prophets (2), though he had no written revelations delivered to him (3), and the first who appeared after his great grand-father Edris, or Enoch They also say, he was by trade a carpenter, which they infer from his building the ark, and that the year of his mission was the fiftieth, or, as others say, the fortieth of his age (4)

That Noah was a preacher of righteousness unto the wicked antediluvians is testified by scripture (5) The eastern Christians say, that when GOD ordered Noah to build the ark, he also directed him to make an instrument of wood, such as they make use of at this day, in the east, instead of bells, to call the people to church, and named in Arabic, Nâkus, and in modern Greek, Semandra, on which he was to strike three times every day, not only to call together the workmen who were building the ark, but to give him an opportunity of daily admonishing his people of the impending danger of the deluge, which would certainly destroy them if they did not repent (6)

(1) Al BEIDAWI (2) See the Prelim Disc p 99 (3) V RELAND de relig Moh p 34 (4) Al ZAMAKHSHARI (5) 2 Pet ii 5 (6) EUTYCH Annal p 37

people! worſhip GOD ye have no other GOD than him[t]. Verily I fear for you the puniſhment of the great day[t]. The chiefs of his people anſwered him, We ſurely perceive thee to be in a manifeſt error. He replied, O my people! there is no error in me, but I am a meſſenger from the LORD of all creatures I bring unto you the meſſages of my LORD, and I counſel you aright for I know from GOD, that which ye know not. Do ye wonder that an admonition hath come unto you from your LORD by a man[u] from among you, to warn you, that ye may take heed to yourſelves, and that, peradventure, ye may obtain mercy? And they accuſed him of impoſture but we delivered him, and thoſe who were with him in the ark[w], and we drowned thoſe who charged our ſigns with falſehood, for they were a blind people. And unto the tribe of AD[x] we ſent their

Some Mohammedan authors pretend, Noah was ſent to convert Zohak, one of the Perſian kings of the firſt race, who refuſed to hearken to him, and that he afterwards preached GOD's unity publicly (1)

[s] Serve God, ye have no other GOD but him] From theſe words, and other paſſages of the Koran, where Noah's preaching is mentioned, it appears that, according to Mohammed's opinion, a principal crime of the antediluvians was idolatry (2)

[t] The great day] viz Either the day of reſurrection, or that whereon the flood was to begin

[u] By a man] For, ſaid they, if GOD had pleaſed, he would have ſent an angel, and not a man, ſince we never heard of ſuch an inſtance in the times of our fathers (3)

[w] And thoſe who were with him in the ark] That is, thoſe who believed on him, and entered into that veſſel with him Though there be a tradition among the Mohammedans, ſaid to have been received from the prophet himſelf, and conformable to the ſcripture, that eight perſons, and no more, were ſaved in the ark, yet ſome of them report the number variouſly One ſays they were but ſix, another ten, another twelve, another ſeventy-eight, and another fourſcore, half men and half women (4), and that one of them was the elder Jorham (5), the preſerver, as ſome pretend, of the Arabian language (6)

[x] Ad was an ancient and potent tribe of Arabs (7), and zealous idolaters (8) They chiefly worſhipped four deities, Sakia, Hafedha, Razc-

(1) V D'HERBEL Bibl Orient p 675 (2) See chap lxi and the Prelim Diſc ſect I p 24 (3) Al BEIDAWI (4) Al ZAMAKHSHARI, JALLALO'DDIN, EBN SHOHNAH (5) Idem See the Prelim Diſc Sec I p 10 (6) V POCOCK Orat præfix Carm Tograi (7) See the Prelim. Diſc Sect I p 7, 8, 9 (8) ABUL-FEDA

their brother HUD[y] He ſaid, O my people! worſhip GOD ye have no other GOD than him, will ye not fear him? The chiefs of thoſe among his people who believed not[z], anſwered, Verily we perceive that thou art guided by folly, and we certainly eſteem thee to be one of the liars He replied, O my people! I am not guided by folly, but I am a meſſenger unto you from the LORD of all creatures: I bring unto you the meſſages of my LORD, and I am a faithful counſellor unto you Do ye wonder that an admonition hath come unto you from your LORD, by a man from among you, that he may warn you? Call to mind how he hath appointed you ſucceſſors unto the people of NOAH[a], and hath added unto you in ſtature largely[b] Remember the benefits of GOD, that ye may proſper They ſaid, Art thou come unto us, that we ſhould worſhip GOD alone, and leave the deities which our fathers worſhipped? Now bring down that judgment upon us, with which thou threatenedſt us, if thou ſpeakeſt truth HUD anſwered, Now ſhall there ſuddenly fall upon you, from your LORD, vengeance and indignation. Will ye diſpute with me concerning the names which

ka, and Salema, the firſt, as they imagined, ſupplying them with rain, the ſecond preſerving them from all dangers abroad, the third providing food for their ſuſtenance, and the fourth reſtoring them to health when afflicted with ſickneſs (1), according to the ſignification of the ſeveral names

[y] Hud]—Generally ſuppoſed to be the ſame perſon with Heber (2) but others ſay, he was the ſon of Abda'llah, the ſon of Ribah, the ſon of Kholud, the ſon of Ad the ſon of Aws or Uz the ſon of Aram, the ſon of Sem (3)

[z] Who believed not]—Theſe words were added, becauſe ſome of the principal men among them believed on Hud, one of whom was Morthed Ebn Said (4)

[a] The ſucceſſors of the people of Noah]—Dwelling in the habitations of the antediluvians, who preceded them not many centuries, or having the chief ſway in the earth after them For the kingdom of Shedad, the ſon of Ad, is ſaid to have extended from the lands of Alaj, to the trees of Oman (5)

[b] See the Prelim Diſc p 9

(1) V D'HERBELOT Bibl Orient Art Houd (2) See the Prelim Diſc p 8 (3) AL BEIDAWI (4) Idem (5) Idem

ye have named [c], and your fathers; as to which GOD hath not revealed unto you any authority? Do ye wait, therefore, and I will be one of thoſe who wait with you. And we delivered him, and them who believed with him, by our mercy, and we cut off the uttermoſt part of thoſe who charged our ſigns with falſehood, and were not believers [d]. And unto the tribe of THAMUD [e] we ſent their brother SALEH [f]. He ſaid, O my people! worſhip GOD, ye have no GOD beſides him Now hath a manifeſt proof come unto you from your LORD. This ſhe-camel of GOD is a

[c] Concerning the names which ye have named, &c] That is, concerning the idols, and imaginary objects of your worſhip, to which ye wickedly give the names, attributes, and honour, due to the only true GOD

[d] The dreadful deſtruction of the Adites we have mentioned in another place (1), and ſhall only add here ſome further circumſtances of that calamity, and which differ a little from what is there ſaid, for the Arab writers acknowledge many inconſiſtencies in the hiſtories of theſe ancient tribes (2)

The tribe of Ad having been, for their incredulity, previouſly chaſtiſed with a three years draught, ſent Kail Ebn Ithar and Morthed Ebn Saad, with ſeventy other principal men, to the temple of Mecca to obtain rain Mecca was then in the hands of the tribe of Amalek, whoſe prince was Moâwiyah Ebn Becr, and he being without the city when the embaſſadors arrived, entertained them there for a month in ſo hoſpitable a manner, that they had forgotten the buſineſs they came about, had not the king reminded them of it, not as from himſelf, leſt they ſhould think he wanted to be rid of them, but by ſome verſes which he put into the mouth of a ſinging woman At which, being rouſed from their lethargy, Morthed told them, the only way they had to obtain what they wanted, would be to repent, and obey their prophet but this diſpleaſing the reſt, they deſired Moawiyah to impriſon him, leſt he ſhould go with them, which being done, Kail, with the reſt, entering Mecca, begged of GOD that he would ſend rain to the people of Ad Whereupon three clouds appeared, a white one, a red one, and a black one, and a voice from heaven ordered Kail to chooſe which he would Kail failed not to make choice of the laſt, thinking it to be loaden with the moſt rain, but when this cloud came over them, it proved to be fraught with the divine vengeance, and a tempeſt broke forth from it which deſtroyed them all (3)

[e] Thamud was another tribe of the ancient Arabs who fell into idolatry See the Prelim Diſc ſect I p 9

[f] Saleh] Al Beidâwi deduces his genealogy thus Saleh, the ſon of Obeid, the ſon of Aſaf, the ſon of Maſekh, the ſon of Obeid, the ſon of Hadher, the ſon of Thamud (4)

(1) Prelim Diſc p 8 (2) Al BEIDAWI V D'HERBELOT Bibl Orient Art Houd (3) See the Prelim Diſ p 8, 9 (4) ABULFEDA, Al ZAMAKHSHARI V D'HERBEL Bibl Orient Art Saleh

ſign

ſign unto you[g] therefore diſmiſs her freely, that ſhe may feed in GOD's earth, and do her no hurt, leſt a painful puniſhment ſeize you And call to mind how he hath appointed you ſucceſſors unto the tribe of AD, and hath given you a habitation on earth, ye build yourſelves caſtles on the plains thereof, and cut out the mountains into houſes[h]. Remember therefore the benefits of GOD, and commit not violence in the earth, acting corruptly. The chiefs among his people, who were puffed up with pride, ſaid unto thoſe who were eſteemed weak, namely, unto thoſe who believed among them, Do ye know that SALEH hath been ſent from his LORD? They anſwered, We do ſurely believe in that wherewith he hath been ſent. Thoſe who were elated with pride, replied, Verily we believe not in that wherein ye believe And they cut off the feet of the camel[i], and inſolently tranſgreſſed

[g] This ſhe-camel of GOD is a ſign unto you] The Thamudites inſiſting on a miracle, propoſed to Saleh, that he ſhould go with them to their feſtival, and that they ſhould call on their gods, and he on his, promiſing to follow that deity which ſhould anſwer But after they had called on their idols a long time to no purpoſe, Jonda Ebn Amru, their prince, pointed to a rock, ſtanding by itſelf, and bid Saleh cauſe a ſhe camel, big with young, to come forth from it, ſolemnly engaging, that, if he did, he would believe and his people promiſed the ſame Whereupon Saleh aſked it of GOD, and preſently the rock, after ſeveral throes, as if in labour, was delivered of a ſhe-camel, anſwering the deſcription of Jonda, which immediately brought forth a young one ready weaned, and, as ſome ſay, as big as herſelf Jonda ſeeing this miracle, believed on the prophet, and ſome few with him, but the greater part of the Thamudites remained, notwithſtanding, incredulous Of this camel the commentators tell ſeveral very abſurd ſtories, as that when ſhe went to drink, ſhe never raiſed her head from the well, or river till ſhe had drank up all the water in it, and then ſhe offered herſelf to be milked, the people drawing from her as much milk as they pleaſed, and ſome ſay, that ſhe went about the town crying aloud, If any wants milk, let him come forth (1)

[h] The tribe of Thamud dwelt firſt in the country of the Adites, but their numbers increaſing, they removed to the territory of Hejr for the ſake of the mountains, where they cut for themſelves habitations in the rocks, to be ſeen at this day

[i] And they cut off the feet of the camel] This extraordinary camel fighting the other cattle from their paſture, a certain rich woman, named Oneiza Omm Ganem, having four daughters, dreſſed them out, and offered

(1) See the Prelim Diſc p 9

tranſgreſſed the command of their LORD [k], and ſaid, O SALEH, cauſe that to come upon us, with which thou haſt threatened us, if thou art one of thoſe who have been ſent by GOD. Whereupon a terrible noiſe from heaven [l] aſſailed them! and in the morning they were found in their dwellings proſtrate on their breaſts, and dead [m]. And SALEH departed from them, and ſaid [n], O my people! now have I delivered unto you the meſſage of my LORD, and I

ſered one Kedar his choice of them, if he would kill the camel. Whereupon he choſe one, and, with the aſſiſtance of eight other men, hamſtrung and killed the dam, and purſuing the young one, which fled to the mountain, killed that alſo, and divided his fleſh among them (1). Others tell the ſtory ſomewhat differently, adding, Sadaʼa Bint al Mokhtar as a joint conſpiratreſs with Oneiza, and pretending that the young one was not killed for, they ſay, that having fled to a certain mountain, named Kara, he there cried three times and Saleh bid them catch him if they could, for then there might be hopes of their avoiding the divine vengeance, but this they were not able to do, the rock opening after he had cried, and receiving him within it (2).

[k] And inſtantly tranſgreſſed the command of their LORD, &c.] Defying the vengeance with which they were threatened, becauſe they truſted in their ſtrong dwellings, hewn in the rocks, ſaying, that the tribe of Ad periſhed only becauſe their houſes were not built with ſufficient ſtrength (3).

[l] A terrible noiſe from heaven.] Like violent and repeated claps of thunder, which, ſome ſay, was no other than the voice of the angel Gabriel (4), and which rent their hearts (5). It is ſaid, that after they had killed the camel, Saleh told them, that on the morrow their faces ſhould become yellow, the next day red, and the third day black, and that on the fourth God's vengeance ſhould light on them, and that the firſt three ſigns happening accordingly, they ſought to put him to death, but GOD delivered him, by ſending him into Paleſtine (6).

[m] Mohammed, in the expedition of Tabuc, which he undertook againſt the Greeks in the ninth year of the Hejra, paſſing by Hejr, where this ancient tribe had dwelt, forbad his army, though much diſtreſſed with heat and thirſt, to draw any water there, but ordered them, if they had drank of that water, to bring it up again, or if they had kneaded any meal with it, to give it their camels (7), and wrapping up his face in his garment, he ſet ſpurs to his mule, crying out, Enter not the houſes of thoſe wicked men, but rather weep, leſt that happen unto you which befel them, and having ſo ſaid, he continued galloping full ſpeed, with his face muffled up, till he had paſſed the valley (8).

[n] Whether this ſpeech was made by Saleh to them at parting, as ſeems moſt probable, or after the judgment had fallen on them, the commentators are not agreed

(1) ABULFEDA (2) Al BEIDAWI V D'HERBEL ubi ſupra (3) Al KESSAI (4) See the Prelim Diſ p 9 (5) ABULFEDA, Al BEIDAWI (6) Al BEIDAWI (7) ABULFEDA Vit Moh p 124 (8) Al BOKHARI

adviſed

adviſed you well, but ye love not thoſe who adviſe you well And remember LOT[o], when he ſaid unto his people, Do ye commit a wickedneſs, wherein no creature hath ſet you an example? Do ye approach luſtfully unto men, leaving the women? Certainly ye are people who tranſgreſs all modeſty. But the anſwer of his people was no other than that they ſaid, the one to the other, Expel them[p] your city, for they are men who preſerve themſelves pure from the crimes which ye commit Therefore we delivered him and his family, except his wife, ſhe was one of thoſe who ſtaid behind[q] and we rained a ſhower of ſtones upon them[r] Behold, therefore, what was the end of the wicked And unto MADIAN[s] we ſent their brother SHOAIB[t]. He ſaid unto them, O my people! worſhip

[o] Lot] The commentators ſay, conformably to the ſcripture, that Lot was the ſon of Haran, the ſon of Azer or Terah, and, conſequently, Abraham's nephew, who brought him with him from Chaldea into Paleſtine, where, they ſay, he was ſent by GOD to reclaim the inhabitants of Sodom, and the other neighbouring cities, which were overthrown with it, from the unnatural vice to which they were addicted (1) And this Mohammedan tradition ſeems to be countenanced by the words of the apoſtle, That this righteous man dwelling among them, in ſeeing and hearing, vexed his righteous ſoul from day to day with their unlawful deeds (2), whence it is probable that he omitted no opportunity of endeavouring their reformation The ſtory of Lot is told with further circumſtances in the eleventh chapter

[p] Expel them, &c] Viz. Lot, and thoſe who believe on him

[q] See chap xi

[r] See ibid

[s] Madian,]---or Midian, was a city of Hejaz, and the habitation of a tribe of the ſame name, the deſcendants of Midian, the ſon of Abraham by Keturah (3), who afterwards coaleſced with the Iſmaelites, as it ſeems, Moſes naming the ſame merchants who ſold Joſeph to Potiphar, in one place Iſmaelites (4), and in another Midianites (5)

This city was ſituated on the Red Sea, ſouth-eaſt of Mount Sinai, and is doubtleſs the ſame with the Modiana of Ptolemy What was remaining of it in Mohammed's time, was ſoon after demoliſhed in the ſucceeding wars (6), and it remains deſolate to this day The people of the country pretend to ſhew the well whence Moſes watered Jethro's flocks (7)

[t] Shoaib] Some Mohammedan writers make him the ſon of Mikail, the ſon of Yaſhar, the ſon of Madian (8), and they generally ſuppoſe him to be the ſame perſon with the father-in-law of Moſes, who is named,

(1) V D'HERBELOT Bibl Orient Art Loth (2) 2 Pet ii 8 (3) Gen xxv 2 (4) Gen xxxix 1 (5) Gen xxxvii 36 (6) V GOLII not in Alfrag p 143 (7) ABULFEDA Deſcr Arab p 42 GEOGR Nub p 109 (8) Al BEIDAWI, TARIKH MONTAKHAB

worſhip GOD; ye have no GOD beſides him. Now hath an evident demonſtration[u] come unto you from your LORD. Therefore, give full meaſure and juſt weight, and diminiſh not unto men ought of their matters[w], neither act corruptly in the earth, after its reformation[x]. This will be better for you, if ye believe. And beſet not every way, threatening the paſſenger[y], and turning aſide from the path of GOD him who believeth in him, and ſeeking to make it crooked. And remember, when ye were few, and GOD multiplied you and behold, what hath been the end of thoſe who acted corruptly. And if part of you believe in that wherewith I am ſent, and part believe not, wait patiently until GOD judge between
IX. us; for he is the beſt judge. * The chiefs of his people, who were elated with pride, anſwered, We will ſurely caſt thee, O SHOAIB, and thoſe who believe with thee, out of our city, or elſe thou ſhalt certainly return unto our religion. He ſaid, What,

in ſcripture, Reuel or Raguel, and Jethro (1) But Ahmed Ebn Abd'alhalim charges thoſe who entertain this opinion with ignorance Al Keſſai ſays, that his father's name was Sanun, and that he was firſt called Boyun, and afterwards Shoaib, and adds, that he was a comely perſon, but ſpare and lean, very thoughtful, and of few words Dr Prideaux writes this name after the French tranſlation, Chaib (2)

[u] An evident demonſtration] This demonſtration the commentators ſuppoſe to have been a power of working miracles, though the Koran mentions none in particular However, they ſay (after the Jews) that he gave his ſon-in-law that wonder-working rod (3), with which he performed all thoſe miracles in Egypt and the deſart, and alſo excellent advice and inſtructions (4), whence he had the ſirname of Khatib al Anbiya, or, The preacher to the prophets (5)

[w] Give full meaſure and juſt weight, &c] For one of the great crimes which the Midianites were guilty of, was the uſing of divers meaſures and weights, a great and a ſmall, buying by one and ſelling by another (6)

[x] See before, p 182, note [l]

[y] Beſet not every way, threatening the paſſenger] Robbing on the highway, it ſeems, was another crying ſin frequent among theſe people But ſome of the commentators interpret this paſſage figuratively, of their beſetting the way of truth, and threatening thoſe who gave ear to the remonſtrances of Shoaib (7)

(1) Exod ii 18 iii 1 (2) Life of Mahom p 24 (3) Al BEIDAWI V Shalſhel hakkab p 12 (4) Exod xviii 13, &c (5) V D'HERBELOT, Bibl Orient Art Shoaib (6) V ib Al BEIDAWI See Deut xxv 13, 14 (7) Idem

though

though we be averſe thereto? We ſhall ſurely imagine a lie againſt GOD, if we return unto your religion, after that GOD hath delivered us from the ſame and we have no reaſon to return unto it, unleſs GOD our LORD ſhall pleaſe to abandon us. Our LORD comprehendeth every thing by his knowledge. In GOD do we put our truſt. O LORD! do thou judge between us and our nation with truth, for thou art the beſt judge. And the chiefs of his people, who believed not, ſaid, If ye follow SHOAIB, ye ſhall ſurely periſh. Therefore a ſtorm from heaven[z] aſſailed them, and in the morning they were found in their dwellings dead and proſtrate They who accuſed SHOAIB of impoſture became as though they had never dwelt therein, they who accuſed SHOAIB of impoſture periſhed themſelves And he departed from them, and ſaid, O my people! now have I performed unto you the meſſages of my LORD, and I adviſed you aright but why ſhould I be grieved for an unbelieving people? We have never ſent any prophet unto a city, but we afflicted the inhabitants thereof with calamity and adverſity, that they might humble themſelves. Then we gave them in exchange good in lieu of evil, until they abounded, and ſaid, Adverſity and proſperity formerly happened unto our fathers as unto us. Therefore we took vengeance on them ſuddenly, and they perceived it not before-hand But if the inhabitants of thoſe cities had believed and feared God, we would ſurely have opened to them bleſſings both from heaven and earth. But they charged our apoſtles with falſehood, wherefore we took vengeance on them for that which they had been guilty of Were the inhabitants, therefore, of thoſe cities ſecure, that our puniſhment ſhould not fall on them by night, while

[z] A ſtorm from heaven] Like that which deſtroyed the Thamudites Some ſuppoſe it to have been an earthquake, for the original word ſignifies either, or both, and both theſe dreadful calamities may well be ſuppoſed to have jointly executed the divine vengeance

they

they ſlept? Or were the inhabitants of thoſe cities ſecure that our puniſhment ſhould not fall on them by day, while they ſported? Were they, therefore, ſecure from the ſtratagem of GOD[a]? But none will think himſelf ſecure from the ſtratagem of GOD, except the people who periſh. And hath it not manifeſtly appeared unto thoſe who have inherited the earth after the former inhabitants thereof, that, if we pleaſe, we can afflict them for their ſins? But we will ſeal up their hearts, and they ſhall not hearken We will relate unto thee ſome ſtories of theſe cities. Their apoſtles had come unto them with evident miracles, but they were not diſpoſed to believe in that which they had before gainſayed Thus will GOD ſeal up the hearts of the unbelievers. And we found not in the greater part of them any obſervance of their covenant, but we found the greater part of them wicked doers. Then we ſent after the above-named apoſtles, MOSES with our ſigns unto PHARAOH[b] and

[a] The ſtratagem of GOD] Hereby is figuratively expreſſed the manner of GOD's dealing with proud and ungrateful men, by ſuffering them to fill up the meaſure of their iniquity, without vouchſafing to bring them to a ſenſe of their condition, by chaſtiſements and afflictions, till they find themſelves utterly loſt, when they leaſt expect it (1)

[b] Pharaoh] This was the common title, or name, of the kings of Egypt, (ſignifying king in the Coptic tongue), as Ptolemy was in after times, and as Cæſar was that of the Roman Emperors, and Khoſru, that of the kings of Perſia But which of the kings of Egypt, this Pharaoh of Moſes was, is uncertain Not to mention the opinions of the European writers, thoſe of the eaſt generally ſuppoſe him to have been al Walid, who, according to ſome, was an Arab of the tribe of Ad, or, according to others, the ſon of Maſab, the ſon of Riyan, the ſon of Walid (2) the Amalekite (3) There are hiſtorians, however, who ſuppoſe Kabus, the brother and predeceſſor of al Walid, was the prince we are ſpeaking of, and pretend he lived ſix hundred and twenty years, and reigned four hundred Which is more reaſonable, at leaſt, than the opinion of thoſe who imagine it was his father Maſab, or grandfather Riyan (4) Abulfeda ſays, that Maſab being one hundred and ſeventy years old, and having no child, while he kept the herds, ſaw a cow calve, and heard her ſay, at the ſame time, O Maſab! be not grieved, for thou ſhalt have a wicked ſon, who will be at length caſt into hell And he accordingly had this Walid, who afterwards coming to be king of Egypt, proved an impious tyrant

(1) Al BEIDAWI (2) See the Prelim. Diſ p 11 (3) ABULFEDA, &c (4) Kitab tafsir lobab, & al Keſhaf

his

his princes, who treated them unjuſtly [c]: but behold what was the end of the corrupt doers. And MOSES ſaid, O PHARAOH! verily I am an apoſtle ſent from the LORD of all creatures. It is juſt that I ſhould not ſpeak of GOD other than the truth. Now am I come unto you with an evident ſign from your LORD: ſend, therefore, the children of ISRAEL away with me. PHARAOH anſwered, If thou comeſt with a ſign, produce it, if thou ſpeakeſt truth Wherefore he caſt down his rod and behold, it became a viſible ſerpent [d]. And he drew forth his hand out of his boſom, and behold it appeared white unto the ſpectators [e]. The chiefs of the people of PHARAOH ſaid, This man is certainly an expert magician he ſeeketh to diſpoſſeſs you of your land, what, therefore, do ye direct? They anſwered, Put off him and his brother by fair promiſes for ſome time, and, in the mean-while, ſend unto the cities perſons who may aſſemble and bring unto thee every expert magician. So

[c] Who treated them unjuſtly] By not believing therein

[d] A viſible ſerpent] The Arab writers tell enormous fables of this ſerpent, or dragon For, they ſay, that he was hairy, and of ſo prodigious a ſize, that, when he opened his mouth, his jaws were fourſcore cubits aſunder, and, when he laid his lower jaw on the ground, his upper reached to the top of the palace, that Pharaoh, ſeeing this monſter make towards him, fled from it, and was ſo terribly frightened, that he befouled himſelf, and that the whole aſſembly alſo betaking themſelves to their heels, no leſs than twenty-five thouſand of them loſt their lives in the preſs They add, that Pharaoh, upon this, adjured Moſes by GOD, who had ſent him, to take away the ſerpent, and promiſed he would believe on him, and let the Iſraelites go, but, when Moſes had done what he requeſted, he relapſed, and grew as hardened as before (1)

[e] He drew forth his hand, and it became white] There is a tradition that Moſes was a very ſwarthy man, and that, when he put his hand into his boſom, and drew it out again, it became extremely white and ſplendid, ſurpaſſing the brightneſs of the ſun (2) Marracci (3) ſays, we do not read in ſcripture, that Moſes ſhewed this ſign before Pharaoh It is true, the ſcripture does not expreſsly ſay ſo, but it ſeems to be no more than a neceſſary inference from that paſſage, where GOD tells Moſes, that if they will not hearken to the firſt ſign, they will believe the latter ſign, and if they will not believe theſe two ſigns, then directs him to turn the water into blood (4)

(1) Al BEIDAWI (2) Idem (3) In Alc p 284 (4) Exod iv 8, 9

the

the magicians[f] came unto PHARAOH; and they ſaid, Shall we ſurely receive a reward, if we do overcome? He anſwered, Yea; and ye ſhall certainly be of thoſe who approach near unto my throne. They ſaid, O MOSES! either do thou caſt down thy rod firſt, or we will caſt down ours. MOSES anſwered, Do ye caſt down your rods firſt. And when they had caſt them down, they enchanted the eyes of the men who were preſent, and terrified them; and they performed a great enchantment[g]. And we ſpake by revelation unto MOSES, ſaying, Throw down thy rod. And behold, it ſwallowed up the rods which they had cauſed falſely to appear changed into ſerpents[h]. Wherefore the truth was confirmed, and that which they had wrought vaniſhed. And PHARAOH and his magicians were overcome there, and were rendered contemptible. And the magicians proſtrated themſelves, worſhipping, and they ſaid, We believe in the LORD of all creatures, the LORD of MOSES and AARON[i]. PHARAOH ſaid, Have ye believed on him,

[f] The magicians] The Arabian writers name ſeveral of theſe magicians, beſide their chief prieſt Simeon, viz Sadur, and Ghadur, Jaath, and Moſfa, Warân, and Zamân, each of whom came attended with their diſciples, amounting in all to ſeveral thouſands (1)

[g] And they performed a great enchantment] They provided themſelves with a great number of thick ropes and long pieces of wood, which they contrived, by ſome means, to move, and make them twiſt themſelves one over the other, and ſo impoſed on the beholders, who at a diſtance took them to be true ſerpents (2)

[h] Behold, it ſwallowed up the rods, &c] The expoſitors add, that when this ſerpent had ſwallowed up all the rods and cords, he made directly towards the aſſembly, and put them into ſo great a terror, that they fled, and a conſiderable number were killed in the croud then Moſes took it up, and it became a rod in his hand as before Whereupon the magicians declared, that it could be no enchantment, becauſe, in ſuch caſe, their rods and cords would not have diſappeared (3)

[i] And the magicians proſtrated themſelves worſhipping, &c] It ſeems probable that all the magicians were not converted by this miracle, for ſome writers introduce Sadur and Ghadur only, acknowledging Moſes's miracle to be wrought by the power of GOD Theſe two, they ſay, were brothers, and the ſons of a famous magician, then dead, but, on their

(1) V D'HERBELOT Bibl Orient. art Mouſa, p 643, &c Al KESSAI
(2) Al BEIDAWI V D'HERBELOT, ubi ſup and Korân, c 20
(3) Al BEIDAWI

him before I have given you permiſſion? Verily this is a plot which ye have contrived in the city, that ye might caſt forth from thence the inhabitants thereof[k]. But ye ſhall ſurely know that I am your maſter; for I will cauſe your hands and your feet to be cut off on the oppoſite ſides[l], then will I cauſe you all to be crucified[m]. The magicians anſwered, We ſhall certainly return unto our LORD, in the next life, for thou takeſt vengeance on us only becauſe we have believed in the ſigns of our LORD, when they have come unto us. O LORD! pour on us patience, and cauſe us to die Moſlems[n]. And the chiefs of PHARAOH's people ſaid, Wilt thou let MOSES and his people go, that they may act corruptly in the earth, and leave thee and thy gods[o]? PHARAOH anſwered, We will cauſe their male children to be ſlain,

being ſent for to court on this occaſion, their mother perſuaded them to go to their father's tomb, to aſk his advice Being come to the tomb, the father anſwered their call, and, when they had acquainted him with the affair, he told them, that they ſhould inform themſelves, whether the rod, of which they ſpoke, became a ſerpent while its maſters ſlept, or only when they were awake, for, ſaid he, enchantments have no effect while the enchanter is aſleep, and, therefore, if it be otherwiſe in this caſe, you may be aſſured that they act by a divine power Theſe two magicians then, arriving at the capital of Egypt, on inquiry, found, to their great aſtoniſhment, that, when Moſes and Aaron went to reſt, their rod became a ſerpent, and guarded them while they ſlept (1) And this was the firſt ſtep towards their converſion

[k] This is a plot which ye have contrived, &c] i e This is a confederacy between you and Moſes, entered into before ye left the city, to go to the place of appointment, to turn out the Copts, or native Egyptians, and eſtabliſh the Iſraelites in their ſtead (2)

[l] On the oppoſite ſide] That is, your right hands and your left feet

[m] And I will cauſe you all to be crucified] Some ſay Pharaoh was the firſt inventor of this ignominious and painful puniſhment

[n] Some think theſe converted magicians were executed accordingly: but others deny it, and ſay, that the king was not able to put them to death inſiſting on theſe words of the Koran (3), You two, and they who follow you, ſhall overcome

[o] Thy gods] Which were the ſtars, or other idols But ſome of the commentators, from certain impious expreſſions of this prince, recorded in the Korân (4), whereby he ſets up himſelf as the only god of his ſubjects, ſuppoſe that he was the object of their worſhip, and, therefore, inſtead of Alihataca, Thy gods, read, Ilahataca, Thy worſhip (5)

(1) V D'HERBEL. ubi ſup (2) Al BEIDAWI (3) Chap XXVIII.
(4) Ibid and chap XXVI, &c. (5) Al BEIDAWI

and

and we will ſuffer their females to live [p]; and by that means we ſhall prevail over them. MOSES ſaid unto his people, Aſk aſſiſtance of GOD, and ſuffer patiently: for the earth is GOD's, he giveth it for an inheritance unto ſuch of his ſervants as he pleaſeth, and the proſperous end ſhall be unto thoſe who fear him. They anſwered, We have been afflicted by having our male children ſlain, before thou cameſt unto us, and alſo ſince thou haſt come unto us. MOSES ſaid, Peradventure it may happen that your LORD will deſtroy your enemy, and will cauſe you to ſucceed him in the earth, that he may ſee how ye will act therein. And we formerly puniſhed the people of PHARAOH with dearth and ſcarcity of fruits, that they might be warned. Yet, when good happened unto them, they ſaid, This is owing unto us but if evil befel them, they attributed the ſame to the ill luck of MOSES, and thoſe who were with him [q]. Was not their ill luck with GOD [r]? but moſt of them knew it not. And they ſaid unto MOSES, Whatever ſign thou ſhew unto us, to enchant us therewith, we will not believe on thee. Wherefore we ſent upon them a flood [s], and locuſts, and

[p] We will cauſe their male children to be ſlain, &c.] That is, We will continue to make uſe of the ſame cruel policy to keep the Iſraelites in ſubjection, as we have hitherto done The commentators ſay, that Pharaoh came to this reſolution, becauſe he had either been admoniſhed in a dream, or by the aſtrologers, or diviners, that one of that nation ſhould ſubvert his kingdom (1)

[q] To the ill luck of Moſes, &c.] Looking on him and his followers as the occaſion of thoſe calamities The original word properly ſignifies to take an ominous and ſiniſter preſage of any future event, from the flight of birds, or the like

[r] Was not their ill luck with GOD?] By whoſe will and decree they were ſo afflicted as a puniſhment for their wickedneſs

[s] A flood] This inundation, they ſay, was occaſioned by unuſual rains, which continued eight days together, and the overflowing of the Nile, and not only covered their lands, but came into their houſes, and roſe as high as their backs and necks, but the children of Iſrael had no rain in their quarters (2) As there is no mention of any ſuch miraculous inundation in the Moſaic writings, ſome have imagined this plague to have been either a peſtilence, or the ſmall-pox, or ſome other epidemical diſtemper (3) For the word Tufan, which is uſed in this place, and is generally rendered a Deluge, may alſo ſignify any other univerſal deſtruction or mortality

(1) Al BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN (2) Idem, ABULFED
(3) Al BEIDAWI

lice,

lice[t], and frogs, and blood, diſtinct miracles: but they behaved proudly, and became a wicked people. And when the plague[u] fell on them, they ſaid, O MOSES! entreat thy LORD for us, according to that which he hath covenanted with thee. Verily if thou take the plague from off us, we will ſurely believe thee, and we will let the children of ISRAEL go with thee. But when we had taken the plague from off them, until the term which GOD had granted them was expired, behold, they broke their promiſe. Wherefore we took vengeance on them, and drowned them in the Red Sea[w], becauſe they charged our ſigns with falſehood, and neglected them. And we cauſed the people, who had been rendered weak, to inherit the eaſtern parts of the earth, and the weſtern parts thereof[x], which we bleſſed with fertility, and the gracious word of thy LORD was fulfilled on the children of ISRAEL, for that they had endured with patience: and we deſtroyed the ſtructures which PHARAOH and his people had made, and that which they had erected[y]. And we cauſed the children of ISRAEL to paſs through the ſea, and they came unto a people who gave themſelves up to the worſhip of their idols[z], and they ſaid, O MOSES! make us a god, in like

[t] Lice] Some will have theſe inſects to have been a larger ſort of tick, others, the young locuſts before they have wings (1)

[u] The plague] Viz. Any of the calamities already mentioned, or the peſtilence which GOD ſent upon them afterwards

[w] See this wonderful event more particularly deſcribed in the tenth and twentieth chapters

[x] The eaſtern parts of the earth, and the weſtern parts thereof] That is, the land of Syria, of which the eaſtern geographers reckon Paleſtine a part, and wherein the commentators ſay, the children of Iſrael ſucceeded the kings of Egypt and the Amalekites (2)

[y] And we deſtroyed the ſtructures which Pharaoh and his people had made, &c.] Particularly the lofty tower which Pharaoh cauſed to be built, that he might attack the GOD of Moſes (3)

[z] And they came unto a people who worſhipped idols] Theſe people ſome will have to be of the tribe of Amalek, whom Moſes was commanded to deſtroy, and others, of the tribe of Lakhm. Their idols, it is ſaid, were images of oxen, which gave the firſt hint to the making of the golden calf (4)

(1) Al BEIDAWI (2) Idem (3) V. Kor. chap. xxviii. and xl. (4) Al BEIDAWI

manner as theſe people have gods. MOSES anſwered, Verily ye are an ignorant people: for the religion which theſe follow will be deſtroyed, and that which they do is vain. He ſaid, Shall I ſeek for you any other god than GOD, ſince he hath preferred you to the reſt of the world? And remember when we delivered you from the people of PHARAOH, who grievouſly oppreſſed you, they ſlew your male children, and let your females live therein was a great trial from your LORD. And we appointed unto MOSES a faſt of thirty nights before we gave him the law[a], and we completed them by adding of ten more; and the ſtated time of his LORD was fulfilled in forty nights. And MOSES ſaid unto his brother AARON, Be thou my deputy among my people during my abſence, and behave uprightly, and follow not the way of the corrupt doers. And when MOSES came at our appointed time, and his LORD ſpake unto him[b], he ſaid, O LORD! ſhew me thy glory, that I may behold thee GOD anſwered, Thou ſhalt in no wiſe behold me but look towards the mountain[c], and if it ſtand firm in its place, then ſhalt thou ſee me. But when his LORD appeared with glory in the mount[d], he

[a] We appointed unto Moſes a faſt of thirty nights, and we completed them by adding of ten more, &c.] The commentators ſay, that GOD, having promiſed Moſes to give him the law, directed him to prepare himſelf for the high favour of ſpeaking with GOD in perſon, by a faſt of thirty days, and that Moſes accordingly faſted the whole month of Dhu'lkaada, but, not liking the ſavour of his breath, he rubbed his teeth with a dentrifice, upon which the angels told him, that his breath before had the odour of muſk (1), but that his rubbing his teeth had taken it away Wherefore, GOD ordered him to faſt ten days more, which he did, and theſe were the firſt ten days of the ſucceeding month Dhu'l-hajja Others, however, ſuppoſe that Moſes was commanded to faſt and pray thirty days only, and that during the other ten GOD diſcourſed with him (2)

[b] And his LORD ſpake unto him] Without the mediation of any other, and face to face, as he ſpeaks unto the angels (3)

[c] The mountain] This mountain the Mohammedans name, al Zabir

[d] When his LORD appeared with glory in the mount] Or, as it is

(1) See the Prelim Diſ Sect IV p 148, 149 (2) Al BEIDAWI, JALALO'DDIN (3) Al BEIDAWI V D'HERBEL Bibl Orient p 650

literally,

he reduced it to duſt. And MOSES fell down in a ſwoon. And when he came to himſelf, he ſaid, Praiſe be unto thee! I turn unto thee with repentance, and I am the firſt of true believers [c]. GOD ſaid unto him, O MOSES! I have choſen thee above all men, by honouring thee with my commiſſions, and by my ſpeaking unto thee receive, therefore, that which I have brought thee, and be one of thoſe who give thanks [f] And we wrote for him on the tables [g] an admonition concerning every matter, and a deciſion in every caſe [h], and ſaid, Receive this with reverence, and command thy people that they live according to the moſt excellent precepts thereof. I will ſhew you the dwelling of the wicked! I will turn aſide from my ſigns thoſe who behave themſelves proudly in the earth, without juſtice and although they ſee every ſign, yet they ſhall not believe therein, and although they ſee the way of righteouſneſs, yet they ſhall not take that way, but if they ſee the way of error, they ſhall take that way. This ſhall come to

terally, unto the mount For ſome of the expoſitors pretend that GOD endued the mountain with life and the ſenſe of ſeeing

[c] I am the firſt of true believers] This is not to be taken ſtrictly See the like expreſſion in chap vi p 158

[f] The Mohammedans have a tradition, that MOSES aſked to ſee GOD on the day of Arafât, and that he received the law on the day they ſlay the victims at the pilgrimage of Mecca, which days are the ninth and tenth of Dhu'lhajja

[g] The tables] Theſe tables, according to ſome, were ſeven in number, and, according to others, ten Nor are the commentators agreed, whether they were cut out of a kind of lote-tree, in paradiſe, called al Sedra, or whether they were chryſolites, emeralds, rubies, or common ſtone (1) But they ſay, that they were each ten or twelve cubits long for they ſuppoſe, that not only the ten commandments, but the whole law, was written thereon and ſome add, that the letters were cut quite through the tables, ſo that they might be read on both ſides (2), which is a fable of the Jews

[h] An admonition concerning every matter, and a deciſion in every caſe] That is, a perfect law, comprehending all neceſſary inſtructions, as well in regard to religious and moral duties, as the adminiſtration of juſtice

[i] I will ſhew you the dwelling of the wicked] Viz the deſolate habitations of the Egyptians, or thoſe of the impious tribes of Ad and Thamud, or, perhaps, hell, the dwelling of the ungodly in the other world

(1) Al BEIDAWI (2) V D HERBEL ubi ſupra

paſs, becauſe they accuſe our ſigns of impoſture, and neglect the ſame. But as for them who deny the truth of our ſigns, and the meeting of the life to come, their works ſhall be vain ſhall they be rewarded otherwiſe than according to what they ſhall have wrought? And the people of MOSES, after his departure, took a corporeal calf[k], made of their ornaments[l], which lowed[m]. Did they not ſee that it ſpake not unto them, neither directed them in the way? yet they took it for their god, and acted wickedly. But when they repented with ſorrow[n], and ſaw that they had gone aſtray, they ſaid, Verily if our LORD have not mercy upon us, and forgive us not, we ſhall certainly become of the number of thoſe who periſh. And when MOSES returned unto his people, full of wrath and indignation, he ſaid, An evil thing is it that ye have committed after my departure; have ye haſtened the command of your LORD[o]? And he threw down the tables[p], and took his brother by the hair of the head, and dragged him unto him. And AARON ſaid unto him, Son of my mother, verily the people prevailed againſt me[q], and it wanted little but they had ſlain me make not my enemies, therefore, to rejoice over me, neither place me with the wicked people. MOSES ſaid, O LORD! for-

[k] A corporeal calf] That is, as ſome underſtand it, conſiſting of fleſh and blood, or, as others, being a mere body, or maſs of metal, without a ſoul (1)

[l] Of their ornaments] Such as their rings and bracelets of gold and ſilver (2)

[m] Which lowed] See chap xx and the notes to chap ii p 10

[n] Father Marracci ſeems not to have underſtood the meaning of this phraſe, having literally tranſlated the Arabic words, Wa lamma ſokita fi eidihim, without any manner of ſenſe, Et cum cadere factus fuiſſet in manibus eorum

[o] Have ye haſtened the command of your LORD?] By neglecting his precepts, and bringing down his ſwift vengeance on you

[p] And he threw down the tables] Which were all broken, and taken up to heaven, except one only, and this, they ſay, contained the threats and judicial ordinances, and was afterwards put into the ark (3)

[q] Prevailed againſt me] Literally, rendered me weak

(1) Al BEIDAWI See chap xx and the notes to chap ii p 10.
(2) V ibid (3) Al BEIDAWI. V D'HERBEL. ubi ſup p 649

give

give me and my brother, and receive us into thy mercy, for thou art the moſt merciful of thoſe who exerciſe mercy. Verily as for them who took the calf for their god, indignation ſhall overtake them from their LORD[r], and ignominy in this life thus will we reward thoſe who imagine falſehood But unto them who do evil, and afterwards repent, and believe in GOD, verily thy LORD will thereafter be clement and merciful And when the anger of MOSES was appeaſed, he took the tables[s], and in what was written thereon was a direction and mercy, unto thoſe who feared their LORD. And MOSES choſe out of his people ſeventy men, to go up with him to the mountain at the time appointed by us: and when a ſtorm of thunder and lightning had taken them away[t], he ſaid, O LORD! if thou hadſt pleaſed, thou hadſt deſtroyed them before, and me alſo, wilt thou deſtroy us for that which the fooliſh men among us have committed? This is only thy trial, thou wilt thereby lead into error whom thou pleaſeſt, and thou wilt direct whom thou pleaſeſt. Thou art our protector, therefore forgive us, and be merciful unto us, for thou art the beſt of thoſe who forgive. And write down for us good in this world, and in the life to come, for unto thee are we directed GOD anſwered, I will inflict my puniſhment on whom I pleaſe, and my mercy extendeth over all things and I will write down good unto thoſe who ſhall fear me, and give alms, and who ſhall believe in our ſigns, who ſhall follow the apoſtle, the illiterate prophet[u], whom they ſhall find written down[w] with them in the law and in the goſpel. he will command them that which is juſt, and will forbid them that which is evil, and will allow unto them as lawful the

[r] See chap ii p 10

[s] The tables] Or, the fragments of that which was left

[t] See chap ii p 11 and chap iv p 123

[u] The illiterate prophet] That is, Mohammed See the Prelim Diſ ſect II p 55

[w] Written down] i e Both foretold by name and certain deſcription

good things which were before forbidden [x], and will prohibit thoſe which are bad [y], and he will eaſe them of their heavy burden, and of the yokes which were upon them [z]. And thoſe who believe on him, and honour him, and aſſiſt him, and follow the light, which hath been ſent down with him, ſhall be happy. Say, O men! verily I am the meſſenger of GOD unto you all [a], unto him belongeth the kingdom of heaven and earth, there is no GOD but he, he giveth life, and he cauſeth to die. Believe, therefore, in GOD and his apoſtle, the illiterate prophet, who believeth in GOD and his word; and follow him, that ye may be rightly directed. Of the people of MOSES there is a party [b] who direct others with truth, and act juſtly according to the ſame. And we divided them into twelve tribes, as into ſo many nations. And we ſpake by revelation unto MOSES, when his people aſked drink of him, and we ſaid, Strike the rock with thy rod, and there guſhed thereout twelve fountains [c], and men knew their reſpective drinking-place. And we cauſed clouds to overſhadow them, and manna and quails [d] to deſcend upon them, ſay-

[x] See chap. iii. p. 64.

[y] And will prohibit thoſe which are bad.] As the eating of blood and ſwine's fleſh, and the taking of uſury, &c.

[z] See chap. ii. p. 54.

[a] Unto you all.] That is, to all mankind in general, and not to one particular nation, as the former prophets were ſent.

[b] Of the people of Moſes there is a party who direct others with truth, &c.] Viz. thoſe Jews who ſeemed better diſpoſed than the reſt of their brethren to receive Mohammed's law, or, perhaps, ſuch of them as had actually received it. Some imagine they were a Jewiſh nation dwelling ſome where beyond China, which Mohammed ſaw the night he made his journey to heaven, and who believed on him (1).

[c] And there guſhed thereout twelve fountains, &c.] See chap. ii. p. 11, 12.

To what is ſaid in the notes there we may add, that, according to a certain tradition, the ſtone, on which this miracle was wrought, was thrown down from paradiſe by Adam, and came into the poſſeſſion of Shoaib, who gave it with the rod to Moſes, and that, according to another, the water iſſued thence by three orifices on each of the four ſides of the ſtone, making twelve in all, and that it ran, in ſo many rivulets, to the quarter of each tribe in the camp (2).

[d] See chap. ii. p. 11.

(1) Al BEIDAWI. (2) Idem.

ing, Eat of the good things which we have given you for food. and they injured not us, but they injured their own ſouls. And call to mind when it was ſaid unto them, Dwell in this city [e], and eat of the proviſions thereof wherever ye will, and ſay, Forgiveneſs [f] and enter the gate worſhipping we will pardon you your ſins, and will give increaſe unto the well-doers. But they who were ungodly among them changed the expreſſion into another [f], which had not been ſpoken unto them. Wherefore we ſent down upon them indignation from heaven, becauſe they had tranſgreſſed And aſk them concerning the city [g], which was ſituate on the ſea, when they tranſgreſſed on the ſabbath-day, when their fiſh came unto them on their ſabbath-day, appearing openly on the water, but on the day whereon they celebrated no ſabbath, they came not unto them Thus did we prove them, becauſe they were wicked doers. And when a party of them [h] ſaid unto the others, Why do ye warn a people whom GOD will deſtroy, or will puniſh with a grievous puniſhment? They anſwered, This is an excuſe for us unto your LORD [i], and peradventure they will beware. But when they had forgotten the admonitions which had been given

[e] See this paſſage explained, chap ii p 11

[f] Changed the expreſſion into another, &c] Profeſſor Sike ſays, that, being prone to leave ſpiritual for worldly matters, inſtead of Hittaton, they ſaid Himtaton, which ſignifies Wheat (1), and comes much nearer the true word than the expreſſion I have in the place laſt quoted, ſet down from Jallalo'ddin Whether he took this from the ſame commentator or not, does not certainly appear, though he mentions him juſt before, but if he did, his copy muſt differ from that which I have followed

[g] And aſk them concerning the city, &c] This city was Ailah, or Elath, on the Red Sea, though ſome pretend it was Midian, and others Tiberias The whole ſtory is already given in the notes to chap ii p 19 Some ſuppoſe the following five or eight verſes to have been revealed at Medina

[h] A party of them] Viz the religious perſons among them, who ſtrictly obſerved the ſabbath, and endeavoured to reclaim the others till they deſpaired of ſucceſs But ſome think theſe words were ſpoken by the offenders, in anſwer to the admonitions of the others

[i] An excuſe for us &c] That we have done our duty in diſſuading them from their wickedneſs

(1) SIKE, in not ad Evang Infant p 71

them, we delivered thoſe who forbade them to do evil. and we inflicted on thoſe who had tranſgreſſed, a ſevere puniſhment, becauſe they had acted wickedly. And when they proudly refuſed to deſiſt from what had been forbidden them, we ſaid unto them, Be ye transformed into apes, driven away from the ſociety of men And remember when thy LORD declared that he would ſurely ſend againſt the Jews, until the day of reſurrection, ſome nation who ſhould afflict them with a grievous oppreſſion[k] for thy LORD is ſwift in puniſhing, and he is alſo ready to forgive and merciful and we diſperſed them among the nations in the earth. Some of them are upright perſons, and ſome of them are otherwiſe And we proved them with proſperity, and with adverſity, that they might return from their diſobedience, and a ſucceſſion of their poſterity hath ſucceeded after them, who have inherited the book of the law, who receive the temporal goods of this world[l], and ſay, It will ſurely be forgiven us, and if a temporal advantage, like the former, be offered them, they accept it alſo Is not the covenant of the book of the law eſtabliſhed with them, that they ſhould not ſpeak of GOD aught but the truth[m]? Yet they diligently read that which is therein. But the enjoyment of the next life will be better for thoſe who fear GOD than the wicked gains of theſe people, (Do ye not, therefore, underſtand?) and for thoſe who hold faſt the book of the law, and are conſtant at prayer for we will, by no means, ſuffer the reward of the righteous to periſh. And when we ſhook the mountain of SINAI over them[n], as though it had been a covering, and they imagined that it was falling upon them, and we ſaid, Re-

[k] See chap v p 144 note[f]

[l] And received the temporal goods of this world] By accepting of bribes for wreſting judgment, and for corrupting the copies of the Pentateuch, and by extorting of uſury, &c (1)

[m] That they ſhould not ſpeak of GOD aught but the truth] Particularly by giving out, that GOD will forgive their corruption without ſincere repentance and amendment

[n] See chap ii p 13, note [x]

(1) Al BEIDAWI

ceive

ceive the law which we have brought you with reverence, and remember that which is contained therein, that ye may take heed And when thy LORD drew forth their poſterity from the loins of the ſons of ADAM[o], and took them to witneſs againſt themſelves, ſaying, Am not I your LORD? They anſwered, Yea we do bear witneſs. This was done leſt ye ſhould ſay, at the day of reſurrection, Verily we were negligent as to this matter, becauſe we were not apprized thereof or leſt ye ſhould ſay, Verily our fathers were formerly guilty of idolatry, and we are their poſterity who have ſucceeded them, wilt thou, therefore, deſtroy us for that which vain men have committed? Thus do we explain our ſigns, that they may return from their vanities. And relate unto the Jews the hiſtory of him unto whom we brought our ſigns[p], and

[o] And when thy LORD drew forth their poſterity from the loins of the ſons of Adam, &c] This was done in the plain of Dahia, in India, or, as others imagine, in a valley near Mecca The commentators tell us, that GOD ſtroked Adam's back, and extracted from his loins his whole poſterity, which ſhould come into the world until the reſurrection, one generation after another, that theſe men were actually aſſembled all together in the ſhape of ſmall ants, which were endued with underſtanding, and that after they had, in the preſence of the angels, confeſſed their dependance on GOD, they were again cauſed to return into the loins of their great anceſtor (1) From this fiction it appears, that the doctrine of pre-exiſtence is not unknown to the Mohammedans, and there is ſome little conformity between it and the modern theory of generation Ex animalculis in ſemine marium

[p] And relate unto the Jews the hiſtory of him unto whom we brought our ſigns, &c] Some ſuppoſe the perſon here intended to be a Jewiſh rabbi, or one Ommeya Ebn Abi'lſalt, who read the ſcriptures, and found thereby that GOD would ſend a prophet about that time, and was in hopes that he might be the man, but when Mohammed declared his miſſion, believed not on him through envy But, according to the more general opinion, it was Balaam, the ſon of Beor, of the Canaanitiſh race, well acquainted with part, at leaſt, of the ſcripture, having even been favoured with ſome revelations from GOD, who being requeſted by his nation to curſe Moſes and the children of Iſrael, refuſed it at firſt, ſaying, How can I curſe thoſe who are protected by the angels? But afterwards he was prevailed on by gifts, and he had no ſooner done it, than he began to put out his tongue like a dog, and it hung down upon his breaſt (2)

(1) Al BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, YAHYA V D'HERBELOT, Bibl Orient p 54 (2) Al BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, Al ZAMAKHSHARI V D'HERBEL Bibl Orient Art Balaam

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he departed from them, wherefore SATAN followed him, and he became one of thoſe who were ſeduced. And if we had pleaſed, we had ſurely raiſed him thereby unto wiſdom, but he inclined unto the earth, and followed his own deſire [q]. Wherefore his likeneſs is as the likeneſs of a dog, which, if thou drive him away, putteth forth his tongue or if thou let him alone, putteth forth his tongue alſo This is the likeneſs of the people who accuſe our ſigns of falſehood Rehearſe, therefore, this hiſtory unto them, that they may conſider Evil is the ſimilitude of thoſe people who accuſe our ſigns of falſehood, and injure their own ſouls Whomſoever GOD ſhall direct, he will be rightly directed, and whomſoever he ſhall lead aſtray, they ſhall periſh Moreover we have created for hell many of the genii and of men, they have hearts by which they underſtand not, and they have eyes by which they ſee not, and they have ears by which they hear not Theſe are like the brute beaſts, yea they go more aſtray, theſe are the negligent. GOD hath moſt excellent names [r] therefore, call on him by the ſame, and withdraw from thoſe who uſe his names perverſely [s] they ſhall be rewarded for that which they ſhall have wrought And of thoſe, whom we have created, there are a people who direct

[q] But he inclined unto the earth, and followed his own deſire] Loving the wages of unrighteouſneſs, and running greedily after error for reward (1)

[r] GOD hath moſt excellent names] Expreſſing his glorious attributes Of theſe the Mohammedan Arabs have no leſs than ninety-nine, which are reckoned up by Marracci (2)

[s] Who uſe his name perverſely] As did Walid Ebn al Mogheira, who hearing Mohammed give GOD the title of al Rahman, or the Merciful, laughed aloud, ſaying, that he knew none of that name, except a certain man who dwelt in Yamama (3) or, as the idolatrous Meccans did, who deduced the names of their idols from thoſe of the true GOD deriving, for example, Allat from Allah, al Uzza from al Aziz, the Mighty, and Manat from al Mannan, the Bountiful (4)

(1) 2 Pet ii v Jude 11 (2) In Alc p 414 (3) MARACC vit Mah p 19 (4) Al BEIDAWI, JALLALO DDIN See the Preliminary Diſcourſe, p 24

others

others with truth, and act juſtly according thereto[t]. But thoſe who deviſe lies againſt our ſigns, we will ſuffer them to fall gradually into ruin, by a method which they know not[u] and I will grant them to enjoy a long and proſperous life, for my ſtratagem is effectual. Do they not conſider that there is no devil in their companion[w]? He is no other than a public preacher. Or do they not contemplate the kingdom of heaven and earth, and the things which GOD hath created, and conſider that peradventure it may be that their end draweth nigh? And in what new declaration will they believe after this[x]? He whom GOD ſhall cauſe to err, ſhall have no director, and he ſhall leave them in their impiety, wandering in confuſion. They will aſk thee concerning the laſt hour, at what time its coming is fixed? Anſwer, Verily the knowledge thereof is with my LORD; none ſhall declare the fixed time thereof, except he. The expectation thereof is grievous in heaven and on earth[y] it ſhall come upon you no otherwiſe than ſuddenly They will aſk thee, as though thou waſt well acquainted therewith Anſwer, Verily the knowledge thereof is with GOD alone but the greater part of men know it not Say, I am able neither to procure advantage unto myſelf, nor to avert miſchief from me, but as GOD pleaſeth. If I knew

[t] Of thoſe whom we have created, there are a people who direct others with truth, &c] As it is ſaid a little above, that GOD hath created many to eternal miſery, ſo here he is ſaid to have created others to eternal happineſs (1)

[u] We will ſuffer them to fall gradually into ruin, &c] By flattering them with proſperity in this life, and permitting them to ſin in an uninterrupted ſecurity, till they find themſelves unexpectedly ruined (2)

[w] Do they not conſider that there is no devil in their companion?] Viz in Mohammed whom they gave out to be poſſeſſed when he went up to mount Safa, and from thence called to the ſeveral families of each reſpective tribe, in order to warn them of GOD's vengeance, if they continued in their idolatry (3)

[x] After this] i e After they have rejected the Koran For what more evident revelation can they hereafter expect (4)?

[y] The expectation thereof is grievous, in heaven and on earth] Not only to men and genii, but to the angels alſo

(1) Al BEIDAWI (2) Idem (3) Idem (4) Idem

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the ſecrets of GOD, I ſhould ſurely enjoy abundance of good, neither ſhould evil befal me Verily, I am no other than a denouncer of threats, and a meſſenger of good tidings unto people who believe. It is he who hath created you from one perſon, and out of him produced his wife, that he might dwell with her, and when he had known her, ſhe carried a light burden for a time, wherefore ſhe walked eaſily therewith. But when it became more heavy[z], they called upon GOD, their LORD, ſaying, If thou give us a child rightly ſhaped, we will ſurely be thankful. Yet when he had given them a child rightly ſhaped, they attributed companions unto him, for that which he had given them[a]. But far be that from GOD, which they aſſociated with him! Will they aſſociate with him

[z] But when it became more heavy, &c] That is, when the child grew bigger in her womb

[a] They attributed companions unto him, &c] For the explaining of this whole paſſage, the commentators tell the following ſtory

They ſay, that when Eve was big with her firſt child, the devil came to her, and aſked her whether ſhe knew what ſhe carried within her, and which way ſhe ſhould be delivered of it, ſuggeſting that poſſibly it might be a beaſt She, being unable to give an anſwer to this queſtion, went in a fright to Adam, and acquainted him with the matter, who, not knowing what to think of it, grew ſad and penſive Whereupon the devil appeared to her again, (or, as others ſay, to Adam), and pretended that he by his prayers would obtain of GOD that ſhe might be ſafely delivered of a ſon in Adam's likeneſs, provided they would promiſe to name him Abdo'lhareth, or The ſervant of al Hareth, (which was the devil's name among the angels,) inſtead of Abd'allah, or, The ſervant of GOD, as Adam had deſigned This propoſal was agreed to, and accordingly, when the child was born, they gave it that name, upon which it immediately died (1) And with this Adam and Eve are hereby taxed as an act of idolatry The ſtory looks like a rabbinical fiction, and ſeems to have no other foundation than Cain's being called, by Moſes, Obed Adamah, that is, A tiller of the ground, which might be tranſlated into Arabic by Abd'alhareth

But al Beidawi, thinking it unlikely that a prophet (as Adam is by the Mohammedans ſuppoſed to have been) ſhould be guilty of ſuch an action, imagines the Korân in this place means Koſai, one of Mohammed's anceſtors, and his wife, who begged iſſue of GOD, and having four ſons granted them, called their names Abd Menaf, Abd Shams, Abd'al Uzza, and Abd'al Dar, after the names of four principal idols of the Koreiſh And the following words alſo he ſuppoſes to relate to their idolatrous poſterity

(1) Al BEIDAWI YAHA V D'HERBELOT, Bibl Orient p 438 & SELDEN, de jure nat ſec Hebr lib v c 8

falſe

falſe gods, which create nothing, but are themſelves created, and can neither give them aſſiſtance, nor help themſelves? And if ye invite them to the true direction, they will not follow you, it will be equal unto you, whether ye invite them, or whether ye hold your peace. Verily, the falſe deities, whom ye invoke beſides GOD, are ſervants, like unto you [b]. Call therefore upon them, and let them give you an anſwer, if ye ſpeak truth Have they feet, to walk with? Or have they hands, to lay hold with? Or have they eyes, to ſee with? Or have they ears, to hear with? Say, Call upon your companions, and then lay a ſnare for me, and defer it not, for GOD is my protector, who ſent down the book of the KORAN, and he protecteth the righteous But they whom ye invoke beſides him, cannot aſſiſt you, neither do they help themſelves, and if ye call on them to direct you, they will not hear Thou ſeeſt them look towards thee, but they ſee not Uſe indulgence [c], and command that which is juſt, and withdraw far from the ignorant And if an evil ſuggeſtion from SATAN be ſuggeſted unto thee, to divert thee from thy duty, have recourſe unto GOD; for he heareth and knoweth Verily, they who fear GOD, when a temptation from SATAN aſſaileth them, remember the divine commands, and behold, they clearly ſee the danger of ſin, and the wiles of the devil. But as for the brethren of the devils, they ſhall continue them in error, and afterwards they ſhall not preſerve themſelves therefrom And when thou bringeſt not a verſe of the KORAN unto them, they

[b] Are ſervants like unto you] Being ſubject to the abſolute command of GOD For the chief idols of the Arabs were the ſun, moon and ſtars (1)

[c] Uſe indulgence] Or, as the words may alſo be tranſlated, Take the ſuperabundant overplus meaning that Mohammed ſhould accept ſuch voluntary alms from the people as they could ſpare But the paſſage, if taken in this ſenſe, was abrogated by the precept of legal alms, which was given at Medina

(1) See the Prelim Diſ p 20

ſay,

ſay, Haſt thou not put it together[d]? Anſwer, I follow that only which is revealed unto me from my LORD. This book containeth evident proofs from your LORD, and is a direction and mercy unto people who believe. And when the KORAN is read, attend thereto, and keep ſilence, that ye may obtain mercy And meditate on thy LORD in thine own mind, with humility and fear, and without loud ſpeaking, evening and morning, and be not one of the negligent Moreover the angels who are with my LORD, do not proudly diſdain his ſervice, but they celebrate his praiſe, and worſhip him.

[d] Haſt thou not put it together?] i e Haſt thou not yet contrived what to ſay, or canſt thou obtain no revelation from GOD?

CHAP. VIII.

Intitled, The Spoils[a]; revealed at MEDINA[b].

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

THEY will aſk thee concerning the ſpoils. Anſwer, The diviſion of the ſpoils belongeth unto GOD and the apoſtle[c]. Therefore fear GOD, and compoſe

[a] This chapter was occaſioned by the high diſputes which happened about the diviſion of the ſpoils taken at the battle of Bedr (1), between the young men who had fought, and the old men who had ſtaid under the enſigns the former inſiſting they ought to have the whole, and the latter that they deſerved a ſhare (2) To end the contention, Mohammed pretended to have received orders from heaven to divide the booty among them equally, having firſt taken thereout a fifth part for the purpoſes which will be mentioned hereafter

[b] Except ſeven verſes, beginning at theſe words, And call to mind when the unbelievers plotted againſt thee, &c Which ſome think were revealed at Mecca

[c] The diviſion of the ſpoils belongeth unto GOD and the apoſtle] It is related, that Saad Ebn Abi Wakkas, one of the companions, whoſe brother Omair was ſlain in this battle, having killed Said Ebn al As, took his ſword, and carrying it to Mohammed, deſired that he might be permitted to keep it, but the prophet told him, that it was not his to give away, and ordered him to lay it with the

(1) See chap iii p. 56. (2) Al BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN

other

compoſe the matter amicably among you, and obey GOD and his apoſtle, if ye are true believers. Verily the true believers are thoſe whoſe hearts fear when GOD is mentioned, and whoſe faith increaſeth when his ſigns are rehearſed unto them, and who truſt in their LORD, who obſerve the ſtated times of prayer, and give alms out of that which we have beſtowed on them. Theſe are really believers: they ſhall have ſuperior degrees of felicity with their LORD, and forgiveneſs, and an honourable proviſion. As thy LORD brought thee forth from thy houſe[d], with truth, and part of the believers were averſe to thy directions[e]: they diſputed with thee concerning the truth,

other ſpoils. At this repulſe, and the loſs of his brother, Saad was greatly diſturbed, but in a very little while this chapter was revealed, and thereupon Mohammed gave him the ſword, ſaying, You aſked this ſword of me when I had no power to diſpoſe of it, but now I have received authority from GOD to diſtribute the ſpoils, you may take it (1).

[d] As thy LORD brought thee forth from thy houſe] i. e. From Medina. The particle *as*, having nothing in the following words to anſwer it, Al Beidawi ſuppoſes the connexion to be, that the diviſion of the ſpoils belonged to the prophet, notwithſtanding his followers were averſe to it, as they had been averſe to the expedition itſelf.

[e] And part of the believers were averſe to thy directions] For the better underſtanding of this paſſage, it will be neceſſary to mention ſome farther particulars relating to the expedition of Bedr.

Mohammed having received private information (for which he pretended he was obliged to the angel Gabriel) of the approach of a caravan belonging to the Koreiſh, which was on its return from Syria, with a large quantity of valuable merchandiſe, and was guarded by no more than thirty, or, as others ſay, forty men, ſet out with a party to intercept it. Abu Sofian, who commanded the little convoy, having notice of Mohammed's motions, ſent to Mecca for ſuccours, upon which Abu Jahl, and all the principal men of the city, except only Abu Laheb, marched to his aſſiſtance, with a body of nine hundred and fifty men. Mohammed had no ſooner received advice of this, than Gabriel deſcended with a promiſe that he ſhould either take the caravan, or beat the ſuccours, whereupon he conſulted with his companions which of the two he ſhould attack. Some of them were for ſetting upon the caravan, ſaying, that they were not prepared to fight ſuch a body of troops as were coming with Abu Jahl: but this propoſal Mohammed rejected, telling them, that the caravan was at a conſiderable diſtance by the ſeaſide, whereas Abu Jahl was juſt upon them. The others, however, inſiſted ſo obſtinately on purſuing the firſt deſign of falling on the caravan, that the prophet grew angry, but, by the interpoſition of Abu Bcer, Omar,

(1) Al BEIDAWI

Saad

truth, after it had been made known unto them[f]; no otherwiſe than as if they had been led forth to death, and had ſeen it with their eyes[g]. And call to mind when GOD promiſed you one of the two parties, that it ſhould be delivered unto you[h], and ye deſired that the party which was not furniſhed with arms[i] ſhould be delivered unto you but GOD purpoſed to make known the truth in his words, and to cut off the uttermoſt part of the unbelievers[k], that he might verify the truth, and deſtroy falſehood, although

Saad Ebn Obadah, and Mokdad Ebn Amru, they, at length, acquieſced to his opinion Mokdad, in particular, aſſured him they were all ready to obey his orders, and would not ſay to him, as the children of Iſrael did to Moſes, Go thou and thy LORD to fight, for we will ſit here (1), but, Go thou and thy LORD to fight, and we will fight with you At this Mohammed ſmiled, and again ſat down to conſult with them, applying himſelf chiefly to the Anſars, or helpers, becauſe they were the greater part of his forces, and he had ſome apprehenſion leſt they ſhould not think themſelves obliged by the oath they had taken to him at al Akaba (2), to aſſiſt him againſt any other than ſuch as ſhould attack him in Medina But Saad Ebn Moadh, in the name of the reſt, told him that they had received him as the apoſtle of GOD, and had promiſed him obedience, and were, therefore, all to a man, ready to follow him where he pleaſed, though it were into the ſea Upon which the prophet ordered them, in GOD's name, to attack the ſuccours, aſſuring them of the victory (3)

[f] They diſputed with thee concerning the truth, &c] That is, concerning their ſucceſs againſt Abu Jahl and the Koreiſh, notwithſtanding they had GOD's promiſe to encourage them

[g] As if they had been led forth to death, &c] The reaſon of this great backwardneſs was the ſmallneſs of their number, in compariſon of the enemy, and their being unprepared, for they were all foot, having but two horſes among them, whereas the Koreiſh had no leſs than a hundred horſe (4)

[h] When GOD promiſed you one of the two parties] That is, either the caravan, or the ſuccours from Mecca Father Marracci, miſtaking al ir and al Nafir, which are appellatives, and ſignify the caravan and the troop, or body of ſuccours, for proper names, has thence coined two families of the Koreiſh never heard of before, which he calls Arienſes and Naphirenſes (5)

[i] The party which was not furniſhed with arms] Viz The caravan, which was guarded by no more than forty horſe, whereas the other party was ſtrong and well appointed

[k] But GOD would make known the truth, &c] As if he had ſaid, Your view was only to gain the ſpoils of the caravan, and to avoid danger, but GOD deſigned to exalt his true religion by extirpating its adverſaries (6)

(1) Korân, chap v p 134 (2) See the Prelim Diſ p 63
(3) Al BEIDAWI (4) Idem V ABULFED vit Moham p 56
(5) MARRACC in Alc p 297 (6) Al BEIDAWI

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the wicked were averſe thereto. When ye aſked aſſiſtance of your LORD [l], and he anſwered you, Verily I will aſſiſt you with a thouſand [m] angels, following one another in order. And this GOD deſigned only as good tidings [n] for you, and that your hearts might thereby reſt ſecure for victory is from GOD alone, and GOD is mighty and wiſe. When a ſleep fell on you as a ſecurity from him, and he ſent down upon you water from heaven, that he might thereby purify you, and take from you the abomination of SATAN [o], and that he might confirm your hearts, and eſtabliſh your feet thereby. Alſo when thy LORD ſpake unto the angels, ſaying, Verily, I am with you; wherefore confirm thoſe who believe. I will caſt a dread into the hearts of the unbelievers. Therefore ſtrike off their heads, and ſtrike off all the ends of their fingers [p]. This ſhall they ſuffer, becauſe they have reſiſted GOD and his apoſtle and whoſoever ſhall oppoſe GOD and his apoſtle, verily GOD will be ſevere in puniſhing him. This ſhall be your puniſhment, taſte it therefore and the infidels ſhall alſo ſuffer the tor-

[l] When ye aſked aſſiſtance of your LORD, &c] When Mohammed's men ſaw they could not avoid fighting, they recommended themſelves to GOD's protection, and their prophet prayed with great earneſtneſs, crying out, O GOD! fulfil that which thou haſt promiſed me O GOD! if this party be cut off, thou wilt be no more worſhipped on earth And he continued to repeat theſe words till his cloak fell from off his back (1)

[m] A thouſand angels Which were afterwards reinforced with three thouſand more (2) Wherefore ſome copies, inſtead of a thouſand, read thouſands, in the plural

[n] See chap iii p 78

[o] When a ſleep fell on you, &c] It is related, that the ſpot where Mohammed's little army lay, was a dry and deep ſand, into which their feet ſunk as they walked, the enemy having the comand of the water, and that having fallen aſleep, the greater part of them were diſturbed with dreams, wherein the devil ſuggeſted to them, that they could never expect GOD's aſſiſtance in the battle, ſince they were cut off from the water, and, beſides ſuffering the inconvenience of thirſt, muſt be obliged to pray without waſhing, though they imagined themſelves to be the favourites of GOD, and that they had his apoſtle among them But in the night rain fell ſo plentifully, that it formed a little brook, and not only ſupplied them with water for all their uſes, but made the ſand between them and the infidel army firm enough to bear them, whereupon the diabolical ſuggeſtions ceaſed (3)

[p] Therefore ſtrike off their heads, &c] This is the puniſhment expreſſly aſſigned the enemies of the Mohammedan religion though the Moſlems did not inflict it on the priſoners they took at Bedr, for which they are reprehended in this chapter

(1) Al BEIDAWI, V ABULFED vit Moh p 58 (2) See chap iii p 56 and 78 (3) Al BEIDAWI

ment of hell-fire. O true believers! when ye meet the unbelievers marching in great numbers againſt you, turn not your backs unto them for who ſo ſhall turn his back unto them on that day, unleſs he turneth aſide to fight, or retreateth to another party of the faithful[q], ſhall draw on himſelf the indignation of GOD, and his abode ſhall be hell; an ill journey ſhall it be thither! And ye ſlew not thoſe who were ſlain at BEDR yourſelves, but GOD ſlew them[r]. Neither didſt thou, O Mohammed! caſt the gravel into their eyes, when thou didſt ſeem to caſt it, but GOD caſt it[s], that he might prove the true believers by a gracious trial from himſelf; for GOD heareth and knoweth. This was done that GOD might alſo weaken the crafty devices of the unbelievers. If ye deſire a deciſion of the matter between us, now hath a deciſion come unto you[t] and if ye deſiſt from oppoſing the apoſtle, it will be better for you But if ye return to attack him, we will alſo return to his aſſiſtance, and your forces ſhall not be of advantage unto you at all, although they be numerous, for GOD is with the faithful. O true believers! obey GOD and his apoſtle, and turn not back from him, ſince ye hear the admonitions of the KORAN. And be not as thoſe who ſay, We hear, when they do not hear Verily the worſt ſort of beaſts in the ſight of GOD, are the deaf and the dumb, who underſtand not. If GOD had known any good in them, he would certainly have cauſed them to hear[u]. And if he had cauſed them to

[q] Unleſs he turneth aſide to fight, or retreateth to another party, &c] That is, if it be not downright running away, but done either with deſign to rally, and attack the enemy again, or by way of feint or ſtratagem, or to ſuccour a party which is hard preſſed, &c (1)

[r] See chap iii p 56, note [d]

[s] See ibid

[t] If ye deſire a deciſion, &c] Theſe words are directed to the people of Mecca, whom Mohammed derides, becauſe the Koreiſh, when they were ready to ſet out from Mecca, took hold of the curtains of the Caaba, ſaying, O GOD! grant the victory to the ſuperior army, the party that is moſt rightly directed, and the moſt honourable (2)

[u] To hear] That is, to hearken to the remonſtrances of the Koran Some ſay, that the infidels demanded of Mohammed that he ſhould raiſe Koſai, one of his anceſtors, to life, to bear witneſs to the truth of his miſſion, ſaying, he was a man of honour and veracity, and they would believe his teſtimony but they are here told that it would have been in vain (3).

(1) AL BEIDAWI. (2) Idem. (3) AL BEIDAWI See chap vi p 175

hear,

hear, they would ſurely have turned back, and have retired afar off. O true believers! anſwer GOD and his apoſtle, when he inviteth you unto that which giveth you life; and know that GOD goeth between a man and his heart[w], and that before him ye ſhall be aſſembled. Beware of ſedition[x]; it will not affect thoſe who are ungodly among you particularly, but all of you in general, and know that GOD is ſevere in puniſhing. And remember when ye were few, and reputed weak in the land[y]. ye feared leſt men ſhould ſnatch you away but God provided you a place of refuge, and he ſtrengthened you with his aſſiſtance, and beſtowed on you good things, that ye might give thanks. O true believers! deceive not GOD and his apoſtle[z], neither violate your faith, againſt your own knowledge. And know that your wealth, and your children, are a temptation unto you[a], and that with GOD is a great reward. O true believers! if ye fear GOD, he will grant you a diſtinction[b], and will expiate your ſins from you, and will forgive you, for GOD is indued with great liberality. And call to mind when the unbelievers plotted againſt

[w] GOD goeth between a man and his heart] Not only knowing the innermoſt ſecrets of his heart, but over-ruling a man's deſigns, and diſpoſing him either to belief or infidelity

[x] Sedition] The original word ſignifies any epidemical crime, which involves a number of people in its guilt, and the commentators are divided as to its particular meaning in this place

[y] In the land] Viz at Mecca The perſons here ſpoken to are the Mohajerin, or refugees, who fled from thence to Medina

[z] Deceive not GOD and his apoſtle, &c] Al Beidawi mentions an inſtance of ſuch treacherous dealing in Abu Lobaba, who was ſent by Mohammed to the tribe of Koreidha, then beſieged by that prophet for having broken their league with him, and perfidiouſly gone over to the enemies at the war of the ditch (1), to perſuade them to ſurrender at the diſcretion of Saad Ebn Moadh, prince of the tribe of Aws, their confederates, which propoſal they had refuſed But Abu Lobaba's family and effects being in the hands of thoſe of Koreidha, he acted directly contrary to his commiſſion, and, inſtead of perſuading them to accept Saad as their judge, when they aſked his advice about it, drew his hand acroſs his throat, ſignifying, that he would put them all to death However, he had no ſooner done this, than he was ſenſible of his crime, and going into a moſque, tied himſelf to a pillar, and remained there ſeven days without meat or drink, till Mohammed forgave him.

[a] Your wealth and your children are a temptation unto you] As they were to Abu Lobâba.

[b] Diſtinction] i e A direction that you may diſtinguiſh between truth and falſehood, or ſucceſs in battle, to diſtinguiſh the believers from the infidels, or the like

(1) See Prid life of Mah p 85 ABULF vit Moh p 76, and the notes to chap. XXXIII

thee, that they might either detain thee in bonds, or put thee to death, or expel thee the city [c], and they plotted against thee but GOD laid a plot against them [d] and GOD is the beſt layer of plots. And when our ſigns are repeated unto them, they ſay, We have heard, if we pleaſed we could certainly pronounce a compoſition like unto this this is nothing but the fables of the ancients [e]. And when they ſaid, O GOD! if this be the truth from thee, rain down ſtones upon us from heaven, or inflict on us ſome other grievous puniſhment [f]. But GOD was not diſpoſed to puniſh them while thou waſt with them, nor was GOD diſpoſed to puniſh them when they aſked pardon [g] But they have nothing to offer in excuſe why GOD ſhould not puniſh them, ſince they hindered the believers from viſiting the holy temple [h], although they are not the guardians thereof [i]. The guardians thereof are thoſe only who fear GOD but the greater part of them know it not. And their prayer at the houſe of GOD is no

[c] And call to mind when the unbelievers plotted againſt thee, &c] When the Meccans heard of the league entered into by Mohammed with thoſe of Medina, being apprehenſive of the conſequence, they held a council, whereat they ſay, the devil aſſiſted in the likeneſs of an old man of Najd The point under conſideration being what they ſhould do with Mohammed, Abu'lbakhtari was of opinion that he ſhould be impriſoned and the room walled up, except a little hole, through which he ſhould have neceſſaries given him, till he died This the devil oppoſed, ſaying, that he might probably be releaſed by ſome of his own party Heſhâm Ebn Amru was for baniſhing him but his advice alſo the devil rejected, inſiſting that Mohammed might engage ſome other tribes in his intereſt, and make war on them At length Abu Jahl gave his opinion for putting him to death, and propoſed the manner, which was unanimouſly approved (1)

[d] But GOD laid a plot againſt them] Revealing their conſpiracy to Mohammed, and miraculouſly aſſiſting him to deceive them, and make his eſcape (2), and afterwards drawing them to the battle of Bedr

[e] See chap vi p 160

[f] This was the ſpeech of Al Nodar Ebn al Hareth (3)

[g] When they aſked pardon] Saying, GOD forgive us! Some of the commentators, however, ſuppoſe the perſons who aſked pardon were certain believers, who ſtayed among the infidels and others think the meaning to be, that GOD would not puniſh them, provided they aſked pardon

[h] Since they hindered the believers from viſiting the holy temple] Obliging them to fly from Mecca, and not permitting them ſo much as to approach the temple, in the expedition of al Hodeibiya (4)

[i] Although they were not the guardians thereof] Becauſe of their idolatry, and indecent deportment there For otherwiſe the Koreiſh had a right to the guardianſhip of the Caaba, and it is was continued in their tribe, and in the ſame family, even after the taking of Mecca (5)

(1) Al BEIDAWI See the Prelim Diſc p 65, 66 (2) See ibid. (3) Al BEIDAWI (4) See the Prelim. Diſc p 69 (5) See ch iv p 105, not [d]

other

other than whiſtling and clapping of the hands[k]. Taſte, therefore, the puniſhment, for that ye have been unbelievers. They who believe not, expend their wealth to obſtruct the way of GOD[l] they ſhall expend it, but afterwards it ſhall become matter of ſighing and regret unto them, and at length they ſhall be overcome, and the unbelievers ſhall be gathered together into hell, that GOD may diſtinguiſh the wicked from the good, and may throw the wicked one upon the other, and may gather them all in a heap, and caſt them into hell. Theſe are they who ſhall periſh. Say unto the unbelievers, that if they deſiſt from oppoſing thee, what is already paſt ſhall be forgiven them, but if they return to attack thee, the exemplary puniſhment of the former oppoſers of the prophets is already paſt, and the like ſhall be inflicted on them. Therefore fight againſt them until there be no oppoſition in favour of idolatry, and the religion be wholly GOD's. If they deſiſt, verily GOD ſeeth that which they do but if they turn back, know that GOD is your patron he is the beſt patron, and the beſt helper.

*And know that whenever ye gain any ſpoils, a X.
fifth part thereof belongeth unto GOD, and to the apoſtle, and his kindred, and the orphans, and the poor, and the traveller[m], if ye believe in GOD, and

[k] Their prayer at the houſe of GOD is no other than whiſtling and clapping of the hands] It is ſaid that they uſed to go round the Caaba naked (1), both men and women, whiſtling at the ſame time through their fingers, and clapping their hands Or, as others ſay, they made this noiſe on purpoſe to diſturb Mohammed when at his prayers, pretending to be at prayers alſo themſelves (2)

[l] They who believe not, expend their wealth to obſtruct the way of GOD, &c] The perſons particularly meant in this paſſage were twelve of the Koreiſh, who gave each of them ten camels every day to be killed for proviſions for their army in the expedition of Bedr, or, according to others, the owners of the effects brought by the caravan, who gave great part of them to the ſupport of the ſuccours from Mecca It is alſo ſaid, that Abu Sofian, in the expedition of Ohod, hired two thouſand Arabs, who coſt him a conſiderable ſum, beſides the auxiliaries which he had obtained gratis (3)

[m] A fifth part of the ſpoils belongeth unto GOD, and his apoſtle, &c] According to this law, a fifth part of the ſpoils is appropriated to the particular uſes here mentioned, and the other four fifths are to be equally divided among thoſe who were preſent at the action, but in what man-

(1) See chap vii p 109 (2) Al BEIDAWI. (3) Idem

and that which we have ſent down unto our ſervant on the day of diſtinction[n], on the day whereon the two armies met and GOD is almighty. When ye were encamped on the hithermoſt ſide of the valley[o], and they were encamped on the further ſide, and the caravan was below you[p], and if ye had mutually appointed to come to a battle, ye would certainly have declined the appointment[q]; but ye were brought to an engagement without any previous appointment, that GOD might accompliſh the thing which was decreed to be done[r], that he who periſheth hereafter may periſh after demonſtrative evidence; and that he who liveth may live by the ſame evidence. GOD both heareth and knoweth. When thy LORD cauſed the enemy to appear unto thee in thy ſleep, few in number[s], and if he had cauſed them to appear numerous unto thee, ye would have been diſheartened, and would have diſputed concerning the matter[t] but GOD preſerved you from this, for he knoweth the innermoſt parts of the breaſts of men. And when he cauſed them to appear unto you, when ye met, to be few in your eyes[u], and diminiſhed your numbers in their eyes[w], that

ner, or to whom the firſt fifth is to be diſtributed, the Mohammedan doctors differ, as we have elſewhere obſerved (1) Though it be the general opinion that this verſe was revealed at Bedr, yet there are ſome who ſuppoſe it was revealed in the expedition againſt the Jewiſh tribe of Kainokâ, which happened a little above a month after (2)

[n] The day of diſtinction,] i e Of the battle of Bedr, which is ſo called becauſe it diſtinguiſhed the true believers from the infidels

[o] On the hithermoſt ſide] Which was much more inconvenient than the other, becauſe of the deep ſand and want of water

[p] And the caravan was below you] viz By the ſea-ſide, making the beſt of their way to Mecca

[q] Ye would have declined the appointment] Becauſe of the great ſuperiority of the enemy, and the diſadvantages ye lay under

[r] That GOD might fulfil the thing which was decreed, &c] By granting a miraculous victory to the faithful, and overthrowing their enemies, for the conviction of the latter, and the confirmation of the former (3)

[s] With which viſion Mohammed acquainted his companions for their encouragement

[t] And would have diſputed] Whether ye ſhould attack the enemy, or fly

[u] And when he cauſed them to appear few in your eyes] It is ſaid, that Ebn Maſud aſked the man who was next him, whether he did not ſee them to be about ſeventy, to which he replied, that he took them to be an hundred (4)

[w] And diminiſhed your numbers in their eyes] This ſeeming con-

(1) See the Prelim Diſ ſec VI. (2) Al BEIDAWI (3) Idem (4) Idem tradiction

that GOD might accompliſh the thing which was decreed to be done and unto GOD ſhall all things return. O true believers! when ye meet a party of the infidels, ſtand firm, and remember GOD frequently, that ye may proſper: and obey GOD and his apoſtle, and be not refractory, leſt ye be diſcouraged, and your ſucceſs depart from you, but perſevere with patience, for GOD is with thoſe who perſevere And be not as thoſe who went out of their houſes in an inſolent manner, and to appear with oſtentation unto men[x], and turned aſide from the way of GOD for GOD comprehendeth that which they do. And remember when SATAN prepared their works for them[y], and ſaid, No man ſhall prevail againſt you to-day; and I will ſurely be near to aſſiſt you. But when the two armies appeared in ſight of each other, he turned back on his heels, and ſaid, Verily I am clear of you I certainly ſee that which ye ſee not, I fear GOD, for GOD is ſevere in puniſhing[z] When the hypocrites, and thoſe in whoſe hearts

tradiction to a paſſage in the third chapter (1), where it is ſaid that the Moſlems appeared to the infidels to be twice their own number, the commentators reconcile the matter, by telling us, that, juſt before the battle began, the prophet's party ſeemed fewer than they really were, to draw the enemy to an engagement, but that ſo ſoon as the armies were fully engaged, they appeared ſuperior, to terrify and diſmay their adverſaries It is related, that Abu Jahl, at firſt, thought them ſo inconſiderable a handful, that he ſaid one camel would be as much as they could all eat (2)

[x] Who went out of their houſes with inſolence and oſtentation, &c] Theſe were the Meccans, who, marching to the aſſiſtance of the caravan, and being come as far as Johfa, were there met by a meſſenger from Abu Sofian, to acquaint them, that he thought himſelf out of danger, and therefore they might return home, upon which Abu Jahl, to give the greater opinion of the courage of himſelf and his comrades, and of their readineſs to aſſiſt their friends, ſwore that they would not return till they had been at Bedr, and had there drank wine, and entertained thoſe who ſhould be preſent, and diverted themſelves with ſinging women (3) The event of which bravado was very fatal, ſeveral of the principal Koreiſh, and Abu Jahl, in particular, loſing their lives in the expedition

[y] When Satan prepared their works for them] By inciting them to oppoſe the prophet

[z] Some underſtand this paſſage figuratively, of the private inſtigation of the devil, and of the defeating of his deſigns, and the hopes with which he had inſpired the idolaters But others take the whole literally, and tell us, that when the Koreiſh, on their march, bethought themſelves of the enmity between them and the

(1) Pag 56 (2) Al BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, YAHYA
(3) Al BEIDAWI

hearts there was an infirmity, ſaid, Their religion hath deceived theſe men [a] but whoſoever confideth in GOD cannot be deceived, for GOD is mighty and wiſe. And if thou didſt behold when the angels cauſe the unbelievers to die they ſtrike their faces and their backs [b], and ſay unto them, Taſte ye the pain of burning this ſhall ye ſuffer for that which your hands have ſent before you [c], and becauſe GOD is not unjuſt towards his ſervants Theſe have acted according to the want of the people of PHARAOH, and of thoſe before them, who diſbelieved in the ſigns of GOD therefore GOD took them away in their iniquity, for GOD is mighty and ſevere in puniſhing. This hath come to paſs becauſe GOD changeth not his grace, wherewith he hath favoured any people, until they change that which is in their ſouls, and for that GOD both heareth and ſeeth. According to the want of the people of PHARAOH, and of thoſe before them, who charged the ſigns of their LORD with impoſture, have they acted wherefore we deſtroyed them in their ſins, and we

tribe of Kenâna, who were maſters of the country about Bedr, that conſideration would have prevailed on them to return, had not the devil appeared in the likeneſs of Soràka Ebn Malec, a principal perſon of that tribe, and promiſed them that they ſhould not be moleſted, and that himſelf would go with them But when they came to join battle, and the devil ſaw the angels deſcending to the aſſiſtance of the Moſlems, he retired, and al Hareth Ebn Heſham, who had him then by the hand, aſked him whither he was going, and if he intended to betray them at ſuch a juncture, he anſwered, in the words of this paſſage, I am clear of you, for I ſee that which ye ſee not, meaning the celeſtial ſuccours They ſay further, that when the Koreiſh, on their return, laid the blame of their overthrow on Soràka, he ſwore he did not ſo much as know of their march till he heard they were routed and afterwards, when they embraced Mohammediſm, they were ſatisfied it was the devil (1)

[a] Their religion hath deceived theſe men] In tempting them to ſo great a piece of folly, as to attack ſo large a body of men with ſuch a handful

[b] When the angels cauſed the unbelievers to die, &c] This paſſage is generally underſtood of the angels who ſlew the infidels at Bedr, and who fought (as the commentators pretend) with iron maces, which ſhot forth flames of fire at every ſtroke (2) Some, however, imagine that the words hint, at leaſt, at the examination of the ſepulchre, which the Mohammedans believe every man muſt undergo after death, and will be very terrible to the unbelievers (3)

[c] See chap 11 p 19 not [p]

(1) Al BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN (2) Idem
(3) See the Prelim Diſc ſect IV p 100, &c

drowned

drowned the people of PHARAOH, for they were all unjuſt perſons. Verily the worſt cattle in the ſight of GOD are thoſe who are obſtinate infidels, and will not believe. As to thoſe who enter into a league with thee, and afterwards violate their league at every convenient opportunity[d], and fear not GOD, if thou take them in war, diſperſe, by making them an example, thoſe who ſhall come after them, that they may be warned, or, if thou apprehend treachery from any people, throw back their league unto them, with like treatment, for GOD loveth not the treacherous. And think not[e] that the unbelievers have eſcaped GOD's vengeance[f], for they ſhall not weaken the power of GOD. Therefore prepare againſt them what force ye are able, and troops of horſe, whereby ye may ſtrike a terror into the enemy of GOD, and your enemy, and into other infidels beſides them, whom ye know not, but GOD knoweth them And whatſoever ye ſhall expend in the defence of the religion of GOD, it ſhall be repaid unto you, and ye ſhall not be treated unjuſtly. And if they incline unto peace, do thou alſo incline thereto, and put thy confidence in GOD, for it is he who heareth and knoweth. But if they ſeek to deceive thee, verily GOD will be thy ſupport. It is he who hath ſtrengthened thee with his help, and with that of the faithful, and hath united their hearts If thou hadſt expended whatever riches are in the earth, thou couldeſt not have united their hearts[g], but GOD united them, for he is mighty and wiſe O prophet! GOD is thy ſupport, and ſuch of the true believers who

[d] Who enter into a league with thee, and afterwards violate their league, &c] As did the tribe of Koreidha (1)

[e] Think not, &c] Some copies read it in the third perſon, Let not the unbelievers think, &c

[f] That the unbelievers have eſcaped GOD's vengeance] viz Thoſe who made their eſcape from Bedr

[g] Thou couldeſt not have united their hearts] Becauſe of the inveterate enmity which reigned among many of the Arab tribes, and therefore this reconciliation is reckoned by the commentators as no inconſiderable miracle, and a ſtrong proof of their prophet's miſſion

(1) See before, p 227, and chap XXXIII

followeth

followeth thee[h]. O prophet! ſtir up the faithful to war. If twenty of you perſevere with conſtancy, they ſhall overcome two hundred, and if there be one hundred of you, they ſhall overcome a thouſand of thoſe who believe not, becauſe they are a people which do not underſtand. Now hath GOD eaſed you, for he knew that ye were weak. If there be an hundred of you who perſevere with conſtancy, they ſhall overcome two hundred, and if there be a thouſand of you, they ſhall overcome two thouſand[i], by the permiſſion of GOD; for GOD is with thoſe who perſevere. It hath not been granted unto any prophet, that he ſhould poſſeſs captives, until he had made a great ſlaughter of the infidels in the earth[k]. Ye ſeek the accidental goods of this world, but GOD regardeth the life to come, and GOD is mighty and wiſe. Unleſs a revelation had been previouſly delivered from GOD, verily a ſevere puniſhment had been inflicted on you, for the ranſom which ye took from the captives at BEDR[l].

Eat,

[h] This paſſage, as ſome ſay, was revealed in a plain called al Beidâ, between Mecca and Medina, during the expedition of Bedr, and, as others ſay, in the ſixth year of the prophet's miſſion, on the occaſion of Omar's embracing Mohammediſm

[i] See Levit xxvi 8 Joſh xxiii 10

[k] Until he had made a great ſlaughter of infidels, &c] Becauſe ſeverity ought to be uſed where circumſtances require it, though clemency be more preferable where it may be exerciſed with ſafety While the Mohammedans, therefore, were weak, and their religion in its infancy, GOD's pleaſure was, that the oppoſers of it ſhould be cut off, as is particularly directed in this chapter For which reaſon they are here upbraided with their preferring the lucre of the ranſom to their duty

[l] Unleſs a revelation had previouſly been delivered, a great puniſhment had been inflicted on you, for the ranſom which ye took, &c] That is, had not the ranſom been, in ſtrictneſs, lawful for you to accept, by GOD's having, in general terms, allowed you the ſpoil, and the captives, ye had been ſeverely puniſhed

Among the ſeventy priſoners which the Moſlems took in this battle, were al Abbâs, one of Mohammed's uncles, and Okail, the ſon of Abu Tâleb, and brother of Ali When they were brought before Mohammed, he aſking the advice of his companions what ſhould be done with them Abu Becr was for releaſing them, on their paying ranſom, ſaying, that they were near relations to the prophet, and GOD might poſſibly forgive them on their repentance, but Omar was for ſtriking off their heads, as profeſſed patrons of infidelity Mohammed did not approve of the latter advice, but obſerved, that Abu Becr reſembled Abraham, who interceded for offenders, and that Omar was like Noah, who prayed for the utter extirpation of the wicked antediluvians, and thereupon it was agreed to accept a ranſom from them, and their fellow captives Soon after which, Omar,

going

Eat, therefore, of what ye have acquired[m], that which is lawful and good; for GOD is gracious and merciful. O prophet! ſay unto the captives who are in your hands, If GOD ſhall know any good to be in your hearts, he will give you better than what hath been taken from you[n], and he will forgive you, for GOD is gracious and merciful. But if they ſeek to deceive thee[o], verily they have deceived GOD before, wherefore he hath given thee power over them, and GOD is knowing and wiſe. Moreover, they who have believed, and have fled their country, and employed their ſubſtance, and

going into the prophet's tent, found him and Abu Becr weeping, and aſking them the reaſon of their tears, Mohammed acquainted him, that this verſe had been revealed, condemning their ill-timed lenity towards their priſoners, and that they had narrowly eſcaped the divine vengeance for it, adding, that if GOD had not paſſed the matter over, they had certainly been deſtroyed to a man, excepting only Omar, and Saad Ebn Moadh, a perſon of as great ſeverity, and who was alſo for putting the priſoners to death (1) Yet did not this crime go abſolutely unpuniſhed neither for, in the battle of Ohod, the Moſlems loſt ſeventy men, equal to the number of priſoners taken at Bedr (2), which was ſo ordered by GOD, as a retaliation or atonement for the ſame.

[m] Of what ye have acquired] i e Of the ranſom which ye have received of your priſoners For, it ſeems, on this rebuke, they had ſome ſcruple of conſcience whether they might convert it to their own uſe or not (3)

[n] If GOD ſhall know any good to be in your hearts, he will give you better than what hath been taken from you] That is, If ye repent and believe, GOD will make you abundant retribution for the ranſom ye have now paid It is ſaid that this paſſage was revealed on the particular account of al Abbâs, who, being obliged by Mohammed, though his uncle, to ranſom both himſelf and his two nephews, Oka'l, and Nawfal Ebn al Hareth, complained that he ſhould be reduced to beg alms of the Koreiſh as long as he lived Whereupon Mohammed aſked him what was become of the gold which he delivered to Omm al Fadl when he left Mecca, telling her, that he knew not what might befal him in the expedition, and therefore if he loſt his life, ſhe might keep it herſelf for the uſe of her and her children? Al Abbâs demanded who told him this, to which Mohammed replied, that GOD had revealed it to him And upon this al Abbâs immediately profeſſed Iſlamiſm, declaring that none could know of that affair except GOD, becauſe he gave her the money at midnight Some years after, al Abbâs, reflecting on this paſſage, confeſſed it to be fulfilled, for he was then not only poſſeſſed of a large ſubſtance, but had the cuſtody of the well Zemzem, which, he ſaid, he preferred to all the riches of Mecca (4)

[o] To deceive thee] By not paying the ranſom agreed on

(1) See before, p 227, and chap xxxiii (2) See chap iii p 80
(3) Al BEIDAWI (4) Idem V. D'HERBEL. Bibl Orient. Art. Abbas.

their

their perſons in fighting for the religion of GOD, and they who have given the prophet a refuge among them, and have aſſiſted him, theſe ſhall be deemed the one neareſt of kin to the other[p]. But they who have believed, but have not fled their country, ſhall have no right of kindred at all with you, until they alſo fly. Yet, if they aſk aſſiſtance of you on account of religion, it belongeth unto you to give them aſſiſtance, except againſt a people between whom and yourſelves there ſhall be a league ſubſiſting and GOD ſeeth that which ye do. And as to the infidels, let them be deemed of kin the one to the other. Unleſs ye do this, there will be a ſedition in the earth, and grievous corruption. But as for them who have believed, and left their country, and have fought for GOD's true religion, and who have allowed the prophet a retreat among them, and have aſſiſted him, theſe are really believers, they ſhall receive mercy, and an honourable proviſion. And they who have believed ſince, and have fled their country, and have fought with you, theſe alſo are of you. And thoſe who are related by conſanguinity ſhall be deemed the neareſt of kin to each other, preferably to ſtrangers, according to the book of GOD, GOD knoweth all things.

[p] They ſhall be deemed the neareſt of kin to each other] And ſhall conſequently inherit one another's ſubſtance, preferably to their relations by blood. And this, they ſay, was practiſed for ſome time, the Mohâjerûn and Anſârs being judged heirs to one another, excluſive of the deceaſed's other kindred, till this paſſage was abrogated by the following, Thoſe who are related by blood ſhall be deemed the neareſt of kin to each other.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

Intitled, the Declaration of Immunity[a]; revealed at MEDINA.

A Declaration of immunity from GOD and his apoſtle unto the idolaters with whom ye have entered into league[b]. Go to and fro in the earth ſecurely four months[c]; and know that ye ſhall not weaken GOD, and that GOD will diſgrace the unbelievers And a declaration from GOD, and his apoſtle, unto the people, on the day of the greater

[a] The reaſon why the chapter had this title appears from the firſt verſe Some, however, give it other titles, and particularly that of Repentance, which is mentioned immediately after

It is obſervable, that this chapter alone has not the auſpicatory form, In the name of the moſt merciful GOD, prefixed to it, the reaſon of which omiſſion, as ſome think, was, becauſe theſe words imply a conceſſion of ſecurity, which is utterly taken away by this chapter, after a fixed time, wherefore ſome have called it the chapter of Puniſhment Others ſay, that Mohammed (who died ſoon after he had received this chapter) having given no direction where it ſhould be placed, nor for the prefixing the Biſmillah to it, as had been done to the other chapters, and the argument of this chapter bearing a near reſemblance to that of the preceding, his companions differed about it, ſome ſaying, that both chapters were but one, and, together, made the ſeventh of the ſeven long ones; and others, that they were two diſtinct chapters, whereupon, to accommodate the diſpute, they left a ſpace between them, but did not interpoſe the diſtinction of the Biſmillah (1)

It is agreed, that this chapter was the laſt which was revealed, and the only one, as Mohammed declared, which was revealed entire, and at once, except the hundred and tenth

Some will have the two laſt verſes to have been revealed at Mecca

[b] A declaration of immunity from GOD, and his apoſtle, &c] Some underſtand this ſentence of the immunity or ſecurity therein granted to the infidels, for the ſpace of four months, but others think, that the words properly ſignify, that Mohammed is here declared by GOD, to be abſolutely free, and diſcharged from all truce or league with them, after the expiration of that time (2) and this laſt ſeems to be the trueſt interpretation

Mohammed's thus renouncing all league with thoſe who would not receive him as the apoſtle of GOD, or ſubmit to become tributary, was the conſequence of the great power to which he was now arrived But the pretext he made uſe of, was the treachery he had met with among the Jewiſh and idolatrous Arabs, ſcarce any keeping faith with him, except Banu Damra, Banu Kenâna, and a few others (3)

[c] Go to and fro in the earth ſecurely four months] Theſe months were Shawal, Dhu'lkaada, Dhu'lhajja, and Moharram, the chapter being revealed in Shawâl Yet others compute them from the tenth of Dhu'lhajja when the chapter was publiſhed at Mecca, and conſequently make them expire on the tenth of the former Rabi (4)

YAHYA, &c (2) Al BEIDAWI
1, Al ZAMAKSH JALLALO'DDIN

pilgri-

pilgrimage [d], that GOD is clear of the idolaters, and his apoſtle alſo. Wherefore, if ye repent, this will be better for you; but if ye turn back, know that ye ſhall not weaken GOD. and denounce unto thoſe who believe not, a painful puniſhment. Except ſuch of the idolaters with whom ye ſhall have entered into a league, and who, afterwards, ſhall not fail you in any inſtance, nor aſſiſt any other againſt you [e]. Wherefore, perform the covenant which ye ſhall have made with them, until their time ſhall be elapſed, for GOD loveth thoſe who fear him. And when the months wherein ye are not allowed to attack them ſhall be paſſed, kill the idolaters whereſoever ye ſhall find them [f], and take them priſoners, and beſiege them, and lay wait for them in every convenient place. But if they ſhall repent, and obſerve the appointed times of prayer, and pay the legal alms, diſmiſs them freely, for GOD is gracious and merciful. And if any of the idolaters ſhall demand protection of thee, grant him protection, that he may hear the word of GOD. and afterwards let him reach

[d] On the day of the greater pilgrimage] Viz The tenth of Dhu'l-hajja, when they ſlay the victims at Mina, which day is their great feaſt, and completes the ceremonies of the pilgrimage Some ſuppoſe the adjective *greater* is added here, to diſtinguiſh the pilgrimage made at the appointed time from leſſer pilgrimages, as they may be called, or viſitations of the Caaba, which may be performed at any time of the year, or elſe, becauſe the concourſe at the pilgrimage this year was greater than ordinary, both Moſlems and Idolaters being preſent at it

The promulgation of this chapter was committed by Mohammed to Ali, who rode for that purpoſe on the prophet's ſlit-eared camel from Medina to Mecca, and on the day abovementioned, ſtanding up before the whole aſſembly at al Akaba, told them, that he was the meſſenger of the apoſtle of GOD unto them, whereupon, they aſking him what was his errand, he read twenty or thirty verſes of the chapter to them, and then ſaid, I am commanded to acquaint you with four things 1 That no idolater is to come near the temple of Mecca after this year, 2 That no man preſume to compaſs the Caaba naked for the future (1), 3 That none but true believers ſhall enter paradiſe, and, 4 That public faith is to be kept (2)

[e] Except ſuch of the idolaters who ſhall not fail you, &c] So that notwithſtanding Mohammed renounces all league with thoſe who had deceived him, he declares himſelf ready to perform his engagements to ſuch as had been true to him

[f] Wherever ye find them] Either within or without the ſacred territory

(1) See before, chap vii p 190 FRED vii Moh p 127, &c

(2) Al BEIDAWI V ABUL-

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the place of his ſecurity[g]. This ſhalt thou do, becauſe they are people which know not the excellency of the religion thou preacheſt. How ſhall the idolaters be admitted into a league with GOD, and with his apoſtle; except thoſe with whom ye entered into a league at the holy temple[h]? So long as they behave with fidelity towards you, do ye alſo behave with fidelity towards them, for GOD loveth thoſe who fear him. How can they be admitted into a league with you, ſince, if they prevail againſt you, they will not regard in you either conſanguinity or faith? They will pleaſe you with their mouths, but their hearts will be averſe from you, for the greater part of them are wicked doers. They ſell the ſigns of GOD for a ſmall price, and obſtruct his way, it is certainly evil which they do. They regard not in a believer either conſanguinity or faith, and theſe are the tranſgreſſors. Yet, if they repent, and obſerve the appointed times of prayer, and give alms, they ſhall be deemed your brethren in religion We diſtinctly propound our ſigns unto people who underſtand. But if they violate their oaths, after their league, and revile your religion, oppoſe the leaders of infidelity, (for there is no truſt in them) that they may deſiſt from their treachery. Will ye not fight againſt people who have violated their oaths, and conſpired to expel the apoſtle of GOD, and who, of their own accord, aſſaulted you the firſt time[i]? Will ye fear them? But it is more juſt that ye ſhould fear GOD, if ye are true believers. Attack them, therefore, GOD ſhall puniſh them by your hands, and will co-

[g] And afterwards let him reach the place of his ſecurity] That is, you ſhall give him a ſafe conduct, that he may return home again ſecurely, in caſe he ſhall not think fit to embrace Mohammediſm

[h] Except thoſe with whom ye entered into a league, &c] Theſe are the perſons before excepted

[i] Will ye not fight againſt people who have violated their oaths, &c] As did the Koreiſh in aſſiſting the tribe of Becr againſt thoſe of Khozâah (1), and laying a deſign to ruin Mohammed, without any juſt provocation, and as ſeveral of the Jewiſh tribes did, by aiding the enemy, and endeavouring to oblige the prophet to leave Medina, as he had been obliged to leave Mecca (2)

(1) See the Prelim Diſc p 72 (2) Al BEIDAWI

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ver them with ſhame, and will give you the victory over them, and he will heal the breaſts of the people who believe [k], and will take away the indignation of their hearts. for GOD will be turned unto whom he pleaſeth; and GOD is knowing and wiſe. Did ye imagine that ye ſhould be abandoned, whereas GOD did not yet know thoſe among you who fought for his religion, and took not any beſides GOD, and his apoſtle, and the faithful for their friends? GOD is well acquainted with that which ye do. It is not fitting that the idolaters ſhould viſit the temples of GOD, being witneſſes againſt their own ſouls of their infidelity. The works of theſe men are vain, and they ſhall remain in hell-fire for ever. But he only ſhall viſit the temples of GOD, who believeth in GOD and the laſt-day, and is conſtant at prayer, and payeth the legal alms, and feareth GOD alone. Theſe, perhaps, may become of the number of thoſe who are rightly directed [l]. Do ye reckon the giving drink to the pilgrims, and the viſiting of the holy temple, to be actions as meritorious as thoſe performed by him who believeth in GOD and the laſt-day, and fighteth for the religion of GOD [m]? They ſhall not be held equal with GOD for GOD directeth not the unrighteous people. They who have believed, and fled their country, and employed their ſubſtance, and their perſons, in the defence of GOD's true re-

[k] And he will heal the breaſts of the people who believe, &c] viz Thoſe of Khozâah, or, as others ſay, certain families of Yaman and Saba, who went to Mecca, and there profeſſed Mohammediſm, but were very injuriouſly treated by the inhabitants, whereupon they complained to Mohammed, who bade them take comfort, for that joy was approaching (1)

[l] Theſe, perhaps, may become of the number of thoſe who are rightly directed] Theſe words are to warn the believers from having too great a confidence in their own merits, and likewiſe to deter the unbelievers, for if the faithful will but perhaps be ſaved, what can the others hope for (2)?

[m] Do ye reckon the giving drink to the pilgrims, &c] This paſſage was revealed on occaſion of ſome words of al Abbâs, Mohammed's uncle, who, when he was taken priſoner, being bitterly reproached by the Moſlems, and particularly by his nephew Ali, anſwered, You rip up our ill actions, but take no notice of our good ones we viſit the temple of Mecca, and adorn the Caaba with hangings, and give drink to the pilgrims (of Zemzem water, I ſuppoſe) and free captives (3)

(1) Al BEIDAWI (2) Idem. (3) Idem

ligion,

ligion, ſhall be in the higheſt degree of honour with GOD; and theſe are they who ſhall be happy. Their LORD ſendeth them good tidings of mercy from him, and good will, and of gardens wherein they ſhall enjoy laſting pleaſure; they ſhall continue therein for ever. for with GOD is a great reward. O true believers! take not your fathers, or your brethren, for friends, if they love infidelity above faith; and whoſoever among you ſhall take them for his friends, they will be unjuſt doers. Say, If your fathers, and your ſons, and your brethren, and your wives, and your relations, and your ſubſtance which ye have acquired, and your merchandiſe which ye apprehend may not be ſold off, and your dwellings wherein ye delight, be more dear unto you than GOD, and his apoſtle, and the advancement of his religion; wait, until GOD ſhall ſend his command[n]: for GOD directeth not the ungodly people. Now hath GOD aſſiſted you in many engagements, and particularly at the battle of HONEIN[o]; when ye pleaſed yourſelves in your multitude, but it was no manner of advantage unto you, and the earth became

[n] Till GOD ſhall ſend his command] Or ſhall puniſh you Some ſuppoſe the taking of Mecca to be here intended (1)

[o] The battle of Honein] This battle was fought in the eighth year of the Hejra, in the valley of Honein, which lies about three miles from Mecca towards Tâyef, between Mohammed, who had an army of twelve thouſand men, and the tribes of Hawâzen and Thakîf, whoſe forces did not exceed four thouſand The Mohammedans, ſeeing themſelves ſo greatly ſuperior to their enemies, made ſure of the victory, a certain perſon, whom ſome ſuppoſe to have been the prophet himſelf, crying out, Theſe can never be overcome by ſo few But GOD was ſo highly diſpleaſed with this confidence, that, in the firſt encounter, the Moſlems were put to flight (2), ſome of them running away quite to Mecca, ſo that none ſtood their ground except Mohammed himſelf, and ſome few of his family, and they ſay the prophet's courage was ſo great, that his uncle, al Abbâs, and his couſin, Abu Sofiân Ebn al Hareth, had much ado to prevent his ſpurring his mule into the midſt of the enemy, by laying hold of the bridle and ſtirrup Then he ordered al Abbâs, who had the voice of a Stentor, to recall his flying troops, upon which they rallied, and the prophet throwing a handful of duſt againſt the enemy, they attacked them a ſecond time, and, by the divine aſſiſtance, gained the victory (3)

(1) Al BEIDAWI (2) See PRID Life of Mah p 96, &c HOTTING Hiſt. Orient p 271, &c D'HERBEL Bibl Orient. p 601 (3) Al BEIDAWI JALLALO'DDIN, ABULFED vit Moh p 112, &c

too ſtrait for you[p], notwithſtanding it was ſpacious; then did ye retreat, and turn your backs. Afterwards GOD ſent down his ſecurity[q] upon his apoſtle, and upon the faithful, and ſent down troops of angels[r] which ye ſaw not, and he puniſhed thoſe who diſbelieved, and this was the reward of the unbelievers. Nevertheleſs, GOD will hereafter be turned unto whom he pleaſeth[s]; for GOD is gracious and merciful. O true believers! verily the idolaters are unclean, let them not therefore come near unto the holy temple after this year[t]. And if ye fear want, by the cutting off trade and communication with them, GOD will enrich you of his abundance[u], if he pleaſeth; for GOD is knowing and wiſe. Fight againſt them who believe not in GOD, nor in the laſt day[w], and forbid not that which GOD, and his apoſtle, have forbidden, and profeſs not the true religion, of thoſe unto whom the ſcriptures have been delivered, until

[p] And the earth became too ſtrait for you] For the valley being very deep, and encompaſſed by craggy mountains, the enemy placed themſelves in ambuſh on every ſide, attacking them in the ſtraits and narrow paſſages, and from behind the rocks, with great advantage (1)

[q] His ſecurity] The original word is Sakinat, which the commentators interpret in this ſenſe, but it ſeems rather to ſignify the divine preſence, or Shechinah, appearing to aid the Moſlems (2)

[r] Troops of angels] As to the number of theſe celeſtial auxiliaries, the commentators differ ſome ſay they were five thouſand, ſome, eight thouſand, and others, ſixteen thouſand (3)

[s] Nevertheleſs GOD will hereafter turn unto whom he pleaſeth] Beſides a great number of proſelytes, who were gained by this battle, Mohammed, on their requeſt, was ſo generous as to reſtore the captives (which were no leſs than ſix thouſand) to their friends, and offered to make amends himſelf to any of his men who ſhould not be willing to part with his priſoners, but they all conſented to it (4)

[t] After this year] Which was the ninth year of the Hejra In conſequence of this prohibition, neither Jews, nor Chriſtians, nor thoſe of any other religion, are ſuffered to come near Mecca to this day

[u] God will enrich you of his abundance] This promiſe, ſays al Beidâwi, was fulfilled by GOD's ſending plenty of rain, and diſpoſing the inhabitants of Tebâla and Joraſh, two towns in Yaman, to embrace Iſlâm, who thereupon brought ſufficient proviſions to Mohammed's armen, and alſo by the ſubſequent coming in of the Arabs from all quarters to him

[w] Who believe not in GOD, nor in the laſt day] That is, who have not a juſt and true faith in theſe matters, but either believe a plurality of gods, or deny the eternity of hell torments (5), or the delights of paradiſe as deſcribed in the Korân For, as it appears by the following words, the Jews and Chriſtians are the perſons here chiefly meant.

(1) EBN ISHAK (2) See chap ii p 46 note [e] (3) Al BEIDAWI (4) Idem (5) See chap ii p 16 and chap iii p 58

they

they pay tribute by right of ſubjection [x], and they be reduced low. The Jews ſay, EZRA is the ſon of GOD [y]: and the Chriſtians ſay, CHRIST is the ſon of GOD.

[x] By right of ſubjection] Thus I think the true meaning of the words An yadin, which literally ſignify, By or out of hand, and are variouſly interpreted, ſome ſuppoſing they mean that the tribute is to be paid readily, or by their own hands, and not by another, or that tribute is to be exacted of the rich only, or thoſe who are able to pay it, and not of the poor, or elſe, that it is to be taken as a favour, that the Mohammedans are ſatisfied with ſo ſmall an impoſition, &c (1)

That the Jews and Chriſtians are, according to this law, to be admitted to protection, on payment of tribute, there is no doubt, though the Mohammedan doctors differ as to thoſe of other religions It is ſaid, that Omar, at firſt, refuſed to accept tribute from a Magian, till Abd'alrahmân Ebn Awf aſſured him, that Mohammed himſelf had granted protection to a Magian, and ordered that the profeſſors of that religion ſhould be included among the people of the book, or thoſe who found their religion on ſome book which they ſuppoſe to be of divine original And it is the more received opinion, that theſe three religions only ought to be tolerated on the condition of paying tribute others, however, admit the Sabians alſo Abu Hanifa ſuppoſed people of any religion might be ſuffered, except the idolatrous Arabs, and Malec excepted only apoſtates from Mohammediſm.

The leaſt tribute that can be taken from every ſuch perſon, is generally agreed to be a dirhâr, or about ten ſhillings, a year, nor can he be obliged to pay more, unleſs he conſent to it, and this, they ſay, ought to be laid as well on the poor as on the rich (2) But Abu Hanifa decided that the rich ſhould pay forty-eight dirhems* (twenty, and ſometimes twenty-five, of which made a dinâr) a year, one in middling circumſtances half that ſum, and a poor man, who was able to get his living, a quarter of it: but that he who was not able to ſupport himſelf ſhould pay nothing (3)

[y] The Jews ſay, Ezra is the ſon of GOD] This grievous charge againſt the Jews, the comme tators endeavour to ſupport, by telling us, that it is meant of ſome ancient heterodox Jews, or elſe of ſome Jews of Medina, who ſaid ſo for no other reaſon, than for that the law being utterly loſt, and forgotten, during the Babyloniſh captivity, Ezra having been raiſed to life, after he had been dead one hundred years (4), dictated the whole anew to the ſcribes, out of his own memory; at which they greatly marvelled, and declared that he could not have done it, unleſs he were the ſon of GOD (5) Al Beidâwi adds, that the imputation muſt be true, becauſe this verſe was read to the Jews, and they did not contradict it, which they were ready enough to do in other inſtances

That Ezra did thus reſtore, not only the Pentateuch, but alſo the other books of the Old Teſtament, by divine revelation, was the opinion of ſeveral of the Chriſtian fathers, who are quoted by Dr Prideaux (6), and of ſome other writers (7); which they ſeem to have firſt borrowed from a paſſage in that very ancient apocryphal book, called (in our Engliſh bible) the ſecond book of Eſdras (8) Dr Prideaux (9) tells us, that herein the fathers at-

(1) V Al BEIDAWI (2) V RELAND de jure militari Mohammedanor p 17 & 50 (3) Al BEIDAWI (4) See chap 11 p 49 (5) Al BEIDAWI, Al ZAMAKHSHARI, &c (6) Connect part 1 l v p 329 (7) ATHANASIUS junior, in Synopſ S Script. t 11 p. 86 LEONTIUS Byzantin de ſectis, p 428 (8) Ch XIV 20, &c (9) Loco citat

GOD. This is their ſaying in their mouths: they imitate the ſaying of thoſe who were unbelievers in former times. May GOD reſiſt them. How are they infatuated? They take their prieſts and their monks for their lords, beſides GOD[z], and CHRIST the ſon of MARY; although they are commanded to worſhip one GOD only: there is no GOD but he; far be that from him, which they aſſociate with him! They ſeek to extinguiſh the light of GOD with their mouths; but GOD willeth no other than to perfect his light, although the infidels be averſe thereto. It is he who hath ſent his apoſtle with the direction, and true religion, that he may cauſe it to appear ſuperior to every other religion: although the idolaters be averſe thereto. O true believers! verily many of the prieſts, and monks, devour the ſubſtance of men in vanity[a], and obſtruct the way of GOD. But unto thoſe who treaſure up gold and ſilver, and employ it not for the advancement of GOD's true religion, denounce a grievous puniſhment. On the day of judgment their treaſures ſhall be intenſely heated in the fire of hell, and their foreheads, and their ſides, and their backs, ſhall be ſtigmatized therewith, and their tormentors ſhall ſay, This is what ye have treaſured up for your ſouls, taſte, therefore, that which ye have treaſured up. Moreover, the

tributed more to Ezra than the Jews themſelves, who ſuppoſe that he only collected, and ſet forth a correct edition of the ſcriptures, which he laboured much in, and went a great way in the perfecting of it. It is not improbable, however, that the fiction came originally from the Jews, though they be now of another opinion, and I cannot fix it upon them by any direct proof. For, not to inſiſt on the teſtimony of the Mohammedans, (which, yet, I cannot but think of ſome little weight in a point of this nature,) it is allowed by the moſt ſagacious critics, that the ſecond book of Ezra was written by a Chriſtian indeed (1); but yet one who had been bred a Jew, and was intimately acquainted with the fables of the Rabbins (2), and the ſtory itſelf is perfectly in the taſte and way of thinking of thoſe men

[z] See chap. iii. p. 68. note [t].

[a] The prieſts and monks devour the ſubſtance of men vainly.] By taking of bribes, ſays al Beidâwi, meaning, probably, the money they took for diſpenſing with the commands of GOD, and by way of commutation

(1) See 2 Eſdras ii. 43—47. and vii. 28, &c. (2) V. DODWELLI Diſſert. Cyprian. Diſſert. iv. Sect. ii. WHISTON's Eſſay on the Apoſtolical Conſtit. p. 84, 76, and 304, &c. FABRICII Codic. Apocryph. Novi Teſt. part ii. p. 936, &c.

complete

complete number of months with GOD, is twelve months [b], which were ordained in the book of GOD [c], on the day whereon he created the heavens and the earth: of theſe, four are ſacred [d]. This is the right religion: therefore deal not unjuſtly with yourſelves therein. But attack the idolaters in all the months, as they attack you in all [e]; and know that GOD is with thoſe who fear him. Verily the transferring of a ſacred month to another month, is an additional infidelity [f]. The unbelievers are led into an error thereby: they allow a month to be violated one year, and declare it ſacred another year [g], that they may agree in the number of months which GOD hath commanded to be kept ſacred, and they allow that which GOD hath forbidden. The evil of their actions hath been prepared for them: for GOD directeth not the unbelieving people. O true believers! what ailed you, that, when it was ſaid unto you, Go forth to fight for the religion of GOD, ye inclined heavily

[b] The number of months with GOD is twelve months] According to this paſſage, the intercalation of a month every third or ſecond year, which the Arabs had learned of the Jews, in order to reduce their lunar years to ſolar years, is abſolutely unlawful. For, by this means, they fixed the time of the pilgrimage, and of the faſt of Ramadan, to certain ſeaſons of the year, which ought to be ambulatory (1)

[c] In the book of GOD] Viz. The preſerved table

[d] See the Prelim. Diſ. Sect. VII

[e] Attack the idolaters in all the months, as they attack you in all] For it is not reaſonable that you ſhould obſerve the ſacred months with regard to thoſe who do not acknowledge them to be ſacred, but make war againſt you therein (2)

[f] Verily the transferring of a ſacred month to another month is an additional infidelity] This was an invention, or innovation, of the idolatrous Arabs, whereby they avoided keeping a ſacred month, when it ſuited not their convenience, by keeping a prophane month in its ſtead, transferring, for example, the obſervance of Moharram, to the ſucceeding month Safar. The firſt man who put this in practice, they ſay, was Jonâda Ebn Awf, of the tribe of Kenâna (3)

Theſe ordinances relating to the months were promulgated by Mohammed himſelf, at the pilgrimage of valediction (4)

[g] They allow a month to be violated one year, and declare it ſacred another year] As did Jonada, who made public proclamation at the aſſembly of pilgrims, that their gods had allowed Moharram to be prophane, whereupon they obſerved it not, but the next year he told them, that the gods had ordered it to be kept ſacred (5)

(1) See PRID. Life of Mahom. p. 65, &c. and the Preliminary Diſcourſe, Sect. IV. and VII. (2) See chap. 11. p. 34. (3) Al BEIDAWI, JALALO'DDIN. V. Poc. Spec. p. 323. and the Prelim. Diſ. Sect. VII. (4) ABULFED. vit. Moham. p. 132. (5) Al BEIDAWI.

towards the earth[h]? Do ye prefer the preſent life to that which is to come? But the proviſion of this life, in reſpect of that which is to come, is but ſlender. Unleſs ye go forth when ye are ſummoned to war, GOD will puniſh you with a grievous puniſhment; and he will place another people in your ſtead[i], and ye ſhall not hurt him at all, for GOD is almighty. If ye aſſiſt not the prophet, verily GOD will aſſiſt him, as he aſſiſted him formerly, when the unbelievers drove him out of MECCA, the ſecond of two[k]: when they were both in the cave; when he ſaid unto his companion, Be not grieved, for GOD is with us[l]. And GOD ſent down his ſecurity[m] upon him, and ſtrengthened him with armies of angels, whom ye ſaw not[n]. And he made the word of thoſe who believed not, to be abaſed, and the word of GOD was exalted, for GOD is mighty and wiſe. Go forth to battle, both light and heavy[o], and employ your ſubſtance, and your perſons, for the advancement of GOD's religion. This will be better for you; if ye know it. If it had been a near advantage, and a moderate journey, they had ſurely followed thee[p];

[h] When it was ſaid unto you, Go forth to fight for the religion of GOD, ye inclined heavily towards the earth, &c.] Viz. In the expedition of Tabuc, a town ſituate about half way between Medina and Damaſcus, which Mohammed undertook againſt the Greeks, with an army of thirty thouſand men, in the ninth year of the Hejra. On this expedition the Moſlems ſet out with great unwillingneſs, becauſe it was undertaken in the midſt of the ſummer heats, and at a time of great drought and ſcarcity, whereby the ſoldiers ſuffered ſo much, that this army was called the diſtreſſed army. Beſides, their fruits were juſt ripe and they had much rather have ſtaid to have gathered them (1).

[i] See chap. v. p. 14[illegible].

[k] The ſecond of two.] That is, having only Abu Beer with him.

[l] See the Prelim. Diſ. Sect. II. p. 67.

[m] See before, p. 243, note[q].

[n] And he ſtrengthened him with armies of angels, &c.] Who, as ſome imagine, guarded him in the cave. Or the words may relate to the ſuccours from heaven which Mohammed pretended to have received in ſeveral encounters, as at Bedr, the war of the ditch, and the battle of Honein.

[o] Both light and heavy.] I. e. Whether the expedition be agreeable or not, or whether ye have ſufficient arms and proviſions, or not, or whether ye be on horſeback or on foot, &c.

[p] If it had been a near advantage and a moderate journey, &c.] That is, had there been no difficulties to ſurmount in the expedition of Tabûc, and the march thither had been ſhort and eaſy, ſo that the plunder might have coſt them little or no trouble, they would not have been ſo backward

(1) Al Beidawi, Jallalo'ddin V. Abulfed. vit. Moham. p. 123

but

but the way ſeemed tedious unto them: and yet they will ſwear by GOD, ſaying, If we had been able, we had ſurely gone forth with you. They deſtroy their own ſouls; for GOD knoweth that they are liars. GOD forgive thee! why didſt thou give them leave to ſtay at home [q], until they who ſpeak the truth, when they excuſe themſelves, had become manifeſted unto thee, and thou hadſt known the liars? They who believe in GOD, and the laſt-day, will not aſk leave of thee, to be excuſed from employing their ſubſtance, and their perſons, for the advancement of GOD's true religion, and GOD knoweth thoſe who fear him. Verily they only will aſk leave of thee to ſtay behind, who believe not in GOD, and the laſt-day, and whoſe hearts doubt concerning the faith. wherefore they are toſſed to and fro in their doubting. If they had been willing to go forth with thee, they had certainly prepared for that purpoſe a proviſion of arms and neceſſaries but GOD was averſe to their going forth, wherefore he rendered them ſlothful; and it was ſaid unto them, Sit ye ſtill with thoſe who ſit ſtill [r]. If they had gone forth with you, they had only been a burden unto you, and had run to and fro between you, ſtirring you up to ſedition, and there would have been ſome among you, who would have given ear unto them: and GOD knoweth the wicked. They formerly ſought to raiſe a ſedition [s], and they diſturbed thy affairs, until the truth came, and the decree of GOD was made manifeſt; although they were averſe thereto. There is of them who ſaith unto thee, Give me leave to ſtay

[q] Why didſt thou give them leave to ſtay at home, &c.] For Mohammed excuſed ſeveral of his men, on their requeſt, from going on this expedition, as Abda'llah Ebn 'Obba, and his hypocritical adherents, and alſo three of the Anſars, for which he is here reprehended

[r] With thoſe who ſit ſtill] i. e. With the women and children, and other impotent people

[s] They formerly ſought to raiſe a ſedition, &c.] As they did at the battle of Ohod (1)

(1) See chap. iii. p. 78, 79, &c.

behind, and expoſe me not to temptation[t]. Have they not fallen into temptation at home[u]? But hell will ſurely encompaſs the unbelievers. If good happen unto thee, it grieveth them; but if a misfortune befal thee, they ſay, We ordered our buſineſs before[w]; and they turn their backs, and rejoice at thy miſhap. Say, Nothing ſhall befal us, but what GOD hath decreed for us, he is our patron; and on GOD let the faithful truſt. Say, Do ye expect any other ſhould befal us, than one of the two moſt excellent things, either victory or martyrdom? But we expect concerning you, that GOD inflict a puniſhment on you, either from himſelf, or by our hands[x]. Wait therefore to ſee what will be the end of both; for we will wait with you. Say, Expend your money in pious uſes, either voluntarily, or by conſtraint, it ſhall not be accepted of you, becauſe ye are wicked people. And nothing hindereth their contributions from being accepted of them, but that they believe not in GOD, and his apoſtle, and perform not the duty of prayer, otherwiſe than ſluggiſhly; and expend not their money for GOD's ſervice, otherwiſe than unwillingly. Let not, therefore, their riches, or their children, cauſe thee to marvel. Verily GOD intendeth only to puniſh them by theſe things in this world; and that their ſouls may depart while they are unbelievers. They ſwear by GOD that they are of you[y], yet they are not of you, but are people

[t] Expoſe me not to temptation] By obliging me to go, againſt my will, on an expedition, the hardſhips of which may tempt me to rebel, or to deſert. It is related, that one Jadd Ebn Kais ſaid, that the Anſârs well knew he was much given to women, and he dared not truſt himſelf with the Greek girls, wherefore he deſired he might be left behind, and he would aſſiſt them with his purſe (1)

[u] Have they not fallen into temptation at home?] Diſcovering their hypocriſy by their backwardneſs to go to war for the promotion of the true religion

[w] We ordered our buſineſs before] That is, we took care to keep out of harm's way, by ſtaying at home

[x] Either from himſelf, or by our hands] I e Either by ſome ſignal judgment from heaven, or by remitting their puniſhment to the true believers

[y] That they are of you] Viz Staunch Moſlems

(1) Al Beidawi

who

who ſtand in fear[a]. If they find a place of refuge, or caves, or a retreating hole, they ſurely turn towards the ſame, and, in a head-ſtrong manner, haſte thereto. There is of them alſo who ſpreadeth ill reports of thee, in relation to thy diſtribution of the alms, yet, if they receive part thereof, they are well pleaſed; but if they receive not a part thereof, behold, they are angry[a]. But if they had been pleaſed with that which GOD and his apoſtle had given them, and had ſaid, GOD is our ſupport; GOD will give unto us of his abundance, and his prophet alſo; verily unto GOD do we make our ſupplications: it would have been more decent. Alms are to be diſtributed[b] only unto the poor, and the needy[c], and thoſe who are employed in collecting and diſtributing the ſame, and unto thoſe whoſe hearts are reconciled[d], and for the redemption of captives, and unto thoſe who are in debt, and inſolvent, and for the advancement of GOD's religion, and unto the traveller. This is an ordinance from GOD: and GOD is knowing and wiſe. There are ſome of them who injure the prophet, and ſay,

[a] Who ſtand in fear] Hypocritically concealing their infidelity, leſt ye ſhould chaſtiſe them, as ye have done the profeſſed infidels and apoſtates, and yet ready to avow their infidelity, when they think they may do it with ſafety

[a] There is alſo of them who ſpreadeth ill reports of thee in relation to the diſtribution of the alms, &c] This perſon was Abu'l Jowâdh the hypocrite, who ſaid Mohammed gave them away among the keepers of ſheep only, or, as others ſuppoſe, Ebn Dhi'lkhowaiſarah, who found fault with the prophet's diſtribution of the ſpoils taken at Honein, becauſe he gave them all among the Meccans, to reconcile and gain them over to his religion and intereſt (1)

[b] See what is ſaid as to this point in the Prelim Diſc ſect. IV

[c] The poor and the needy] The commentators make a diſtinction between theſe two words in the original, Fakir and Meſkin one, they ſay, ſignifies him who is utterly deſtitute both of money and means of livelihood; the other, one who is in want indeed, but is able to get ſomething towards his own ſupport But to which of the two words either of theſe different ſignifications properly belongs, the critics differ.

[d] Whoſe hearts are reconciled] That is, who were lately enemies to the faithful, but have now embraced Mohammediſm, and entered into amity with them For Mohammed, to gain their hearts, and confirm them in his religion, made large preſents to the chief of the Koreiſh, out of the ſpoils at Honein, as has been juſt now mentioned (2) But this law, they ſay, became of no obligation when the Mohammedan faith was eſtabliſhed, and ſtood not in need of ſuch methods for its ſupport

(1) Al Beidawi V. Arnsfeld. vit. Moh p 118, 119 (2) Abulfed, ibid

He

He is an ear [a]: Answer, He is an ear of good unto you [f]; he believeth in GOD, and giveth credit to the faithful, and is a mercy unto such of you who believe. But they who injure the apostle of GOD, shall suffer a painful punishment. They swear unto you by GOD, that they may please you, but it is more just that they should please GOD, and his apostle, if they are true believers. Do they not know that he who opposeth GOD, and his apostle, shall, without doubt, be punished with the fire of hell; and shall remain therein for ever? This will be great ignominy. The hypocrites are apprehensive lest a SURA [g] should be revealed concerning them, to declare unto them that which is in their hearts. Say unto them, Scoff ye; but GOD will surely bring to light that which ye fear should be discovered. And if thou ask them the reason of this scoffing, they say, Verily we were only engaged in discourse, and jesting among ourselves [h]. Say, Do ye scoff at GOD and his signs, and at his apostle? offer not an excuse: now are ye become infidels, after your faith. If we forgive a part of you, we will punish a part, for that they have been wicked doers. Hypocritical men and women are the one of them or the other: they command that which is evil, and forbid that which is just, and shut their hands from giving alms. They have forgotten GOD; wherefore he hath forgotten them: verily the hypocrites are the few who act wickedly. GOD denounceth unto the hypocrites, both men and women, and to the unbelievers, the

[a] He is an ear] i e He hears every thing that we say, and gives credit to all the stories that are carried to him

[f] He is an ear of good unto you] Giving credit to nothing that may do you hurt.

[g] A Sura] So the Mohammedans call a chapter of the Korân (1).

[h] They say, We were only engaged in discourse, &c.] It is related that, in the expedition of Tabuc, a company of hypocrites, passing near Mohammed, said to one another, Behold that man, he would take the strong holds of Syria! Away! away! which being told the prophet, he called them to him, and asked them why they had said so whereto they replied, with an oath, that they were not talking of what related to him, or his companions, but were only diverting themselves with indifferent discourse, to beguile the tediousness of the way (2)

(1) See the Prelim. Disc sect III p 75 (2) Al Beidawi

fire

fire of hell; they ſhall remain therein for ever: this will be their ſufficient reward; GOD hath curſed them, and they ſhall endure a laſting torment. As they who have been before you, ſo are ye. They were ſuperior to you in ſtrength, and had more abundance of wealth, and of children; and they enjoyed their portion in this world; and ye alſo enjoy your portion here, as they who have preceded you enjoyed their portion. And ye engage yourſelves in vain diſcourſes, like unto thoſe wherein they engaged themſelves. The works of theſe are vain both in this world, and in that which is to come; and theſe are they who periſh. Have they not been acquainted with the hiſtory of thoſe who have been before them; of the people of NOAH, and of AD, and of THAMUD, and of the people of ABRAHAM, and of the inhabitants of MADIAN, and of the cities which were overthrown?[1] Their apoſtles came unto them with evident demonſtrations. and GOD was not diſpoſed to treat them unjuſtly, but they dealt unjuſtly with their own ſouls. And the faithful men and the faithful women, are friends one to another they command that which is juſt, and they forbid that which is evil; and they are conſtant at prayer, and pay their appointed alms; and they obey GOD and his apoſtle: unto theſe will GOD be merciful, for he is mighty and wiſe. GOD promiſeth unto the true believers, both men and women, gardens through which rivers flow, wherein they ſhall remain for ever; and delicious dwellings in gardens of perpetual abode[k]: but good-will from GOD ſhall be their moſt excellent reward. This will be great felicity. O prophet! wage war againſt the unbelievers and the hypocrites, and be ſevere unto them: for their dwelling ſhall be

[1] The cities which were overthrown] Namely Sodom and Gomorrah, and the other cities which ſhared their fate, and are thence called al Motakifât, or The ſubverted (1)

[k] Gardens of perpetual abode Literally, gardens of Eden; but the commentators do not take the word Eden in the ſenſe which it bears in Hebrew, as has been elſewhere obſerved (2)

(1) See chap xi

(2) See the Prelim Diſc p 128

hell;

hell, an unhappy journey ſhall it be thither! They ſwear by GOD that they ſaid not what they are charged with. yet they ſpake the word of infidelity, and became unbelievers, after they had embraced ISLAM[l]. And they deſigned that which they could not effect[m]; and they did not diſapprove of the deſign for any other reaſon, than becauſe GOD, and his apoſtle, had enriched them, of his bounty[n]. If they repent, it will be better for them, but, if they relapſe, GOD will puniſh them with a grievous torment, in this world and in the next; and they ſhall have no patron on earth, nor any protector. There are ſome of them who made a covenant with GOD, ſaying, Verily if he give us of his abundance, we will give alms, and become righteous people[o]. Yet, when he had given unto

[l] They ſwear by GOD that they ſaid not what they are charged with, &c.] It is related, that al Jallâs Ebn Soweid, hearing ſome paſſages of this chapter, which ſharply reprehend thoſe who refuſed to go on the above-mentioned expedition of Tabûc, declared, that if what Mohammed ſaid of his brethren was true, they were worſe than aſſes. Which coming to the prophet's ear, he ſent for him, and he denied the words upon oath. But, on the immediate revelation of this paſſage, he confeſſed his fault, and his repentance was accepted (1).

[m] They deſigned what they could not effect, &c.] The commentators tell us, that fifteen men conſpired to kill Mohammed in his return from Tabuc, by puſhing him from his camel into a precipice, as he rode by night over the higheſt part of al Akaba. But when they were going to execute their deſign, Hodheifa, who followed, and drove the prophet's camel, which was led by Ammar Ebn Yaſer, hearing the tread of camels, and the claſhing of arms, gave the alarm, upon which they fled. Some, however, ſuppoſe the deſign here meant, was a plot to expel Mohammed from Medina (2).

[n] Becauſe GOD, and his apoſtle, had enriched them.] For Mohammed's reſiding at Medina was of great advantage to the place, the inhabitants being generally poor, and in want of moſt conveniencies of life, but, on the prophet's coming among them, they became poſſeſſed of large herds of cattle, and money alſo. Al Beidâwi ſays, that the above named al Jallâs, in particular, having a ſervant killed, received, by Mohammed's order, no leſs than ten thouſand dirhems, or about three hundred pounds, as a fine for the redemption of his blood.

[o] There are ſome of them who made a covenant with GOD, &c.] An inſtance of this is given in Thalaba Ebn Hateb, who came to Mohammed, and deſired him to beg of GOD, that he would beſtow riches on him. The prophet, at firſt, adviſed him rather to be thankful for the little he had, than to covet more, which might become a temptation to him, but on Thalaba's repeated requeſt, and ſolemn promiſe, that he would make a good uſe of his riches, he was, at length, prevailed on, and preferred the petition to GOD. Thalaba, in a ſhort time, grew vaſtly rich, which Mohammed being acquainted with, ſent two collectors to gather the alms. Other people readily paid them, but when they came to Thalaba, and read

(1) Al BEIDAWI. (2) Idem.

the

unto them of his abundance, they became covetous thereof, and turned back, and retired afar off. Wherefore he hath cauſed hypocriſy to ſucceed in their hearts, until the day whereon they ſhall meet him; for that they failed to perform unto GOD that which they had promiſed him, and for that they prevaricated. Do they not know that GOD knoweth whatever they conceal, and their private diſcourſes; and that GOD is the knower of ſecrets? They who traduce ſuch of the believers as are liberal in giving alms beyond what they are obliged, and thoſe who find nothing to give, but what they gain by their induſtry [p], and therefore ſcoff at them GOD ſhall ſcoff at them, and they ſhall ſuffer a grievous puniſhment. Aſk forgiveneſs for them, or do not aſk forgiveneſs for them, it will be equal. If thou aſk forgiveneſs for them ſeventy times, GOD will by no means forgive them [q]. This is the divine pleaſure, for that they be-

the injunction to him out of the Koran, he told them, that it was not alms, but tribute, or next kin to tribute, and bade them go back till he had better conſidered of it Upon which this paſſage was revealed, and when Thalaba came afterwards, and brought his alms, Mohammed told him, that GOD had commanded him not to accept it, and threw duſt upon his head, ſaying, This is what thou haſt deſerved He then offered his alms to Abu Becr, who refuſed to accept them, as did Omar ſome years after, when he was Khalif (1)

[p] Who traduce ſuch of the believers as are liberal, &c] Al Beidâwi relates, that Mohammed, exhorting his followers to voluntary alms, among others Abda'lrahmân Ebn Awf gave four thouſand dirhems, which was one half of what he had, Aſem Ebn Adda gave an hundred beaſt's loads of dates, and Abu Okail, a Saâ, which is no more than a ſixtieth part of a load of the ſame fruit, but was the half of what he had earned by a night's hard work This Mohammed accepted whereupon the hypocrites ſaid that Abda'lrahman and Aſem gave what they did out of oſtentation, and that GOD and his apoſtle might well have excuſed Abu Okail's mite, which occaſioned this paſſage

I ſuppoſe this collection was made to defray the charge of the expedition of Tabuc, towards which, as another writer tells us, Abu Becr contributed all that he had, and Othman very largely, viz as it is ſaid, three hundred camels for ſlaughter, and a thouſand dinars of gold (2)

[q] Aſk forgiveneſs for them, &c] In the laſt ſickneſs of Abda'llah Ebn Obba the hypocrite, (who died in the ninth year of the Hejra), his ſon, named alſo Abda'llah, came and aſked Mohammed to beg pardon of GOD for him, which he did, and thereupon the former part of this verſe was revealed But the prophet, not taking that for a repulſe, ſaid, he would pray ſeventy times for him, upon which the latter part of the verſe was revealed, declaring it would be abſolutely in vain It may be obſerved, that the numbers ſeven and ſeventy, and ſeven hundred, are frequently uſed by the eaſtern writers, to ſignify, not ſo many preciſely, but only an indefinite number, either greater or leſſer (3), ſeveral examples of which are to be met with in the ſcripture (4)

(1) Idem (2) ABULFED vit Moh p 123 (3) Al BEIDAWI (4) Matth xviii 22

lieve

lieve not in GOD, and his apoſtle; and GOD directeth not the ungodly people. They who were left at home in the expedition of TABUC, were glad of their ſtaying behind the apoſtle of GOD, and were unwilling to employ their ſubſtance, and their perſons, for the advancement of GOD's true religion; and they ſaid, Go not forth in the heat [r]. Say, The fire of hell will be hotter, if they underſtood this. Wherefore let them laugh little, and weep much, as a reward for that which they have done. If GOD bring thee back unto ſome of them [s], and they aſk thee leave to go forth to war with thee, ſay, Ye ſhall not go forth with me for the future, neither ſhall ye fight an enemy with me ye were pleaſed with ſitting at home the firſt time, ſit ye at home, therefore, with thoſe who ſtay behind Neither do thou ever pray over any of them who ſhall die [t], neither ſtand at his grave [u], for that they believed not in GOD, and his apoſtle, and die in their wickedneſs. Let not their riches, or their children, cauſe thee to marvel for GOD intendeth only to puniſh them therewith in this world, and that their ſouls may depart, while they are infidels When a SURA [w] is ſent down, wherein it is ſaid, Believe in GOD, and go forth to war with his apoſtle, thoſe who are in plentiful circum-

[r] Go not forth in the heat.] This they ſpoke in a ſcoffing manner to one another, becauſe, as has been obſerved, the expedition of Tabuc was undertaken in a very hot and dry ſeaſon

[s] If GOD bring thee back unto ſome of them, &c.] That is, if thou return in ſafety to Medina, to the hypocrites, who are here called ſome of them who ſtaid behind, becauſe they were not all hypocrites The whole number is ſaid to have been twelve (1)

[t] Neither do thou ever pray over any of them who ſhall die.] This paſſage was alſo revealed on account of Abda'llah Ebn Obba In his laſt illneſs he deſired to ſee Mohammed, and when he was come, aſked him to beg forgiveneſs of GOD for him, and requeſted that his corpſe might be wrapped up in the garment that was next his body, (which might have the ſame efficacy with the habit of a Franciſcan,) and that he would pray over him when dead Accordingly, when he was dead, the prophet ſent his ſhirt, or inner veſtment, to ſhroud the corpſe, and was going to pray over it, but was forbidden by theſe words Some ſay they were not revealed till he had actually prayed for him (2)

[u] Neither ſtand at his grave.] Either by aſſiſting at his funeral, or viſiting his ſepuchre

[w] See before p 252, note, [s]

(1) Al Beidawi

(2) Idem

ſtances

ſtances among them aſk leave of thee to ſtay behind, and ſay, Suffer us to be of the number of thoſe who ſit at home. They are well pleaſed to be with thoſe who ſtay behind, and their hearts are ſealed up; wherefore they do not underſtand. But the apoſtle, and thoſe who have believed with him, expoſe their fortunes and their lives for GOD's ſervice, they ſhall anjoy the good things of either life, and they ſhall be happy. GOD hath prepared for them gardens through which rivers flow, they ſhall remain therein for ever. This will be great felicity. And certain ARABS of the deſart came to excuſe themſelves [x]; praying that they might be permitted to ſtay behind; and they ſat at home who had renounced GOD, and his apoſtle. But a painful puniſhment ſhall be inflicted on ſuch of them as believe not. In thoſe who are weak, or are afflicted with ſickneſs, or in thoſe who find not wherewith to contribute to the war [y], it ſhall be no crime if they ſtay at home, provided they behave themſelves faithfully towards GOD, and his apoſtle. There is no room to lay blame on the righteous, for GOD is gracious and merciful. nor on thoſe, unto whom, when they came unto thee, requeſting that thou wouldeſt ſupply them with neceſſaries for travelling, thou didſt anſwer, I find not wherewith to ſupply you, returned, their eyes ſhedding tears for grief, that they found not wherewith to contribute to the expedition [z]. But there is reaſon to

[x] Certain Arabs of the deſart came to excuſe themſelves, &c.] Theſe were the tribes of Aſad and Ghatfan, who excuſed themſelves on account of the neceſſities of their families, which their induſtry only maintained But ſome write, they were the family of Amer Ebn al Tofail, who ſaid, that if they went with the army, the tribe of Tay would take advantage of their abſence, and fall upon their wives and children, and their cattle (1)

[y] Who find not wherewith to contribute] By reaſon of their extreme poverty, as thoſe of Joheina, Mozeina, and Banu Odhra (2)

[z] Who requeſted thee to ſupply them with neceſſaries for travelling, &c.] The perſons here intended were ſeven men of the Anſars, who came to Mohammed, and begged he

(1) Al Beidawi (2) Idem

woul

to blame thoſe who aſk leave of thee to ſit at home, when they are rich. They are pleaſed to be with thoſe who ſtay behind, and GOD hath ſealed up their
XI. hearts wherefore they do not underſtand. * They will excuſe themſelves unto you, when ye are returned unto them. Say, Excuſe not yourſelves; we will by no means believe you. GOD hath acquainted us with your behaviour; and GOD will obſerve your actions, and his apoſtle alſo: and hereafter ſhall ye be brought before him who knoweth that which is hidden, and that which is manifeſt, and he will declare unto you that which ye have done. They will ſwear unto you by GOD, when ye are returned unto them, that ye may let them alone [a]. Let them alone, therefore, for they are an abomination, and their dwelling ſhall be hell, a reward for that which they have deſerved. They will ſwear unto you, that ye may be well pleaſed with them, but if ye be well pleaſed with them, verily GOD will not be well pleaſed with people who prevaricate. The ARABS of the deſart are more obſtinate in their unbelief and hypocriſy, and it is eaſier for them to be ignorant of the ordinances of that which GOD hath ſent down unto his apoſtle [b] and GOD is knowing and wiſe Of the ARABS of the deſart there is who reckoneth that which he expendeth for the ſervice of GOD, to be as tribute [c], and waiteth that ſome change of fortune [d]

would give them ſome patched boots and ſoled ſhoes, it being impoſſible for them to march ſo far barefoot, in ſuch a ſeaſon, but he told them he could not ſupply them whereupon they went away weeping Some, however, ſay, theſe were the Banu Mokren, and others, Abu Muſa, and his companions (1)

[a] That ye may let them alone] And not chaſtiſe them

[b] The Arabs of the deſart are more obſtinate, &c] Becauſe of their wild way of life, the hardneſs of their hearts, their not frequenting people of knowledge, and the few opportunities they have of being inſtructed (2)

[c] As tribute] Or a contribution exacted by force, the payment of which he can in no wiſe avoid

[d] And waiteth, that ſome change of fortune may befal you] Hoping that ſome reverſe may afford a convenient opportunity of throwing off the burden

(1) Al BEIDAWI (2) Idem See the Prelim Diſc p 32 and 40

may

may befal you. A change for evil ſhall happen unto them: for GOD both heareth and knoweth. And of the ARABS of the deſart there is who believeth in GOD, and in the laſt day, and eſteemeth that which he layeth out for the ſervice of GOD to be the means of bringing him near unto GOD, and the prayers of the apoſtle. Is it not unto them the means of a near approach? GOD ſhall lead them into his mercy, for GOD is gracious and merciful[e]. As for the leaders, and the firſt of the MOHAJERIN, and the ANSARS[f], and thoſe who have followed them in well doing, GOD is well pleaſed with them, and they are well pleaſed in him and he hath prepared for them gardens watered by rivers, they ſhall remain therein for ever This ſhall be great felicity. And of the ARABS of the deſart who dwell round about you, there are hypocritical perſons[g] and of the inhabitants of MEDINA there are ſome who are obſtinate in hypocriſy. Thou knoweſt them not, O prophet! but we know them we will ſurely puniſh them twice[h], afterwards ſhall they be ſent to a grievous torment. And others have acknowledged their crimes[i]. They have mixed a good action with another

[e] The Arabs meant, in the former of theſe two paſſages, are ſaid to have been the tribes of Aſad, Ghatfân, and Banu Tamim, and thoſe intended in the latter, Abdallah, ſurnamed Dhu'lbajâdin, and his people (1).

[f] The leaders, and the firſt of the Mohâjerin and the Anſârs] The Mohâjerin, or refugees, were thoſe of Mecca, who fled thence on account of their religion And the Anſars, or Helpers, were thoſe of Medina, who received Mohammed, and his followers, into their protection, and aſſiſted them againſt their enemies By the leaders of the Mohâjerin are meant thoſe who believed on Mohammed before the Hejra, or early enough to pray towards Jeruſalem, from which the Kebla was changed to the temple of Mecca, in the ſecond year of the Hejra, or elſe ſuch of them as were preſent at the battle of Bedr The leaders of the Anſârs were thoſe who took the oath of fidelity to him at al Akaba, either the firſt or the ſecond time (2)

[g] Of the Arabs of the deſart who dwell round about you, &c] i e In the neighbourhood of Medina Theſe were the tribes of Joheina, Mozeina, Aſlam, Aſhja, and Ghifâr (3)

[h] We will puniſh them twice] Either by expoſing them to public ſhame, and putting them to death, or by either of thoſe puniſhments and the torment of the ſepulchre, or elſe by exacting alms of them by way of fine, and giving them corporeal puniſhment (4)

[i] Others have acknowledged their crimes] Making no hypocritical excuſes

(1) Al BEIDAWI (2) Idem (3) Idem (4) Idem

other which is bad[k] peradventure GOD will be turned unto them; for GOD is gracious and merciful. Take alms of their ſubſtance, that thou mayeſt cleanſe them, and purify them thereby[l], and pray for them for thy prayers ſhall be a ſecurity of mind unto them; and GOD both heareth and knoweth. Do they not know that GOD accepteth repentance from his ſervants, and accepteth alms, and that GOD is eaſy to be reconciled, and merciful? Say unto them, Work as ye will, but GOD will behold your work, and his apoſtle alſo, and the true believers and ye ſhall be brought before him who knoweth that which is kept ſecret, and that which is made public, and he will declare unto you whatever ye have done. And there are others who wait with ſuſpence the decree of GOD, whether he will puniſh them, or whether he will be turned unto them[m]. but GOD is knowing and wiſe. There are ſome who have built a temple to hurt the faithful, and to propagate infidelity, and to foment diviſion among the true believers[n], and for a lurking-place for him who

excuſes for them These were certain men, who having ſtaid at home inſtead of accompanying Mohammed to Tabuc, as ſoon as they heard the ſevere reprehenſions and threats of this chapter againſt thoſe who had ſtaid behind, bound themſelves to the pillars of the moſque, and ſwore that they would not looſe themſelves, till they were looſed by the prophet But when he entered the moſque to pray, and was informed of the matter, he alſo ſwore that he would not looſe them without a particular command from GOD, whereupon this paſſage was revealed, and they were accordingly diſmiſſed (1)

[k] They have mixed a good action with a bad] Though they were backward in going to war, and held with the hypocrites, yet they confeſſed their crime, and repented

[l] Take alms of their ſubſtance, &c] When theſe perſons were looſed, they prayed Mohammed to take their ſubſtance, for the ſake of which they had ſtaid at home, as alms, to cleanſe them from their tranſgreſſion, but he told them he had no orders to accept any thing from them upon which this verſe was ſent down, allowing him to take their alms (2)

[m] There are others who wait, &c] The perſons here intended, were the three Anſârs whoſe pardon is granted a little below

[n] There are ſome who have built a temple to hurt the faithful, &c]

(1) Al BEIDAWI (2) Idem

When

who hath fought againſt GOD, and his apoſtle, in time paſt [o]; and they ſwear, ſaying, Verily we intended no other than to do for the beſt: but GOD is witneſs that they do certainly lie. Stand not up to pray therein for ever. There is a temple founded on piety [p], from the firſt day of its building. It is more juſt that thou ſtand up to pray therein: therein are men who love to be purified [q], for GOD loveth the clean.

When Banu Amru Ebn Awf had built the temple or moſque of Koba, which will be mentioned by and by, they aſked Mohammed to come and pray in it, and he complied with their requeſt. This exciting the envy of their brethren, Banu Ganem Ebn Awf, they alſo built a moſque, intending that the Imam, or prieſt, who ſhould officiate there, ſhould be Abu Amer, a Chriſtian monk, but he dying in Syria, they came to Mohammed, and deſired he would conſecrate, as it were, their moſque, by praying in it. The prophet accordingly prepared himſelf to go with them, but was forbidden by the immediate revelation of this paſſage, diſcovering their hypocriſy and ill deſign: whereupon he ſent Malec Ebn al Dokhſhom, Maan Ebn Addi, Amer Ebn al Sacan, and al Wahſha, the Ethiopian, to demoliſh and burn it, which they performed, and made it a dunghill. According to another account, this moſque was built a little before the expedition of Tabuc, with a deſign to hinder Mohammed's men from engaging therein, and when he was aſked to pray there, he anſwered, that he was juſt ſetting out on a journey, but when he came back, with GOD's leave, he would do what they deſired, but when they applied to him again, on his return, this paſſage was revealed (1).

[o] For a lurking place for him who hath fought againſt GOD, and his apoſtle, in time paſt.] That is Abu Amer, the monk, who was a declared enemy to Mohammed, having threatened him at Ohod, that no party ſhould appear in the field againſt him, but he would make one of them, and, to be as good as his word, he continued to oppoſe him till the battle of Honein, at which he was preſent, and being put to flight with thoſe of Howazen, he retreated into Syria, deſigning to obtain a ſupply of troops from the Grecian emperor, to renew the war, but he died at Kinniſrin. Others ſay, that this monk was a confederate at the war of the ditch, and that he fled thence into Syria (2).

[p] There is a temple founded on piety, &c.] viz. That of Kobâ, a place about two miles from Medina, where Mohammed reſted four days before he entered that city, in his flight from Mecca, and where he laid the foundation of a moſque (3), which was afterwards built by Banu Amru Ebn Awf. But according to a different tradition, the moſque here meant, was that which Mohammed built at Medina.

[q] Therein are men who deſire to be purified.] Al Beidawi ſays, that Mohammed, walking once with the Mohajerin to Koba, found the Anſars ſitting at the moſque door, and aſked

(1) Al Beidawi, Jallalo'ddin, Ebn Shohnah, & Abulfed. vit. Moh. p. 56. Where the tranſlator, taking this paſſage of the Koran, which is there cited, for the words of his author, has miſſed the true ſenſe.

(2) Idem. (3) Idem.

clean. Whether, therefore, is he better, who hath founded his building on the fear of GOD, and his good will, or he who hath founded his building on the brink of a bank of earth, which is waſhed away by waters, ſo that it falleth with him into the fire of hell? GOD directeth not the ungodly people The building which they have built, will not ceaſe to be an occaſion of doubting in their hearts, until their hearts be cut in pieces[r], and GOD is knowing and wiſe. Verily GOD hath purchaſed of the true believers their ſouls, and their ſubſtance, promiſing them the enjoyment of paradiſe, on condition that they fight for the cauſe of GOD whether they ſlay, or be ſlain, the promiſe for the ſame is aſſuredly due by the law, and the goſpel, and the KORAN And who performeth his contract more faithfully than GOD? Rejoice, therefore, in the contract which ye have made. This ſhall be great happineſs The penitent, and thoſe who ſerve GOD, and praiſe him, and who faſt, and bow down, and worſhip, and who command that which is juſt, and forbid that which is evil, and keep the ordinances of GOD, ſhall likewiſe be rewarded with paradiſe wherefore bear good tidings unto the faithful It is not allowed unto the prophet, nor thoſe who are true believers, that they pray for idolaters[s], although they be of kin, after it is become known

them whether they were believers, and, on their being ſilent, repeated the queſtion whereupon Omar anſwered that they were believers, and Mohammed demanding whether they acquieſced in the judgment Omar had made of them, they ſaid, Yes He then aſked them whether they would be patient in adverſity, and thankful in proſperity, to which they anſwering in the affirmative he ſwore by the LORD of the Caaba, that they were true believers Afterwards he examined them as to their manner of performing the legal waſhings, and particularly, what they did after eaſing themſelves, they told him that in ſuch a caſe they uſed three ſtones and after that waſhed with water, upon which he repeated theſe words of the Koran to them

[r] Until their hearts be cut in pieces] Some interpret theſe words of their being deprived of their judgment and underſtanding, and others of the puniſhment they are to expect, either of death in this world, or of the rack of the ſepulchre, or the pains of hell

[s] It is not allowed the prophet—to pray for idolaters, &c] This paſſage

known unto them, that they are inhabitants of hell[t]. Neither did ABRAHAM aſk forgiveneſs for his father, otherwiſe than in purſuance of a promiſe which he had promiſed unto him[u]: but when it became known unto him, that he was an enemy unto GOD, he declared himſelf clear of him[w]. Verily ABRAHAM was pitiful and compaſſionate. Nor is GOD diſpoſed to lead people into error[x], after that he hath directed them, until that which they ought to avoid is become known unto them, for GOD knoweth all things. Verily unto GOD belongeth the kingdom of heaven, and of earth, he giveth life, and he cauſeth to die, and ye have no patron or helper beſides GOD. GOD is reconciled unto the prophet, and unto the MOHAJERIN, and the ANSARS[y], who followed him in the

was revealed, as ſome think, on account of Abu Taleb, Mohammed's uncle and great benefactor who, on his death-bed, being preſſed by his nephew to ſpeak a word, which might enable him to plead his cauſe before GOD, that is, to profeſs Iſlam, abſolutely refuſed. Mohammed, however, told him, that he would not ceaſe to pray for him, till he ſhould be forbidden by GOD, which he was by theſe words. Others ſuppoſe the occaſion to have been Mohammed's viſiting his mother Amena's ſepulchre at al Abwa, ſoon after the taking of Mecca for they ſay, that while he ſtood at the tomb he burſt into tears, and ſaid, I aſked leave of GOD to viſit my mother's tomb, and he granted it me, but when I aſked leave to pray for her, it was denied me (1).

[t] After it is become known unto them, that they are inhabitants of hell] By their dying infidels. For otherwiſe it is not only lawful, but commendable, to pray for unbelievers, while there are hopes of their converſion.

[u] In purſuance of a promiſe which he had promiſed him] Viz. To pray that GOD would diſpoſe his heart to repentance. Some ſuppoſe this was a promiſe made to Abraham, by his father, that he would believe in GOD. For the words may be taken either way.

[w] When he knew that he was an enemy of GOD, he declared himſelf clear of him] Deſiſting to pray for him, when he was aſſured by inſpiration that he was not to be converted, or after he actually died an infidel. See chap. vi. p. 168, 169.

[x] To lead people into error] i. e. To conſider or puniſh them as tranſgreſſors. This paſſage was revealed to excuſe thoſe who had prayed for ſuch of their friends as had died idolaters, before it was forbidden, or elſe, to excuſe certain people who had ignorantly prayed towards the firſt Kebla, and drank wine, &c.

[y] GOD is reconciled unto the prophet, &c.] Having forgiven the crime they committed, in giving the hypocrites leave to be abſent from the expedition to Tabuc, or, for the

(1) Al BEIDAWI

other

the hour of diſtreſs[z], after that it had wanted little but that the hearts of a part of them had ſwerved from their duty afterwards was he turned unto them, for he was compaſſionate and merciful towards them And he is alſo reconciled unto the three who were left behind[a], ſo that the earth became too ſtrait for them, notwithſtanding its ſpaciouſneſs, and their ſouls became ſtraitened within them, and they conſidered that there was no refuge from GOD, otherwiſe than by having recourſe unto him Then was he turned unto them, that they might repent for GOD is eaſy to be reconciled, and merciful. O true believers! fear GOD, and be with the ſincere. There was no reaſon why the inhabitants of MEDINA, and the ARABS of the deſart, who dwell around them, ſhould ſtay behind the apoſtle of GOD, or ſhould preſer themſelves before him[b]. This is unreaſon-

other ſins which they might, through inadvertence, have been guilty of For the beſt men have need of repentance (1)

[z] In the hour of diſtreſs] Viz In the expedition of Tabuc, wherein Mohammed's men were driven to ſuch extremities, that (beſides what they endured, by reaſon of the exceſſive heat) ten men were obliged to ride by turns on one camel, and proviſions and water were ſo ſcarce, that two men divided a date between them, and they were obliged to drink the water out of the camels ſtomachs (2)

[a] The three who were left behind] Or, as it may be tranſlated, who were left in ſuſpenſe, whether they ſhould be pardoned, or not (3) Theſe were three Ansars, named Caab Ebn Malec, Helâl Ebn Omeyya, and Merara Ebn Rabi, who went not with Mohammed to Tabuc, and were, therefore, on his return ſecluded from the fellowſhip of the other Moſlems, the prophet forbidding any to ſalute them, or to hold diſcourſe with them Under which interdiction they continued fifty days, till, on their ſincere repentance, they were, at length, diſcharged from it, by the revelation of this paſſage (4)

[b] Or ſhould prefer themſelves before him] By not caring to ſhare with him the dangers and fatigues of war Al Beidawi tells us, that after Mohammed had ſet out for Tabuc, one Abu Khaithama, ſitting in his garden, where his wife, a very beautiful woman, had ſpread a mat for him in the ſhade, and had ſet new dates and freſh water before him, after a little reflection, cried out, This is not well, that I ſhould thus take my eaſe and pleaſure, while the apoſtle of GOD is expoſed to the ſcorching of the ſunbeams, and the inclemencies of the air, and immediately mounting his camel, took his ſword and lance, and went to join the army

(1) Al BEIDAWI (2) Idem (3) See before, p 260 note [m]
(4) Al BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN ABULF vit Moh p 133, 126

able.

able · becauſe they are not diſtreſſed either by thirſt, or labour, or hunger, for the defence of GOD's true religion! neither do they ſtir a ſtep, which may irritate the unbelievers, neither do they receive from the enemy any damage, but a good work is written down unto them for the ſame, for GOD ſuffereth not the reward of the righteous to periſh And they contribute not any ſum, either ſmall or great, nor do they paſs a valley, but it is written down unto them, that GOD may reward them with a recompenſe exceeding that which they have wrought The believers are not obliged to go forth to war all together. if a part of every band of them go not forth, it is that they may diligently inſtruct themſelves in their religion [c], and may admoniſh their people, when they return unto them, that they may take heed to themſelves. O true believers! wage war againſt ſuch of the infidels as are near you [d], and let them find ſeverity [e] in you and know that GOD is with thoſe who fear him. Whenever a SURA is ſent down, there are ſome of them who ſay, Which of you hath this cauſed to increaſe in faith? It will increaſe the faith of thoſe who believe, and they ſhall rejoice.

[c] If a part of every band of them go not forth, &c] That is, if ſome of every tribe, or town, be left behind, the end of their being ſo left, is, that they may apply themſelves to ſtudy, and attain a more exact knowledge of the ſeveral points of their religion, ſo as to be able to inſtruct ſuch as, by reaſon of their continual employment in the wars, have no other means of information They ſay, that after the preceding paſſages were revealed, reprehending thoſe who had ſtaid at home during the expedition of Tabuc, every man went to war ſo that the ſtudy of religion, which is rather more neceſſary for the defence and propagation of the faith, than even arms themſelves, became wholly laid aſide and neglected, to prevent which, for the future, a convenient number are hereby directed to be left behind, that they may have leiſure to proſecute their ſtudies

[d] Such of the infidels as are near you] Either of your kindred or neighbours, for theſe claim your pity and care in the firſt place, and their converſion ought firſt to be endeavoured The perſons particularly meant in this paſſage, are ſuppoſed to have been the Jews of the tribes of Koreidha and Nadhir, and thoſe of Khaibar, or elſe the Greeks of Syria (1)

[e] Severity] Or fierceneſs in war.

(1) Al BEIDAWI

but

but unto thoſe in whoſe hearts there is an infirmity, it will add farther doubt unto their preſent doubt, and they ſhall die in their infidelity. Do they not ſee that they are tried every year once or twice? [f] yet they repent not, neither are they warned. And whenever a SURA is ſent down, they look at one another, ſaying, Doth any one ſee you [g], then do they turn aſide. GOD ſhall turn aſide their hearts from the truth, becauſe they are a people who do not underſtand Now hath an apoſtle come unto you of our own nation [h], an excellent perſon it is grievous unto him that ye commit wickedneſs he is careful over you, and compaſſionate and merciful towards the believers If they turn back, ſay, GOD is my ſupport. there is no GOD but he. On him do I truſt; and he is the LORD of the magnificent throne.

[f] They are tried every year once or twice] i e By various kinds of trials, or by being called forth to war, and by being made witneſſes of GOD's miraculous protection of the faithful

[g] They look at one another, &c] They wink at one another to riſe, and leave the prophet's preſence, if they think they can do it without being obſerved, to avoid hearing the ſevere and deſerved reproofs which they apprehend in every new revelation The perſons intended are the hypocritical Moſlems

[h] See chap, iii p 84 note [a]

END OF VOL. I.

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