



sents a living and moving picture of those sons of the desert: the whole context is deserving of perusal.

Note 4. p. 6.] The ante-Mahometan Arabs used their civil wars, as dates or eras, for the computation of time. See Al Kodaius, ap. Pocock. Specim. Hist. Arab. p. 178, 179. (edit. Oxon. 1806.) Can their character, as described in the text, require further illustration?

Note 5. p. 7.] The controversialist may dilate on the facility with which the revolution effected by Mahomet was accomplished. The real difficulties of his enterprize are to be found in the Koran. For the obstacles which he had to surmount, even among the *believing* Arabs, especially among the Bedoween tribes, see Sale's Koran, vol. i. pp. 255—257.; and compare Decline and Fall, vol. ix. p. 309.

Note 6. p. 8.] The cases of Moseilama, and of other imitators of Mahomet, have been plausibly adduced, as “*proving*, how easily the Arabians admitted, and how zealously they defended, the claims of every daring impostor.” (White, B. L. notes, p. xviii.) But the comparison does not hold. To *originate* an imposture, and to *copy* one, are widely different undertakings. The flame of religious enthusiasm, once kindled, is easily driven in new directions, “by every wind of doctrine.” To prepare and *ignite* the materials, *in the first instance*, is the true, and the only difficulty.

Note 7. p. 8.] The very able writer of the Article on Sale's Koran, in the Retrospective Review, has balanced, with a nice hand, the conflicting difficulties presented by the character of Mahomet. See vol. iii. pp. 6, 7, 8. “All accounts of Mahomet agree, that, *from his earliest years he was religiously inclined*, and showed great zeal against idolatry, and a strong wish for its extirpation.” Butler's Horæ Biblicæ: cf. Hott. H. O. p. 52.

Note 8. p. 9.] “Prolixum esset omnia Arabum idola enumerare. Eos autem ab idololatriâ ad unius veri Dei cognitionem et cultum perduxit Mohammed, *quod opus laudabile*.” Hyde, Hist. Relig. Vet. Pers. p. 129. edit. Oxon. 1760. For an enumeration of the multitudinous idols of Arabia, the reader may consult Pocock. Spec. pp. 4, 5—90, &c. “Si vesanos Arabum, tam antiquiorum quam recentiorum,—ritus inspexerimus, manifesta illorum idololatriæ, et certissima fœdæ horum superstitionis indicia reperiemus; *ea interim differentia*, ut non immerito voluisse videatur imperator Manuel Comnenus—ut aliis potius verbis conciperetur Anathematis, quo Mohammedanorum superstitionibus renuntiare a conversis ad fidem Christianam vellent, forma, quam ea qua denuntiaretur τῷ Θεῷ τοῦ Μωαμετ, Deo Mohammedis, utpote *quî non alium quam verum Deum colî voluit, licet modo non vero*.” Id. ib. p. 132, 133. Compare Bp. Warburton, D. L. Works, vol. v. p. 82. (edit. Lond. 1811.8vo.) with Davison on Prophecy, p. 163.

Note 9. p. 9.] For injunctions of Mahomet himself, inculcating pa-



tience, forbearance, and the use of *persuasion* with unbelievers, see Sale's Koran, vol. ii. pp. 94. 102. 239. 340. 347. 375. Among the earliest effects of these precepts, may be reckoned the conversion of the entire inhabitants of Medina, which took place long ere the Koran had sounded its note of war. See Sale, P. D. pp. 62, 63. Has not this important fact been slurred over, in the conduct of the Mahometan controversy?

Elmacin, himself a Christian, mentions the *voluntary* influx of pagans, Magians, Jews, and Christians, both natives of Arabia and foreigners, into the service and creed of Mahomet.

Note 10. p. 9.] In estimating the relative progress of the two religions, however, one great facility towards the original propagation of Mahometanism, when compared with the first promulgation of the Gospel, seems to have been unaccountably lost sight of, even by Christian writers. For the Gospel, by previously diffusing over the world the belief in, and the idea of, one God, had, if we may so express it, practically smoothed a channel for the Koran. Christianity, on the contrary, had to win its way, against the stream of a universal popular idolatry: hence arises a commanding accession to its intrinsic evidences, and a death-blow to the pretensions, in this aspect, of its imitative opponent.

Note 11. p. 11.] Doctor Robertson speaks of the *shortness* of the period employed in effecting the destruction of the Western empire. See Life of Charles V. vol. i. p. 71. The learned historian should have recollected, how far easier a task it is *to pull down*, than *to build*. Two centuries afforded ample space for the work of destruction.

Note 12. p. 11.] The author cannot allow a flippant note of Mr. Gibbon, in his narrative of the conquest of Syria, to pass without animadversion. Vol. ix. p. 384. note 51., the historian criticizes the mention of *bells* by Al Wakidi, and affects to question the competence, or the fidelity, of the truly learned interpreter. Mr. G. would have consulted better for his own reputation, if he had sometimes examined his authorities with more care. Al Wakidi's mention of bells in the churches of Bosra, is confirmed by the *Articles of Jerusalem* (a contemporary document); one of which expressly stipulates, that "The Christians should not ring, but only toll, their bells." Ockley, vol. i. pp. 223, 224., after MS. Arab.—Pocock, num. 362.

Mr. Gibbon's narrative of the conquest of Syria by the Saracens is disfigured by other specimens of sceptical presumption, which, in like manner, bring with them their own correction. His lively critique on the name of the general of Heraclius, may be instanced as a ludicrous example; the ingenuity of the historian here fairly runs away with his judgment:—"The name of *Werdan* is unknown to Theophanes, and, though it might belong to an Armenian chief, has very little of a Greek aspect or sound. If the Byzantine historians have mangled the oriental names,

the Arabs, *in this instance*, likewise have taken ample revenge on their enemies." Whatever may have been the *nominal* sins of Greeks or Arabs, Mr. Gibbon's emendation of the name of Werdan, for perverse ingenuity, bears away the palm from both. By a unique confusion of ideas, he first substitutes the *English* word, Andrew, for the *Greek* word, *Ανδρεας* and then triumphantly inquires, — "In transposing the *Greek* character from right to left, might they not produce, from the familiar appellation of *Andrew*, something like the anagram *Werdan*?" Decline and Fall, vol. ix. p. 388.

Less display of wit, and more accuracy of research, would have spared the historian of the empire the invention of his ingenious anagram. The name Werdan was *common* among the Greeks of the period. Mr. Ockley relates a remarkable anecdote of another Werdan, a Greek, and the slave of Amrou, the conqueror of Egypt: see History of the Saracens, vol. i. pp. 306, 307. See also Elmacin, Hist. Sar. p. 29., for a *third* Werdan.

Mr. Gibbon's wanton and presumptuous aspersion of the learned translator of Elmacin, the illustrious orientalist Erpenius, demands a graver censure. Having specified in the text, vol. ix. p. 369., the amount of the treasure said to have been captured at Madayn from the Persians, he thus undertakes, in a note, to correct "the fabulous computation: — yet I still suspect, that the extravagant numbers of Elmacin may be the error, not of the text, *but of the version*. The best translators from the Greek, for instance, I find to be very poor *arithmeticians*." And, following up the blow, the historian elsewhere adds, "I will *never* be answerable for the numbers of Erpenius." Mr. Gibbon ingenuously professes, in this fiftieth chapter of his history, *his total ignorance* of the oriental idioms. And ignorance of these idioms is, certainly, rather a novel kind of qualification, for the censor of an Arabic version or translator. Although the author may not vouch for the uniform correctness of Erpenius, he will undertake to answer, on this occasion, for the ignorance of Mr. Gibbon; who talks of *arithmetical numbers*, where the Arabic uses none. Was he, however, also ignorant, that, in this case, "the numbers of Erpenius" are confirmed by Ockley? See Hist. Sar. vol. i. p. 230. But *who* is the writer, whom a translator of translations would thus superciliously make light of? The *reviver* of Arabic literature in Europe; and the revered preceptor of Golius. See Lex. Arab. Præfat. The learned Hottinger has justly styled Erpenius, "*felicissimus ille Arabicarum literarum instaurator*." Primit. Heidelberg. p. 2. "On dit," says M. Lavocat, "que le roi de Maroc admiroit tellement les lettres qu'Erpenius lui écrivoit en Arabe, au nom des Provinces-Unies, qu'il ne pouvoit se lasser de les lire, et de les montrer à ceux qui parloient naturellement cette langue." Dict. Hist. Port. Titre, *Erpenius*. The author needs not offer an apology for this production of testimonies: for, a wanton attempt to



affix a stigma upon *such* a name, is a crime against the republic of letters. Mr. Gibbon's offence is capital, since his accusation is *wholly unfounded*. The Arabic word *الف* signifies *a thousand*; and the original of Elmacin *ثلاثة آلاف الف دينار*, is correctly rendered by Mr. Gibbon, after the depreciated version of Erpenius, "Three thousands of thousands of thousands of pieces of gold."

The lapses accumulated in this note, from a single chapter of the *Decline and Fall*, however apparently trivial, furnish ground for very serious inferences, respecting the degree of weight attaching to the general authority of Mr. Gibbon, as an historical writer. A judgment thus given to err in small things, is quite as liable to prove equally erroneous in graver speculations. And they will not be far wrong in their estimate, who shall try, with reference to the foregoing specimens of a sceptical criticism, the more elaborate scepticism exhibited through the fifteenth and sixteenth chapters of the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*.

Note 13. p. 12.] For the extent of the Saracenic empire, A. H. 107., see Roderic of Toledo, *Hist. Arab.* p. 11. Compare Hottinger, *Hist. Orient. ad init.*; Walton, *Bibl. Polyglot. Prolegom.* tom. i. p. 93.; D'Herbelot, *Biblioth. Orient.* titre *Eslam*; White, B. L. pp. 74, 75.; and the *Horæ Biblicæ* of Mr. Charles Butler, Works, vol. i. pp. 220, 223. The caliphate reached its largest compass of territory, under Walid I., A. H. 95. A. H. 114., it threatened the total subjugation of the West.

Note 14. p. 14.] White, B. L. p. 47. The manners of the Turks, at the present day, vividly exemplify the lasting force of the mental control of their religion. For original authorities on this subject, see Hott. *Hist. Orient.* pp. 304—306.

Note 15. p. 19.] "The Turks ascribe the fortunate successes of the empire, not so much to human prudence, policy, and valour, as that their first emperors waged war, *not* through ambition and a desire of dominion, *but* through the zeal of propagating the Mahometan religion; and, by that means, they procured the divine assistance to their undertakings." Demetrius Cantemir, *History of the Ottoman empire*, p. 8. note 5. of English translation.

Note 16. p. 19.] White, B. L. pp. 383, 384. Timour, in this zeal for proselytism, only followed the example set in India, by its first *Turkish* conquerors, Mahmud of Gazna and his successors. See Elmacin, *Hist. Sar.*; Maurice, *History of Hindostan*, ch. xii.; and Mills, *Hist. Muham.* pp. 190—192.

Note 17. p. 20.] For an exemplary animadversion on *rational* Christianity, falsely so called (descriptive, to the life, of the Unitarianism of our own day), and for an admirable exposure of those, who, without the apo-

logy of Mahometans, betray more than Mahometan inveteracy, in their rejection of the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity in Unity, see Hottinger, *Hist. Orient.* pp. 334, 335. The predilection of modern Unitarians for the Mussulmans and their creed, has been often, and strangely, manifested. An *original* document, on the subject, is to be found in the Works of the Rev. Charles Leslie, vol. i. p. 207. The liking is certainly disinterested; for the compliment is by no means returned. The Mahometans, on the contrary, have always been remarkable, for their preference of the orthodox Christians (or Melchites), to the heterodox (or Jacobites). The *apostolical* antiquity of the catholic doctrine of the Trinity, is even contended for, by Mussulman doctors: "*Paulum, ex persecutore, factum esse Christianismi lumen et columnen, TRINITATIS clarissimum doctorem, fortissimumque hyperaspisten.*" Ahmed. Muham. ap. Hott. H. O. p. 231.

[Note 18. p. 21.] The difficulty of the solution is only augmented, by the vulgar notion, that Islamism is altogether a religion of *form*, and its theism a mere abstraction. It would much advance the interests of truth, if controversialists in general, and, above all, if Christian controversialists, would learn to attend less to pre-conceptions, and more to facts. In the present case, for example, the whole evidence of facts bears witness to the devotional spirit inherent in the Mahometan superstition. In Barbary and India, in Persia and Egypt, in the isles of the eastern ocean and in the steppes of Tartary, Mahometanism is characterized by the same peculiar spirit of devotion. See especially Vol. I. pp. 361, 362. of this work, and the Conclusion, with its notes.

[Note 19. p. 29.] The foresight commonly ascribed by the learned to Mahomet, in the effort to account for his enterprize, and for its success, is almost more miraculous, than any thing laid claim to in his pretended revelation:—"Cum videret (are the words of Hottinger) Judæos, per orbem dispersos, viribusque attritos; Christianos, seu Nazaræos, tum in vita dissolutos, tum schismatibus inter se miserè laceratos; Arabes, densissima tenebrarum et errorum caligine obrutos; *omnem reliquam plebem*, [!] hianti quasi ore nova expectare; — *tum*, inquam, veterator novam, ex omnium religionum sacris conflata, proposuit religionem." *Hist. Orient.* p. 213. cf. iv. p. 239.

Does this picture describe the career of some philosophic potentate, placed on a commanding eminence, and practised in the political survey of states and nations? No, it is intended for the delineation of an Arab of the desert, an untaught pagan, who had made one or two trading voyages into Syria! Surely we might, quite as reasonably, be invited to swallow *all* the miracles, of *all* the Mahometan commentators together, as thus, with M. Hottinger, to account for the success of Mahomet, by a miracle greater than the collective wonders of Mahometan tradition, — by attributing to the arch-impostor an intuitive knowledge of mankind,



and of the world, his attainments and opportunities considered, little short of omniscience. Of Mahomet's native sagacity, indeed, we cannot form too high an estimate: but it was not *super-human*, and could be exercised, consequently, only in proportion to his means and opportunities of observation. As the scene gradually opened, doubtless his views enlarged.

Note 20. p. 31.] Even sceptics have fallen into the same error: "*Bayle croit (observe M. Oelsner) que la terreur des armes a été l'unique cause des progrès étonnans de l'Islamisme. S'il la désignoit comme une des principales, il auroit raison. D'autres écrivains ont prétendue que la pluralité des femmes avoit déterminé le succès du nouveau culte. D'autres l'ont attribué aux promesses du paradis. La pluralité des femmes a sans doute gagné des partisans à l'Islamisme; mais un motif de sensualité ne sauroit jamais, à lui seul, faire la fortune d'une religion; et pour que les promesses du paradis soient efficaces, elles demandent le préalable d'un motif de foi et de conscience. Les raisons alléguées ne sont donc pas suffisantes pour expliquer le fait en question.*" Effets de la Relig. de Moham. p. 18.

Note 21. p. 32.] The claim to miracles, as the test of a *new religion*, is by no means so easily set up, as the sceptic would have us believe. The cautious reserve of Mahomet (advantageously placed as he was for practising deceptions, in a dark age and among a rude and credulous people) upon the subject of miraculous evidences, reflects great lustre on the evidences of the Gospel miracles, which purport to have been performed at the most enlightened period, and among the most cultivated nations of the ancient world. For every part and feature of the early histories of Christianity, and of Mahometanism, we alike possess, in the New Testament, and in the Koran, *contemporary authority*. And every unbiassed mind must feel the contrast, between the full assertion of a miraculous origin, by the one document, and the total abstinence from the advancement of any such claim, in the other. Had Mahomet dared to hazard the pretension to miracles, assuredly there would have been found no parsimony of pseudo-miracles in his Koran: the omission is itself a voucher for the authenticity of the Gospel miracles. For, on the same principle it is clear, that, had Christ and his apostles *not* actually performed the miracles ascribed to them, the relations of these miracles could not have been introduced into the New Testament. M. Hottinger brings satisfactory proof that Mahomet himself never assumed, as his sectarists erroneously suppose, to be a worker of miracles. He, in fact, continually disclaims the power. See Hist. Orient. pp. 301—303; and compare D'Herbelot, Biblioth. Orient. tom. i. pp. 135, 136. titre *Aiât*.

Note 22. p. 33.] The compass of the evidences from prophecy concerning our Lord, has been admirably represented by the late excellent Dr. Townson, in a sermon for Christmas Day: "Since the coming of

Christ in the flesh was not to be with observation, that is, not with outward show, or worldly pomp ; it was an instance of a wise and gracious Providence, that his character, his life and actions, the place of his birth, and the time of his coming, should be noted and marked out beforehand ; that they among whom he was to appear, might know with certainty, and acknowledge their Lord. Hence a long train of prophecies concerning Christ or Messiah ; from Adam to Malachi ; from the opening, to the sealing, of the spirit of prophecy : which, as the time grew nearer, were still delivered with greater plainness and distinctness ; till the oracles of God became so full and complete on this head, that, *almost every thing remarkable, that is recorded in the Gospels, as an event, had been delivered in the Old Testament, by way of prediction.*" Practical Discourses of the late Ven. Thomas Townson, D. D. p.352. Private impression, London, 1828.

Note 23. p. 33.] " It is certainly one of the most convincing proofs, that Mahommedanism 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 persecution, as well as other oppositions, for three hundred years together ; and at length made the Roman emperors themselves submit thereto.*" Sale, P. D. p. 65.

For some excellent remarks on the relative merits of the two religions, particularly with reference to their propagation, the reader, who happens to be unacquainted with the tract, will find his advantage in consulting President Edwards' " Miscellaneous Observations," ch. ix. See his Works, vol. viii. pp. 259—265. The contrast in *times, places, means, and methods*, of propagation, is there forcibly exposed ; while the propagation of Mahometanism is shown itself to be, in one sense, "*a part of the propagation of Christianity,*" and "*a confirmation of revealed religion.*"

Note 24. p. 34.] " Multum quidem Christiani scriptores desudarunt ... in condenda Muhammedis historia ; *ita tamen, ut multis quoque erroribus, labores suos commacularent.* ... Itaque judicio, et examine, opus est, ne vel falsa et putida obijciantur, sine certitudine, iis qui a nobis dissentiunt ; vel, in alterum extremum currendo, omnia excusentur, pallientur, vel negentur, quæ homini impostori solent obijci. ... Quæ autem, in hoc argumento, vel cavenda, vel sequenda sint, *in historiâ criticâ sectæ Muhammedicæ quærenda sunt.* ... TALEM AUTEM HACTENUS DESIDERAMUS." Brucker, Hist. Crit. Philos. tom. vi. p. 478.

Note 25. p. 35.] The " various causes," so cautiously hinted at by Dr. White, have been elaborately collected by Hottinger. See Hist. Orient. pp. 274—339. The reader may form some judgment of the value of the rest, when he finds assigned, as one principal cause of the success of Mahometanism, the fact of its conservation !! " Duratio di-

turna, et nunquam interrupta, quæ Muhammedismo, per secula decem, non potest negari." But *why* "diuturna?" *why* "nunquam interrupta?" A rare specimen, surely, of the argument in a circle. Dr. White, if not with equal candour, at least with more controversial skill, has altogether shunned this enumeration.

Note 26. p. 37.] For the constancy with which Mahometan sects have, for conscience-sake, endured persecution from their Mussulman brethren, see Hott. H. O. pp. 252, 253.; and D'Herbelot, B. O. t. i. p. 166, &c., for the penalties undergone by numerous confessors, upon the controversy relative to *the creation of the Koran*. On the subject of persecution *from without*, compare Sale's Koran, vol. ii. p. 91. note o.

Note 27. p. 37.] Grasserus, quoted by Hottinger, bears testimony to the zeal of Mahometans in the defence and propagation of their faith, altogether independently of any views to the extension of their temporal dominion. Speaking of the Arabs or Moors of India, he proceeds: — "De religione sua propaganda, non minùs laborare dicuntur, quàm Jesuitæ....Nam et Calluph Mechanus (qui verus Muhammedanorum Papa) in prædictos regiones suos, subinde emissarios, homines acres, et in lege sua exercitatos, submittit, qui et Paganis Alkoranum prædicant, et Jesuitis, armis et voce, acerrimè resistunt." Plaga Regia, p. 151. ap. Hott. H. O. p. 281. According to the same writer, a similar zeal for proselyting prevails among the Javanese; who embraced Islamism so late as A. D. 1562. By the vigilant circumspection of the sheriff of Mecca, missionaries, Grasserus tells us, were sent to Java; "ut res Muselmännicas ibidem curarent." Compare Asiat. Research. vol. v. pp. 7, 8. Hottinger describes Turkey as filled by a constant influx of *voluntary renegades*, from the provinces on the Austrian and Hungarian frontiers; from Bosnia, Armant, Sclavonia, and Albania. H. O. p. 283. Perversions of this nature have by no means abated at the present day. See Jowett's Christ. Research. pp. 264—273.

Note 28. p. 44.] The *co-ordinate* advancement of religion, and of learning, was among the earliest cares of Abderahman, the founder of the dynasty of the house of Ommiah in Spain. *After* the rites of religion, and the administration of justice, the interests of literature appear to have held the chief place, in the policy of this illustrious erector of a new caliphate: "Il établit un grand nombre d'écoles, pour l'instruction de la jeunesse; il recommanda, qu'on lui inculquât d'abord les principes de la religion, et qu'on tournât après son esprit vers la science et les lettres; montrant lui-même combien il les estimait, par l'appui constant qu'il avait accordé aux savans et aux poètes." Histoire de la Domination des Arabes en Espagne, tome i. p. 243.

Note 29. p. 44.] In his masterly survey of the influences of Mahometanism upon Christendom, Mr. Sharon Turner traces the revival, not



only of letters, but of *religion* also, in Catholic Europe, to intercourse with the Saracen empire : " From the hour of its portentous birth, Mohammedanism, notwithstanding its own absurdities, was *the unceasing censor of perverted Christianity*. Based upon its leading tenet of the unity of the Divine nature, sincere in its devotion, simple in its worship,...it fiercely accused the Christian world of idolatry and infidelity, of folly, superstition, and imposture. *It had retained some valuable truths of THE PATRIARCHAL THEISM* [see Note 42. p. 56. and Appendix, Nos. i. ii. of the present work]; and, so far, was fitly *corrective* of corrupted Christianity. ...That the Mussulman doctrines interested the curious in Europe, we know by the fact, that a French Abbot, the friend of St. Bernard, translated the Koran in the twelfth century. ...It was, at least, a chronological coincidence, that, after Mohammedanism had been established in Asia, Africa, and Spain, and after the crusades and other intercourse had brought it fully to the consideration of Europe, *reforming opinions abounded in its vicinity, and rapidly spread*. ...The sciences cultivated by the Spanish Arabs, drew inquisitive men, from all parts of Europe, to their cities and schools; and these were among the foremost in diffusing new ideas among their contemporaries. Gerbert, one of these students [afterwards Pope Sylvester II.], in the tenth century was bold enough *to call the Pope anti-christ*. It was from the schools in France, which he had planted, that Berengarius arose, *who attacked transubstantiation*, in the succeeding age. The schoolmen, whose inquiries roused the mind of Europe into discussions that never ceased till Wickliffe appeared, chiefly originated from the studies of the Arabian metaphysics [see Vol. II. pp. 289—296. of this work]; and Leo, the imperial Iconoclast, was urged to his resolution of destroying the images in the Christian churches, by a native of the country which the Saracens were occupying." Hist. Engl. M. A. vol. v. pp. 111—116. In this passage we have the steps of the ascent, from the midnight darkness of popery, to the light and liberty of the Reformation; and, in each step, an imprint of the influences of Mahometanism.

Note 30. p. 45.] " Florentibus Arabum rebus, summa meliorum litterarum imperitia in tota ecclesia Latina erat: quum bonæ disciplinæ inter Muhammedanos maximè vigerent. Et profecto quicquid Latini scripserunt, postquam illos inscitæ suæ monuit Arabum industria, *id totum Arabibus acceptum debent*; Philosophiam, Medicinam, et Mathematica. Nam nullum Græcum scriptorem habuerunt, quem non ex Arabica in Latinam translatum legerint. Ptolemæi magnam syntaxin, prius ex Græca Arabicam, ex Arabica Latinam factam, tractare cœperunt. Sic Euclides Arabice, deinde Latine, conversus, tamdiu inter nos obtinuit. Donec, capta Constantinopoli, exules Græci nos, relictis lacunis, ad ipsos fontes convertere docuerunt." Joseph. Scaliger, in epist. ad Stephanum Ubertum.



Note 31. p. 45.] Sir William Jones entertained the opinion, that the modern history of mathematics may *still* receive considerable illustration, from unexplored Arabic MSS. and versions. See *Asiat. Research.* vol. i. p. 412. ed. 8vo. For the acknowledged services already rendered by the Arabians, especially by their advances in astronomy and optics, and by their invention or first introduction of Algebra, see sect. xiii.

Note 32. p. 46.] On the gain derived by the Latins, from the study of the Saracenic literature, and on the uses of Arabic literature, see Walton, *Prolegom.* xiv. *Bibl. Polyglott.* tom. i. p. 95. "Si scientiæ Græcæ apud nos *peruissent* (is the bold expression of Erpenius), ex linguâ eas Arabicâ, dicitur, restitui posse." *De Ling. Arab.* p. 14. Many Greek authors are said still to exist in Arabic versions, the originals having long since been lost. See Olaus Celsius, ap. *Biblioth. Brem.* Nov. Class v. pp. 221, 222.

Note 33. p. 46.] "Foventibus apud Arabes, Almamone, et qui ipsi in imperio succederent, bonas literas, eo usque tandem studio et ingenio profecerunt, *ut vix ipsis Græcis cedere videantur.* Nihil in ullo literarum genere intactum reliquerunt. Nihil habuit Græcia eximium, quod non suum fecerint; de suo, quæ non acceperunt, multa *non minus eximia* protulerunt." Saville, ap. Pocock. *Spec.* p. 172.

Note 34. p. 47.] "La condition des vaincus devint si douce, qu'au lieu de l'oppression qu'ils craignaient, ils se félicitèrent d'appartenir à des maîtres, qui, leur laissant le libre exercice de leur religion, la possession de leurs biens, et la jouissance de leurs libertés, n'exigeaient d'eux qu'un tribut modique, et la soumission aux lois générales, établies dans l'intérêt commun." Extrait de la Préface de M. Antoine Conde, ap. De Marlès, *Hist. des Arabes en Espagne*, tome i. p. 14. conf. tome iii. pp. 401, 402. This gentle character of the Saracen rule in Spain, was in accordance with the spirit of their primitive conquest of the peninsula: "Une cruauté inutile (observes M. De Marlès) n'entra jamais, durant le cours de cette guerre, dans le plan de conduite des généraux Arabes. Les Musulmans, que les chroniques Espagnoles se plaisent à peindre comme des barbares altérés de sang, se montraient partout, humains, généreux, et protecteurs des peuples. Cela seul peut expliquer la rapidité de leurs conquêtes, et le peu de résistance dans le corps de la nation." *Ib.* t. i. p. 84. *note.*

Yet, according to the Bampton Lecturer, the nations who have embraced Mahometanism are universally distinguished, "by a spirit of hostility and hatred to the rest of mankind." White, p. 297. The style of these sermons, indeed, throughout, aims too manifestly to dazzle by the force of brilliant and ambitious *contrasts*: Christianity is merciful; therefore, Mahometanism must be painted cruel. The zeal of controversy seems equally disposed to forget, the exemplary humanity of the Saracens in Spain, and the merciless barbarities of the Spaniards in South America,



and of the Portuguese in India. Even during the iron middle ages, the religion of Mahomet was distinguished by a spirit of charitable and courteous beneficence. The treatment of the Christians of Jerusalem by the generous Saladin, may be cited as a memorable example. The honourable fidelity with which he gave effect to the articles of surrender, and provided, not only for the safe conduct, but for the support of the departing exiles, extorted praise even from the Chroniclers of the Crusades. See Gulielm. Tyr. Continuat. Bell. Sac. ap. Martene et Durand, Vet. Monument. Collect. tom. v. ff. 618—621.; and compare § xii. p. 208. note (*) of this work.

Note 35. p. 47.] Retrospective Review, vol. iii. pp. 5, 6. The Oxford professor, when he deplores (B. L. p. 299.) the, perhaps, apocryphal destruction of the Alexandrine library by the Saracens, has no memory for this authentic and recent sample of the barbarism of superstition. The illustrious projector of the Complutensian Polyglot, applying the torch to the royal library of Cordova, presents a picture of the triumph of bigotry over genius, such as the church of Rome alone can boast! For the literature of the Moors in Spain, see section xiii. passim. An interesting notice of Moorish literature occurs in Swinburne's Travels through Spain, p. 280.

Note 36. p. 48.] The transition is emphatically marked by the greatest of our orientalists: "Languescere, *sub barbaris Turcorum armis*, coepere demum apud Arabes hæc studia; et cum honore pristino, pristinum etiam vigorem amissere." Pocock. Specimen. pp. 172, 173. Before, however, the light of Arabian science was suffered to become extinct, it had fulfilled its providential period; like those heavenly bodies which perhaps preserve the balance of the universe, while apparently governed by distinct laws, and moving in an eccentric orbit: "The period of Arabian learning, which began with the building of Bagdad, ended only with the suppression of the caliphate; and was just coincident with that of European barbarism and ignorance." Philosophy of Modern History, vol. i. p. 254.

Note 37. p. 49.] See Section xiii. pp. 262, 263.

Note 38. p. 51.] "It has been from the cultivation of the sciences that are most intimately connected with natural philosophy, and from those pursuits which began the experimental study of it, that the Arabians have so much benefited mankind." Turner, H. M. A. vol. iv. pp. 417, 418.

Note 39. p. 51.] For proofs that the Saracens owed their first institution in letters and philosophy to the tolerated Syrian Christians, see Turner, vol. iv. pp. 414, 415; and compare Sect. xiii.

Note 40. p. 54.] Instead of "a deep pause in science and philosophy," we should, from the chair of the Professor of Arabic, have heard of the great advances which Islamism occasioned in both. From the unfounded assertions of Dr. White, it is a relief to turn to the facts of history, in the pages of Mr. Turner: "Three important mines of intellectual wealth were opened, in England and Europe, principally



by *Arabian scholars*, or by those who acquired and cultivated their attainments: these were, the *scholastic philosophy*, which revived that activity of mind, which the Grecian vanity had so much abused, and the gross habits of the Romans had so long paralyzed; those *mathematical sciences*, which the Grecians had imported from Alexandria, and had forgotten; and that *natural and experimental knowledge*, which neither Greeks nor Romans had ever much, or permanently, valued or pursued. — The great national improvement, that soon became discernible in England, after the twelfth century, arose from the combined operation, of the scholastic vigour and penetration of thought, — of the sublime deductions, and unerring reasoning, of the mathematical sciences, — and of the stream of knowledge, perpetually enlarging, that began to pour into the world from natural and experimental philosophy." Hist. Engl. Middle Ages, vol. iv. pp. 405, 406.

Note 41. p. 55.] Error, when universal, may generally be traced to the perversion of truth. Idolatry doubtless had its origin in the *corruption* of the true doctrine of the Godhead; and the deifications of their fellow-men, in the natural aspirations of mankind, labouring under the effects of the Fall, after an *approachable* intercessor. The primitive connection between Gentile superstition, and the tradition of the mystery of the Trinity in Unity, may be deduced from the doctrine of the philosophers, especially that of the Pythagorean and Platonic schools, respecting the Godhead, which so wonderfully adumbrated the true belief.

The very errors of the heathen world, then, were efforts of human nature, to "feel after and find" God, as he is revealed to us in Scripture. The TRIUNE JEHOVAH is discernible in the multiplication of the Deity; the INCARNATE WORD, in the deification of men and heroes, and the introduction of sensible objects of worship; and the Spirit of God, or the HOLY GHOST, in the belief in oracles and dæmons. The yearnings of nature are strongly perceptible in these universal efforts of what has been, inadequately, termed *natural religion*; and its dictates have been fully met and satisfied, by the doctrines of Christianity. Hence the omnipotent success of the Gospel, on its first promulgation; a success, without parallel in the annals of the world. For Christianity, from the apostolic times to the age of Constantine, prospered solely by the arts of peace. Whereas Mahometanism, which proclaimed belief in a naked theism, must own itself indebted for its prosperity, chiefly to its successful appeal to the sword. The facts of history thus demonstrate, against the dreams of deism, which of the two religions was more congenial to the wants, the wishes, and the instinctive anticipations of mankind.

Note 42. p. 56.] In a publication occasionally referred to in these pages, it has been mentioned, as a high probability, respecting the founder of Islamism, "that his first design was that of raising himself an honourable



name, by striking at the root of the corruptions which surrounded him, and restoring those strict notions of the Unity and perfections of the Deity, which have ever formed the birthright and inheritance of the outcast children of Ishmael." Retrospect. Rev. vol. iii. p. 8. Compare Note 29. p. 44., and Appendix, Nos. i. ii. The belief in the Divine Unity, which prevailed throughout Ante-Mahometan Arabia, has been stated by Pocock, Spec. pp. 91, 92. 111—115. 145, 146, &c.; Sale, P. D. p. 21.; White, B. L. p. 68.; and Koran, passim.

The Sabian superstition had been long the prevailing religion of the Arabs (see Sale, P. D. pp. 18—20.); and one of its leading sects maintained a doctrine of the Godhead rudely analogous to the Scriptural doctrine of the Trinity in Unity: "Meminit Shahrestanius sectæ apud ipsos quam *الحربانية* Harbanistas appellat, qui Deum et Unum et plures statuunt: *unum* scilicet *essentia*; *plures*, quatenus se pluribus individuis visu perceptilibus, velut septem planetis, necnon et personis terrestribus, se, indat, in quibus se manifestet, ac personam induat, citra tamen unitatis essentiæ suæ corruptionem." Pocock, Spec. pp. 149, 150. In this crude and strange conception, may we not discern, still, the effort to cling to the wreck of patriarchal tradition? the desire to make Deity approachable by man, by embodying the Divine essence in some personal and visible form?

Note 43. p. 57.] "The Arabians, naturally brave and warlike, had, even in their divided state, resisted with success every exertion of the Roman power." White, p. 73. "The non ante devictis Sabeæ Regibus (Od. i. 29.) and the intacti Arabum thesauri (Od. iii. 24.) of Horace, attest the virgin purity of Arabia." Decline and Fall, vol. ix. p. 232, note 27. Yet, in the face of facts, and of his own quotations, Mr. Gibbon expends some elaborate special pleading (ib. pp. 229. 239.), to prove that "the perpetual independence of the Arabs" is an unfounded boast. The object is as clear, as the argument is insignificant. The sceptical historian halts at every step. His exceptions are barely sufficient to establish the rule. He exults to discover, in the "Roman province of Arabia, the peculiar wilderness in which Ismael and his sons must have pitched their tents in the face of their brethren;" but he conveniently keeps out of view, that "the Bedowens, whose arms and deserts are not only the safeguards of their own freedom, but the barriers also of the happy Arabia," (ib. pp. 231, 232.) are acknowledged, by the Arabs themselves, to be the only pure and undoubted descendants and representatives of Ishmael.

Note 44. p. 62.] The anxiety manifested by Christian writers on the Mahometan controversy, to escape from the recognition of any interference of a special Providence in the rise of this arch-heresy, is perfectly anomalous. To insist on the operation of merely human causes, in the production of an event which is acknowledged subject of prophecy, is, in fact, to

take the world out of the hands of God. The course of argument in question assuredly could not have been adopted, had the able and upright advocates of revelation been led to consider, that, pushed to the extreme, it will infallibly lower and impugn the sure word of prophecy; making the word of God a predictor of events, over which the Author of that word has yet no special superintendence or control. Such an inference will not stand the least examination. For example, when Daniel foretells the fortunes of the four great empires, or when Isaiah speaks of Cyrus (whom God terms *his servant*) by name, — do we think of denying, should we not tremble to deny, the actual guidance of Providence in shaping the career of those empires, or the hand of a special Providence, in raising up that chosen instrument of the Divine counsels?

Why, then, scruple or shun the admission of a *similar* pre-ordination of events, in the case of Mahomet, whose still more formidable dominion, and far more lasting and fatal agency in the affairs of men, are equally subjects of clear and unquestioned predictions? Yet, reading the expositions of Mahometanism offered by the generality of controversialists, — and noting the elaborate efforts made to explain and account for every fact and feature of its history, from causes merely human, — it might well be thought essential to Christianity, to its interests, and to its evidences, that the notion of divine interposition in the production of *any* results, beyond the immediate sphere, and independent of the direct action, of the one true religion, should be absolutely and altogether banished from the mind.

No such conclusion, assuredly, entered into the contemplation of the class of writers here adverted to: but the train of argument into which, from the best and purest motives, they have inadvertently fallen, most certainly leads direct to it. My next notes will supply some marks of that superintendence, which this reasoning (must it be called?) undertakes to remove.

Note 45. p. 63.] “There could *no* time have happened, more fatal to the empire, nor more favourable to the enterprizes of the Saracens; *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.” Ockley, vol. i. p. 18. Dr. White, while strangely blind himself to the palpable footsteps of Providence in the whole matter, thus attests them by his acknowledgment of the appropriateness of the crisis; in which he undertakes to establish, “*from the express and universal testimony of history*, that, *every circumstance of the times, every particular in the manners and situation of mankind*, plainly and undeniably concurred to favour the success of Mahometan imposture.” B. L. p. 120.

Note 46. p. 64.] “The birth of Mahomet was *fortunately* placed in the most degenerate and disorderly period of the Persians, the Romans, and the barbarians of Europe: the empires [empire?] of Trajan, or even of Con-

stantine or Charlemagne, would have repelled the assault of the naked Saracens; and the torrent of fanaticism might have been obscurely lost in the sands of Arabia." D. & F. vol. ix. p. 360. For "fortunately," substitute *providentially*, and the concurrence of the agent with the times becomes explained, by the only truly rational mode of explanation. But Mr. Gibbon never admits a Providence in the affairs of men; and his history continually labours under the jarring and contradictory effects of his scepticism. — For the total disorganization of the Greek empire in the seventh century, compare Ockley, vol. i. pp. 17, 18; and Sale, P. D. pp. 46, 47. — Yet the victorious armies of Heraclius, recently returned from the triumphs of the Persian campaign, must have been formidable; composed too, as they were, chiefly of Tartar horse. See Elmacin, H. S. pp. 13, 14. This historian records a severe defeat of the Saracens, under the walls of Damascus; in which their leader, Khaled ebn Said, was killed. Ib. pp. 17, 18. A similar inference may be drawn, respecting the military force of Persia. See Ockley, vol. i. pp. 107—110, for the repulse of the Saracens at Thaalabiyah, and for the drawn battle of Hirah; and Elmacin, p. 25., for the desperate stand made by the Persians at Nehavend. Perhaps the picture of decay has been somewhat overcharged. Much should be allowed for the first fury of Mussulman fanaticism.

Note 47. p. 66.] "It was idle and ridiculous to bestow nothing but insolent opprobrium, and ignorant declamation, upon one of the most powerful instruments which the hand of Providence has raised up, to influence the opinions and destinies of mankind, through a long succession of ages." Retrospect. Rev. vol. iii. p. 3. Every reader on Mahometanism must have in his mind *specimens* of the language here alluded to. "*Versutum illud Diaboli instrumentum — Diaboli stercus — propudium naturæ et retri-mentum*" — are among the learned courtesies of Hottinger to Mahomet. The contrast between this style of compliment, and the character of the false prophet, as delineated by another eminent and orthodox scholar, is amusing: "*Id certum, naturalibus egregiè dotibus instructum Moham-medem — præ se ferentem liberalitatem in egenos, comitatem in singulos — ac, præ ceteris, reverentiam Divini nominis. — Magnus idem patientiæ, charitatis, misericordiæ, beneficentiæ, gratitudinis, honoris in parentes ac superiores præco, ut et divinarum laudum.*" Spanheim, Hist. Eccles. sect. vii. c. vii. l. 5. 7.

Note 48. p. 66.] The just distinction between the antagonist systems, viewed in a providential aspect, is this: the phenomena of Christianity, prove that it came from God; but those of Islamism show only that it sprang from the overruled agency of natural events, and that it is still upheld by their providential concurrence.

Note 49. p. 67.] Such appears to have been the spirit of the learned



Sale; whose memory has been very undeservedly aspersed by controversial writers. Such, also, appears to be the spirit of his able and eloquent apologist in a modern publication. It is the author's hope and belief, that to them, and to others, who have ventured, on grounds of conscientious principle, to think for themselves on the subject of Mahometanism, — may be justly ascribed, “the motives of the humble inquirer, who wishes to attribute actions to good intentions when he can, and *hopes* to be able to discern something short of unmixed evil in a dispensation, which has been allowed, for centuries, to regulate the morals and religious feelings of millions : — to claim some favourable consideration for the instructor and legislator of a whole hemisphere, and to dissipate the cloud of absurd and calumnious fable, that had been so long gathering around his name.” Retros. Rev. vol. iii. pp. 1, 2, 7.

Note 50. p. 68.] See note 27. “The Mahomedan religion made great progress in Malabar; as well from the zeal of its more early proselytes in converting the natives, as in purchasing or procuring the children of the poorer classes, and bringing them up in that faith.” Asiat. Research. v. 5. p. 7. This whole relation supplies a striking example of the propagation of Mahometanism through the medium of its commercial influences; and of the exemplary zeal with which the Arab traders, from the first ages of the Hejra, have converted the opportunities of commerce into means of advancing their religion.

Note 51. p. 69.] The idea of providential co-operation in the production of the Mahometan apostasy, has been resisted with needless jealousy. If we consult Scripture, we shall find that Divine Providence specially interposed, of old, in cases as unlikely. For example, the lying spirits put by Jehovah into the mouths of *false prophets*, purporting to prophesy the truth. See 1. Kings, xxii. 19—23. The special interposition is, in this instance, unquestionable; and the case is peculiarly in point. The action of the instrumentality employed, upon a *greater* or a *lesser* scale, makes no difference as to establishing the *principle* of providential interference.

Note 52. p. 69.] “*Et universa terra admirata est post BESTIAM, licet in die suo sit complendum, jam tamen non desunt plurimi, qui admirentur, et quasi titubare incipiant, dicentes : Quid esse creditur hoc indicium, quòd tanta multitudo adversatur fidei, et quòd ita pravalere permittitur contra populum Christianum? Putas, quòd tot millia hominum damanda sunt, quasi unus homo? Putas, sine causâ permittit Deus illos in tantam excrescere infinitatem?*” Abbas Joachim in Apoc. xiii. ap. Hott. H. O. p. 280. The queries are put into the mouths of persons, perplexed by the phenomena of Mahometanism, and whose faith is supposed to be endangered by the survey of them. The passage adds another authority

of the middle ages, for the application of Rev. xiii. 11—18. to Mahomet and Mahometanism. See Vol. I. § iii.

Note 53. p. 69.] “We trust, that we shall be excused with our readers for the avowal of a wish to find some bright spots in a system, deeply dyed, we may be obliged to admit, in the result, with imposture; — that we may humbly vindicate ‘The ways of God to man,’ in doubting whether such an immense dispensation is so purely evil as is commonly assumed. — It cannot be denied that Mahometanism has been subservient, to great and important ends in the dispensations of Providence.” Retr. Rev. ut supr. pp. 7. 10. The unwillingness of Christian writers, hitherto, to admit the supposition of a pre-ordination, in however limited a sense, in the rise and progress of Islamism, has probably grown out of the notion, that the admission would place the Gospel and the Koran upon common ground. The notion is a most mistaken one. Mahometanism, in its providential aspect, arose only from the providential arrangement of the *natural* course of events: Christianity, on the contrary, is known to have been introduced and established by *miraculous deviations* from that course. The principle of an overruling Providence, working without miracle, has been ably expounded by Mr. Davison. See Discourses on Prophecy, pp. 76, 77. and 247, 248. The learned author exemplifies its action, in this lower sense, in the cases of Cyrus and David, as contra-distinguished from the supernatural action, in those of Moses, and of Saul.

Note 54. p. 70.] It is a fact deserving of attention, that the Mahometans themselves consider the providential history and fortunes of the Jews and the Arabians, to be alike connected with their descent from Abraham. See Sale’s Koran, vol. i. p. 105., with the commentary of Al Beidawi, note b.

Note 55. p. 71.] When it first occurred to the author to explain the phenomena of Mahometanism, with reference to the twofold covenant made by God with Abraham, he had no idea of finding an approximation to this very principle, preserved in Mahometan tradition. In the following passage of Shahrestani, however, cited by Pocock, the reader will observe the distinct recognition of a designed and germinant connection, between the covenants of Isaac and Ishmael:

“Postquam *divisa est lux* (انشعب النور) quæ ab Adamo ad Abrahamum, deinde ab eo ad posteros derivata est, in duas partes (في شعبين), quarum una apud filios Israelis mansit, altera apud filios Ismaelis; fuitque lux quæ in posteros Israelis descendit manifesta (ظاهرا), quæ ad posteros Ismaelis pervenit occulta (منخفا); lucis illius

clarioris indicium factum est multarum personarum apparitione, et prophetiæ in multis ex ipsis manifestatione; at lucis obscurioris, declaratione rituum et signorum, et inter paucos conclusus est rei status. Keblah autem sectæ primæ fuit Templum Hierosolymitanum, secundæ vero Templum Meccanum. Lex prioris iudicii manifestis constabat, posterioris, observatione signorum sacrorum. Inimici prioris fuerunt infideles, ut Pharaoh et Haman, posterioris autem, *κοινωνηται* seu idololatræ, idolorum et statuarum cultores." Shahrestani, ap. Pocock. Spec. pp. 54, 55.

In this tradition, by the statement of Mahometans themselves, there emanated from Abraham two lights, or covenants, the greater, or clearer, appertaining to Isaac, and his posterity; the lesser, or obscurer, to Ishmael, and his descendants: the light in the family of Isaac, is represented to have been embodied and diffused abroad through a long succession of inspired messengers and prophets; that in the family of Ishmael, is acknowledged to have lain buried in the obscurity of rites and symbols, and in the custody of a few witnesses: the former, in fine, is stated to have been designed for the confutation of infidelity; the latter, for the destruction of idolatry. — And while thus, *on its own showing*, Islamism yields the higher place to the Jewish and Christian revelations, the double process of accomplishment, and the twofold end set forth as aimed at, bear a singular analogy to the functions discharged by the opposed religious systems. — Could a stronger *argumentum ad hominem* be urged against Mahometans, than this genuine Mahometan tradition furnishes? The passage is brought home to the principle of this work, by the comment of Dr. Pocock: —

"Quid aliud ergo erit *Islamismus* quam *Ismaelismus*? *Ismaelem* Jorhamidas et Amalekitas *أبي الاسلام* seu ad *Islamismum* invitasse dicunt: Mohammedes ergo, in quem lucem illam, prophetiæ in ipso terminandæ signum, desiisse volunt, dum apertiozem rituum *Ismaelitarum* sectæ priorum doctrinam Alcorano (cælitus, ut fingunt, demisso) tradidit, Arabesque suos ab idolorum cultu revocavit, ISMAELISMI sub *Islamismi* titulo restaurator haberi voluit." Spec. ut supr.

May we not, without scruple, allow the arch-heretic *all* the honour here claimed for him,—namely, to rank as the *spurious* restorer, of the *spurious* creed, of the *spurious* son of Abraham?

Note 56. p. 71.] The Jews claim Abraham for their father in a double sense, a temporal and a spiritual. See Hott. H. O. p. 134. A similar twofold claim is also set up by the Mussulmans: "*Utroque modo Abrahamum Muhammedis patrem vocant Arabes. Illo, qui carnem spectat, in Sur. de peregrinatione Meccana hæc occurrunt verba, Pater vester Abrahamus. Quærit Zamhascari, quo sensu Abraham nomen hoc obtineat,*

cum Arabes omnes ex ejus lumbis non sint orti; et respondet, Quia Abraham pater sit Apostoli Dei: hic verò pater fuit gentis suæ; est autem gens propheta loco filiorum. Hoc, qui religionis identitatem spectat, Abraham Muhammedis et Muhammedanorum pater nuncupatur, quia eandem cum Abrahamo fidem et religionem amplecti se arbitrantur." Hott. H. O. p. 134.

The Turks and Tartars thus, according to the established rules of Islamism, became regularly grafted on, and incorporated with, the Ishmaelitic Mussulmans. The Turks, under Zentil, A. H. 82., had already rendered themselves formidable to the caliphs. See Elmac. H. Sar. 65, 66.—A. H. 101. is memorable for a signal overthrow of the Saracens, by their future supplanters in the empire of the Mahometan world. Id. ib. p. 79.

Note 57. p. 72.] The temporal fulfilment of Isaac's covenant, by the establishment of the Jews in Canaan, merges and is lost in its grand spiritual accomplishment, by the establishment of Christianity throughout the world.

Note 58. p. 72.] "Vix ulla Monarchia latius sua dilatarit pomœria, quàm, cum ipso imperio, Muhammed tuem doctrinæ pestiferam." Hott. H. O. p. 274. The whole context presents a course of events strikingly analogous to the propagation of Christianity, as artfully depicted by Mr. Gibbon, in the opening paragraph of his fifteenth chapter. The appeal of Mahomet, from the first, to the temporal arm, effectually prevents this analogy from affecting in the least the Gospel evidences: but the degree of correspondence which obtains between the opposed creeds, in the character of their original promulgation, should be allowed its weight, in elucidating and corroborating the general argument.

Note 59. p. 73.] It is impossible to give more attention than it deserves, to the manner in which prophecy and history, in this argument, reciprocate their evidences. For, the existence, in the Old Testament, of two promises concerning Isaac and Ishmael, naturally directs research after a twofold accomplishment, in the history of their respective families, the Jews and the Arabians; and the actual phenomena of Judaism and Christianity, on the one hand, and of Islamism, on the other, furnish just the corresponding accomplishments, required by, and to be anticipated from, the primitive circumstances of the case.

Note 60. p. 75.] To judge of the religion, indeed, by the pretensions of its founder, Mahometanism which, according to that authority, surpassed and superseded all former revelations, might fairly be submitted to the ordeal of an exclusive comparison with Christianity. But, regarded in its intrinsic character and features, it chiefly bears relation to another and lower standard. Since, in all its leading phenomena and characteristics, — in the whole national temper, habits, prejudices, and prepossessions, of



Arabia, — in all those component parts, in a word, which mainly forwarded its birth and propagation, the religion of Mahomet stands properly contrasted, not with the Gospel, but with the Law. And thus others have observed : —

“ Quant au rit extérieur, Mohammed semble se rapprocher *plus des Juifs que des Chrétiens* : car n'importe que la plupart des usages empruntés de la loi de Moïse n'aient été conservés que comme des usages très-anciens, leur effet est néanmoins tel, que *la religion Islamite en acquiert une physionomie Juive*. — Cette affinité entre les deux sectes devient plus forte, quand on considère que les Juifs sont Unitaires comme les Musulmans.” Oelsner, *Effets de la Religion de Mohammed*, pp. 24, 25. A Paris, 1810. For the identity of the Jews and the Mahometans, in their common fundamental, compare with Koran passim, Davison on Prophecy, pp. 163, 164.

Note 61. p. 76.] Mahomet's doctrine of *force* is avowedly, and even ostentatiously, founded on Mosaic precedent. See Koran, vol. ii. p. 197., with the translator's *note* (t). But the cases were different indeed : for the sword of Israel was drawn and exercised, in obedience to the Divine command, and within *prescribed* and *narrow* limits ; but the scimitar of Mahomet was wielded only under the impious pretence to a divine authority, and its omnivorous appetite knew no bounds, other than those of a devastated and depopulated world ! In this feature, therefore, the true revelation is essentially distinguished from its spurious travesty. Yet the alleged analogy, so far as it really obtains, is peculiar and important.

Note 62. p. 76.] The two nations, emanating from the one stock, issuing from the same desert, and prosecuting a similar religious warfare against idolatry, might well, without further cause, draw the attention of reflecting observers. But, when taken in connection with the Abrahamic covenants, the case assumes an increased interest and evidence, which seem to claim the serious thought of reflecting Christians. In the view of such minds, the extraordinary character of the matter-of-fact correspondence, will be allowed its due weight, in determining the probabilities of a designed analogy between Jewish and Arabian history.

Note 63. p. 78.] The marked contrast between the *law* and the *life* of Mahomet seems eminently providential. Had he not *thus* unveiled himself to the world as a false prophet, and a spurious Messiah, how many might have been ensnared by his specious heresy ! And how large additional weapons would have been furnished, to the armoury of scepticism and unbelief ! But the evidence of the moral contrast between the authors of the opposed religions, is complete and irresistible : Mahomet was, and confessed himself, a *sinner* (see Koran, vol. ii. pp. 378. 381.) ; Christ “ knew no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth : ” Mahomet was the wilful prey of his own unbridled passions ; Christ, the perfect

pattern of all virtue. The only comparison open to us is one of contrast ; and the only appropriate contrast, that between “the swine wallowing in the mire,” and “the lamb, without blemish, and without spot.”

Note 64. p. 78.] As a set-off against the immoralities of Mahomet, Scripture, indeed, has been industriously searched for precedents ; and triumphant stress has been laid by the unbeliever, upon the characters of David and Solomon. But the errors and crimes of the opposed individuals stand upon wholly different grounds. For, 1. The offences of David and Solomon were forbidden and proscribed by the Mosaic law ; and 2. The offenders underwent, in their persons and in their posterity, the heaviest judicial punishments, denounced and inflicted on them by the supreme Giver of that law. The sins of Mahomet, on the contrary, 1. were not only tolerated, but expressly sanctioned, by his law ; and 2. they were left uncorrected by any express punitive infliction of Providence. While the individual offences, therefore, condemn the law of the Koran itself, they leave wholly unaffected the integrity of the law of Moses.

Note 65. p. 78.] For large exemplifications of the moral and devotional spirit of Islamism, the reader may advantageously consult Hottinger. *Hist. Orient.* pp. 304—337. ; also pp. 246, 247. for admissions of its affinity, in several respects, to Christianity : an affinity which draws from this learned writer the observation, — “*In ea religione, haud obscuras veteris Christianismi apparere stricturas.*”

Note 66. p. 80.] When Heraclius inquired, in a council of his generals, “the reason of the surprising success of the Arabs, so inferior to the Greeks, both in number, strength, arms, and discipline ?” The emperor received, Mr. Ockley tells us after Alwakidi, the following answer : “After a short silence, a grave man stood up, and told him ‘that the reason was, because the Greeks had walked unworthy of their Christian profession, and changed their religion from what it was, when Jesus Christ first delivered it to them ; injuring and oppressing one another ; taking usury ; committing fornication ; and fomenting strife and variance among themselves.’ — The emperor answered that he was too sensible of it.” *Hist. of Sar.* vol. i. pp. 192, 193. Mr. Ockley confirms his Mahometan authority, by citing the concurrent testimonies of Theophanes and the Greeks. Compare Gibbon, ch. li. note 77. and vol. x. pp. 352, 353.

Note 67. p. 81.] Hottinger, *H. O.* pp. 212. 225—231. The heresies of Beryllus, of the Thnetosuchites, the Ebionites and Nazarenes, the Collyridians, and the pestilent and wide-spreading sect of the Manichæans, are said all to have had their birth in Arabia ; where, moreover, most of them reached their full stature. Compare Sale, *P. D.* pp. 45, 46. ; and Olaus Celsius, *Hist. Ling. Arab.* It was surely well ordained, that the great scourge of the corruptions and heresies of the Christian church,



should spring up in the heart's core of heretical Christendom. "Diamond cut diamond," was the saying of Heraclius, when he pitted the Christian Arabs against the Saracens. The adage is still more applicable to the providential disposal, which thus employed heresy, to lop heresy away.

Note 68. p. 82.] Their impious rejection of Jesus, is the apostasy constantly objected by Mahomet against the Jews: and the Mahometans maintain, that *those who believe in Jesus*, both Mussulmans and Christians, must for ever prevail against the Jews. See Sale's Koran, vol. i. p. 67., with the commentary of Al Beidawi, also pp. 121. 123, 124. They further maintain with Christians, in opposition to the Jews, that Jesus is *their* promised Messiah: — "*Rem ipsam si spectes et controversiam, quæ cum Judæis nobis intercedit, an Jesus Nazarenus sit verus Messias, diximus jam Muhammedanos à Christianorum stare partibus.*" Hott. Hist. Or. p. 105.

Note 69. p. 83.] The judicial infatuation of the once chosen people of God was strangely exemplified, so late as the eighth century; when the Jews of Spain, in a body, forsook their prosperous settlements, and forfeited *all* their possessions, to join the Syrian impostor Zonaria, who gave himself out for their Messiah. See Hist. de la Dominat. des Arabes en Espagne, tome i. p. 129.

Note 70. p. 85.] Patricides has preserved frightful traits of Jewish bigotry, at this very period. When Jerusalem, shortly before the rise of Mahomet, was besieged by Chosroes, "*Congregârunt se ad illum Judæi è Tiberia, montibus Galilææ, Nazaretho, et qui vicini erant; veneruntque ad Domum Sanctum, ut Persis opem ferrent, in devastatione Templorum, et internectione Christianorum.*—*Occiderunt autem Judæi, cum Persis, plures Christianorum quàm quos vel recensere liceat. Erant autem Tyri, Judæorum quadraginta millia: scripserunt igitur Judæi Tyrii ad Judæos Hierosolymitanos, Galilæos Montanos, Tiberienses, ut noctu Paschatis Christianorum omnes convenirent, ad Christianos qui Tyri habitant interficiendos; postea, Hierosolymam ascenderent, eamque, Christianis occisis, occuparent!*" Patricides, ap. Hott. Hist. Or. pp. 129, 130.

No words can heighten this awful picture of fallen Israel; still lingering in the precincts of the holy city; and, after six centuries of suffering, ready to unite with the infidel and the idolater, against the disciples of their own Messiah! In the very midst of their enormities, Mahomet appeared: they refused to acknowledge his pretended mission (see Hott. H. O. p. 216.); and, by a retribution exactly suited to the character of their national crime, the children of a remote generation were condemned to endure, under a false prophet, the penalty which their fathers had incurred by their rejection of the true Messiah, and which they had imprecated on their children.

Note 71. p. 83.] Besides the political downfall of Christianity throughout the East, effected by the original triumphs of the Turks and Saracens,

eastern Christendom has laboured under an unremitting visitation, through the military institutions of the Mamelukes and the Janizaries. Children, torn from the arms of Christian parents, composed the materials of these formidable corps; and Christianity, in the crusades and in the Turkish wars, was persecuted and devoured by her own children. See Hott. Hist. Or. pp. 280—284.

Note 72. p. 84.] See Hooker, Eccles. Pol. vol. ii. p. 19. ed. 8vo.

Note 73. p. 85.] “Ferax hæreseôn Arabia, *quemadmodum et illi vicina Ægyptus*. Uti enim serpentes (a fanciful analogy) utraque regio alit, humano generi nocentissimos; sic utraque protulit dogmata animorum nostrorum salutis prorsus pestifera.” Danaeus, Comment. in August. De Hæres. p. 201. See also Elmacin, Hist. Sar. pp. 82—84., for the universal prevalence of heresy in Egypt; and pp. 68—70., and 99., for the exemplary chastisement inflicted, through Mahometanism, upon the heads of the church of Alexandria, the heretical successors of Saint Athanasius.

The name of the caliph Mervan is rendered more infamous, by his ferocious cruelty to the Christians of Egypt, than famous, by the *honourable* appellation bestowed upon him of “the Ass of Mesopotamia.” Mr. Gibbon has expended some pains, to illustrate the *dignity* of the title: he is followed by Mr. Mills, who observes, “Mervan was *honoured* with this singular appellation; and his abilities deserved *every epithet of praise*.” — Perhaps neither writer was aware of the existence of an excellent Arabic *recipe*, by perseverance in which, even inferior abilities need not despair of attaining the same enviable distinction: “Ideoque qui carnibus *asinorum domesticorum* (الحمير الأهلية) vescuntur, *necesse est ut mutetur temperamentum eorum in temperamentum isti, quod hujusmodi asinis* (هذه الحمير) *proprium est, simile; quo fit, ut hebetes evadant, aliisque qualitatibus asinos istos referant.*” Author libri شامل ضارن (The book of Universal Assimilations) ap. Pocock. Spec. pp. 89, 90. For the campaigns of Mervan in the Caucasus, consult “Des Peuples du Caucase, ou Voyage D’Abou-el-Cassim,” pp. 64—69. Paris, 1828.

Note 74. p. 85.] The Archbishop of Toledo thus describes the state of religion in the seventh century, in Africa as well as in Arabia: “Cum Arabia et Africa, inter fidem Catholicam, et hæresin Arianam, et perfidiam Judaicam, et Idololatriam, diversis studiis traheretur.” Hist. Arab. p. 2. ad calc. Elmacin. Hist. Sar.

Note 75. p. 85.] Archbishop Ximenes sets down the fate of Spain to its true cause, and discerns the finger of God in the Mussulman invasion: “Walid, *quia* futurus erat virga furoris Domini, *in populos Hispaniæ pestilentes*, divino auxilio ferebatur, ut vicinas gentes suo imperio subjugaret.” Hist. Arab. ut sup. p. 8.

Note 76. p. 85.] The soil of catholic France had before proved fatal



to the Arabs. Previously to their final overthrow under Abderahman, in the great battle of Toulouse, two governors of Spain, Alsama and Ambisa, had perished in attempting this conquest. See De Marlès, tome i. pp. 124—130. The expedition of Abderame, and his conflict with Charles Martel, are narrated with great force and spirit in M. De Marlès' History. See tome i. pp. 139—142.

Note 77. p. 85.] "The monks of Italy," Mr. Gibbon sarcastically observes, "could affirm, and believe, that three hundred and fifty, or three hundred and seventy-five thousand of the Mahometans, had been crushed by the hammer of Charles." D. and F. x. p. 26. The historian should have known and cited the original *French* authorities; which very clearly show *how* the error of the Italian Chroniclers arose: "Prope Narbonam, juxta Birram fluvium (says John of Montreuil, speaking of the victory of Charles Martel) 385 millia Macometicos *in fugam convertit*." Johannes de Monsterolio, ap. Martene et Durand, Vet. Monument. Collect. tom. ii. p. 1352. There is nothing incredible in this computation. The Italians, it appears, substituted the numbers of *the Saracen army* for those of *the slain*. John of Montreuil was secretary to Charles VI.: the credibility of his computation is attested by the general accuracy of his research; and from his station, he must, in this instance, have had access to the original authorities.

Note 78. p. 85.] The peculiar character of French valour, as manifested in the wars of modern Europe, may be remarked in the original report of Musa to the Caliph, concerning the Franks of the eighth century: "Les Francs, *impétueux et braves quand ils attaquent, sont faibles dans la défense, et timides après la défaite*." Hist. des Arabes en Espagne, tome i. p. 110. *note*.

Note 79. p. 87.] It is an instructive fact, in illustration of the great providential plan, that the intervention of Providence appeared no less conspicuously, in the *preservation* of the Turkish power, at an earlier period, for the *correction* of Europe, than in its *repression*, by the arms of Sobieski, for its *deliverance*. After the battle of Lepanto, Greece, to a man, was ready to rise in arms against its oppressors; the Turks were preparing to abandon Constantinople; and, but for the fatal inaction of the victors, the Ottoman empire in Europe, so tenacious of life even in its present decline, might have fallen in the zenith of its power. The terror and despair of the Mussulmans is described, in a history of the Turkish war, addressed to Philip II., by a contemporary writer: "Cui rei fidem affirmasse, ipsam regiam urbem Constantinopolim: in qua, quamvis longissima discretæ, atrox nuncius cladis acceptæ tantam trepidationem fecisse, tamque animos consternasse constet, *ut nihil Turcæ quam de fuga cogitarent*; ac tamquam hostis ad portas esset, tota urbe discurrentes, Christianos incolas rogitant, an Constantinopoli potiti victores, Turcas

suis legibus, suisque institutis vivere permissuri essent, tributo contenti? multique gemmas ac cariora sua Christianis servanda clam traderent." Uberti Folietæ De Sacr. Fœd. in Selim. lib. iii. ap. Grævium, Thes. Ital. tom. i. pars ii. f. 1072.

Note 80. p. 87.] That the promise respecting Ishmael conveyed a special pledge of God's favour to him and his posterity, may be inferred, from the consideration, that *no promise* was subsequently asked or given, in favour of the sons of Abraham by Keturah; although his *legitimate* offspring. Instead, accordingly, of becoming a separate stock or nation, this branch of the Abrahamic family settled in Arabia, and, together with the descendants of Lot and of Esau, eventually mingled with, and merged in, the race of Ishmael: see Appendix No. I.

Note 81. p. 87.] Both Abrahamic covenants were formally and solemnly renewed: the promise concerning Isaac, with himself; and the promise respecting Ishmael, with his mother Hagar. Compare Gen. xxvi. 2—5. and xxi. 17, 18. The magnitude of the respective *fulfilments* seems to be significantly indicated by these solemn repetitions.

Note 82. p. 87.] See Gen. xvii. 15—18. The comment of Origen on this passage is directly confirmative of the view taken in the present work: See note 1. sect. i. p. 490. of vol. ii. Nor was Ishmael cut off from opportunities of religious improvement. To his eightieth year, he lived in near contact with Abraham, and the true patriarchal faith; and, at the last, he and Isaac met together as brethren, over the grave of their common father. Conf. Gen. xxv. 8, 9.

Note 83. p. 88.] Mahomet himself infers the establishment of *his* kingdom and creed, as the analogous double fulfilment belonging to Ishmael, from the character of the fulfilments already made known, in that part of the original covenant which respected Isaac: "We formerly gave unto the family of Abraham a *Book of revelations*, and *wisdom*; and we gave them a *great kingdom*." Koran, ch. iv. A passage which the commentators understand as intimating the parallel double fortunes of Islamism: "Wherefore God will doubtless show *equal favour* to this prophet, a descendant also of Abraham, and to those who believe in him." Al Beidawi in loc.

Gen. xvi. 12. The following Mahometan commentary on this text, is to be found in Professor Lee's "Controversial Tracts:" "The meaning of this passage, viz. 'His hand will be in every man, and every man's hand in him,' is thus given (observes the Mussulman interpreter) by one of the Targumists: '*He shall rule over all, and all shall stand in need of him.*' The rest of the verse (he proceeds), viz. 'And he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren,' confirms this explanation. Now, it must appear to every attentive reader, that *neither Ishmael himself, nor any of his posterity, ever obtained universal dominion, either temporal or spiritual, not even over his own brethren: NOR IS THERE ANY ONE TO WHOM THIS*



PREDICTION WILL APPLY BUT MOHAMMED." Rejoinder of Mohammed Ruza of Hamadan, Prof. Lee's Tracts, pp. 271, 272.

For the merits of the Talmudic and Mussulman versions of the above place of Genesis, see the learned editor's note (*) ad calc. The rendering seems more natural than that of the Polyglot interlineary version; and it certainly accords better with the sense and bearings of the context.

Note 84. p. 91.] If we look to the actual character of the analogy, we uniformly find those features which belong to Christianity in a spiritual sense alone, presented literally by Islamism. The promises of a *kingdom*, of *thrones* and *mansions*, of *fountains* and *rivers of water*, which occur in the Gospel, convey only a *mystical* meaning. The Koran, on the contrary, uses the same images in their *literal* acceptation, and paints in the most glowing colours, the luxurious seats, and perennial springs and streams of Paradise. The remark extends to the precious stones, and glorious buildings, spoken of figuratively in the Apocalypse, but literally in the Koran.

Note 85. p. 95.] The tribes bordering on the Red Sea had some little practice in navigation. But the ignorance and unskilfulness of the Arabs in their naval attempts are proved by the fact, that they durst not venture through its celebrated straits, into the Indian ocean. See Sect. xii. Vol. II. p. 220. note.

Note 86. p. 96.] Regarded as an accomplishment of the prediction concerning Ishmael, "And he shall dwell in the presence (Heb. *face*) of all his brethren," the occupation by the Saracens of the Italian coasts, and their advance upon Rome, are highly important and interesting facts in their history. The prophetic collision would seem to have been incomplete, had they not, at least, *threatened* the mistress of the world. See Gibbon, x. 61—65. The sceptical historian is struck by the fact that, "*The three great nations of the world*, the Greeks, the Saracens, and the Franks, encountered each other on the theatre of Italy." Ch. lvi. ad init. Mr. Mills has, in this instance, still more happily caught the philosophic point of view: "In the military history of the disciples of Mahomet, few subjects are so well calculated to excite our astonishment, as their invasion of the Roman territories. Who could have *foretold* that the Arabic war-cry should be heard near the walls of Rome?" History of Muhammedanism, pp. 130, 131. A writer who can sometimes think so well, ought to have raised himself above the task of a compiler. Mr. Mills's note from *Voltaire*, in this context, places in a peculiarly striking light the *providential* character of the deliverance of Rome.

Note 87. p. 96.] Decline and Fall, vol. ix. pp. 483, 484, and x. pp. 21—23. Mr. Gibbon pleases himself with the fancy, that, had the project of Abderame succeeded, "the interpretation of the Koran might now be taught in the schools of Oxford." The historian is romantically



partial to the Mussulmans: it is a pity that the predilection should not be reciprocal. But Mahometanism has no bowels of mercy for scepticism, however refined or philosophic. It denounces for destruction, *all* who deny the doctrines of a resurrection and a Providence: "Hi Sadducæi (observes M. Hottinger), Muhammedanis ita exosi fuerunt, *ut obvios quosque sine ulla λυτρου* acceptione occiderint." They have a pithy canon on the subject: "Occidatur Sadducæus, neque acceptetur ab eo pœnitentia." It happened rather well, therefore, for Mr. Gibbon, that England was rescued from Mussulman domination. The Saracen prescription might not have altogether agreed with his constitution. Had *he* been caught in the schools of Oxford under the rule of Abderame, it would have been short shrift with him; — Occidatur Sadducæus, *neque acceptetur ab eo pœnitentia!*

Note 88. p. 99.] Mr. Gibbon (vol. x. pp. 41 — 50.) has taken a hasty and superficial view of the introduction and progress of learning among the Saracens. M. Oelsner (*Effets de la Relig. de Mohamm.* pp. 123—214.) has largely and learnedly discussed this important and interesting topic. Compare sections xii. xiii. of this work, and the authorities there referred to.

Note 89. p. 103.] For the reciprocal agency of the opposed religions, in shaping the course of events, towards the consummation fore-ordained by Divine Providence, and fore-shown in the prophetic Scriptures, see sections xii. xiii., and Conclusion. The providential office of the Saracens, and their exclusive fitness for the task which they appear to have been raised up to accomplish, I shall present in the words of the learned author of the "History of England during the Middle Ages:" whose independent testimony is as valuable in itself, as it is important for the corroboration of the views imperfectly sketched in this Introduction.

From the survey of the dormant state of the human mind, consequent on the downfall of the Western empire, Mr. Turner thus directs our attention to the corrective compensation provided in Mahometanism: "Rather than that the Roman literature should be re-established, it was better that the intellect of the European nations should for a season lie wholly fallow, visited only by the dews of heaven, and agitated by the tempests of their stormy life, *till the time should arrive in which a superior vegetation could, from other sources, be introduced.* But it was necessary to raise somewhere this superior vegetation, from which society was to derive a new intellectual life; knowledge, new empires; and human happiness, new hopes.

"At the very period when the Lombards were destroying the last vestiges of the Roman empire, an obscure people, little known before, was *raised up* to sudden greatness, from a corner of Asia, to perform the same work of destructive conquest, but with more beneficial consequences, in the eastern Grecian empire. The Arabians, in the seventh century, overran Syria, Egypt, Persia, and Africa, and, in the next age, Spain, with that facility, which can only be explained by the superiority of mental energy,



and the hardy virtues, over moral debility and corruption, *acting in the execution of the divine will.* — To *human eyes*, the alarming revolution seemed the annihilation of knowledge, and the establishment of ignorance and imposture in the government of the world. It was, indeed, a period of severe discipline and distress; but it *emancipated Christianity from the bondage, feuds, and perversions that were destroying it.* — It was a temporary swoon, from which the mind awakened with new powers, and soared to brighter regions.

“The *intellectual and moral* benefits of the temporary predominance of the Arabian fanatics, were durable and manifest. — It abolished the Magian fire-worship of Persia, which the Parthian empire had been upholding, and might have established in the East. It obliterated the wild, ascetic superstitions of ever-dreaming Egypt; and the contentious theology of the Greeks, Christians in name, but *worse* than pagans in conduct. And, as its victories spread, the debased manners, the wretched polity, and the imbecile administration of the court of Constantinople expired. — The hardy zealots of Arabia combined their imposture and their fierceness with so much personal merit, that they edified the conquered world with new examples of virtues then almost obsolete, — of temperance, frugality, love of justice; constancy, that no difficulties could repress; liberality, scarcely credible; piety, reverential and fervent; and an activity of practical mind, so efficacious and irresistible, that their triumphs seemed *half miraculous*, from their rapidity and repetition. *But no people that was on the earth when the Arabians first emerged, comprised so many qualities then wanted for its improvement*, as these energetic descendants of Ishmael and Joktan.” Hist. Engl. M. A. vol. iv. pp. 409 — 411.

Note 90. p. 103.] The moral and social triumphs of the Gospel, have been borne witness to, by the reluctant candour of its adversaries: of the very writers, who most affect to depreciate its higher claims, and to deny its divine origin. See *Decline and Fall*, vol. vi. pp. 154. 275 — 277; and x. pp. 242 — 245. The religion which could extort concessions like these, from Mr. Gibbon's very imperfect sense of justice and fairness, has little to apprehend, from the shafts of his scepticism. To the *moral* mind of a Socrates or Plato, what an argument for *the truth* of Christianity might be drawn, from Mr. Gibbon's statements of the civil effects of the Gospel, and from J. J. Rousseau's delineation of the character of Jesus Christ?

Note 91. p. 104.] For the superiority of Islamism to all modes of natural religion, and to some forms of heresy, it may suffice to refer to the statements of its tenets, ap. Hotting. Hist. Or. pp. 92 — 95. 105, 106. 246, 247: “One sect of the Mahometans particularly believes *that Christ is God, and the Redeemer of the world.*” Worthington's Boyle's Lect. vol. ii. p. 246.

Note 92. p. 107.] The favourable pre-disposition of Mahometans ge-



nerally towards Christianity, strongly appears in their marked preference of it to Judaism. On this subject, M. Hottinger relates two interesting anecdotes, which came within his own observation : the one, of a Mussulman doctor, who assured him, that, in the ordinary and every-day conversation of Mahometans, the Christians were spoken of as decidedly preferable to the Jews ; and that they were regarded as every way more credible and trust-worthy : the other, of a Bohemian Jew, who actually became a convert to Christianity, in consequence of convictions awakened in his mind by Mahometan teachers, during a long captivity among the Turks. Hist. Or. p. 216. Compare the conclusion of the present work, for the important bearings of this anecdote.

Note 93. p. 107.] Dr. White's recapitulation does but imperfect justice to the Mussulman code of faith. The summary given by the learned, and certainly not partial, Hottinger, may show, that its agreements with Christianity are still closer and more extensive, than had entered into the conception of the Bampton lecturer or his coadjutors : " Id, quia ad rem facit, breviter monemur, Muhammedanos tanto studio in salutis obtinendæ incumbere curam, ut, proculdubio, melius, in iis ad Christi veritatem perducendis, quàm continuis inter nos serendis et alendis litibus, laboraremus. Docent, tutissimum esse solius Dei misericordiæ inniti: conveniens etiam ut creatura Creatori suo, sine ullâ retributionis spe, omni obsequio et cultu se devoteat; neque foliorum tantum strepitu, sed et operum fructu, se frugiferam arborem probet. De ipso Servatore nostro, vix quicquam scribunt et sentiunt, quo non Socinianos, qui Christianorum nomine præter meritum superbiere solent, confundant. Agnoscunt, et contra Judæos acriter defendunt, Christum esse Messiam et Schilo; Verbum Dei; Verbum veritatis; Apostolum Dei, missum ut oves perditas Israëlitis reduceret; miraculis coruscum; natum ex Maria Virgine; Intercessorem in alterâ vitâ. Scelestam in Servatorem stringere linguam, in Turcarum imperio, nulli impunè licet. Ne mentionem quidem Messix nisi honorificans, vel faciunt ipsi, vel facere permittunt aliis. Hæc, et plura alia, in Muhammedanorum scriptis trita sunt." Hott. Primit. Heidelberg. pp. 154, 155. cf. Hist. Orient. pp. 247, 248.

Note 94. p. 108.] Towards the consummation to be effected in the Gentile world, and the final triumph of the Gospel, the general diffusion, through Mahometanism, of the Arabic idiom, must, in itself, be regarded as a preparatory circumstance of vast importance. The providential uses of this medium of universal intercourse with Asia and Africa, have been seen and acknowledged by the learned : " Amplectatur hoc linguæ beneficium, quo, cum Mauro, Egypto, Syro, Persa, Turca, Tartaro, Indo, et ut semel dicam, ferè in toto terrarum orbe, sine interprete conversari valeamus; quo optimos autores et disciplinas possimus nostris hominibus tradere, omnes Christianæ fidei hostes Scripturarum gladio confodere, eos ex ipsorum dogmatibus refellere, totius orbis commercio unius linguæ



cognitione uti." Postel. De Ling. p. 83. cf. Walton. Bibl. Polyglot. Proleg. xiv. 4. pp. 93—95. The above extract might, alone, be enough to clear its learned and ingenious author from the imputation of doubtful faith. For the still more Christian testimony of Golius to the same effect, see Conclusion.

Note 95. p. 109.] "Nec mirandum est in ea quoque [Muhammedica] religione, haud obscuras veteris Christianismi apparere stricturas, cujus principium, Alkoranus, ex ipsis quoque Sacra Scriptura expressis verbis constat.—De suo, vix pauca addiderit [Muhammedes], sed vel ex utriusque Testamenti libris, vel Judæorum traditionibus, omnia mutuârit." Hott. H. O. pp. 246, 247. Compare Sections v.—viii. passim.

Note 96. p. 109.] The facility with which Christianity may, hereafter, be revived, in countries where it has been overlaid by Mahometanism, has been happily illustrated by a remark of Dr. Robertson, on the restoration of Christian manners and institutions in Saracen Spain. See Life of Charles V. vol. i. pp. 176, 177. 8vo. edition, London, 1806.

Note 97. p. 110.] Both in its confessions of faith, and in its orthodox traditions, Islamism maintains points of belief, obviously leading its votaries to anticipate some such eventual consummation. The doctrine admitted and inculcated by Mahomet himself, that, at the last day, Jesus Christ shall judge the world, is a virtual surrender to the final supremacy of the Messiah. Among the authoritative traditions concerning the signs of the day of judgment, one,—the capture of Constantinople by seventy thousand of the sons of Isaac,—seems fitted to corroborate, among the Musulmans, the scriptural predictions of the grand restoration of the Jews; and another, the demolition of the Caaba (never again to be rebuilt), by the Ethiopians, a Christian people, appears tantamount to the total subversion and suppression of the Mahometan faith. See Sale, P. D. pp. 106. 156. Eclect. Rev. vol. xvi. p. 522.; Jowett's Christian Researches, pp. 171—229.; and compare with Conclusion, especially with its notes. The mention of the Ethiopians is worth attention: before Mahomet's time, they visited Arabia as conquerors; they are themselves of Arab origin (Gibbon, vii. 341); and the Abyssinians still retain their Christianity, though sadly obscured. May not the converts of Saint Philip yet become instruments, for the conversion of Arabia to the faith of Christ? "Ab Abyssinis magni fieri quandam de Meccæ, Medinæque, per Christianum Septentrionalem Regem futura destructione, Prophetiam, refert Besoldus, in Considerat. Legis et Sectæ Saracenicæ," Schultet. Eccles. Muham. Brev. Delin. p. 22. cf. p. 491. infr. ad calc.

"L'on trouve (M. D'Herbelot mentions) parmi les traditions authentiques des Musulmans, celle qui porte que Jésus Christ, qu'ils appellent Issa, doit, à son second avènement, réunir toutes les religions, et toutes les sectes différentes, au Musulmanisme. Il est aisé d'entrevoir qu'ils entendent en cet endroit, par le mot de Musulmanisme, le CHRISTIANISME:

car il conviendrait beaucoup mieux à leur faux Prophète de les réunir au Mahometisme." Biblioth. Orient. Titre *Eslam*.

For a more full exposition of this most interesting article of Mussulman belief, see D'Ohsson, Tabl. de l'Emp. Oth. tome i. pp. 426—429. ap. notes to conclusion.

SECTION I. VOL. I.

Note 1. p. 119.] *Εἶπε δὲ Ἀβραὰμ πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, Ἰσμαὴλ οὗτος ζήτω ἐναντίον σου.* *Ἐξαίρετον τὴν ξείνου περὶ τοῦ Ἰσμαὴλ ὁ Ἀβραὰμ, οὐκ ἀρκούν- μενος τῶν, ζήτω διὸ προσεθηκεν ἐναντίον σου. το γὰρ ζην ἐναντίον Κυρίου, μακαρίων εἰσι, καὶ τῶν ἁγίων μόνων.* Origen. in Genes. xvii. 18.

Note 2. p. 138.] See Appendix, No. I. and the authorities there referred to. Cf. Isai. lvii. 5, 6. 2 Kings, xvi. 3, 4. xvii. 10. xxiii. 10. Levit. xviii. 21. xx. 2. Ezek. xvi. 16—25. xx. 26.

Note 3. p. 140.] In the covenant of Isaac, we see the blessing continually devolving upon younger branches of his family; a disposal of which, Jacob, Judah, David, and Solomon are conspicuous examples: it is remarkably analogous, that a similar limitation should have practically obtained in the covenant of Ishmael, by its representation devolving on the house of a younger son; from whom also sprang Mahomet, the spurious counterfeit of the Messiah.

Note 0. p. 146. I. 19.] "L'élévation prompte et rapide d'un colosse aussi énorme, d'une monarchie aussi immense, est un phénomène politique dont on ne trouve pas un second exemple dans les fastes d'aucun autre peuple de la terre; il est digne sans doute des profondes méditations des philosophes." D'Ohsson, Tabl. de l'Emp. Othom. tome i. p. 229.

SECTION II. VOL. I.

Note 1. p. 166.] To be personally marked out by prophecy, as a prophet, Mr. Davison has ably shown to be a distinction reserved for the Messiah. See Discourses on Prophecy, pp. 151—153. If the prophetic Scriptures appear, at all, to individualize Mahomet, by marks personally indicative of his character and rise,—there is in this no departure from the principle established by Mr. D.; since the arch-heretic is fore-shown, only as a *false* prophet, and an *antichrist*.

"Non oportet nos mirari super hæreses, quia sunt; futuræ enim præ-nunciabantur." Tertullian.

Note 2. p. 182.] See Appendix, No. iii. It would almost seem as if *because* the claim to "understanding dark sentences" was peculiarly appropriated by Mahomet; interpreters, *therefore*, cannot discern the application of this prophetic description to *him*: perhaps the most difficult task in the conduct of a solid argument, is to deal with those, who, to use a homely but expressive adage, "cannot see the wood for the trees."

It may be not uninteresting to notice, by the way, that our Lord's pre-

diction, St. Matt. xxiv. 28., receives a very *literal* kind of illustration from the mouths of the Saracens themselves, as understood to prefigure the Mahometan desolation: "For, wheresoever the *carcase* is, there will the *eagles* be gathered together;" an image which occurs, word for word, in Alwakidi's description of the primitive Mussulmans: "The Saracens fell upon them, like *eagles* upon a *carcase*." Ockley, vol. i. p. 220. It may be added, as another circumstance in favour of this application, that the *black eagle* was the ensign borne by the first Saracen conquerors, ib. p. 172.: the *signs* of the prediction, therefore, are to be found with them, equally as with the Romans; and the principle of germinant interpretation, will allow of its including *both* visitations.

Note 3. p. 195.] Bp. Newton on Dan. xi. 40, &c. Diss. xv.

Note O. p. 204. l. 21.] "The Moguls." The *Seljukian* dynasty of Roum or Cogni, is the power understood to be typified by "Daniel as "The King of the North;" and we have the authority of Abulfeda for the fact, that this very dynasty was the power destroyed by the Tartars. Speaking of the direct ancestor of this branch of the house of Seljuk, the historian observes:

وهذا قتلومش السلجوقي هو جد الملوك اصحاب قونية
 واقصرا وملطبة الي ان استولي التتر *

"Ab eo Cotlumischo propagati sunt *Selgukidæ* principes, qui Cuniæ [seu Iconi]. Acsaræ, Malatiæ [verbo, *per Asiam Minorem*] deinceps regnarunt, donec *Tatari* dominationem eorum destruerent." Annal. Muslem. t. iii. pp. 202, 203. Cf. D'Obsson, t. i. p. 120.

Note 4. p. 207.] Bp. Newton objects to interpret this part of the prophecy otherwise than literally of Judea; on the assumption, that the words "the glorious holy mountain, must denote some part of the Holy Land." Diss. xvii. Pt. ii. vol. i. p. 438. 8vo. 1824. His Lordship surely had forgotten his previous observation, that "Nothing is more usual with the prophets, than to describe the religion and worship of later times, by metaphors and figures borrowed from their own religion. The Christians may, *full as well* as the Jews, be comprehended under the name of the *holy people*, or *people of the holy ones*." Diss. xv. p. 347. But, if the names of the Jewish *people* may be transferred to the Christians, so may that of their *land*.

Note O. p. 209. l. 11.] "Christian powers of Europe."] It is impossible to omit noticing the existence of an ancient prophecy (so called) among the Turks, which has always led them to reckon on their eventual expulsion from Europe; as they seem to think, by the Russians. The author will content himself, on this subject, with giving authorities; leaving it to others to form opinions.

"Wallichius, in *Vitâ Mahometis* (p. 158.) refert, *Turcas hodiernos* in

annalibus suis legere, tamdiu perstiturum regnum Muhammedicum, donec veniant *figliuoli biondi*; i. e. flavi et albi filii, vel *filii ex Septentrione*, flavis et albis capillis, secundum aliorum interpretationem; utri autem Sueci hic intelligendi, ceu volunt nonnulli, *aliis discutiendum relinquo*." M. Samuel. Schultetus, Eccles. Muhamm. Brev. Delin. p. 22. Argentorati, 1668. Cf. Hottinger, Thes. Philol. l. 1. c. 1. §. ix. n. 5.

"Russia is the most formidable enemy of the Turks, not only from her actual superiority, but from the opinion generally entertained among that people. In conformity with *an ancient prophecy*, the Turks consider it as doomed by their immutable destiny, that they will be driven out of Europe by a neighbouring people, whom they believe to be the Russians, and whose sovereign will enter their capital in triumph. The idea of returning, at some future period, to Asia, whence they came, is tolerably familiar to the most enlightened among them; and they even appear to consider their establishment in Europe, as nothing more than an encampment." Military Reflections on Turkey, p. 21. London, 1828.

"Among all the great captains of Austria, it is principally to Prince Eugene of Savoy, that we are indebted for the decline of the crescent, *which only the jealousies and rivalries of the Christian powers still support upon the horizon of Europe*." Ib. p. 5.

Speaking with a friend well acquainted with Turkey, as to the existence of the Turkish prophecy alluded to, he mentioned, in confirmation, the interesting fact, that the Turks of Constantinople, to this day, make a point of having their remains transported to Scutari, and there interred; in consequence of the prevalent belief, that Europe is, for their nation, only an encampment, while Asia is to remain their inheritance.

Note 5. p. 209.] Passing events but too strongly confirm the anticipation in the text. It is quite enough to refer generally to the horrors reported to have taken place. Amidst the enormities of Turkish despotism, however, it is impossible not to admire the energy and firmness of the reigning Sultan. I am the more struck with what this Ottoman has already achieved, in the way of political reformation, when I read a passage of D'Ohssoon, now before me, demonstrative of the sagacity of that eminent writer, and, in one respect, almost deserving the name of a kind of political prediction. As a proof of the high authority attaching to M. D'Ohssoon's opinions upon Turkish affairs, this passage is doubly valuable.

"Pour réformer les *Othomans*, il ne faudroit qu'un esprit supérieur, qu'un Sultan sage, éclairé, entreprenant. Le pouvoir que la religion met dans ses mains, l'aveugle obéissance qu'elle prescrit aux sujets pour tout ce qui émane de son autorité, en rendroient l'entreprise moins hasardeuse, et les succès moins incertains.

"Par la disposition textuelle de la loi, le souverain a le droit, la force, la puissance de changer à son gré les ressorts de l'administration civile et

politique de l'empire, et d'adopter les principes que pourroient exiger les temps, les circonstances, et l'intérêt de l'état. Tout dépend, comme on voit, d'une seule tête. Qu'un Mohammed II., qu'un Selim I., qu'un Suleyman I., montent encore sur le trône; qu'ils soient secondés par le génie puissant d'un *Khâir'ud-dinn Pascha*, d'un *Sinan Pascha*, d'un *Kupruli*, &c.; qu'un Mouphty, animé du même zèle et du même esprit, entre dans leurs vues — alors on verroit ces mêmes *Othomans*, jusque là si concentrés dans eux-mêmes, et si tyrannisés par l'empire des préjugés populaires, entretenir avec les Européens des relations plus intimes, adopter leur tactique et leur système militaire, — enfin changer absolument la face de leur empire." Tableau de l'Empire Othoman, Disc. Prelim. p. xxxv. A Paris, 1788.

SECTION III. VOL. I.

Note 1. p. 210.] The destruction of Jerusalem, the final dispersion of the Jews, their restoration, the conversion of the Gentiles, and the end of the world, will occur to every reader as prominent exemplifications.

Note 2. p. 211.] See p. 223. note (*) vol. i.

Note O. p. 218. l. 15.] Rev. ix. 7.] It is a singular coincidence, that some sects "assert the Koran to have *two faces*, one of a man, the other of a beast." See Sale, Prel. Disc. pp. 89, 90.

Note O. p. 222. l. 25.] Compare the computation of Mede, Works, pp. 586, 587. He dates from the capture of Bagdad by Togrul Bey, and shows, by a different process, the wonderful exactness of the prophetic reckoning, understood of this interval.

Note 3. p. 225.] According to Chalcocondylas, Amurath II., by means of his artillery, became master of Peloponnesus. De Reb. Turc. lib. vii. ap. Bishop Newton on Rev. ix. The same writer has minutely described the formidable engines employed, with fatal success, by Mahomet II. at the siege of Constantinople: "Bombardas fieri curavit maximas, quantas novimus, eâ tempestate, *nunquam extitisse*. — Jam quadraginta diebus murus bombardis fortiter quassatus est," &c. Id. ib. pp. 203, 204. The early and destructive use made of the recent invention by the Turks, seems to justify the appropriation to them of this most deadly arm of war.

Note 4. p. 238.] On the persecutions of Asam and Abdallah, see Elmacin, Hist. Sar. pp. 68—70. Respecting the amputations inflicted by the former, upon those Christians who did not receive his mark in the right hand, this writer observes, — "*Neque dici potest numerus eorum quos ita deformavit*:" and again—"Deinde misit in monasteria, ubi plurimos monachos comperit *signo carere*; quorum alios *decollavit*; alios verberibus necavit." (Compare Rev. xx. 4.) Respecting that monster of cruelty, Abdallah, the same historian relates as follows: "At hic, ut in Ægyptum venit, tyrannide *etiam antecessores* superavit; et duplicavit tributum (making the capitation tax, *binos pro duis aureis*); jussitque *NUMERARI homines*

et bestias ; et signavit Christianos notā quādam, figurā scilicet leonis, ita ut quicumque invenirentur, neque notam illam in manibus suis haberent, eorum manus amputarentur." He was *punished* for these atrocities by the caliph, by being sent to repeat them in the government of Africa; "ubi, cum eodem modo, quo in Ægypto fecerat, sese gereret, insurrexerunt." The countenance and support of the caliphs make Mahometanism itself answerable for both persecutions. If fulfilments may ever be discerned by their compliance with the terms of the predictions, then was Rev. xiii. 16—18. so far accomplished by the Mahometan persecutors, Asam and Abdallah.

"Les *Zimmys* sont tous les sujets, Chrétiens, Juifs, ou Païens, asservis à la domination Mahométane, et par-là soumis à la *capitation*, *Dzixijé* ou *Kharadjh*, qui n'est jamais imposée que sur les non-Musulmans." D'Ohsson, *Tabl. de l'Emp. Othom.* Introd. p. 43.

Note 5. p. 239.] "This is the first time in which the *False Prophet* is mentioned. It is observable, he is *always* mentioned together with the *Devil and Beast*; as one of the three principal enemies of pure religion: he is referred to, as if a *known character taken notice of before*; he is represented as one who wrought miracles before the *Beast*. (Rev. xix. 20.) Now, in the description of the enemies of true religion (Rev. xiii.), we have express mention of *three chiefs*: the *Devil*; the first *Beast*, that rose out of the sea; the second *Beast*, that rose out of the earth. This second *Beast* was to *do great wonders*; to *cause them that dwell on the earth to worship the first Beast*. This agrees so exactly with the character of the *False Prophet* here, that I think we may consider it as a different title of the second *Beast*." Lowman on Rev. xvi. 13. The author values this able argument the more highly, because Mr. Lowman only establishes the identity of the types themselves; and thus *undesignedly* confirms the application, made by others, of both symbols, to Islamism.

The relation of the three powers noticed Rev. xvi. 13., and the identity of the *False Prophet* with the second *Beast*, Rev. xiii., may be seen with more advantage, if the contexts in question be distributed as underneath:

Rev. xvi. 13.

"And I saw three unclean spirits like frogs,

Come out of the mouth of the *Dragon*,

[1. The *Devil*.]

and out of the mouth of the *Beast*, and out of the mouth of the *False Prophet*.

[2. The *Papacy*.]

[3. Mahometanism.]

Rev. xix. 20.

And the *Beast* was taken,

and, with him, the *False Prophet* that wrought miracles before him, with which he deceived them that had received the mark of the *Beast*, and them that worshipped his image;

[cf. Rev. xiii. 11—18.]