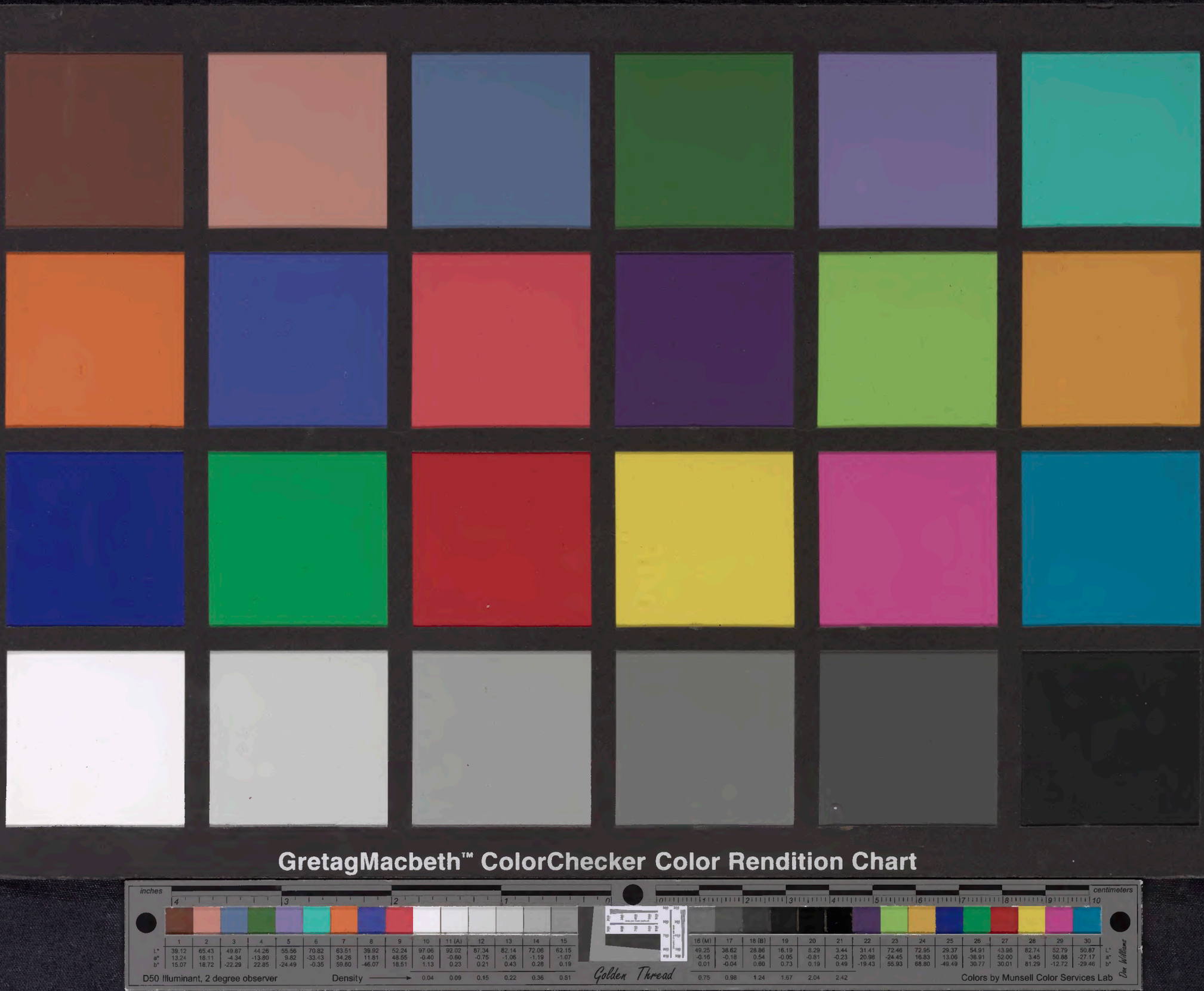
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THE
KORAN

SALE

I

LONDON
1784

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Book S3

1764

Jeff. Coll

THE

KORAN,

COMMONLY CALLED

The Alcoran *of* MOHAMMED,

Tranſlated into ENGLISH immediately from the Original ARABIC;

WITH

EXPLANATORY NOTES,

TAKEN FROM THE MOST

APPROVED COMMENTATORS.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

A Preliminary Diſcourſe.

VOL. I.

By GEORGE SALE, Gent.

Nulla falſa doctrina eſt, quæ non aliquid veri permiſceat.
Auguſtin. Quæſt. Evang. l. ii. c. xl.

LONDON,

Printed for L. HAWES, W. CLARKE, and R. COLLINS, at the *Red Lion* in *Pater Noſter Row*; and T. WILCOX, at *Virgil's Head*, overagainſt the *New Church*, in the *Strand*.

M DCC LXIV.

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1764
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TO THE

RIGHT HONOURABLE

JOHN Lord *CARTERET*,

One of the LORDS of his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council.

My LORD,

NOTWITHSTANDING the great honour and respect generally, and deservedly, paid to the memories of those who have founded states, or obliged a people by the institution of laws which have made them prosperous and considerable in the world, yet the legislator of the *Arabs* has been treated in so very different a manner, by all who acknowledge not his claim to a divine mission, and by *Christians* especially, that,

were not your Lordſhip's juſt diſcernment ſufficiently known, I ſhould think myſelf under a neceſſity of making an apology for preſenting the following tranſlation.

THE remembrance of the calamities brought on ſo many nations, by the conqueſts of the *Arabians*, may poſſibly raiſe ſome indignation againſt him who formed them to empire; but this being equally applicable to all conquerors, could not, of itſelf, occaſion all the deteſtation with which the name of *Mohammed* is laden. He has given a new ſyſtem of religion, which has had ſtill greater ſucceſs than the arms of his followers, and, to eſtabliſh this religion, made uſe of an impoſture; and, on this account, it is ſuppoſed that he muſt of neceſſity have been a moſt abandoned villain; and his memory is become infamous. But, as *Mohammed* gave his *Arabs* the beſt religion he could, as well as the beſt laws, preferable, at leaſt, to thoſe of the ancient pagan lawgivers, I confeſs I cannot ſee why he deſerves not equal reſpect, though not with *Moſes* or *Jeſus Chriſt*, whoſe laws came really from heaven; yet with *Minos* or *Numa*, notwithſtanding

notwithstanding the distinction of a learned writer, who seems to think it a greater crime to make use of an imposture to set up a *new* religion, founded on the acknowledgment of one true God, and to destroy idolatry, than to use the same means to gain reception to rules and regulations for the more orderly practice of heathenism already established.

To be acquainted with the various laws and constitutions of civilized nations, especially of those who flourish in our own time, is, perhaps, the most useful part of knowledge: wherein, though your Lordship, who shines with so much distinction in the noblest assembly in the world, peculiarly excels; yet, as the law of *Mohammed*, by reason of the odium it lies under, and the strangeness of the language in which it is written, has been so much neglected, I flatter myself some things in the following sheets may be new, even to a person of your Lordship's extensive learning; and if what I have written may be any way entertaining or acceptable to your Lordship, I shall not regret the pains it has cost me.

I join

DEDICATION.

I join with the general voice in wiſhing your Lordſhip all the honour and happineſs your known virtues and merit deſerve, and am, with perfect reſpect,

My LORD,

Your Lordſhip's Moſt Humble

And Moſt Obedient Servant,

GEORGE SALE.

TO THE

READER.

I IMAGINE it almoſt needleſs either to make an apology for publiſhing the following Tranſlation, or to go about to prove it a work of uſe as well as curioſity. They muſt have a mean opinion of the Chriſtian *Religion, or be but ill grounded therein, who can apprehend any danger from ſo manifeſt a forgery: and if the religious and civil Inſtitutions of foreign nations are worth our knowledge, thoſe of* Mohammed, *the lawgiver of the* Arabians, *and founder of an empire, which, in leſs than a century, ſpread itſelf over a greater part of the world than the* Romans *were ever maſters of, muſt needs be ſo; whether we conſider their extenſive obtaining, or our frequent intercourſe with thoſe who are governed thereby. I ſhall not here inquire into the reaſons why the law of* Mohammed *has met with ſo unexampled a reception in the world, (for they are greatly deceived who imagine it to have been propagated by the ſword alone) or by what means it came to be embraced by nations which never felt the force of the* Mohammedan *arms, and even by thoſe which ſtripped the* Arabians *of their conqueſts, and put an end to the ſovereignty and very being of their* Khalîfs: *yet it ſeems as if there was ſomething more than what is vulgarly imagined, in a religion which has made ſo ſurpriſing a progreſs. But whatever uſe an impartial verſion of the* Korân *may be of in other reſpects, it is abſolutely neceſſary to undeceive thoſe, who, from the ignorant or unfair tranſlations*

which

which have appeared, have entertained too favourable an opinion of the original, and also to enable us effectually to expose the imposture; none of those who have hitherto undertaken that province, not excepting Dr. Prideaux *himself, having succeeded to the satisfaction of the judicious, for want of being complete masters of the controversy. The writers of the* Romish *communion, in particular, are so far from having done any service in their refutation of* Mohammedism, *that by endeavouring to defend their idolatry and other superstitions, they have rather contributed to the increase of that aversion which the* Mohammedans *in general have to the* Christian *Religion, and given them great advantages in the dispute. The* Protestants *alone are able to attack the* Korân *with success; and for them, I trust, Providence has reserved the glory of it's overthrow. In the mean time, if I might presume to lay down rules to be observed by those who attempt the conversion of the* Mohammedans, *they should be the same which the learned and worthy bishop* Kidder * *has prescribed for the conversion of the* Jews, *and which may,* mutatis mutandis, *be equally applied to the former, notwithstanding the despicable opinion that writer, for want of being better acquainted with them, entertained of those people, judging them scarce fit to be argued with. The first of these rules is,* To avoid compulsion; *which though it be not in our power to employ at present, I hope will not be made use of when it is. The second is,* To avoid teaching doctrines against common sense; *the* Mohammedans *not being such fools (whatever we may think of them) as to be gained over in this case. The worshiping of images, and the doctrine of transubstantiation are great stumbling blocks to the* Mohamme-

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

dans,

dans, *and the church which teacheth them is very unfit to bring those people over. The third is,* To avoid weak arguments: *for the* Mohammedans *are not to be converted with these, or hard words. We must use them with humanity, and dispute against them with arguments that are proper and cogent. It is certain that many* Christians, *who have written against them, have been very defective this way: many have used arguments that have no force, and advanced propositions that are void of truth. This method is so far from convincing that it rather serves to harden them. The* Mohammedans *will be apt to conclude we have little to say, when we urge them with arguments that are trifling or untrue. We do but lose ground when we do this; and, instead of gaining them, we expose ourselves and our cause also.* We must not give them ill words neither; *but must avoid all reproachful language, all that is sarcastical and biting: this never did good from pulpit or press. The softest words will make the deepest impression; and if we think it a fault in them to give ill language, we cannot be excused when we imitate them. The fourth rule is,* Not to quit any article of the *Christian* faith to gain the *Mohammedans. It is a fond conceit of the* Socinians, *that we shall, upon their principles, be most like to prevail upon the* Mohammedans: *it is not true in the matter of fact. We must not give up any article to gain them: but then the church of* Rome *ought to part with many practices and some doctrines. We are not to design to gain the* Mohammedans *over to a system of dogms, but to the ancient and primitive faith. I believe nobody will deny but that the rules here laid down are just: the latter part of the third, which alone my design has given me occasion to practice, I think so reasonable, that I have*

not

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

Of the several translations of the Korân *now extant, there is but one which tolerably represents the sense of the original; and that being in* Latin, *a*

* *Id certum, naturalibus egregiè datibus instructum Muhammedem, forma præstanti, ingenio callido, moribus facetis, ac præ se ferentem liberalitatem in egenos, comitatem in singulos, fortitudinem in hostes, ac, præ cæteris, reverentiam divini nominis.—Severus fuit in perjuros, adulteros, homicidas, obtrectatores, prodigos, avaros, falsos testes, &c. Magnus idem patientiæ, charitatis, misericordiæ, beneficentiæ, gratitudinis, honoris in parentes ac superiores præco, ut & divinarum laudum.* Hist. Eccles. Sec. vii. c. vii. sem. 5 & 7.

new

new version became necessary, at least to an English *reader. What* Bibliander *published for a* Latin *translation of that book deserves not the name of a translation; the unaccountable liberties therein taken, and the numberless faults, both of omission and commission, leaving scarce any resemblance of the original. It was made near six hundred years ago, being finished in* 1143, *by* Robertus Retenensis, *an* Englishman, *with the assistance of* Hermannus D[illegible]mata, *at the request of* Peter, *abbot of* Cl[illegible] *who paid them well for their pains.*

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

About the end of the fifteenth century, Johannes Andreas, *a native of* Xativa, *in the kingdom of* Valencia, *who from a* Mohammedan *doctor became a* Christian *priest, translated not only the* Korân, *but also it's glosses, and the seven books of the* Sonna, *out of* Arabic *into the* Arragonian *tongue, at the command of* Martin Garcia ‡, *bishop of* Barcelona, *and inquisitor of* Arragon. *Whether this translation were ever published or not I am wholly ignorant: but it may be presumed to have been the better done for being the work of one bred up in the* Mohammedan *religion and learning; though his*

* His words are: *Questo libro, che già havevo à commune utilità di molti fatto dal proprio testo Arabo tradurre nella nostra volgar lingua Italiana,* &c. And afterwards; *Questo è l'Alcorano di Macometto, il quale, come ho già detto, ho fatto dal suo idioma tradurre,* &c. † V. Jos. Scalig. Epist. 361 & 362, & Selden. de success. ad leges Ebræor. p. 9. ‡ J. Andreas, in Præf. ad Tractat. suum de Confusione Sectæ Mahometanæ.

refutation

refutation of that religion, which had several editions, gives no great idea of his abilities.

Some years, within the last century, Andrew du Ryer, *who had been consul of the* French *nation in* Egypt, *and was tolerably skilled in the* Turkish *and* Arabic *languages, took the pains to translate the* Korân *into his own tongue: but his performance, though it be beyond comparison preferable to that of* Retenensis, *is far from being a just translation; there being mistakes in every page, besides frequent transpositions, omissions, and additions* *, *faults unpardonable in a work of this nature. And what renders it still more incomplete is, the want of Notes to explain a vast number of passages, some of which are difficult, and others impossible to be understood, without proper explications, were they translated ever so exactly; which the author is so sensible of that he often refers the reader to the* Arabic *commentators.*

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

In 1698, *a* Latin *translation of the* Korân *made by father* Lewis Marracci, *who had been confessor to pope* Innocent XI. *was published at* Padua *together with the original text, accompanied by explanatory notes and a refutation. This translation of* Marracci's, *generally speaking, is very exact, but adheres to the* Arabic *idiom too literally to be easily understood, unless I am much deceived, by those*

* V. Windet. de vita functorum statu, sect. 9.

who are not verſed in the Mohammedan *learning. The notes he has added are indeed of great uſe; but his refutations, which ſwell the work to a large volume, are of little or none at all, being often unſatisfactory, and ſometimes impertinent. The work, however, with all it's faults, is very valuable, and I ſhould be guilty of great ingratitude, did I not acknowledge myſelf much obliged thereto; but ſtill, being in* Latin, *it can be of no uſe to thoſe who underſtand not that tongue.*

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

In the Notes my view has been briefly to explain the Text, and eſpecially the difficult and obſcure paſſages, from the moſt approved commentators, and that generally in their own words, for whoſe opinions, or expreſſions, where liable to cenſure, I am not anſwerable; my province being only fairly to repreſent their expoſitions, and the little I have added of my own, or from Europæan *writers, being*

eaſily

eaſily diſcernable. Where I met with any circumſtance which I imagined might be curious or entertaining, I have not failed to produce it.

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

As I have had no opportunity of conſulting public libraries, the manuſcripts of which I have made uſe throughout the whole work have been ſuch as I had in my own ſtudy, except only the Commentary of al Beidâwi, *and the Goſpel of S.* Barnabas. *The firſt belongs to the library of the* Dutch *church in* Auſtin Fryars, *and for the uſe of it I have been chiefly indebted to the reverend Dr.* Bolten, *one of the miniſters of that church: the other was very obligingly lent me by the reverend Dr.* Holme, *rector of* Hedley, *in* Hampſhire; *and I take this opportunity of returning both thoſe gentlemen my thanks for their favours. The merit of* al Beidâwi's *commentary will appear from the frequent quotations I have made thence; but of the goſpel of S.* Barnabas, *(which I had not ſeen when the little I have ſaid of it in the Preliminary Diſcourſe *, and the extract I had borrowed from Mr.* de la Monnoye *and Mr.* To-

* §. IV. p. 74.

land

land †, *were printed off) I must beg leave to give some further account.*

The book is a moderate Quarto, *in* Spanish, *written in a very legible hand, but a little damaged towards the latter end. It contains two hundred and twenty two chapters of unequal length, and four hundred and twenty pages; and is said, in the front, to be translated from the* Italian, *by an* Arragonian Moslem, *named* Mostafa de Aranda. *There is a preface prefixed to it, wherein the discoverer of the original MS. who was a* Christian *monk, called* Fra Marino, *tells us, that having accidentally met with a writing of* Irenæus, *(among others) wherein he speaks against S.* Paul, *alledging, for his authority, the gospel of S.* Barnabas, *he became exceeding desirous to find this gospel; and that God, of his mercy, having made him very intimate with pope* Sixtus V. *one day, as they were together in that pope's library, his holiness fell asleep, and he, to employ himself, reaching down a book to read, the first he laid his hand on proved to be the very gospel he wanted: overjoyed at the discovery, he scrupled not to hide his prize in his sleeve, and, on the pope's awaking, took leave of him, carrying with him that* celestial treasure, *by reading of which he became a convert to* Mohammedism.

This gospel of Barnabas *contains a complete history of* Jesus Christ *from his birth to his ascension; and most of the circumstances in the four real gospels are to be found therein, but many of them turned, and some artfully enough, to favour the* Mohammedan *system. From the design of the whole, and the frequent interpolations of stories and passages wherein* Mohammed *is spoken of and foretold by name, as the messenger of God, and the*

† In not. ad cap. iii. p. 43.

great-

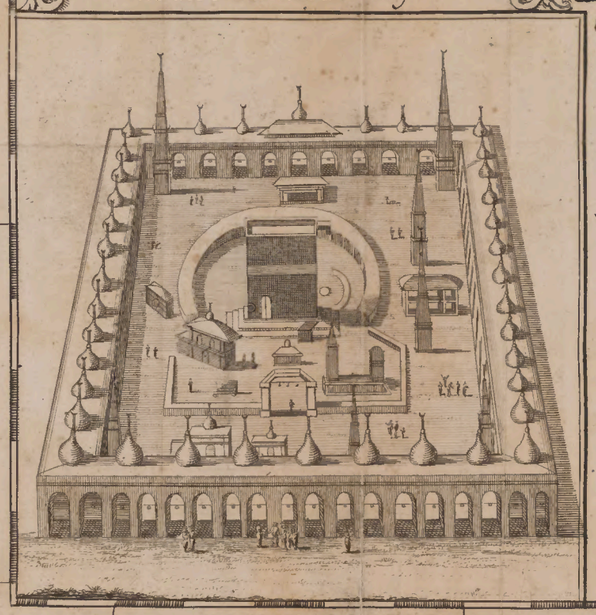
great prophet who was to perfect the dispensation of Jesus, *it appears to be a most barefaced forgery. One particular I observe therein induces me to believe it to have been dressed up by a renegade* Christian, *slightly instructed in his new religion, and not educated a* Mohammedan, *(unless the fault be imputed to the* Spanish, *or, perhaps, the* Italian *translator, and not to the original compiler;) I mean the giving to* Mohammed *the title of* Messiah, *and that not once or twice only, but in several places; whereas the title of the* Messiah, *or, as the* Arabs *write it,* al Masîh, *i. e.* Christ, *is appropriated to* Jesus *in the* Korân, *and is constantly applied by the* Mohammedans *to him and never to their own prophet. The passages produced from the* Italian *MS. by Mr.* de la Monnoye *are to be seen in this* Spanish *version almost word for word.*

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

A TABL

ARABIA.

The TEMPLE of MECCA, *as it was formerly; from a* Draught *in the* Bodleian Library.



A Scale of Miles 60 to a Degree.

R. W. Seale sculp.

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THE

THE

Preliminary Diſcourſe.

SECTION I.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

place no less pleasant, called *Hisn almawâheb*, or the *Castle of delights*[i].

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

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

[i] Voyage de l'Arab. heur. 232.
[l] Strabo, l. 16. p. 1132. Arrian. 161. 123. 153.
[k] V. Dionys. Periegesc. v. 927, &c.
[m] Voy. de l'Arab. heur. 121.

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

The province of *Hejâz*.

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

Mecca described.

Mecca, sometimes also called *Becca*, which words are synonymous, and signify *a place of great concourse*, is certainly one of the most ancient cities in the world: it is by some [o] thought to be the *Mesa* of the scripture [p], a name not unknown to the *Arabians* and supposed to be taken from one of *Ismael*'s sons. It is seated in a stony and barren valley, surrounded on all sides with mountains [r]. The length of *Mecca* from south to north is about two miles, and its breadth from the foot of the mountain *Ajyad*, to the top of another called *Koaikaân*, about a mile [s]. In the middle of this space stands the city, built of stone cut from the neighbouring mountains [t]. There being few springs at *Mecca* [u], at least none but what are bitter and unfit to drink [w], except only the well *Zemzem*, the water of which, though far the best, yet cannot be drank for any continuance, being brackish, and causing eruptions in those who drink plentifully of it [x], the inhabitants are obliged to use rain water which they catch in cisterns [y]. But, this not being sufficient, several attempts were made to bring water thither from other places by aqueducts; and particularly about *Mohammed*'s time, *Zobair*, one of the

n V. Gol. ad Alfrag. 98. Abulfeda Descr. Arab. p. 5. o R. Sa in version. Arab. Pentat. Sefer Juchasin. 135. b. p Gen. x. 30. q Go Alfrag. 82. See Gen. xxv. 15. r Gol. ib. 98. See *Pitts*'s Account religion and manners of the *Mohammedans*, p. 96. s Sharif al Edri Poc. Specim. 122. t Ibid. u Gol. ad Alfragan. 99. w S al Edrisi ubi supra, 124. x Ibid. & Pitts ubi supra, p. 107. y ad Alfrag. 99.

princ

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

The ſoil about *Mecca* is ſo very barren as to produce no fruits but what are common in the deſarts, though the prince or *Sharif* has a garden well planted at his caſtle of *Marbaa*, about three miles weſtward from the city, where he uſually reſides. Having therefore no corn or grain of their own growth, they are obliged to fetch it from other places [b]; and *Haſham*, *Mohammed*'s great-grandfather, then prince of his tribe, the more effectually to ſupply them with proviſions, appointed two caravans to ſet out yearly for that purpoſe, the one in ſummer, and the other in winter [c]: theſe caravans of purveyors are mentioned in the *Koran*. The proviſions brought by them were diſtributed alſo twice a year, *viz.* in the month of *Rajeb*, and at the arrival of the pilgrims. They are ſupplied with dates in great plenty from the adjacent country, and with grapes from *Tayef*, about ſixty miles diſtant, very few growing at *Mecca*. The inhabitants of this city are generally very rich, being conſiderable gainers by the prodigious concourſe of people of almoſt all nations at the yearly pilgrimage, at which time there is a great fair or mart for all kinds of merchandize. They have alſo great numbers of cattle, and particularly of camels: however the poorer ſort can live but very indifferently, in a place where almoſt every neceſſary of life muſt be purchaſed with money. Notwithſtanding this great ſterility near *Mecca*, yet you are no ſooner out of its territory, than you meet on all ſides with plenty of good

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

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

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

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

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

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

[d] Sharif al' Edriſi ubi ſupra, 125. [e] Id. Vulgò Geogr. Nubienſis.
[f] Though the notion of *Mohammed*'s being buried at *Mecca* has been long exploded, yet ſeveral modern writers, whether through ignorance negligence I will not determine, have fallen into it. I ſhall here notice only of two; one is Dr. *Smith*, who, having lived ſome time in *Tu* ſeems to be inexcuſable: that gentleman in his Epiſtles *de moribus ac in* *tis Turcarum*, no leſs than thrice mentions the *Mohammedans* viſiting tomb of their prophet at *Mecca*, and once his being born at *Medina*, reverſe of which is true (See Ep. 2. pag. 22. Ep. 2. pag. 63 and 64.) other is the publiſher of the laſt edition of Sir *J. Mandevile*'s travels, on his author's ſaying very truly (p. 50.) that the ſaid tomb was at *Me* (i. e. *Medina*), undertakes to correct the name of the town, which is ſo thing corrupted, by putting, at the bottom of the page, *Mecca*. The bot *de Vertot* in his hiſtory of the order of *Malta* (vol. 1. p. 410. ed. ſeems only to have confounded theſe two cities together, though he before mentioned *Mohammed*'s ſepulchre at *Medina*. However he is tainly miſtaken, when he ſays that one point of the religion, both *Chriſtians* and *Mohammedans*, was to viſit, at leaſt once in their lives tomb of the author of their reſpective faith. Whatever may be the on of ſome *Chriſtians*, I am well aſſured the *Mohammedens* think themſ under no manner of obligation in that reſpect. [g] Gol. ad Alfr 97. Abulfeda Deſcr. Arab. p. 40. [h] Gol. ubi ſup. 95. [i] Ib

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

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

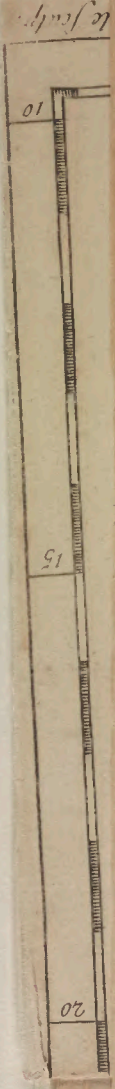
The former were very numerous, and divided into several tribes, which are now all destroyed, or else lost and swallowed up among the other tribes, nor are any certain memoirs or records extant concerning them [l]; though the memory of some very remarkable events and the catastrophe of some tribes have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

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

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

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

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

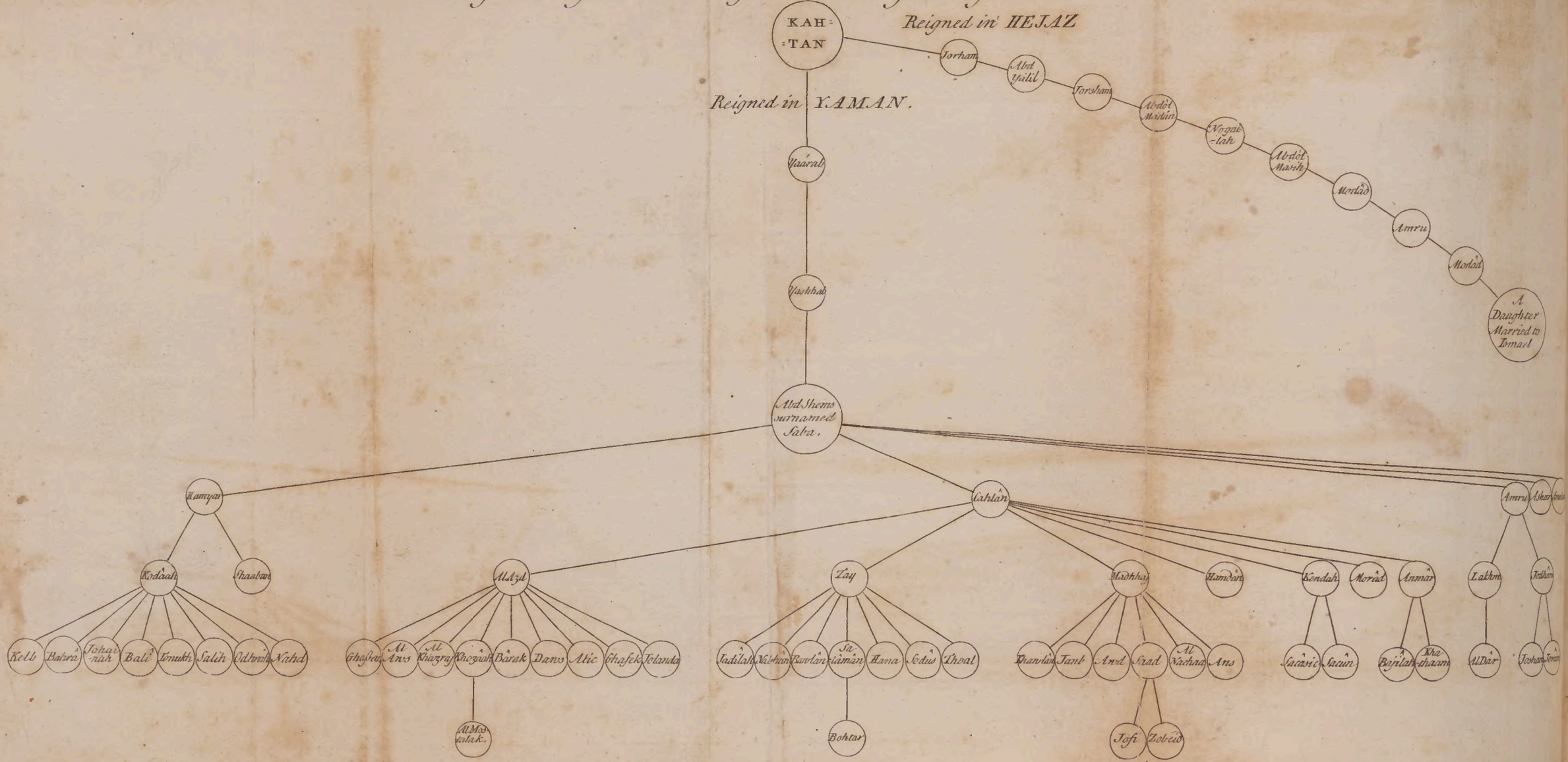


The deſcendants of *Ad* in proceſs of time falling from the worſhip of the true God into idolatry, God ſent the prophet *Hûd* (who is generally agreed to be *Heber* [r]) to preach to and reclaim them. But they refuſing to acknowledge his miſſion, or to obey him, God ſent a hot and ſuffocating wind, which blew ſeven nights and eight days together, and entering at their noſtrils paſt through their bodies [s], and deſtroyed them all, a very few only excepted, who had believed in *Hûd*, and retired with him to another place [t]. That prophet afterwards returned into *Hadramaut*, and was buried near *Haſec*, where there is a ſmall town now ſtanding called *Kabr Hûd*, or *the ſepulchre of Hûd*. Before the *Adites* were thus ſeverely puniſhed, God to humble them, and incline them to hearken to the preaching of his prophet, afflicted them with a drought for four years, ſo that all their cattle periſhed, and themſelves were very near it; upon which they ſent *Lokmân* (different from one of the ſame name who lived in *David*'s time) with 60 others to *Mecca* to beg rain, which they not obtaining, *Lokmân* with ſome of his company ſtaid at *Mecca*, and thereby eſcaped deſtruction, giving riſe to a tribe

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

called

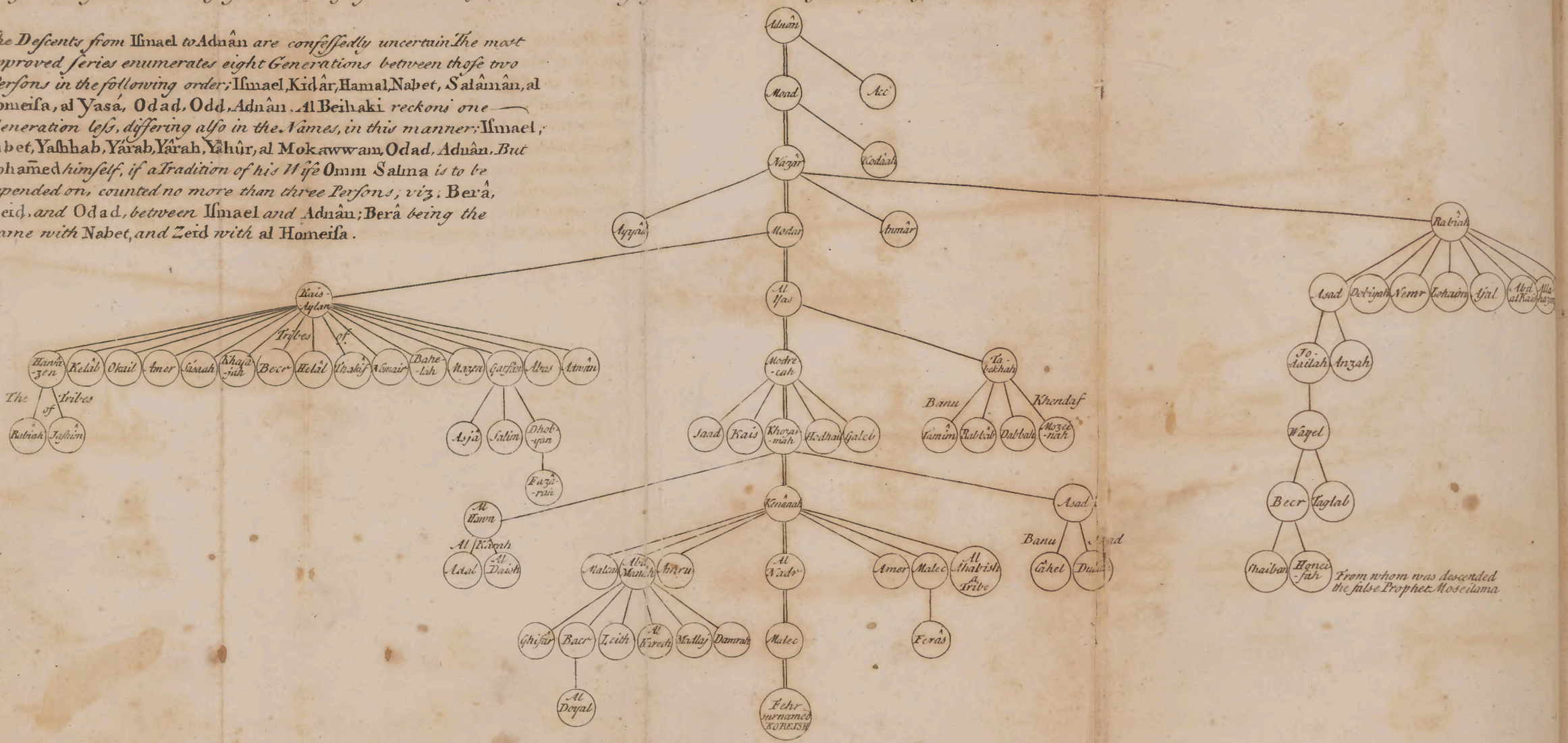
A Genealogical Table of the Tribes of the Genuine Arabs.



Prel. Disc. p. 9. N° I.

A Genealogical Table of ye Tribes of ye Naturaliz'd Arabs, being ye Descendants of Ismael ye Son of Abraham by a Daughter of Modâd ye Jorhamite

The Descents from Ismael *to* Adnân *are confessedly uncertain. The most approved Series enumerates eight Generations between those two Persons in the following order;* Ismael, Kidâr, Hamal, Nabet, Salâmân, al Homeisa, al Yasá, Odad, Odd, Adnân. *Al* Beihaki *reckons one Generation less, differing also in the Names, in this manner;* Ismael, Nabet, Yashhab, Yârab, Yârah, Yahûr, al Mokawwam, Odad, Adnân. *But* Mohamed *himself, if a Tradition of his Wife* Omm Salma *is to be depended on, counted no more than three Persons; viz.* Berâ, Zeid, *and* Odad, *between* Ismael *and* Adnân; Berâ *being the same with* Nabet, *and* Zeid *with* al Homeisa.



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

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

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

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

[u] Poc. Spec. 36. [w] Jallâlo'ddin and Zamakhshari. [x] Kor. c. 7. [y] Or Gether. V. Gen. x. 23. [z] D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. 740. [a] Bochart, Geogr. Sac. [b] See D'Herbel. 366. [c] Ebn Shohnah. [d] Poc. Spec. 57. [e] Kor. cap. 25.

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

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

The tribes of Tasm and Jadis.

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

The tribes of Jorham and Amalek.

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

[f] Abu Musa al Ashari. [g] V. Poc. Spec. 37. [h] Abulfeda. [i] A like custom is said to have been in some mannors in *England*, and also in *Scotland*, where it was called Cullage or Cullage, having been established by K. *Ewen* and abolished by *Malcolm* III. See *Bayle*'s Dict. Art. Sinn. IV. Rem. H. [k] Poc. Spec. 60. [l] Ib. 37, &c. [m] Ib. p. 36. [n] Ebn Shohnah. [o] Gen. xxxvi. 12. [p] V. D'Herbelot, p. 110. [q] Ebn Shohnah,

very

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

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

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

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

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

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

Their government.

The *Arabians* were for some centuries under the government of the descendants of *Kâhtan*; *Yârob*, one of his sons, founding the kingdom of *Yaman*, and *Jorham*, another of them, that of *Hejáz*.

The kingdom of the *Hamyarites* in *Yaman*.

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

The inundation of *Aram*.

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

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

mou

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

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

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

life

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

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

The kingdoms of *Ghassân* and *Hira*.

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

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

The

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

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

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

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

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

Besides

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

Of the Government of *Arabia* in ſucceeding times.

After the time of *Mohammed*, *Arabia* was for abou three centuries under the *Khalifs* his ſucceſſors. Bu in the year 325 of the *Hejra*, great part of th country was in the hands of the *Karmatians*[u], a ne ſect who had committed great outrages and diſorde even in *Mecca*, and to whom the *Khalifs* were oblig to pay tribute, that the pilgrimage thither might b performed: of this ſect I may have occaſion to ſpea in another place. Afterwards *Yaman* was governe by the houſe of *Thabateba*, deſcended from *Ali* t ſon-in-law of *Mohammed*, whoſe ſovereignty in *Ar bia* ſome place ſo high as the time of *Charlemagn* However it was the poſterity of *Ai*, or pretenders t be ſuch, who reigned in *Yaman* and *Egypt* ſo early i the tenth century. The preſent reigning family i *Yaman* is probably that of *Ayub*; a branch of whic reigned there in the 13th century, and took the tit of *Khalif* and *Imâm*, which they ſtill retain[w]. The are not poſſeſſed of the whole province of *Yaman* there being ſeveral other independent kingdoms ther particularly that of *Fartach*. The crown of *Yam* deſcends not regularly from father to ſon, but th prince of the blood royal who is moſt in favour wi the great ones, or has the ſtrongeſt intereſt, generall ſucceeds[y].

The governors of *Mecca* and *Medina*, who ha always been of the race of *Mohammed*, alſo threw o their ſubjection to the *Khalifs*, ſince which time fo principal families, all deſcended from *Haſan* the ſo of *Ali*, have reigned there under the title of *Sharif*

t V. Poc. Spec. p. 79, &c. u V. Elmacin. in vita al Ra
w Voyage de l'Arab. heur. p. 255. x Ib. 153. 273. y Ib. 2
whi

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

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

The freedom of the *Arabs*.

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

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

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

Of the religion of the ancient *Arabs*.

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

i Strabo, l. 16. p. 1076. 1132.
k Vide Diodor. Sic. ubi sup.
l Strabo, l. 16. p. 1092.
m Dion Cassius, l. 53. p. m. 5[illegible]
n Huet. Hist. du commerce & de la navigation des anciens, c. [illegible]
o See the whole expedition described at large by *Strabo*, l. 16. p. 1126, [illegible]
p Xiphilin. epit.

I shall

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

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

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

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

y See *Greave*'s Pyramidogr. p. 6, 7. z V. Poc. Spec. p. 138.
a *Thabet Ebn Korrah*, a famous aſtronomer, and himſelf a *Sabian*, wrote a treatiſe in *Syriac*, concerning the doctrines, rites, and ceremonies of this ſect; from which, if it could be recovered, we might expect much better information than any taken from the *Arabian* writers. V. Abulfarag. ubi ſupra.

greateſt

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

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

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

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

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

to happen at the riſing or ſetting of certain of them[f], which after a long courſe of experience induce them to aſcribe a divine power to thoſe ſtars, and think themſelves indebted to them for their rain a very great benefit and refreſhment to their parch country; this ſuperſtition the *Korân* particularly tak notice of [g].

The ancient *Arabians* and *Indians*, between whic two nations was a great conformity of religions, h ſeven celebrated temples, dedicated to the ſeve planets; one of which in particular, called *B Ghomdân*, was built in *Sanaa* the metropolis of *Yama* by *Dahac*, to the honour of *al Zoharah* or the plan *Venus*, and was demoliſhed by the *Khalif Othman* by whoſe murder was fulfilled the prophetical inſcri tion ſet, as is reported, over this temple, *viz. Ghom dân, he who deſtroyeth thee, ſhall be ſlain* [i]. Th temple of *Mecca* is alſo ſaid to have been conſecrate to *Zohal*, or *Saturn* [k].

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

Thus as to the ſtars and planets, the tribe *Hamyer* chiefly worſhipped the ſun; *Miſam* [l], *al Deb rân or the bull's eye*; *Lakhm* and *Jodâm*, *al Moſhtari Jupiter*; *Tay*, *Sohail* or *Canopus*; *Kais*, *Sirius* or *dog-ſtar*; and *Aſad*, *Otared* or *Mercury* [m]. Among th worſhippers of *Sirius*, one *Abu Cabſha* was very f mous; ſome will have him to be the ſame with *W heb*, *Mohammed*'s grandfather by the mother, b others ſay he was of the tribe of *Khozâah*. Th man uſed his utmoſt endeavours to perſuade the *K reiſh* to leave their images and worſhip this ſtar; fo which reaſon *Mohammed*, who endeavoured alſo make them leave their images, was by them nick named *the ſon of Abu Cabſha* [n]. The worſhip of th ſtar is particularly hinted at in the *Korân* [o].

[f] V. Poſt. [g] Poc Spec. p. 163. [h] Shahreſtani. [i] Al Jannâ
[k] Shahreſtani. [l] This name ſeems to be corrupted, there being no ſu among the *Arab* tribes. Poc. Spec. p. 130. [m] Abulfarag. p. 16
[n] Poc. Spec. p. 132. [o] Cap. 53.

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

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

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

[p] Poc. Spec. Cap. 53. [q] Ibid. [r] The word *Nakhlah* signifying also a *Palm-tree*, Dr. *Pocock* translates a passage of *Abulfaragius*, which mentions this temple, thus: Thakîf *worshipped a chapel on the top of a palm-tree, called* Allât. And he may possibly be in the right. V. Abulfarag. p. 160. [s] Dr. *Prideaux* mentions this expedition, but names only *Abu Sofiân*, and, mistaking the name of the idol for an appellative, supposes he went only to disarm the *Tayefians* of their *weapons and instruments of war*. See his life of *Mohammed*. p. 98. [t] Abulfeda Vit. Moham. p. 127. [u] Spec. p. 90. [w] Al Jauhari, apud eund. p. 91. [x] Al Shahrestani, ib. [y] Al Firauzabâdi, ib.

a chapel over it, called *Boss*, so contrived as to giv a sound when any person entered. *Khâled Ebn Wal* being sent by *Mohammed* in the eighth year of th *Hejra* to destroy this idol, demolished the chape and cutting down this tree or image, burnt it: h also slew the priestess, who ran out with her ha dishevelled, and her hands on her head as a suppliant Yet the author who relates this, in another place say the chapel was pulled down, and *Dhâlem* himse killed by one *Zohair*, because he consecrated th chapel with design to draw the pilgrims thither fro *Mecca*, and lessen the reputation of the *Caaba*. Th name of this deity is derived from the root *azza*, an signifies *the most mighty*.

Manah was the object of worship of the tribes o *Hodhail* and *Khozaâh* [z], who dwelt between *Mecca* an *Medina*, and, as some say [a], of the tribes of *Aus Khazraj* and *Thakîf* also. This idol was a larg stone [b], demolished by one *Saad* in the eighth year o the *Hejra*, a year so fatal to the idols of *Arabia*. Th name seems derived from *mana* to *flow*, from th *flowing* of the blood of the victims sacrificed to th deity; whence the valley of *Mina* [c] near *Mecca* ha also its name, where the pilgrims at this day sla their sacrifices [d].

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

[z] Al Jauhari. [a] Al Shahrestani, Abulfeda, *&c.* [b] Al Bedâwi, Zamakhshari. [c] Poc. Spec. 91, *&c.* [d] Poc. Spec. 91, & [e] Korân, c. 71. Comment. Persic. V. Hyde, de rel. vet. Per p. 133.

Wadd

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

for

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

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

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

n See Hyde, de rel. vet. Pers. p. 132. Orient. p. 512. o D'Herbelot, Bib. fed. Shahrest. &c. p Al Mostatraf. q Al Jannab. r Abu s Poc. Spec. 95. t Safio'ddin u Poc. Spec. 97. w Abulfeda. x Ebn al Athir. al Jan nab. &c.

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

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

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

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

Their notions of a future state.

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

the

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

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

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

The *Magian* religion embraced by some of their tribes,

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

And also the *Jewish*,

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

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

notic

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

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

And *Christian.*

[i] Al Mostatraf. Chap. 50. sec. VI. [k] See before, p. 13. & Baronii annal. [l] Chap. 85. [m] See Galat. i. 17. [n] Abulfarag. p. 149. [o] Al Mostatraf. [p] Vide Poc. Spec. p. 137. [q] Al Jannab. apud Poc. Spec. p. 63.

the

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

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

[r] V. Gregentii disput. cum Herbano Judæo.

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

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

[s] Al Meidani, & Ahmed Ebn Yusef, apud Poc. Spec. p. 72. [t] Abulfeda ap. eund. p. 74. [u] Safio'ddin apud Poc. Spec. p. 137.

the

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

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

The *Arabs* different way of life.

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

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

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

Their language, learning, accomplishments, &c. before *Mohammed*.

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

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

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

g Job xix. 23, 24.

h See *Prideaux*'s life of *Mahomet*, p. 29,

i A specimen of the *Cufic* character may be seen in Sir *J. Chardin*'s travels vol. III. p. 119.

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

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

[k] Ebn Khalican. Yet others attribute the honour of the invention of this character to *Ebn Moklah*'s brother, *Abdallah al Hasan*, and the perfecting of it to *Ebn Amîd al Kâteb*, after it had been reduced to near the present form by *Abd'alhamîd*. V. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 590, 108, & 194. [l] Poc. Orat. ante Carmen Tograi, p. 10.

ing in public, except themselves and the *Persians* which last were reckoned much inferior in that re spect to the *Arabians* [m]. Poetry was in so great esteem among them, that it was a great accomplishment and a proof of ingenuous extraction, to be able t express one's self in verse with ease and elegance, o any extraordinary occurrence; and even in their com mon discourse, they made frequent applications o celebrated passages of their famous poets. In thei poems were preserved the distinction of descents, th rights of tribes, the memory of great actions, an the propriety of their language; for which reasons a excellent poet reflected an honour on his tribe, that, as soon as any one began to be admired for hi performances of this kind in a tribe, the other tribe sent publicly to congratulate them on the occasion and themselves made entertainments, at which th women assisted, dressed in their nuptial ornaments singing to the sound of timbrels the happiness o their tribe, who had now one to protect their honour to preserve their genealogies and the purity of thei language, and to transmit their actions to posterity [n]; for this was all performed by their poems, to whic they were solely obliged for their knowledge and in structions, moral and œconomical, and to which the had recourse, as to an oracle, in all doubts and dif ferences [o]. No wonder then, that a public congratula tion was made on this account, which honour they ye were so far from making cheap, that they never did i but on one of these three occasions, which were rec koned great points of felicity; *viz.* on the birth of boy, the rise of a poet, and the fall of a foal of gene rous breed. To keep up an emulation among thei poets, the tribes had, once a year, a general assembl at *Ocadh* [p], a place famous on this account, and wher they kept a weekly mart or fair, which was held o our sunday [q]. This annual meeting lasted a whol

[m] Poc. Spec. 161. [n] Ebn Rashik, apud Poc. Spec. 16
[o] Poc. Orat. præfix. Carm. Tograi, ubi supra. [p] Idem, Spe
p. 159. [q] Geogr. Nub. p. 51.

month

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

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

[r] Poc. Spec. 159. Tograi, p. 233. &c.

[s] Ibid. & p. 381. Et in calce Notar. in Carmen

[t] Jallalo'ddin al Soyûti, apud Poc. Spec. p. 159,

[u] Ib. 160.

[w] Ib. 161. *Al Safadi* confirms this by a story of a Grammarian, named *Abu Jaafar*, who sitting by the *Mikyas* or *Nelometer* in *Egypt*, in a year when the *Nile* did not rise to its usual height, so that a famine was apprehended, and dividing a piece of poetry into its parts or feet, to examine it by the rules of art, some who passed by, not understanding him, imagined he was uttering a charm to hinder the rise of the river, and pushed him into the water, where he lost his life.

[x] V. Clericum de Prosod. Arab. p. 2.

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

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

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

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

ſtirrup

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

Nor were these the only good qualities of the *Arabs*; they are commended by the ancients for being

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

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

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

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

receive

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

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

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

seasons,

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

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

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

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

SECTION II.

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

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

The corrupt state of *Christianity* after the third century.

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

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

pitch,

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

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

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

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

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

stitions,

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

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

The heresies among the *Arabian* Christians.

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

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

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

but

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

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

The *Jews* powerful in *Arabia*.

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

The weak condition of the *Roman* and *Persian* empires.

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

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

pires.

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

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

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

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

were

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

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

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

[k] V. Poc. Spec. p. 70.

with

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

The flourishing state of *Arabia*.

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

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

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

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

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

born at Mecca May 5, 569

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

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

[n] Abulfeda, Vit. Moham. p. 2.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

r See *Casaub.* of Enthusiasm, p. 148.

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

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

[s] Ammian. Marcell. l. 14. c. 4.

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

Of his personal qualifications.

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

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

t V. Abulfeda, Vit. Moham. p. 144, &c.

u V. *Prid.* life of *Mahomet*, p. 105.

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

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

The first steps of *Mohammed* towards the executing of his project.

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

[w] V. Abulfed. ubi sup. p. 28, &c. [x] See *Korân* chap. 29. *Prid.* life of *Mah.* [y] Chap. 7.

wards the effecting of his enterprize, and the acci-
dents which concurred to his success therein.

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

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

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

occasion,

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

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

upon

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

The *Koreish* oppose him,

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

And persecute his followers.

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

[f] Abulfeda ubi supra.

fân

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

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

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

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

out

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

Mohammed loses his uncle *Abu Taleb*, and his wife.

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

The *Koreish* grow more troublesome.

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

[1] Abulfeda, p. 28. Ebn Shohnah.

where

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

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

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

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

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

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

Twelve men of *Medina* take an oath to *Mohammed.*

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

The progress of *Mohammedism* at *Medina.*

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

p Chap. 60. q V. Korân, c. 6.

The

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

Several of that city swear fidelity to *Mohammed*.

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

He pretends to have leave to defend himself.

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

force

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

t Machiavelli, Princ. c. 6.

That

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

Mohammed, having provided for the security of his companions as well as his own, by the league offensive and defensive which he had now concluded with those of *Medina*, directed them to repair thither, *Mohammed's* proselytes fly to *Medina*; and the *Koreish* conspire to kill him.

[v] See *Prideaux's* Letter to the *Deists*, p. 220, &c. [w] See *Bayle's* Dict. Hist. Art. Mahomet, Rem. O.

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

But he eſcapes,

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

And retires to *Medina*.

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

[x] See the notes to chap. 8. and 36.

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

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

Builds a mosque and house there.

[y] It is observable that the *Jews* have a like tradition concerning *David*, when he fled from *Saul* into the cave; and the *Targum* paraphrases these words of the second verse of *Psalm* lvii, (which was composed on occasion of that deliverance) *I will pray before the most high* GOD *that performeth all things for me*, in this manner; *I will pray before the most high* GOD, *who called a spider to weave a web for my sake in the mouth of the cave.* [z] Al Beidâwi in Kor. c. 9. V. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 445. [a] Cap. 9. [b] Abulfeda Vit. Moh. p. 50, &c. Ebn Shohnah. [c] Abulfeda, ib. p. 52, 53. [d] Disputatio Christiani contra Saracen. c. 4. [e] *Prideaux*'s life of *Mahomet*, p. 58.

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

He makes reprisals on the *Koreish*,

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

And tires to *Medina*.

[f] Al Bokhâri in Sonna. [g] Al Jannâbi. [h] Ahmed Ebn Yusef. [i] V. Gagnier, Not. in Abulfed. de Vita Moh. p. 52, 53. [k] See the notes on the *Korân*, chap. 3. p. 56. [l] V. Abulfed. Vit. Moh. p. 1[illegible]

part

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

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

And at length concludes a truce with them for ten years.

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

The great respect shewn him by his followers.

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

Mohammed invites foreign princes to embrace his religion.

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

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

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

[m] Abulfeda, Vit. Moh. p. 85. [n] See before p. 14. [o] Abulfeda, Vit. Moh. p. 92, &c. [p] Al Jannâbi.

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

His forces beat the *Greeks*.

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

[q] It is, however, a different name from that of the Virgin *Mary*, which the *Orientals* always write *Maryam* or *Miriam*, whereas this is written *Mâriya*. [r] This prince is omitted in Dr. *Pocock*'s list of the kings of *Ghassân*, Spec. p. 77. [s] Abulfeda, ubi sup. p. 94, &c.

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

He takes *Mecca.*

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

Mohammed immediately gave orders for preparations to be made, that he might surprise the *Meccans* while they were unprovided to receive him: in a little time he began his march thither, and by that time he came near the city his forces were increased to 10,000 men. Those of *Mecca*, being not in a condition to defend themselves against so formidable an army, surrendered at discretion; and *Abu Sofiân* saved his life by turning *Mohammedan*. About twenty-eight of the idolaters were killed by a party under the command of *Khaled*; but this happened contrary to *Mohammed*'s orders, who, when he entered the town, pardoned all the *Koreish*, on their submission, except only six men and four women, who were more obnoxious than ordinary (some of them having apostatized) and were solemnly proscribed by the prophet himself; but of these not more than three men and one woman were put to death, the rest obtaining pardon on their embracing

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

Mohammedism

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

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

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

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

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

[x] V. Abulfed. ubi sup. c. 51, 52. [y] V. Gagnier, Not. ad Abulfed. p. 121. [z] Abulfed. ubi sup. p. 128. [a] Abulfeda, ib. p. 129.

tion

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

SECTION III.

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

The several names of the *Korân.*

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

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

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

book

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

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

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

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

revealed

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Next

Initial form and letters.

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

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

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

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

well

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

Style.

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

[n] V. Buxtorf. Lexicon Rabbin. See also Schikardi Bechinat happerushim, p. 62, &c. [o] Golius in append. ad Gram. Erp. p. 182.

confessedly

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

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

[p] See after. [q] Ahmed Abd'alhalim, apud Marrac. de Alc. p. 6.
[r] A noble writer therefore mistakes the question, when he says, the eastern religionists leave their sacred writ the sole standard of literary performance by extinguishing all true learning. For, though they were destitute of what we call learning, yet they were far from being ignorant or unable to compose elegantly in their own tongue. See L. *Shaftesbury*'s Characteristics, Vol. iii. p. 235. [s] Al Gazali, apud Poc. Spec. p. See *Korân*, c. 17. and also c. 2. p. 2. and c. 11, *&c.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[a] *Korân*, chap. 15, 21, &c.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Its author and manner of publishing.

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

c Vide Korân, c. 16. and c. 25.

d See the notes on those passages.

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

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

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

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

When and by whom digested into the present form.

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

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

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

i Elmacin. in Vita Abu Becr. Abulfeda.

care

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

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

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

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

[k] Abulfeda, in vitis Abubecr & Othmân. [l] The characters or marks of the *Arabic* vowels were not used till several years after *Mohammed*. Some ascribe the invention of them to *Yahya Ebn Yâmer*, some to *Nasr Ebn Asam*, surnamed *al Laithi*, and others to *Abu'laswad al Dili*; all three of whom were doctors of *Basra*, and immediately succeeded the *companions*. See D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 87.

Of the first kind were several verses, which by the tradition of *Ans Ebn Malec* were in the prophet's life-time read in the chapter of *repentance*, but are now now extant, one of which, being all he remembered of them, was the following, "If a son of *Adam* had "two rivers of gold, he would covet yet a third; "and, if he had three, he would covet yet a fourth "(to be added) unto them; neither shall the belly "of a son of *Adam* be filled, but with dust. God "will turn unto him who shall repent." Another instance of this kind we have from the tradition of *Abd'allah Ebn Masûd*, who reported that the prophet gave him a verse to read which he wrote down; but the next morning, looking in his book, he found it was vanished, and the leaf blank: this he acquainted *Mohammed* with, who assured him the verse was revoked the same night.

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

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

Disputes concerning the creation of the *Korân*.

Though it is the belief of the *Sonnites* or orthodox that the *Korân* is uncreated and eternal, subsisting in the very essence of God, and *Mohammed* himself is said to have pronounced him an infidel who asserted the contrary [n], yet several have been of a different

[m] Abu Hashem Hebatallah, apud Marracc. de Alc. p. 42. [n] Apud Poc. Spec. 229.

opinion;

opinion; particularly the sect of the *Motázalites* [o], and the followers of *Isa Ebn Sobeih Abu Musa*, surnamed *al Mozdâr*, who stuck not to accuse those who held the *Korân* to be uncreated of infidelity, as assertors of two eternal beings [p].

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

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

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

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

might

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

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

Exposition of it.

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

One of the most learned commentators [b] distinguishes the contents of the *Korân* into *allegorical* and *literal*. The former comprehends the more obscure parabolical, and ænigmatical passages, and such as are repealed or abrogated; the latter those which

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

Dost thou rebuke every rebellious perverse person? behold, I am a rebellious perverse person.

When thou appearest before thy Lord, on the day of resurrection, say, O Lord, al Walid has torn me thus. Ebn Shohnah. v. Poc Spec. p. 223. y Poc. Spec. p. 222. z Herbelot. p. 87. a Abulfeda, Shahrestani, &c. Poc. Spec. p. 222. & Marracc. de Kor. p. 44. b Al Zamakhshari. Korân, chap. 3. p. 35.

are plain, perspicuous, liable to no doubt, and in full force.

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

The honour shewn to it.

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

Translations.

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

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

SECTION IV.

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

Wherein the *Mohammedan* religion is built.

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

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

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

The division and fundamental points of it.

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

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

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

Of their faith in GOD.

That both *Mohammed*, and those among his followers who are reckoned orthodox, had and continue to have just and true notions of GOD and his attributes, (always excepting their obstinate and impious rejecting of the Trinity) appears so plain from the *Korân* itself, and all the *Mohammedan* divines, that it would be loss of time to refute those who

who suppose the God of *Mohammed* to be differe from the true God, and only a fictitious deity, idol of his own creation [b]. Nor shall I here en into any of the *Mohammedan* controversies concer ing the divine nature and attributes, because I sh have a more proper opportunity of doing it el where [c].

And in his angels. The existence of angels and their purity are a solutely required to be believed in the *Korân*; a he is reckoned an infidel who denies there are su beings, or hates any of them [d], or asserts any d tinction of sexes among them. They believe th to have pure and subtile bodies, created of fir that they neither eat nor drink, nor propagate th species; that they have various forms and offic some adoring God in different postures, oth singing praises to him, or interceding for manki They hold that some of them are employed writing down the actions of men; others in car ing the throne of God and other services.

The four angels, whom they look on as m eminently in God's favour, and often mention account of the offices assigned them, are *Gabriel*, whom they give several titles, particularly those the *holy spirit* [f], and the *angel of revelations* [g], suppos him to be honoured by God with a greater con dence than any other, and to be employed in w ing down the divine decrees [h]; *Michael*, the fri and protector of the *Jews* [i]; *Azraël*, the *angel of de* who separates mens souls from their bodies [k]; a *Israfil*, whose office it will be to sound the trumpe the resurrection [l]. *The Mohammedans* also bel that two guardian angels attend on every man,

[b] Marracc. in Alc. p. 102. [c] Sect. VIII. [d] Korân c. 2. p [e] Ib. c. 7. and 38. [f] Korân, c. 2. p. 12. [g] See the notes, ib. p [h] V. Hyde, Hist. Rel. vet. Pers. p. 262. [i] V. ib. p. 271. & no Kor. p. 13. [k] V. not. ib. p. 4. [l] Kor. c. 6, 13, and 86. The of these four angels are described almost in the same manner in apocryphal gospel of *Barnabas*; where it is said that *Gabriel* reve secrets of God, *Michael* combates against his enemies, *Raphael* re the souls of those who die, and *Uriel* is to call every one to judgm the last day. See the *Menagiana*, Tom. 4. p. 333.

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

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

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

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

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

capable

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

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

Of the scriptures.

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

z V. Korân, c. 55, 72, and 74. a See D'Herbelot, Bibl. Or. p. 369, 820, &c. b In libro Zohar. c Gemara, in Hagiga. d In Baale hayyim, c. 15.

absolute

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

[e] *Terry's* Voyage to the *East Indies*, p. 177. [f] De Rel. Moham. p. 23.

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

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

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

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

Of the prophets.

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

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

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

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

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

Of the state after death.

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

Of the body before the resurrection.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

a V. Poc. ubi sup. *Nishmat hayim*, f. 77. sup. p. 247.

b Korân, c. 79. The *Jews* say the same.

c V. Kor. chap. 23. and not. ib.

d Poc.

the

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

Of the resurrection.

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

[e] Poc. ubi sup. p. 248. Consonant hereto are the *Jewish* notions of the souls of the just being on high, under the throne of glory. V. Ib. p. 156.
[f] Ib. p. 250. [g] Al Beidâwi, in Kor. c. 79. V. Poc. ubi sup. p. 252.
[h] Or, as we corruptly name him, *Avicenna*. [i] Kenz al asrâr.

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

The signs of its approach.

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

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

k V. Poc. ubi sup. p. 254. l Idem, ib. p. 255, *&c.* m Bereshith rabbah, *&c.* V. Poc. ubi sup. p. 117, *&c.* n Ibid. p. 258, *&c.*
o See *Luke*, xviii. 8.

6. Great

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

The greater signs are,

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

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

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

3. War

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

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

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

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

world.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

11. The

11. The discovery of a vast heap of gold an silver by the retreating of the *Euphrates*, which wi be the destruction of many.

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

13. The speaking of beasts and inanimate thing

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

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

16. The coming of the *Mohdi*, or *director*; co concerning whom *Mohammed* propheſied, that t world ſhould not have an end till one of his o family ſhould govern the *Arabians*, whoſe nam ſhould be the ſame with his own name, and who father's name ſhould alſo be the ſame with his ther's name; and who ſhould fill the earth wi righteouſneſs. This perſon the *Shiites* believe be now alive, and concealed in ſome ſecret plac till the time of his manifeſtation; for they ſu poſe him to be no other than the laſt of t twelve *Imâms*, named *Mohammed Abu'lkaſem*, as the prophet was; and the ſon of *Haſſan al Aſkeri*, the el venth of that ſucceſſion. He was born at *Sermanra* in the 255th year of the *Hejra* [y]. From this trad tion, it is to be preſumed, an opinion pretty curre among the *Chriſtians* took its riſe, that the *Moha medans* are in expectation of their prophet's return.

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

The three blaſts of the laſt trumpet, and their effects.

Theſe are the greater ſigns, which, according their doctrine, are to precede the reſurrection, bu ſtill leave the hour of it uncertain: for the imm diate ſign of its being come will be the firſt bla of the trumpet; which they believe will be found ed three times. The firſt they call the *blaſt of co ſternation*; at the hearing of which all creatures

[x] See after, in this ſection. [y] V. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 52

heave

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

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

Forty

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

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

The length of the last day.

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

the spirit who bears the waters on which the throne is placed, the *preserved Table*, wherein the decrees of GOD are registered, and the pen wherewith they are written; all which things the *Mohammedans* imagine were created before the world. [d] In this circumstance the *Mohammedans* follow the *Jews*, who also agree that the trumpet will sound more than once. Vide Bechai in Biur hattorah, & Otioth shel R. Akiba. [e] Elsewhere (vide before, p. 79.) this rain is said to continue only forty days; but it rather seems that it is to fall during the whole interval between the first and third blasts. [f] Kor. chap. 32. [g] Ib. chap. 70.

appa

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

The circumstances of the resurrection.

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

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

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

[h] See the notes to Kor. chap. 81. and the preceding page.

that

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

[i] In this also they follow their old guides, the *Jews*; who say that, the wheat which is sown naked rise cloathed, it is no wonder the pious who are buried in their cloaths should rise with them. Gemar. Sanhedr. fol. [illegible]

[k] See before, Sect. I. p. 21.

wil

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

Where the raised will be assembled.

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

Of the day of judgment.

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

[1] Chap. 9.

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

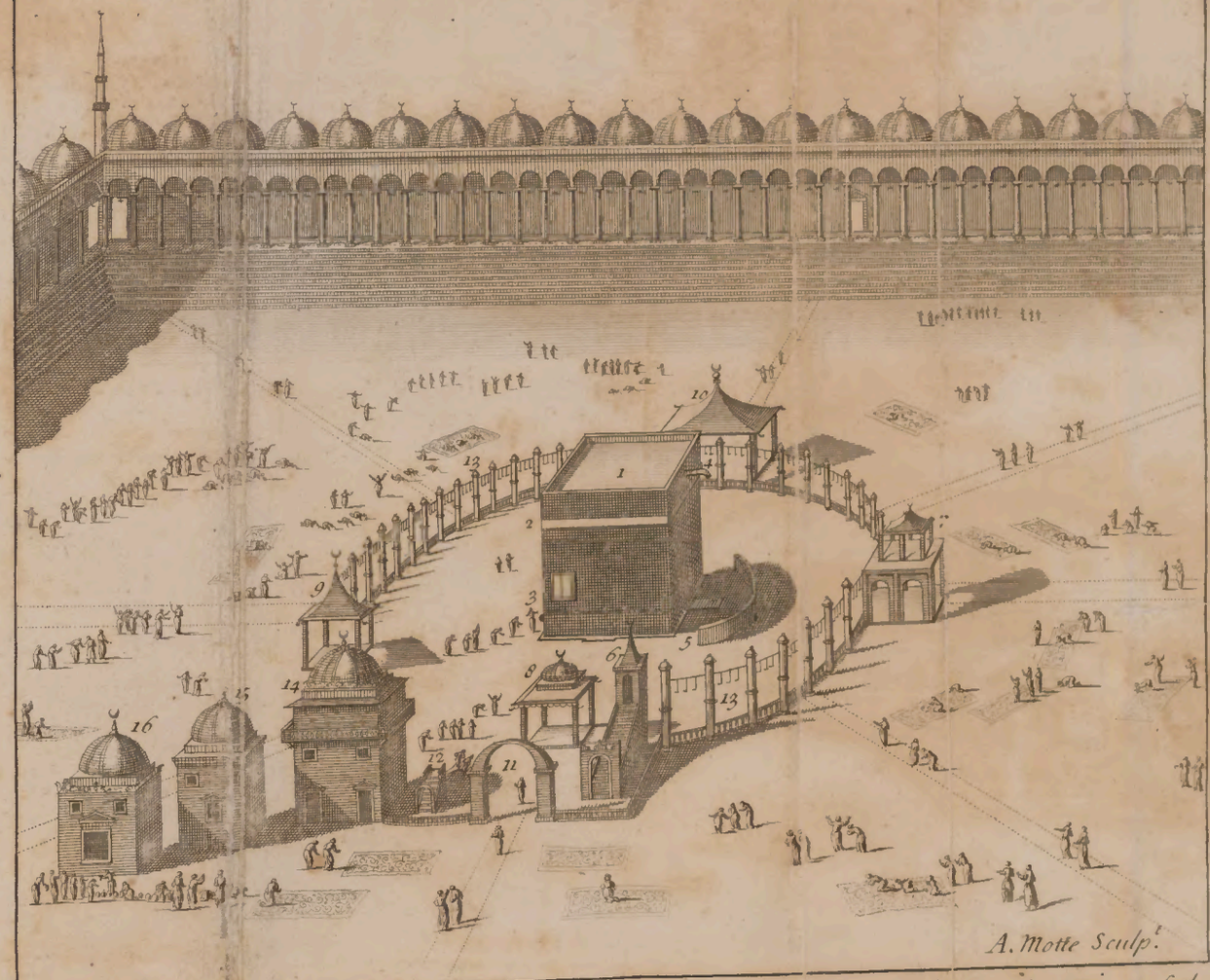
The previous attendance of those who are to be judged.

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

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

PLAN OF THE TEMPLE OF MECCA.

VIEW OF THE TEMPLE OF MECCA.



1 Caaba. 2 The band of gold. 3 The black Stone. 4 The golden Spout. 5 The Sepulchre of Ishmael. 6 The pulpit. 7 The Station of the Hanifites. 8 The place of Abraham & the Shafeites. 9 The Station of the Hanbalites. 10 The Station of the Malchites. 11 The old gate. 12 The steps moving on wheels to mount up to the door of the Caaba. 13 The inner Inclosure which at night is illuminated with lamps. 14 The building over the Well Zemzem. 15 The Gate-way. 16 The cupola of al Abbas. NB. The numeral References are the same in the Plan as in the View and shew the same Things.

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

The manner of their being judged.

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

[o] Al Ghazâli. [p] Idem. [q] V. Pocock, in Port. Mosis, p. 277.
[r] See before, p. 94.

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

[s] Gemara, Sanhedr. c. 11. R. Jos. Albo, Serm. IV. c. 33. Sec. Epiphan. in Ancorat. Sect. 89.

between

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

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

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

To shew the exact justice which will be observed on this great day of trial, the next thing they describe

Of the balance wherein their works will be weighed.

[t] The *Arabs* use, after they have drawn some milk from the camel, to wait a while, and let her young one suck a little, that she may give down her milk more plentifully at the second milking. [u] Pocock, Not. in Port. Mosis, p. 278—282. See also Kor. c. 2. p. 23. [w] Kor. c. 17, 18, 69, and 84. [x] Jallalo'ddin.

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

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

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

repo

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

Retaliation of injuries.

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

[c] Hyde, de rel. vet. Pers. p. 245, 401, &c.

[d] Yet they say the dog of the seven sleepers, and *Ezra*'s ass, which was r[illegible] by peculiar favour, be admitted into paradise. See Kor. c. 18, and c. 3. p. 31.

so that they shall cry out, on hearing this senten passed on the brutes, *Would to* God *that we were d also.* As to the genii, many *Mohammedans* are of op nion that such of them as are true believers, will u dergo the same fate as the irrational animals, a have no other reward than the favour of being co verted into dust; and for this they quote the auth rity of their prophet. But this however is judg not so very reasonable, since the genii, being capab of putting themselves in the state of believers as we as men, must consequently deserve, as it seems, be rewarded for their faith, as well as to be punish for their infidelity. Wherefore some entertain a mo favourable opinion, and assign the believing geni place near the confines of paradise, where they w enjoy sufficient felicity, though they be not admitt into that delightful mansion. But the unbelievi genii, it is universally agreed, will be punish eternally, and be thrown into hell with the infid of mortal race. It may not be improper to obser that under the denomination of unbelieving ge the *Mohammedans* comprehend also the devil and companions [e].

Of the bridge *al Sirat.*

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

[e] V. Korân, c. 18.

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

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

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

The *Mohammedan* notions of hell, and its torments.

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

sixth,

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

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

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

[n] Ib. c. 40, 43

liver-

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

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

For moſt of theſe circumſtances relating to
and the ſtate of the damned, *Mohammed* was like
in all probability indebted to the *Jews*, and in
to the *Magians*; both of whom agree in mak
ſeven diſtinct apartments in hell [p], though they
in other particulars. The former place an angel
a guard over each of theſe infernal apartments,
ſuppoſe he will intercede for the miſerable wret
there impriſoned, who will openly acknowledge
juſtice of GOD in their condemnation [q]. They
teach that the wicked will ſuffer a diverſity of
niſhments, and that by intolerable cold [r] as well
heat, and that their faces ſhall become black [s];
believe thoſe of their own religion ſhall alſo be
niſhed in hell hereafter, according to their crim
(for they hold that few or none will be found
exactly righteous as to deſerve no puniſhment at
but will ſoon be delivered thence, when they
be ſufficiently purged from their ſins, by their
ther *Abraham*, or at the interceſſion of him or ſo
other of the prophets [t]. The *Magians* allow
one angel to preſide over all the ſeven hells,
is named by them *Tanând Yezád*, and, as they te
aſſigns puniſhments proportionate to each perſ
crimes, reſtraining alſo the tyranny and exce
cruelty of the devil, who would, if left to him
torment the damned beyond their ſentence [u]. Th
of this religion do alſo mention and deſcribe var
kinds of torments, wherewith the wicked will
puniſhed in the next life; among which though
reckon extreme cold to be one, yet they do
admit fire, out of reſpect, as it ſeems, to that

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

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

Of the wall between paradise and hell.

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

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

intermediate

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

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

Of *Mohammed*'s pond.

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

Of paradise.

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

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

However

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

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

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

[d] Yahya, in Kor. c. 13. [e] Jallal'oddin, ib.

flow

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

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

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

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

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

[f] Al Ghazâli, Kenz al Assâr.

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

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

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

[g] See before, p. 116.

once

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Whether women are excluded paradise.

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

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

joyment

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

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

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

[l] See *Korân*, c. 56, and the notes there, & Gagnier. not. in Abulfedæ vit. Moh. p. 145. [m] See before, p. 84. [n] Kor. c. 3. p. 52, 54. and c. 4. p. 70, &c.

of

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

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

Of prayer and the previous purifications.

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

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

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

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

means

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

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

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

filth,

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

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

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

instance,

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

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

Of circumcision.

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

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

that

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

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

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

[o] This is the substance of the following passage of the Gospel of Barnabas, (chap. 23.) viz. *Entonces dixo* Jesus; Adam *el primer hombre aviendo comido por engano del demonio la comida prohibida por Dios en el paraiso se le rebelò su carne à su espiritu; por lo qual jurò diziendo, Por Dios que yo te quiero cortar; y rompiendo una piedra tomò su carne para cortarla con el corte de la piedra. Por loqual fue reprehendido del angel* Gabriel, *y el le dixo; he jurado por Dios que lo he de cortar, y mentiroso no lo serè jamais. Ala hora el angel le enseño la superfluidad de su carne, y a quella cortò. De manera que ansi como todo hombre toma carne de* Adam, *ansi esta obligado a campar aquello que* Adam *con juramento prometiò.* [p] Shalshel. hakkabala. V. Poc. Spec. p. 320. Gagnier, Not. in Abulfed. vit. Moh. p. 6. [q] V. Poc. Spec. p. 304. [r] See before, p. 22. [s] Abulfed. vit. Moh. p. 127.

cline

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

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

[t] V. Abulfed. vit. Moh. p. 38, 39. [u] V. Hotting. Hist. Eccles. Tom. 8. p. 470—529. Bobov' in Liturg. Turcic. p. 1, *&c.* Grelot, Voyage de Constant. p. 253—264. Chardin, Voy. de Perse, Tom. II. p. 38, *&c.* & Smith, de moribus ac instit. Turcar. Ep. 1. p. 33, *&c.* [w] Korân, chap. 2. p. 24. See the notes there. [x] V. Hyde, de Rel. vet. Pers. p. 8, 9, & 126.

But

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

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

y Al Ghazâli. z V. Poc. Spec. p. 305. a V. Smith, ... sup. p. 40. b Reland. de Rel. Moh. p. 96. See Kor. chap. ...

c A *Moor*, named *Ahmed Ebn Abdalla*, in a *Latin* epistle by him written to *Maurice* prince of *Orange*, and *Emanuel* prince of *Portugal*, containing a censure of the *Christian* religion, (a copy of which, once belonging to Mr. *Selden*, who has thence transcribed a considerable passage in his treatise *De Synedriis vett. Ebræor.* l. 1. c. 12, is now in the *Bodleian* library) finds great fault with the unedifying manner in which mass is said among the *Roman Catholics*, for this very reason, among others. His words are: *Ubicunque congregantur simul viri & fœminæ, ibi mens non est intenta & devota: nam inter celebrandum missam & sacrificia, fœminæ & viri mutuis aspectibus, signis, ac nutibus accendunt pravorum appetitum, & desideriorum suorum ignes: & quando hoc non fieret, scilicet humana fragilitas delectatur mutuo reciproco aspectu; & ita non potest esse mens quieta, attenta, et devota.*

The

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

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

veral other conformities might be remarked betwee the *Jewish* public worship and that of the *Moham medans* [r].

Of alms. The next point of the *Mohammedan* religion is th giving of alms; which are of two sorts, *legal* an *voluntary*. The *legal alms* are of indispensable obl gation, being commanded by the law, which direct and determines both the portion which is to be given and of what things it ought to be given; but the *luntary alms* are left to every one's liberty, to gi more or less, as he shall see fit. The former kind alms some think to be properly called *Zacât*, and th latter *Sadakat*; though this name be also frequent given to the legal alms. They are called *Zacât*, e ther because they *increase* a man's store by drawin down a blessing thereon, and *produce* in his soul th virtue of liberality [s]; or because they *purify* the re maining part of one's substance from pollution, a the soul from the filth of avarice [t]; and *Sadak* because they are a proof of a man's *sincerity* in th worship of God. Some writers have called the le gal alms *tythes*, but improperly, since in some ca they fall short, and, in others, exceed that pr portion.

The giving of alms is frequently commanded in th *Korân*, and often recommended therein jointly wi prayer; the former being held of great efficacy causing the latter to be heard of God: for whic reason the *Khalif Omar Ebn Abd'alaziz* used to s *that prayer carries us half-way to* God, *fasting brings to the door of his palace, and alms procures us admissio* The *Mohammedans* therefore esteem almsdeeds to highly meritorious, and many of them have be illustrious for the exercise thereof. *Hasan*, the of *Ali*, and grandson of *Mohammed*, in particul

[r] V. Millium, ubi supra, p. 424, & seq. [s] Al Beidawi. See Ma chap. 2. p. 50. [t] Idem. Compare this with what our Saviour h Luke xi. 41, *Give alms of such things as ye have; and behold, all things clean unto you.* [u] D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 5.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[o] V. Chardin, Voy. de Perse, t. II. p. 421, &c. Reland. de Relig. Moh. p. 109, &c. [p] See hereafter, §. VI. [q] Korân, chap. 2. p. 32. See also chap. 97. [r] Al Beidawi, ex trad. Mohammedis. [s] See Korân, chap. 2. p. 32. [t] Siphra, fol. 252. 2. [u] Tosephoth ad Gemar. Yoma, f. 34. [w] V. Gemar. Yoma, f. 40, and Maimon. in Halachoth Tánioth, c. 5. §. 4. [x] V. Gemar. Tánith, f. 12, & Yoma, fol. 83, & Es Hayim, Tánith, c. 4.

Though

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

[y] Al Ghazâli. [z] Al Bârezi, in Comment. ad Orat. Ebn Nobâtæ. [a] Levit. xvi. 29. & xxiii. 27. [b] Ebn al. Athîr, V. Pococke. Spec. p. 309.

Of the pilgrimage to *Mecca.*

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

The temple briefly described.

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

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

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

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

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

[h] Sharîf al Edrisi, apud Poc. Spec. 125, &c. [i] Idem, ibid.

lighted

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

standing

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

in

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

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

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

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

[s] Bobov. de Peregr. Mecc. p. 11. &c. Cardin, Voy. de Perse, T. 2. p. 440, &c. See also *Pitts*'s account of the rel. &c. of the *Mohametans*, p. 92, &c. Gagnier, Vie de Mah. t. 2. p. 258, &c. Abulfed. vit. Moh. p. 230, &c. and Reland. de Rel. Moh. p. 113, &c. [t] Ebn al Athir. [u] V. Poc. Spec. p. 314. [w] See before, p. 26. [x] Al Ghazali. [y] Reland. de Rel. Moh. p. 121. [z] Ebn al Athîr. [a] See Kor. chap. 2. p. 36.

stay

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

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

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

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

Mina,

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

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

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

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

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

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

SECTION V.

Of certain negative Precepts in the Korân.

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

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

[u] See chap. 2. p. 39, & chap. 5. chap. 16. V. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 636. Sonib. & instit. Turcar. Ep. 2. p. 28, &c. p. 212. [w] Chap. 2. p. 25, & [x] V. Smith, de [y] V. Chardin, ubi supra, [z] Chardin, ubi sup. p. 344.

Whether coffee, tobacco, and opium be lawful.

It has been a question whether *coffee* comes no under the above-mentioned prohibition [a], becau the fumes of it have some effect on the imaginatio This drink, which was first publicly used at *Ade* in *Arabia felix*, about the middle of the ninth cen tury of the *Hejra*, and thence gradually introduce into *Mecca*, *Medina*, *Egypt*, *Syria*, and other parts o the *Levant*, has been the occasion of great dispute and disorders, having been sometimes publicl condemned and forbidden, and again declared law ful and allowed [b]. At present the use of coffe is generally tolerated, if not granted, as is th of *tobacco*, though the more religious make a scrup of taking the latter, not only because it inebriate but also out of respect to a traditional saying of the prophet, (which, if it could be made out to b his, would prove him a prophet indeed) *That in th latter days there should be men who should bear the nam of* Moslems, *but should not be really such*; *and tha they should smoke a certain weed, which should be call* TOBACCO: however, the eastern nations are gen rally so addicted to both, that they say, *a dish coffee and a pipe of tobacco are a complete entertainmen* and the *Persians* have a proverb, that *coffee witho tobacco is meat without salt* [c].

Opium and *beng* (which latter is the leaves of hem in pills or conserve) are also by the rigid *Moham medans* esteemed unlawful, though not mention in the *Korân*, because they intoxicate and distur the understanding as wine does, and in a more ex traordinary manner: yet these drugs are now com monly taken in the east; but they who are ad dicted to them are generally looked upon as de bauchees [d].

[a] Abd'alkâder Mohammed al Ansâri has written a treatise concern Coffee, wherein he argues for its lawfulness. V. D'Herbel. Art. Cahv [b] V. Le Traité historique de l'origine & du progres du Café, à la fin Voy. de l'Arabie heur. de la Roque. [c] Reland. Dissert. Miscell. T. 2. 280. V. Chardin, Voy. de Perse, T. 2. p. 14 and 66. [d] V. Chard ibid. p. 68, &c. & D'Herbel. p. 200.

Several

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

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

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

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

Under the name of *lots* the commentators agr
that all other games whatsoever, which are sub
to hazard, or chance, are comprehended and i
bidden, as dice, cards, tables, *&c.* And they
reckoned so ill in themselves, that the testimo
of him who plays at them, is by the more re
judged to be of no validity in a court of justi
Chess is almost the only game which the *Moha
dan* doctors allow to be lawful, (though it has be
a doubt with some [q]) because it depends wh
on skill and management, and not at all on chan
but then it is allowed under certain restrictio
viz. that it be no hindrance to the regular perfo
ance of their devotions, and that no money
other thing be played for or betted; which
the *Turks* and *Sonnites* religiously observe, but
Persians and *Mogols* do not [r]. But what *Moha
is supposed chiefly to have disliked in the game
chess, was the carved pieces, or men, with wh
the Pagan *Arabs* played, being little figures of m

[o] Auctores Nodhm al dorr, & Nothr al dorr, al Zamakh. al Firauz
al Shirâzi in Orat. al Harîri, al Beidâwi, &c. V. Poc. Spec
324, &c. [p] Korân, chap. 5. [q] V. Hyde, de Ludis oriental. in
leg. ad Shahilubium. [r] V. Eund. ibid.

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

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

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

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

and,

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

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

Of the prohibition of divining arrows.

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

[c] Authent. interdicimus, c. de episcopis. [d] In com. ad legem præd. [e] Du Fresne, in Gloss. [f] Bava Mesia, 84. 1. Rosh hashana, & Sanhedr. 24. 2. V. etiam Maimon. in tract. Gezila. Among the modern civilians, *Mascardus* thought common gamesters were not to be admitted as witnesses, being infamous persons: V. Hyde, sup. in Proleg. & in Hist. Aleæ, §. III. [g] Kor. chap. 5. [h] See before, p. 26.

thing

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

Of forbidden food.

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

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

same

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

Of usury.

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

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

dealing

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

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

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

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

to

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

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

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

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

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

after

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

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

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

nor

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

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

The custom of their burying their daughters alive abolished.

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

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

all

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

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

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

Υἱὸν τρέφει τις κἂν πένης ὢν τύχῃ,
Θυγατέρα δὲ ἐκτίθησι κἂν ᾖ πλούσιος, i. e.
A man, though poor, will not expose his son,
But, if he is rich, will scarce preserve his daughter.

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

tom

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

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

SECTION VI.

Of the Institutions of the Korân *in Civil Affairs.*

The *Mohammedan* civil laws grounded on the *Korân.*

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

Of the laws of marriage and divorce.

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

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

lowers

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Of the peculiar privileges of *Mohammed*, in respect of the laws of marriage.

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

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

Of the laws of inheritances.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Of private contracts.

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

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

writer

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

manner

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

Of retaliation.

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

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

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Of the punishment of lesser crimes.

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

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

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

Of war against infidels.

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

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

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

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

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

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

matters

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

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

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

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

not

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

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

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

master

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

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

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

The fifth part, directed by the *Korân* to be taken out of the spoil before it be divided among the captors, is declared to belong to GOD, *and to the apostle, and his kindred, and the orphans, and the poor, and the traveller*[y]: which words are variously understood. *Al Shâfeï* was of opinion that the whole ought to be divided into five parts; the first, which he called GOD's *part*, to go to the treasury, and to be employed in building and repairing fortresses, bridges, and other public works, and in paying salaries to magistrates, civil officers, professors of learning, ministers of public worship, *&c.* the second part to be distributed among the kindred of *Mohammed*, that is, the descendants of his grandfather *Hâshem* and of his great uncle, *al Motalleb*[z], as well the rich as the poor, the children as the adult, the women as the men; observing only to give a female but half the share of a male: the third part to go to the orphans; the fourth part to the poor, who have no wherewithal to maintain themselves the year round and are not able to get their livelihood: and the fifth part to travellers, who are in want on the road, notwithstanding they may be rich men in their own country[a]. According to *Malec Ebn Ans* the whole is at the disposition of the *Imâm*, or prince, who may distribute the same at his own discretion, where he sees most need[b]. *Abu'l Aliya* went according to the letter of the *Korân*, and declared his opinion to be that the whole should be divided into six parts, and that GOD's part should be applied to the service of the *Caaba*: while others suppose GOD's part and the apostle's to be one and the same[c]. *Abu Ha*

y Kor. chap. 8. z Note, *al Shâfeï* himself was descended this latter. a Al Beid. V. Reland. de Jure milit. Moham. p.
b Idem. c Idem.

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

[d] Beid. V. Reland. de Jure milit. Moham. p. 42, &c. [e] Idem. [f] Idem.

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

SECTION VII.

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

The old *Arabs* observed four months in the year as sacred.

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

This institution obtained among all the *Arab* tribes, except only those of *Tay* and *Khathâam*, and some of the descendants of *al Hareth Ebn Caab*, who distinguished no time or place as sacred[c]) and are not so religiously observed, that there are but few

[a] Al Kazwîni, apud Golium in notis ad Alfrag. p. 4, &c. Al Shahrestâni, apud Poc. Spec. p. 311. Al Jawhari, al Firauzab. apud Golium, ubi supra, p. 5. [c] Al Shahrestâni, ubi supra. See also p. 162 and 163.

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

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

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

The observance of those months confirmed by the *Korân*.

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

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

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

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

year

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

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

Of the setting apart of Friday.

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

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

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

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

solemn

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

SECTION VIII.

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

Of the scholastic and practical divinity of the *Mohammedans*.

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

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

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

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

religion

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

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

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

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

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

rality;

rality; and therefore judged both sciences to be necessary, not in themselves, but by accident only, to curb the irregular imaginations and passions of mankind (as guards become necessary in the highways by reason of robbers) the end of the first being the suppressing of heresies, and of the other the decision of legal controversies, for the quiet and peaceable living of mankind in this world, and for the preserving the rule by which the magistrate may prevent one man from injuring another, by declaring what is lawful and what is unlawful, by determining the satisfaction to be given, or punishment to be inflicted, and by regulating other outward actions; and not only so, but to decide of religion itself, and its conditions, so far as relates to the profession made by the *mouth*, it not being the business of the civilian to enquire into the *heart*[i]: the depravity of mens manners, however, has made this knowledge of the laws so very requisite, that it is usually called *the science*, by way of excellence; nor is any man reckoned learned, who has not applied himself thereto[k].

The points of faith, subject to the examination and discussion of the scholastic divines, are reduced to four general heads, which they call the *four bases*, or great fundamental articles[l]. The points of faith in dispute among the schoolmen.

The first basis relates to the *attributes* of God, and his *unity* consistent therewith. Under this head are comprehended the questions concerning the *eternal attributes*, which are asserted by some, and denied by others; and also the application of the *essential attributes*, and *attributes of action*; what is proper for God to do, and what may be affirmed of him, and what it is impossible for him to do. These things are controverted between the *Ashárians*, the *Kerâmians*, the *Mojassemians* or *Corporalists*, and the *Mótazalites*[m].

[i] Al Ghazâli. V. ibid. p. 198—204. [k] V. ib. p. 204. [l] V. Abulfarag. Hist. Dynast. p. 166. [m] Al Shahreståni, apud Poc. ubi. sup. p. 204, &c.

The

The second basis regards *predestination*, and the justice thereof: which comprizes the questions concerning God's *purpose* and *decree*, man's *compulsion* or *necessity* to act, and his *co-operation* in producing actions, by which he may gain to himself good or evil; and also those which concern God's *willing* good and evil, and what things are subject to his *power*, and what to his *knowledge*; some maintaining the affirmative, and others the negative. These points are disputed among the *Kadarians*, the *Najarians*, the *Jabarians*, the *Asháriáns*, and the *Kerâmians*[n].

The third basis concerns the *promises* and *threats*, the precise acceptation of *names* used in divinity, and the divine *decisions*; and comprehends questions relating to *faith*, *repentance*, *promises*, *threats*, *forbearance*, *infidelity*, and *error*. The controversies under this head are on foot between the *Morgians*, the *Waïdians*, the *Mótazalites*, the *Asháriáns*, and the *Kerâmians*[o].

The fourth basis regards *history* and *reason*, that is, the just weight they ought to have in matters belonging to faith and religion; and also the *mission of prophets*, and the *office of* Imâm, or *chief pontiff*. Under this head are comprized all casuistical questions relating to the moral *beauty* or *turpitude* of actions; inquiring whether things are allowed or forbidden by reason of their own nature, or by the positive law; and also questions concerning the *preference* of actions, the *favour* or *grace* of God, the *innocence* which ought to attend the prophetical office, and the *conditions* requisite in the office of *Imâm*; some asserting it depends on *right of succession*, others on the *consent of the faithful*; and also the method of *transferring* it, with the former; and of *confirming* it, with the latter. These matters are the subjects of

[n] Al Shahrestâni, apud Poc. ubi, sup. ib. p. 2 [illegible] 206.

[o] Idem, ib. p.

dispute

dispute between the *Shiites*, the *Mótazalites*, the *Kerâmians*, and the *Ashárians*[p].

The different sects of *Mohammedans* may be distinguished into two sorts; those generally esteemed *orthodox*, and those which are esteemed *heretical*. The *Mohammedan* sects either *orthodox* or *heretical*.

The former, by a general name, are called *Sonnites* or *Traditionists*; because they acknowledge the authority of the *Sonna*, or collection of moral traditions of the sayings and actions of their prophet, which is a sort of *supplement* to the *Korân*, directing the observance of several things omitted in that book, and, in name, as well as design, answering to the *Mishna* of the *Jews*[q]. The *Orthodox* or *Sonnites*,

The *Sonnites* are subdivided into four chief sects, which, notwithstanding some differences as to *legal conclusions* in their interpretation of the *Korân*, and matters of *practice*, are generally acknowledged to be orthodox in *radicals*, or matters of *faith*, and capable of salvation, and have each of them their several stations or oratories in the temple of *Mecca*[r]. The founders of these sects are looked upon as the great masters of jurisprudence, and are said to have been men of great devotion and self-denial, well versed in the knowledge of those things which belong to the next life and to man's right conduct here, and directing all their knowledge to the glory of God. This is *al Ghazâli*'s encomium of them, who thinks it derogatory to their honour, that their names should be used by those who, neglecting to imitate the other virtues which make up their character, apply themselves only to attain their skill, and follow their opinions in matters of legal practice[s]. Divided into four sects.

The first of the four orthodox sects is that of the *Hanefites*, so named from their founder, *Abu Hanîfa al Nómân Ebn Thâbet*, who was born at *Cufâ*, in the Of the sect of *Abu Hanîfa*.

[p] Al Shahrestâni, apud Poc. Spec. ibid. p. 206. [q] V. Poc. Spec. p. 298. *Prid.* life of *Mah.* p. 51, *&c.* Reland. de Rel. Moh. p. 68, &c. Millium, de Mohammedismo ante Moh. p. 368, 369. [r] See before, p. 153. [s] V. Poc. Spec. p. 293.

eightieth

eightieth year of the *Hejra*, and died in the one hundredth and fiftieth, according to the more preferable opinion as to the time[t]. He ended his life in prison at *Baghdâd*, where he had been confined, because he refused to be made *Kâdi* or judge[u]; on which account he was very hardly dealt with by his superiors, yet could not be prevailed on, either by threats or ill treatment, to undertake the charge, *chusing rather to be punished by them than by* God, says *al Ghazâli*; who adds, that, when he excused himself from accepting the office by alledging that he was unfit for it, being asked the reason, he replied, *If I speak the truth, I am unfit*; *but, if I tell a lye, a lyar is not fit to be a judge.* It is said that he read over the *Korân*, in the prison where he died, no less than seven thousand times[w].

The *Hanefites* are called by an *Arabian* writer[x] *the followers of reason*; and those of the three other sects, *followers of tradition*; the former being principally guided by their own judgment in their decisions, and the latter adhering more tenaciously to the traditions of *Mohammed*.

The sect of *Abu Hanifâ* heretofore obtained chiefly in *Irâk*[y], but now generally prevails among the *Turks* and *Tartars:* his doctrine was brought into great credit by *Abu Yûsof*, chief justice under the *Khalifs al Hâdi* and *Harûn al Rashîd*[z].

Of the sect of *Malec.* The second orthodox sect is that of *Mâlec Ebn Ans*, who was born at *Medina*, in the year of the *Hejra* 90, 93, 94[a], or 95[b], and died there in 177[c], 178[d], or 179[e], (for so much do authors differ.) This doctor is said to have paid great regard to the traditi-

[t] Ebn Khalecân. [u] This was the true cause of his imprisonment and death, and not his refusing to subscribe to the opinion of absolute predestination, as *D'Herbelot* writes, (Bibl. Orient. p. 21.) misled by the dubious acceptation of the word *Kadâ*, which signifies not only God's *decree* in particular, but also *the giving sentence as a judge* in general; nor could *Abu Hanîfa* have been reckoned orthodox, had he denied one of the principal articles of faith. [w] Poc. Spec. p. 297, 298. [x] Al Shahrestâni, ibid. [y] Idem. [z] V. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. p. 21 & 22. [a] Abu'lfeda. [b] Ebn Khalecân. [c] Idem. [d] Abu'lfeda. [e] Elmacinus, p. 114.

ons

ons of *Mohammed*[f]. In his last illness, a friend going to visit him found him in tears, and, asking him the reason of it, he answered, *How should I not weep, and who has more reason to weep than I? Would to* God *that, for every question decided by me according to my own opinion, I had received so many stripes! then would my accounts be easier. Would to* God *I had never given any decision of my own*[g]*!* *Al Ghazâli* thinks it a sufficient proof of *Malec*'s directing his knowledge to the glory of God, that, being once asked his opinion as to forty-eight questions, his answer to thirty-two of them was, that he did not know; it being no easy matter for one, who has any other view than God's glory, to make so frank a confession of his ignorance[h].

The doctrine of *Malec* is chiefly followed in *Barbary* and other parts of *Africa*.

The author of the third orthodox sect was *Mohammed Ebn Edrîs al Shâfeï*, born either at *Gaza* or *Ascalon* in *Palestine*, in the year of the *Hejra* one hundred and fifty, the same day (as some will have it) that *Abu Hanîfa* died, and was carried to *Mecca* at two years of age, and there educated[i]. He died in two hundred and four[k], in *Egypt*, whither he went above five years before[l]. This doctor is celebrated for his excellency in all parts of learning, and was much esteemed by *Ebn Hanbal*, his contemporary, who used to say that *he was as the sun to the world, and as health to the body*. *Ebn Hanbal*, however, had so ill an opinion of *al Shâfeï* at first, that he forbad his scholars to go near him; but some time after one of them, meeting his master trudging on foot after *al Shâfeï*, who rode on a mule, asked him how it came about that he forbad them to follow him, and did it himself? to which *Ebn Hanbal* replied, *Hold thy peace; if thou but attend his mule, thou wilt profit thereby*[m].

Of the sect of *al Shâfeï*.

[f] Ebn Khalec. V. Poc. Spec. p. 294. [g] Idem, apud eund. ibid. [h] Al Ghazâli, ibid. [i] Ebn Khalecân. [k] Yet *Abu'lfeda* says he lived fifty-eight years. [l] Ebn Khalecân. [m] Idem.

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Al Shâfeï is said to have been the first who discoursed of jurisprudence, and reduced that science into a method[n]; one wittily saying, that the relators of the traditions of *Mohammed* were asleep till *al Shâfeï* came and waked them[o]. He was a great enemy to the scholastic divines, as has been already observed[p], *Al Ghazáli* tells us that *al Shâfeï* used to divide the night into the three parts, one for study, another for prayer, and the third for sleep. It is also related of him that he never so much as once swore by GOD, either to confirm a truth, or to affirm a falsehood; and that, being once asked his opinion, he remained silent for some time, and, when the reason of his silence was demanded, he answered, *I am considering first whether it be better to speak or hold my tongue.* The following saying is also recorded of him, *viz. Whoever pretends to love the world and its Creator at the same time, is a lyar*[q]. The followers of this doctor are from him called *Shâfeïtes*, and were formerly spread into *Mâwara'lnahr* and other parts eastward, but are now chiefly of *Arabia*.

Of the sect of *Ebn Hanbal.*

Ahmed Ebn Hanbal, the founder of the fourth sect, was born in the year of the *Hejra* 164; but, as to the place of his birth, there are two traditions: some say he was born at *Merú* in *Khoraſân*, of which city his parents were; and that his mother brought him from thence to *Baghdâd* at her breast; while others assure us that she was with child of him when she came to *Baghdâd*, and that he was born there[r]. *Ebn Hanbal*, in process of time, attained a great reputation on account of his virtue and knowledge; being so well versed in the traditions of *Mohammed*, in particular, that it is said he could repeat no less than a million of them[s]. He was very intimate with *al Shâfeï*, from whom he received most of his traditionary knowledge, being his constant attendant till

n Ebn Khalecân.
p See before, p. 201.
o Al Záfarâni, apud Poc. Spec. p. 296.
q V. Poc. Spec. p. 295 — 297.
r Ebn Khalecân
s Idem.

his departure for *Egypt* [t]. Refusing to acknowledge the *Korân* to be created [u], he was, by order of the *Khalif al Mótaṣem*, severely scourged and imprisoned [w]. *Ebn Hanbal* died at *Baghdâd*, in the year 241, and was followed to his grave by eight hundred thousand men, and sixty thousand women. It is related, as something very extraordinary, if not miraculous, that on the day of his death no less than twenty thousand *Christians*, *Jews*, and *Magians*, embraced the *Mohammedan* faith [x]. This sect increased so fast, and became so powerful and bold, that in the year 323, in the *Khalifat* of *al Rádi*, they raised a great commotion in *Baghdâd*, entering people's houses, and spilling their wine, if they found any, and beating the singing-women they met with, and breaking their instruments; and a severe edict was published against them, before they could be reduced to their duty [y]: but the *Hanbalites* at present are not very numerous, few of them being to be met with out of the limits of *Arabia*.

Of the heretical sects among the *Mohammedans*.

The *heretical* sects among the *Mohammedans* are those which hold heterodox opinions in *fundamentals*, or matters of *faith*.

When they began.

The first controversies relating to *fundamentals* began, when most of the companions of *Mohammed* were dead [z]: for in their days was no dispute, unless about things of small moment, if we except only the dissensions concerning the *Imâms*, or rightful successors of their prophet, which were stirred up and fomented by interest and ambition; the *Arabs* continual employment in the wars, during that time, allowing them little or no leisure to enter into nice inquiries and subtle distinctions: but no sooner was the ardour of conquest a little abated than they began to examine the *Korân* more nearly; whereupon differences in opinion became unavoidable, and at

[t] Ebn Khalecân. [u] See before, sect. III. p. 88 and 89. [w] Ebn Khalecân, Abu'lfarag, Hist. Dyn. p. 252, &c. [x] Ebn Khalecân. [y] Abu'lfar. ubi sup. p. 301, &c. [z] Al Shahrestâni, apud Poc. Spec. p. 194. Auctor Sharh al Mawâkef, apud eund. p. 210.

length so greatly multiplied, that the number of their sects, according to the common opinion, are seventy-three. For the *Mohammedans* seem ambitious that their religion should exceed others even in this respect; saying, that the *Magians* are divided into seventy sects, the *Jews* into seventy-one, the *Christians* into seventy-two, and the *Moslems* into seventy-three, as *Mohammed* had foretold [a]: of which sects they reckon one to be always orthodox, and intitled to salvation [b].

The first heresy was that of the *Kharejites*, who *revolted* from *Ali* in the 37th year of the *Hejra*; and not long after, *Mâbad al Johni*, *Ghailân* of *Damascus*, and *Jonas al Aswâri* broached heterodox opinions concerning predestination, and the ascribing of good and evil unto GOD; whose opinions were followed by *Wâsel Ebn Atâ* [c]. This latter was the scholar of *Hasan* of *Basra*, in whose school a question being proposed, whether he who had committed a grievous sin was to be deemed an infidel or not, the *Kharejite* (who used to come and dispute there) maintaining the affirmative, and the orthodox the negative, *Wâsel*, without waiting his master's decision, withdrew abruptly; and began to publish among his fellow scholars a new opinion of his own, to wit, that such a sinner was in a middle state; and he was thereupon expelled the school; he and his followers being thenceforth called *Mótazalites*, or *Separatists* [d].

The several sects which have arisen since the time are variously compounded and decompounded of the opinions of four chief sects, the *Mótazalites*, the *Sefâtians*, the *Kharejites*, and the *Shiites* [e].

[a] V. Poc. Spec. p. 194. [b] Al Shahrestâni, apud eund. p. 211. [c] Idem & Auctor Sharh al Mawafek, ubi sup. [d] Iidem, ib. p. 211, 212. Et Ebn Khalecan, in vita Wasseli. [e] *Al Shahrestâni*, who also reduces them to four chief sects, puts the *Kadarians* in the place of the *Mótazalites*. *Abu'lfaragius* (Hist. Dyn. p. 166.) reckons six principal sects, adding the *Jabarians* and the *Morgians*; and the author of *Sharh al Mawâkef*, eight, *viz.* the *Mótazalites*, the *Shiites*, the *Kharejites*, the *Morgians*, the *Najarians*, the *Jabarians*, the *Moshabbehites*, and the sects which he calls *al Nâjia*, because that alone will be *saved*, being according to him the sect of the *Asharians*. V. Poc. Spec. p. 209.

I. The

I. The *Mótazalites* were the followers of the before-mentioned *Wâsel Ebn Atâ*. As to their chief and general tenets, 1. They entirely rejected all *eternal attributes* of God, to avoid the distinction of persons made by the *Christians*; saying that *eternity* is the proper or formal attribute of his *essence*; that God *knows* by his *essence*, and not by his *knowledge* [f]; and the same they affirmed of his other attributes [g]. (though all the *Mótazalites* do not understand these words in one sense;) and hence this sect were also named *Moattalites*, from their *divesting* God of his attributes [h]: and they went so far as to say, that to affirm these attributes is the same thing as to make more eternals than one, and that the unity of God is inconsistent with such an opinion [i]; and this was the true doctrine of *Wâsel* their master, who declared that whoever asserted *an eternal attribute*, asserted there were *two* Gods [k]. This point of speculation concerning the divine attributes was not ripe at first, but was at length brought to maturity by *Wâsel*'s followers, after they had read the books of the philosophers [l]. 2. They believed the word of God to have been created *in subjecto*, (as the schoolmen term it) and to consist of letters and sound; copies thereof being written in books, to express or imitate the original. They also went farther, and affirmed that whatever is created *in subjecto*, is also an *accident*, and liable to perish [m]. 3. They denied *absolute predestination*, holding that God was not the author of evil, but of good only; and that man was a free agent [n]: which being properly the opinion of the *Kadarians*, we defer what may be farther said thereof till we come to speak of that sect. On ac- Of the *Mótazalites*.

[f] *Maimonides* teaches the same, not as the doctrine of the *Mótazalites*, but his own. V. More Nev. l. 1. c. 57. [g] Shahrestâni, Al apud Poc. Spec. p. 214 Abu'lfarag. p. 167. [h] V. Poc. Spec. p. 224. [i] Sharh al Mawâkef, & al Shahrest. apud Poc. p. 216. *Maimonides* (in Proleg. ad Pirke Aboth, §. viii.) asserts the same thing. [k] V. Poc. ibid. [l] Al Shahrest. ib. p. 215. [m] Abu'lfarag. & al Shahrest. ubi sup. p. 217. See before, sect. III. p. 67. [n] V. Poc. Spec. p. 240.

count of this tenet and the first, the *Mótazalites* look on themselves as the defenders of the unity and justice of God [o]. 4. They held that if a professor of the true religion be guilty of a grievous sin, and die without repentance, he will be eternally damned, though his punishment will be lighter than that of the infidels [p]. 5. They denied all vision of God in paradise by the corporeal eye, and rejected all comparisons or similitudes applied to God [q].

This sect are said to have been the first inventors of scholastic divinity [r], and are subdivided into several inferior sects, amounting, as some reckon, to twenty, which mutually brand one another with infidelity [s]: the most remarkable of them are,

1. The *Hodeilians*, or followers of *Hamdân Abu Hodeil*, a *Mótazalite* doctor, who differed something from the common form of expression used by this sect, saying that God *knew* by his *knowledge*, but that his *knowledge* was his *essence*; and so of the other attributes: which opinion he took from the philosophers, who affirm the essence of God to be simple, and without multiplicity, and that his attributes are not posterior or accessory to his essence, or subsisting therein, but are his essence itself: and this the more orthodox take to be next kin to making distinctions in the Deity, which is the thing they so much abhor in the *Christians* [t]. As to the *Korân*'s being created, he made some distinction; holding the word of God to be partly not *in subjecto*, (and therefore uncreated,) as when he spoke the word *Kún*, i. e. *Fiat*, at the creation, are partly *in subjecto*, as the precepts, prohibitions, *&c* [u]. *Marracci* [w] mentions an opinion of *Abu Hodeil*'s concerning predestination, from an *Arab* writer [x], which, being by him expressed in a manner not very intelligible, I chuse to omit.

o Al Shahrest. & Sharh al Mawâkef, apud Poc. ubi sup. p. 214.
p Marrace. Prodr. ad ref. Alcor. part. III. p. 74. q Idem, ibid.
r V. Poc. Spec. p. 213. & D'Herbel. Art. Motazelah. s Auctor al Mawâkef. apud Poc. ibid. t Al Shahrestâni, apud Poc. p. 215, 216, 217. u Idem, apud eund. p. 217, &c. w In Prodr. part. 3. p. 74. x Al Shahrest.

2. The

2. The *Jobbâïans*, or followers of *Abu Ali Mohammed Ebn Abd al Wahhâb*, surnamed *al Jobbaï*, whose meaning when he made use of the common expression of the *Mótazalites*, that GOD *knows by his essence*, &c. was, that GOD's *being knowing* is not an *attribute*, the same with *knowledge*, nor such a state as rendered his *being knowing* necessary [y]. He held GOD's word to be created *in subjecto*, as in the preserved table, for example, the memory of *Gabriel*, *Mohammed*, &c [z]. This sect, if *Marracci* has given the true sense of his author, denied that GOD could be seen in paradise without the assistance of corporeal eyes; and held that man produced his acts by a power superadded to health of body, and soundness of limbs; that he who was guilty of a mortal sin, was neither a believer nor an infidel, but a transgressor, (which was the original opinion of *Wâsel*) and, if he died in his sins, would be doomed to hell for eternity; and that GOD conceals nothing of whatever he knows from his servants [a]:

3. The *Hashemians*; who were so named from their master *Abu Hâsham Abd al Salâm*, the son of *Abu Ali al Jobbâi*, and whose tenets nearly agreed with those of the preceding sect [b]. *Abu Hâshem* took the *Mótazalite* form of expression, that GOD *knows by his essence*, in a different sense from others, supposing it to mean, that GOD hath or is endued with a *disposition*, which is a *known property*, or *quality*, posterior or accessory to his existence [c]. His followers were so much afraid of making GOD the author of *evil*, that they would not allow him to be said to *create an infidel*; because, according to their way of arguing, an infidel is a compound of *infidelity* and *man*, and GOD is not the creator of *infidelity* [d]. *Abu Hâshem*, and his father *Abu Ali al Jobbâi*, were both celebrated for their skill in scholastic divinity [e].

[y] Al Sharhest. apud Poc. Spec. p. 215. [z] Idem, & Auctor al Mawâkef, ib. p. 218. [a] Marracci, ubi sup. p. 75. ex al Shahrest. [b] V. Eund. ibid. [c] Al Shahrest. apud Poc. 215. [d] Idem, ibid. p. 242. [e] Ebn Khalecân, in vitis eorum.

4. The

4. The *Nodhâmians*, or followers of *Ibrahim al Nodhâm*; who, having read books of philosophy, set up a new sect, and, imagining he could not sufficiently remove God from being the author of evil, without divesting him of his *power* in respect thereto, taught that no power ought to be ascribed to God concerning evil and rebellious actions: but this he affirmed against the opinion of his own disciples, who allowed that God *could* do evil, but *did not*, because of its turpitude [f]. Of his opinion as to the *Korân*'s being created we have spoken elsewhere [g].

5. The *Hâyetians*, so named from *Ahmed Ebn Hâyat*, who had been of the sect of the *Nodhâmians*, but broached some new notions on reading the philosophers. His peculiar opinions were, 1. That *Christ* was the *eternal word incarnate*, and took a true and real body, and will judge all creatures in the life to come [h]: he also farther asserted, that there are two Gods, or Creators; the one eternal, *viz.* the most high God, and the other not eternal, *viz.* Christ [i]; which opinion, though Dr. *Pocock* urges the same as an argument that he did not rightly understand the *Christian* mysteries [k], is not much different from that of the *Arians* and *Socinians*. 2. That there is a successive transmigration of the soul from one body into another; and that the last body will enjoy the reward or suffer the punishment due to each soul [l]; and 3. That God will be seen at the resurrection, not with the bodily eyes, but those of the understanding [m].

6. The *Jâhedhians*, or followers of *Amru Ebn Bahr* surnamed *al Jâhadh*, a great doctor of the *Mótazalites*, and very much admired for the elegance of his compositions [n]; who differed from his brethren, in that he imagined the damned would not be eternally

f Al Shahrest. ubi sup. p. 241, 242. V. Marracc. Prod. part. 3. p. 74. g See before, sect. III. p. 89 and 90. h Al Shahrest. ubi sup. p. 218. Abu'lfarag. p. 167. i Al Shahrest. al Mawâkef. & Ebn Kotsá, apud Poc. ubi sup. p. 219. k V. Poc. ib. l Marrac. & al Shahrest. ubi sup. m Marracc. ib. p. 75. n V. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. art. Giahedh.

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tormented in hell, but would be changed into the nature of fire, and that the fire would of itself attract them, without any necessity of their going into it [o]. He also taught that if a man believed God to be his *Lord*, and *Mohammed* the *apostle* of God, he became one of the faithful, and was obliged to nothing further [p]. His peculiar opinion as to the *Korân* has been taken notice of before [q].

7. The *Mozdârians*, who embraced the opinions of *Isa Ebn Sobeih al Mozdâr*, and those very absurd ones: for besides his notions relating to the *Korân* [r], he went so directly counter to the opinion of those who abridged God of the *power* to do *evil*, that he affirmed it possible for God to be a *lyar* and *unjust* [s]. He also pronounced him to be an infidel who thrust himself into the supreme government [t]: nay he went so far as to assert men to be infidels, while they said *There is no GOD but* God, and even condemned all the rest of mankind as guilty of infidelity; upon which *Ibrahim Ebn al Sendi* asked him whether paradise, whose breadth equals that of heaven and earth, was created only for him and two or three more who thought as he did? to which it is said he could return no answer [u].

8. The *Basharians*, who maintained the tenets of *Bashar Ebn Mótamer*, the master of *al Mozdâr* [x], and a principal man among the *Mótazalites*. He differed in some things from the general opinion of that sect, carrying man's free agency to a great excess, making it even independent: and yet he thought God might doom an infant to eternal punishment, but granted he would be unjust in so doing. He taught that God is not always obliged to do that which is best, for, if he pleased, he could make all men true believers. These sectaries also held that if a man

[o] Al Shahrest. ubi sup. p. 260. [p] Marrac. ubi sup. [q] Sect. III. p. 89 and 90. [r] V. ib. & p. 88 and 89. [s] Al Shahrest. apud Poc. p. 241. [t] Marracc. ubi sup. p. 75. [u] Al Shahrestâni, ub sup. p. 220. [x] Poc. Spec. p. 221.

repent of a mortal sin, and afterwards return to it, he will be liable to suffer the punishment due to the former transgression [y].

9. The *Thamamians*, who follow *Thamâma Ebn Bashar*, a chief *Mótazalite*. Their peculiar opinions were, 1. That sinners should remain in hell for ever. 2. That free actions have no producing author. 3. That at the resurrection all infidels, idolaters, atheists, *Jews*, *Christians*, *Magians*, and heretics shall be reduced to dust [z].

10. The *Kadarians*; which is really a more ancient name than that of *Mótazalites*; *Mâbad al Johe* and his adherents being so called, who disputed the doctrine of predestination, before *Wasel* quitted his master [a]: for which reason some use the denomination of *Kadarians* as more extensive than the other, and comprehend all the *Mótazalites* under it [b]. This sect deny absolute predestination, saying, that evil and injustice ought not to be attributed to God, but to man, who is a free agent, and may therefore be rewarded or punished for his actions, which God has granted him power either to do, or to let alone. And hence it is said they are called *Kadarians*, because they deny *al Kadr*, or God's *absolute decree*; though others, thinking it not so proper to affix a name to a sect from a doctrine which they *combat*, will have it come from *Kadr*, or *Kodrat*, i. e. *power*, because they *assert man's power* to act freely [d]. Those, however, who give the name of *Kadarians* to the *Mótazalites* are their enemies, for they disclaim it, and give it to their antagonists the *Jabarians*, who likewise refuse it as an infamous appellation [e], because *Mohammed* is said to have declared the *Kadarians* to be the *Magians* of his followers [f]. But what the opinion of these *Kadarians* in *Mohammed*'s time was, is very uncertain: the *Mótazalites* say the name belongs to

y Marrac. ubi sup. z Idem. ib. a Al Shahrest. b Al Firauzab. V. Poc. Spec. p. 231, 232, & 214. c Al Shahrest. V. Poc. Spec. p. 235 & 240, &c. d V. Poc. ib. p. 238. e Al Mo-tarrezi, al Shahrest. V. ib. p. 232. f Idem, &c. ibid.

those

those who *assert predestination*, and make GOD the author of good and evil[g], *viz.* the *Jabarians*; but all the other *Mohammedan* sects agree to fix it on the *Mótazalites*, who, they say, are like the *Magians* in establishing two principles, *light*, or GOD, the author of good; and *darkness*, or the *Devil*, the author of evil: but this cannot absolutely be said of the *Mótazalites*, for they (at least the generality of them) ascribe men's good deeds to GOD, but their evil deeds to themselves; meaning thereby that man has a free liberty and power to do either good or evil, and is master of his actions; and for this reason it is that the other *Mohammedans* call them *Magians*, because they assert another author of actions besides GOD[h]. And, indeed, it is a difficult matter to say what *Mohammed*'s own opinion was in this matter; for, on the one side, the *Korân* itself is pretty plain for absolute predestination; and many sayings of *Mohammed* are recorded to that purpose[i], and one in particular, wherein he introduces *Adam* and *Moses* disputing before GOD in this manner: *Thou*, says *Moses*, *art* Adam; *whom* GOD *created, and animated with the breath of life, and caused to be worshipped by the angels, and placed in paradise, from whence mankind have been expelled for thy fault:* whereto *Adam* answered, *Thou art* Moses; *whom* GOD *chose for his apostle, and intrusted with his word by giving thee the tables of the law, and whom he vouchsafed to admit to discourse with himself: how many years dost thou find the law was written before I was created?* Says *Moses*, *Forty: And dost thou not find*, replied *Adam*, *these words therein: And* Adam *rebelled against his Lord, and transgressed?* which *Moses* confessing, *Dost thou therefore blame me*, continued he, *for doing that which* GOD *wrote of me that I should do, forty years before I was created; nay, for what was decreed concerning me fifty thousand years before the creation of heaven and earth?*

[g] Al Motarrezi, al Shahrest. V. ib. p. 232. &c.

[h] V. Poc. ib. p. 233,

[i] V. ib. p. 237.

In

In the conclusion of which dispute *Mohammed* declared that *Adam* had the better of *Moses* [k]. On the other side, it is urged in the behalf of the *Mótazalites*, that *Mohammed*, declaring that the *Kadarians* and *Morgians* had been cursed by the tongues of seventy prophets, and, being asked who the *Kadarians* were, answered, *Those who assert that* GOD *predestinated them to be guilty of rebellion, and yet punishes them for it*: al *Hasan* is also said to have declared, that GOD sent *Mohammed* to the *Arabs*, while they were *Kadarians*, or *Jabarians*, and laid their sins upon GOD: and to confirm the matter this sentence of the *Korân* is quoted [l]: *When they commit a filthy action, they say, We found our fathers practising the same, and* GOD *hath commanded us so to do: Say, Verily* GOD *commandeth not filthy actions* [m].

Of the sect of the *Sefâtians*.

11. The *Sefâtians* held the opposite opinion to the *Mótazalites* in respect to the *eternal attributes* of God, which they *affirmed*; making no distinction between the *essential* attributes and those of *operation*: and hence they were named *Sefâtians*, or *Attributists*. Their doctrine was that of the first *Mahommedans*, who were not yet acquainted with these nice distinctions: but this sect afterwards introduced another species of *declarative attributes*, or such as were necessarily used in historical narration, as *hands*, *face*, *eyes*, &c. which they did not offer to explain, but contented themselves with saying they were in the law, and that they called them *declarative attributes* [n]. However, at length, by giving various explications and interpretations of these attributes, they divided into many different opinions: some, by taking the words in the literal sense, fell into the notion of a *likeness* or *similitude* between GOD and created beings; to which it is said the *Karaïtes* among the *Jews*, who are for the literal interpretation of *Moses*'s law, had

[k] Ebn al Athîr, al Bokhari, apud Poc. p. 236. [l] Chap. 7.
[m] Al Motarrezi, apud eund. p. 237, 238. [n] Al Shahrest. apud Poc. Spec. p. 223.

shewn

shewn them the way [o]: others explained them in another manner, saying that no creature was like GOD, but that they neither understood, nor thought it necessary to explain the precise signification of the words which seem to affirm the same of both; it being sufficient to believe that GOD hath no companion or similitude. Of this opinion was *Malec Ebn Ans*, who declared, as to the expression of GOD's *sitting on his throne*, in particular, that, though the *meaning* is *known*, yet the *manner* is *unknown*; and that it is necessary to believe it, but heresy to make any questions about it [p].

The sects of the *Sefâtians* are,

1. The *Asháríans*, the followers of *Abu'l Hasan al Ashári*, who was first a *Mótazalite*, and the scholar of *Abu Ali al Jobbâi*, but disagreeing from his master in opinion as to GOD's *being bound* (as the *Mótazalites* assert) to do always that which is *best*, or most *expedient*, left him, and set up a new sect of himself. The occasion of this difference was the putting a case concerning three brothers, the first of whom lived in *obedience* to GOD, the second in *rebellion* against him, and the third *died an infant*. *Al Jobbaï*, being asked what he thought would become of them, answered, that the first would be *rewarded* in paradise, the second *punished* in hell, and the third *neither rewarded nor punished:* but what, objected *al Ashári*, if the third say, O LORD, *if thou hadst given me longer life, that I might have entered paradise with my believing brother, it would have been better for me*; to which *al Jobbâi* replied, that GOD would answer, *I knew that, if thou hadst lived longer, thou wouldst have been a wicked person, and therefore cast into hell.* Then, retorted *al Ashári*, the second will say, O LORD, *why didst thou not take me away, while I was an infant, as thou didst my brother, that I might not have deserved to be punished for my sins, nor to be cast into hell?* To which *al Jobbâi* could return no other an-

[o] V. Poc. ib. p. 224. [p] V. eund. ib.

swer;

swer, than that GOD prolonged his life to give him an opportunity of obtaining the highest degree of perfection, which was best for him: but *al Ashári* demanding farther, why he did not for the same reason grant the other a longer life to whom it would have been equally advantageous; *Al Jobbaï* was so put to it, that he asked whether the devil possessed him? *No*, says *al Ashári*, *but the master's ass will not pass the bridge* [q]; i. e. *he is posed*.

The opinions of the *Ashárians* were, 1. That they allowed the attributes of GOD to be distinct from his essence, yet so as to *forbid any comparison* to be made between GOD and his creatures [r]. This was also the opinion of *Ahmed Ebn Hanbal*, and *David al Ispahani*, and others, who herein followed *Malec Ebn Ans*, and were so cautious of any assimilation of GOD to created beings, that they declared whoever *moved his hand*, while he read these words, *I have created with my hand*, or *stretched forth his finger*, in repeating this saying of *Mohammed*, *The heart of the believer is between two fingers of the Merciful*, ought to have his *hand* and *finger* cut off [s]; and the reasons they gave for not explaining any such words were, that it is forbidden in the *Korân*, and that such explications were necessarily founded on *conjecture* and *opinion*, from which no man ought to speak of the attributes of GOD, because the words of the *Korân* might, by that means, come to be understood differently from the author's meaning: nay, some have been so superstitiously scrupulous in this matter as not to allow the words *hand*, *face*, and the like, when they occur in the *Korân*, to be rendered into *Persian* or any other language, but require them to be read in the very original words, and this they call *the safe way* [t]. 2. As to predestination, they held that GOD hath *one eternal will*, which is applied to whatsoever he *willeth*, both of his own actions and those of men, so far as they

[q] Author al Mawâkef, & al Safadi, apud Poc. ubi sup. p. 230, &c. Ebn Khalec. in vita al Jobbâï. [r] Al Shahrest. apud Poc. Spec. p. 230.
[s] Idem, apud eund. p. 228, &c. [t] V. Poc. ib.

are

are *created* by him, but not as they are *acquired* or *gained* by them: that he *willeth* both their *good* and their *evil*, their *profit* and their *hurt*, and, as he *willeth* and *knoweth*, he *willeth* concerning men that which he *knoweth*, and hath commanded the *pen* to write the same in the preserved table: and this is his *decree*, and *eternal immutable counsel* and *purpose* [u]. They also went so far as to say, that it may be agreeable to the way of GOD that man should be commanded what he is not able to perform [w]. But, while they allow man *some power*, they seem to restrain it to such a power as cannot *produce* any thing *new*; only GOD, say they, so orders his providence, that he *creates*, *after*, or *under*, and *together with* every *created* or *new power*, an *action* which is ready, whenever a man *wills* it, and *sets about it*: and this *action* is called *Cash*, i. e. *Acquisition*, being, in respect to its *creation*, from GOD, but, in respect to its being *produced*, *employed*, and *acquired*, from *man* [x]. And, this being generally esteemed the orthodox opinion, it may not be improper farther to explain the same in the words of some other writers. The elective actions of men, says one, fall under the power of GOD alone; nor is their own power effectual thereto: but GOD causeth to exist in man *power* and *choice*; and, if there be no impediment, he causeth *his action* to exist also, subject to his *power*, and joined with that and his *choice*; which action, as *created*, is to be ascribed to GOD, but, as *produced*, *employed*, or *acquired*, to *man*. So that by the *acquisition* of an action is properly meant a man's *joining* or *connecting the same with his power and will*, yet allowing herein no *impression* or *influence* on the existence thereof, save only that it is subject to his power [y]. Others, however, who are also on the side of *al Ashári*, and reputed orthodox, explain the matter in a different

[u] Al Shahrest. apud eund. p. 245, &c.
[w] Idem, ib. p. 246.
[x] Al Shahrest. apud Poc. p. 245, &c.
[y] Auctor Sharh al Mawâkef, apud eund. p. 247.

man-

manner, and grant the *impression* or *influence* of the created power of man on his action, and that this *power* is what is called *Acquisition*[z]. But the point will be still clearer, if we hear a third author, who rehearses the various opinions, or explications of the opinion of this sect in the following words, *viz.* *Abu'l Hasan al Ashâri* asserts all the actions of men to be subject to the power of GOD, being created by him; and that the power of man hath no influence at all on that which he is impowered to do; but that both the power, and what is subject thereto, fall under the power of GOD: *al Kâdi Abu Bec* says, that the *essence* or *substance* of the action is the effect of the power of GOD, but its being either an action of *obedience*, as prayer, or an action of *disobedience*, as fornication, are *qualities* of the action, which proceed from the power of man: *Abd' almalec*, known by the title of *Imâm al Haramein*, *Abu'l Hosein* of *Bas-ra*, and other learned men, held that the actions of men are effected by the power which GOD hath created in man, and that GOD causeth to exist in man both *power* and *will*, and that this power and will do necessarily produce that which man is impowered to do: and *Abu Ishâk al Isfarâyeni* taught, that that which maketh *impression*, or hath *influence* on an action, is a *compound* of the power of GOD and the power of man[a]. The same author observes, that their ancestors, perceiving a manifest difference between those things which are the effects of the *election* of man, and those things which are the *necessary* effects of inanimate agents, destitute both of knowledge and choice, and being, at the same time, pressed by the arguments which prove that GOD is the *Creator of all things*, and consequently of those things which are done by men, to conciliate the matter, chose the middle way, asserting actions to proceed from the *power* of GOD, and the *acquisition* of *man*,

[z] Al Shahrest. ib. p. 248. [a] Auctor Sharh al Tawâlea, apud eund. ib. p. 248, &c.

GOD's

God's way of dealing with his servants being, that, when a man intendeth obedience, God createth in him an action of obedience; and, when he intendeth disobedience, he createth in him an action of disobedience; so that man *seemeth* to be the effective producer of his action, though he really be not [b]. But this, proceeds the same writer, is again pressed with its difficulties, because the very *intention* of the mind is the *work* of God, so that no man hath any share in the production of his own actions; for which reason the ancients disapproved of too nice an inquiry into this point, the end of the dispute concerning the same being, for the most part, either the taking away of all precepts positive as well as the negative, or else the associating of a *companion* with God, by introducing some other independent agent besides him. Those, therefore, who would speak more accurately, use this form: *There is neither compulsion, nor free liberty, but the way lies between the two*; the power and will in man being both created by God, though the *merit* or *guilt* be imputed unto man. Yet, after all, it is judged the safest way to follow the steps of the primitive *Moslems*, and, avoiding subtle disputations and too curious inquiries, to leave the knowledge of this matter, wholly, unto God [c]. 3. As to mortal

[b] Auctor Sharh al Tawâlea, ib. p. 249, 250. [c] Idem ib. 250, 251. I trust the reader will not be offended, if, as a farther illustration of what has been said on this subject (in producing of which I have purposely kept to the original *Mahammedan* expressions) I transcribe a passage or two from a postscript subjoined to the epistle I have quoted above (§. iv. p. 144.) in which the point of free will is treated *ex professo*. Therein the *Moorish* author, having mentioned the two opposite opinions of the *Kadarians*, who allow free will, and the *Jabarians*, who make man a necessary agent (the former of which opinions, he says, seems to approach nearest to that of the greater part of *Christians*, and of the *Jews*) declares the true opinion to be that of the *Sonnites*, who assert that man hath power and will to chuse good and evil, and can moreover know he shall be rewarded, if he do well; and shall be punished, if he do ill; but that he depends notwithstanding on God's power, and willeth, if God willeth, but not otherwise. Then he proceeds briefly to refute the two extreme opinions, and first to prove that of the *Kadarians*, though it be agreeable to God's justice, inconsistent with his attributes of wisdom and power: *Sapientia enim Dei*, says he, *comprehendit quicquid fuit & futurum est ab æternitate in finem usque mundi & postea.*

mortal sin, the *Asbárians* taught, that, if a believer guilty of such sin die without repentance, his sentence

& postea. Et ita novit ab æterno omnia opera creaturarum, sive bona, sive mala, quæ fuerint creata cum potentia Dei, & ejus libera & determinata voluntate, sicut ipsi visum fuit. Denique novit eum qui futurus erat malus, & tamen creavit eum, & similiter bonum, quem etiam creavit: neque negari potest quin, si ipsi libuisset, potuisset omnes creare bonos: placuit tamen Deo creare bonos & malos, cùm Deo soli sit absoluta & libera voluntas, & perfecta electio, non homini. Ita enim Salomon *in suis proverbiis dixit, Vitam & mortem, bonum & malum, divitias & paupertatem, esse & venire à Deo.* Christiani enim *dicunt* S. Paulum *dixisse in suis epistolis: Dicet etiam lutum figulo, quare sic unum vas ad honorem, & aliud vas ad contumeliam? Cum igitur miser homo fuerit creatus à voluntate Dei & potentia, nihil aliud potest tribui ipsi quam ipse sensus cognoscendi & sentiendi an bene vel male faciat. Quæ unica causa (id est, sensus cognoscendi) erit ejus gloriæ vel pœnæ causa: per talem enim sensum novit quid boni vel mali adversus Dei præcepta fecerit.* The opinion of the *Jabarians*, on the other hand, he rejects as contrary to man's consciousness of his own power and choice, and inconsistent with God's justice, and his having given mankind laws, to the observing or transgressing of which he has annexed rewards and punishments. After this he proceeds to explain the third opinion in the following words: *Tertia opinio Zunnitarum (i. e. Sonnitarum) quæ vera est, affirmat homini potestatem esse, sed limitatam à sua causa, id est, dependentem à Dei potentia & voluntate, & propter illam cognitionem qua deliberat benè vel malè facere, esse dignum pœna vel præmio. Manifestum est in æternitate non fuisse aliam potentiam præter Dei nostri omnipotentis, e cujus potentia pendebant omnia possibilia, id est, quæ poterant esse, cum ab ipso fuerint creata. Sapientia verò Dei novit etiam quæ non sunt futura; & potentia ejus, etsi non creaverit ea, potuit tamen, si ita Deo placuisset. Ita novit sapientia Dei quæ erant impossibilia, id est, quæ non poterant esse, quæ tamen nullo pacto pendent ab ejus potentia: ab ejus enim potentia non pendent nisi possibilia.—Dicimus enim à Dei potentia non pendere creare Deum alium ipsi similem, nec creare aliquid quod moveatur & quiescat simul eodem tempore, cùm hæc sint ex impossibilibus: comprehendit tamen suâ sapientiâ non aliquid non pendere ab ejus potentiâ.—A potentiâ igitur Dei pendet scilicet quæ potest esse, et possibile est esse; quæ semper parata est dare esse possibilibus. Et si hoc penitus cognoscamus, cognoscemus pariter omne quod est, seu futurum est, sive sint opera nostra, sive quidvis aliud, pendere à sola potentia Dei. Et hoc non privatim intelligitur, sed in genere de omni eo quod est, & movetur, sive in cœlis sive in terrâ; & nec aliquâ potentiâ potest impediri Dei potentia, cùm nulla alia potentia absoluta sit, præter Dei; potentia verò nostra non est à se, sed à Dei potentia: & cum potentia nostra dicitur esse à causa sua, ideo dicitur potentiam nostram esse straminis comparatam cum potentia Dei: eo enim modo quo straminem movetur à motu maris, ita nostra potentia & voluntas à Dei potentia. Itaque Dei potentia semper est parata etiam ad occidendum aliquem, ut si quis hominem occidat, non dicimus potentiâ hominis id factum, sed æternâ potentia Dei: error enim est idtribuere potentiæ hominis. Potentia enim Dei, cum semper sit parata, & ante ipsum hominem, ad occidendum; si selâ hominis potentiâ id factum esse diceremus, & moreretur, potentia sanè Dei (quæ ante erat) jam ibi esset frustrà: quia post mortem non potest potentia Dei eum iterum occidere; ex quo sequeretur potentiam Dei impediri à potentia hominis, & potentiam hominis anteire & antecellere potentiam Dei; quod est absurdum & impossibile.*

tence is to be left to GOD, whether he pardon him out of his mercy, or whether the prophet intercede for him, (according to that saying recorded of him, *My intercession shall be employed for those among my people who shall have been guilty of grievous crimes*) or whether he punish him in proportion to his demerit, and afterwards, through his mercy, admit him into paradise: but that it is not to be supposed he will remain for ever in hell with the infidels, seeing it is declared that whoever shall have faith in his heart but of the weight of an ant, shall be delivered from hell-fire [d]. And this is generally received for the orthodox doctrine in this point, and is diametrically opposite to that of the *Mótazalites*.

These were the more rational *Sefatians*, but the ignorant part of them, not knowing how otherwise to explain the expressions of the *Korân* relating to the declarative attributes, fell into most gross and absurd opinions, making GOD *corporeal*, and *like created beings* [e]. Such were,

2. The *Moshabbehites*, or *Assimilators*; who allowed a *resemblance* between GOD and his creatures [f], supposing him to be a figure composed of members or parts, either spiritual or corporeal, and capable of local motion, of ascent or descent, *&c* [g]. Some of this sect inclined to the opinion of the *Holúl'ans*, who believed that the divine nature might be united with the human in the same person; for they granted it possible that GOD might appear in a human

impossibile. Igitur Deus est qui operatur æternâ suâ potentiâ: si verò homini injiciatur culpa, sive in tale homicidio, sive in aliis, hoc est quantum ad præcepta et legem. Homini tribuitur solùm opus externè, et ejus electio, quæ est a voluntate ejus et potentia; non verò internè.—Hoc est punctum illud indivisibile et secretum, quod à pauciſſimis capitur, ut sapientissimus Sidi Abo Hamet Elgaceli (i.e. *Dominus* Abu Hâmed al Ghazali) *affirmat (cujus spiritui Deus concedat gloriam, Amen!) sequentibus verbis: Ita abditum et profundum et abstrusum est intelligere punctum illud Liberi Arbitrii, ut neque characteres ad scribendum, neque ullæ rationes ad exprimendum sufficiant, et omnes, quotquot de hac re locuti sunt, hæserunt confusi in ripa tanti et tam spacioſi maris.* [d] Al Shahreſt. apud Poc. Spec. p. 258. [e] V. Poc. ib. p. 255, &c. Abulfar. p. 167, &c. [f] Al Mawâkef, apud Poc. ib. [g] Al Shareſt. apud eund. ib. p. 226.

form, as *Gabriel* did: and to confirm their opinion they alledge *Mohammed*'s words, that he saw his LORD in *a most beautiful form*, and *Moses*'s talking with GOD *face to face*[h]. And

3. The *Kerâmians*, or followers of *Mohammed Ebn Kerâm*, called also *Mojassemians*, or *Corporalists*; who not only admitted a *resemblance* between GOD and created beings, but declared GOD to be *corporeal*[i]. The more sober among them, indeed, when they applied the word *body* to GOD, would be understood to mean that he is a *self-subsisting being*, which with them is the definition of *body*: but yet some of them affirmed him to be *finite*, and circumscribed either on all sides or on some only, (as *beneath*, for example,) according to different opinions[k]; and others allowed that he might be felt by the hand, and seen by the eye. Nay, one *David al Jawâri* went so far as to say, that his deity was a body composed of flesh and blood, and that he had members, as hands, feet, a head, a tongue, eyes, and ears: but that he was a body, however, not like other bodies, neither was he like to any created being: he is also said farther to have affirmed that from the crown of the head to the breast he was hollow, and from the breast downward solid, and that he had black curled hair[l]. These most blasphemous and monstrous notions were the consequence of the *literal* acceptation of those passages in the *Korân* which figuratively attribute corporeal actions to GOD, and of the words of *Mohammed*, when he said, that GOD created man *in his own image*, and that himself had *felt the fingers of GOD*, which he laid on his back, to be *cold*: besides which, this sect are charged with fathering on their prophet a great number of spurious and forged traditions to support their opinion, the greater part whereof they borrowed from the *Jews*, who are accused as naturally prone

[h] V. Marrac. Prodr. part. iii. p. 76. [i] Al Shahrest. ubi supra.
[k] Idem, ib. p. 225. [l] Idem, ib. p. 226, 227.

to assimilate GOD to men, so that they describe him as weeping for *Noah*'s flood till his eyes were sore [m]. And indeed, though we grant the *Jews* may have imposed on *Mohammed*, and his followers, in many instances, and told them, as solemn truths, things which themselves believed not, or had invented, yet many expressions of this kind are to be found in their writings; as when they introduce GOD roaring like a lion at every watch of the night, and crying, *Alas! that I have laid waste my house, and suffered my temple to be burnt, and sent my children into banishment among the Heathen*, &c [n].

4. The *Jabarians*; who are the direct opponents of the *Kadarians*, denying free agency in man, and ascribing his actions wholly unto GOD [o]. They take their denomination from *ab Jabr*, which signifies *necessity*, or *compulsion*; because they hold man to be *necessarily* and *inevitably constrained* to act as he does, by force of GOD's eternal and immutable decree [p]. This sect is distinguished into several species; some being more rigid and extreme in their opinion, who are thence called *pure Jabarians*; and others more moderate, who are therefore called *middle Jabarians*. The former will not allow men to be said either to *act*, or to have any *power* at all, either *operative* or *acquiring*; asserting that man can do nothing, but produces all his actions by *necessity*, having neither *power*, nor *will*, nor *choice*, any more than an inanimate agent: they also declare that *rewarding* and *punishing* are also the effects of *necessity*; and the same they say of the imposing of commands. This was the doctrine of the *Jahmians*, the followers of *Jahm Ebn Safwân*, who likewise held that paradise and hell will vanish, or be annihilated, after those who are destined thereto respectively shall have entered them, so that, at last, there will remain no existing being

[m] Al Shahrest. ubi supra, p. 227, 228. [n] Talm. Berachoth, f. V. Poc. ubi supra, p. 228. [o] V. Abulfarag. p. 168. [p] Al Shahrest. al Mawâkef, & Ebn al Kossâ, apud Poc. ib. 238, &c.

besides God [q]; supposing those words of the *Korân*, which declare that the inhabitants of paradise and of hell *shall remain therein for ever*, to be hyperbolical only, and intended for corroboration, and not to denote an eternal duration in reality [r]. The moderate *Jabarians* are they who ascribe some *power* to man, but such a power as hath *no influence* on the action: for, as to those who grant the power of man to have a certain *influence* on the action, which influence is called *Acquisition*, some [s] will not admit them to be called *Jabarians*; though others reckon those also to be called *middle Jabarians*, and to contend for the *middle* opinion between *absolute necessity* and *absolute liberty*, who attribute to man *acquisition*, or *concurrence* in producing the action, whereby he *gaineth* commendation or blame, (yet without admitting it to have any *influence* on the action) and therefore make the *Asháríans* a branch of this sect [t]. Having again mentioned the term *Acquisition*, we may, perhaps, have a clearer idea of what the *Mohammedans* mean thereby, when told, that it is defined to be *an action directed to the obtaining of profit, or the removing of hurt*; and, for that reason, never applied to any action of God, who acquireth to himself neither profit nor hurt [u]. Of the *middle* or *moderate Jabarians*, were the *Najârians* and the *Derârians*. The *Najârians* were the adherents of *Al Hasan Ebn Mohammed al Najâr*, who taught that God was he who *created* the actions of men, both good and bad; and that man *acquired* them; and also that man's power had an *influence* on the action, or a certain *co-operation*, which he called *Acquisition*; and herein he agreed with *al Asháríy*. The *Derârians* were the disciples of *Derâr Ebn Amr*, who held also that men's actions are really *created* by God, and that man really *acquired* them [x]. The

[q] Al Shahrest. al Motarezzi, & Ebn al Kossá, apud eund. p. 239, &c. [r] Idem, ib. p. 260. [s] Al Shahrest. [t] Ebn al Kossá, & al Mawâkef. [u] Ebn al Kossá, apud Poc. ubi sup. p. 240. [w] Al Shahrest. apud eund. p. 245. [x] Idem, ib.

Jabarians also say, that GOD is absolute Lord of his creatures, and may deal with them according to his own pleasure, without rendering account to any; and that, if he should admit all men without distinction into paradise, it would be no impartiality; or, if he should cast them all into hell, it would be no injustice[y]. And in this particular likewise they agree with the *Asharians*, who assert the same[z], and say that *reward* is a *favour* from GOD, and *punishment* a piece of *justice*; obedience being by them considered as a *sign* only of future reward, and transgression as a *sign* of future punishment[a].

5. The *Morgians*; who are said to be derived from the *Jabarians*[b]. These teach, that the judgment of every true believer, who hath been guilty of a grievous sin, will be deferred till the resurrection; for which reason they pass no sentence on him in this world, either of absolution or condemnation. They also hold that *disobedience* with *faith* hurteth not; and that, on the other hand, *obedience* with *infidelity* profiteth not[c]. As to the reason of their name the learned differ, because of the different significations of its root, each of which they accommodate to some opinion of the sect. Some think them so called, because they *postpone* works to intention, that is, esteem works to be inferior in degree

y Abulfarag. p. 168, &c. z Al Shahrestâni, ubi sup. p. 252, &c.
a Sharh al Tawâlea, ib. To the same effect writes the *Mooriſh* author quoted above, from whom I will venture to transcribe the following passage, with which he concludes his discourse on Free-will: *Intellectus ferè lumine naturali novit Deum esse rectum judicem et justum, qui non aliter afficit creaturam quàm juste: etiam Deum esse absolutum Dominum, et hanc orbis machinam esse ejus, et ab eo creatam; Deum nullis debere rationem reddere, cùm quicquid agat, agat jure proprio sibi: et ita absolute poterit afficere præmio vel pœna quem vult, cùm omnis creatura sit ejus, nec facit cuiquam injuriam, etsi eam tormentis & pœnis æternis afficiat: plus enim boni & commodi accepit creatura quando accepit esse a suo creatore, quàm incommodi et damni quando ab eo damnata est et affecta tormentis et pœnis. Hoc autem intelligitur si Deus absolute id faciet. Quando enim Deus, pietate et misericordia motus, dignit aliquos ut ipsi serviant, Dominus Deus gratiâ suâ id facit ex infinitâ bonitate; et quando aliquos derelinquit, et pœnis et tormentis afficit, ex justitia et rectitudine. Et tandem dicimus omnes pœnas esse justas quæ a Deo veniunt, et nostrâ tantùm culpâ, et omnia bona esse à pietate et misericordia ejus infinita.*
b Al Shahrest. ubi sup. p. 256. c Abulfar. p. 169.

to intention and profession of the faith [d]; others because they *allow hope*, by asserting that disobedience with faith hurteth not, *&c.* others take the reason of the name to be their *deferring* the sentence of the heinous sinner till the resurrection [e]; and others, their *degrading* of *Ali*, or removing him from the first degree to the fourth [f]: for the *Morgians*, in some points relating to the office of *Imâm*, agree with the *Khârejites*. This sect is divided into four species: three of which, according as they happen to agree in particular dogms with the *Khârejites*, the *Kadarians*, or the *Jabarians*, are distinguished as *Morgians* of those sects; and the fourth is that of the *pure Morgians*; which last species is again sub-divided into five others [g]. The opinions of *Mokâtel* and *Bashar*, both of a sect of the *Morgians* called *Thaubanians*, should not be omitted. The former asserted that disobedience hurts not him who professes the unity of God, and is endued with faith; and that no true believer shall be cast into hell: he also taught that God will surely forgive all crimes besides infidelity; and that a disobedient believer will be punished, at the day of resurrection, on the bridge [h] laid over the midst of hell, where the flames of hell-fire shall catch hold on him, and torment him in proportion to his disobedience, and that he shall then be admitted into paradise [i]. The latter held that, if God do cast the believers guilty of grievous sins into hell, yet they will be delivered thence, after they shall have been sufficiently punished; but that it is neither possible nor consistent with justice, that they should remain therein for ever: which, as has been observed, was the opinion of *al Ashâri*.

Of the sect of the *Khârejites*.

III. The *Khârejites* are they who *depart* or *revolt from* the lawful prince established by public consent;

[d] Al Fitauz. [e] Ebn al Athîr, Al Motarezzi. [f] Al Shahrest. ubi sup. p. 254, &c. [g] Idem, ib. [h] See before, §. IV. p. 120. [i] Al Shahrest. ubi supra, p. 257.

and

and thence comes their name, which signifies *revolters* or *rebels*[k]. The first who were so called, were twelve thousand men who revolted from *Ali*, after they had fought under him at the battle of *Seffein*, taking offence at his submitting the decision of his right to the *Khalifat*, which *Moâwiyah* disputed with him, to arbitration, though they themselves had first obliged him to it[l]. These were also called *Mohakkemites*, or *Judiciarians*; because the reason which they gave for their revolt was, that *Ali* had referred a matter concerning the religion of GOD to the *judgment* of men, whereas the *judgment*, in such case, belonged only unto GOD[m]. The heresy of the *Khârejites* consisted chiefly in two things. 1. In that they affirmed a man might be promoted to the dignity of *Imâm*, or prince, though he was not of the tribe of *Koraish*, nor even a freeman, provided he was a just and pious person, and endued with the other requisite qualifications; and also held, that, if the *Imâm* turned aside from the truth, he might be put to death or deposed; and that there was no absolute necessity for any *Imâm* at all in the world. 2. In that they charged *Ali* with sin, for having left an affair to the judgment of men, which ought to have been determined by GOD alone; and went so far as to declare him guilty of infidelity, and to curse him, on that account[n]. In the 38th year of the *Hejra*, which was the year following the revolt, all these *Kharejites* who persisted in their rebellion, to the number of four thousand, were cut to pieces by *Ali*, and, as several historians[o] write, even to a man: but others say, nine of them escaped, and that two fled into *Omân*, two into *Kermân*, two into *Sejestân*, two into *Mesopotamia*, and one to *Tel Mawrûn*; and that these propagated their heresy in those places,

[k] Al Shahrest. ubi supra, p. 269. [l] See *Ockley*'s Hist. of the *Sarac.* V. 1. p. 60, &c. [m] Al Shahrest. ubi sup. p. 270. [n] Idem, ib. [o] Abul'lfeda, al Jannâbi, Elmacinus, p. 40.

the same remaining there to this day [p]. The principal sects of the *Khârejites*, besides the *Mohakkemites* above-mentioned, are six; which, though they greatly differ among themselves in other matters, yet agree in these, *viz.* that they absolutely reject *Othmân* and *Ali*, preferring the doing of this to the greatest *obedience*, and allowing marriages to be contracted on no other terms; that they account those who are guilty of grievous sins to be infidels; and that they hold it necessary to resist the *Imâm*, when he transgresses the law. One sect of them deserves more particular notice, *viz.*

The *Waïdians*; so called from *al Waïd*, which signifies the *threats* denounced by GOD against the wicked. These are the antagonists of the *Morgians*, and assert that he who is guilty of a grievous sin, ought to be declared an infidel or apostate, and will be eternally punished in hell, though he were a true believer [q]: which opinion of theirs, as has been observed, occasioned the first rise of the *Mótazalites*. One *Jaafar Ebn Mobashshar*, of the sect of the *Nodhâmians*, was yet more severe than the *Waïdians*, pronouncing him to be a reprobate and an apostate who steals but a grain of corn [r].

Of the sect of the *Shiites*.

IV. The *Shiites* are the opponents of the *Khârejites*: their name properly signifies *sectaries* or *adherents* in general, but is peculiarly used to denote those of *Ali Ebn Abi Tâleb*; who maintain him to be lawful *Khalif* and *Imâm*, and that the supreme authority, both in spirituals and temporals, of right belongs to his descendants, notwithstanding they may be deprived of it by the injustice of others, or their own fear. They also teach, that the office of *Imâm* is not a common thing, depending on the will of the vulgar, so that they may set up whom they please; but a fundamental affair of religion, and an article which the

[p] Al Shahrestâni. See *Ockley*'s Hist. of the *Saracens*, ubi sup. p. 63.
[q] Abulfar. p. 169. Al Shahrest. apud Poc. Spec. p. 256. [r] V. Poc. ib. p. 257.

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prophet could not have neglected, or left to the fancy of the common people[s]: nay some, thence called *Imâmians*, go so far as to assert, that religion consists solely in the knowledge of the true *Imâm*[t]. The principal sects of the *Shiites* are five, which are sub-divided into an almost innumerable number; so that some understand *Mohammed*'s prophecy of the seventy odd sects, of the *Shiites* only. Their general opinions are, 1. That the peculiar designation of the *Imâm*, and the testimonies of the *Korân* and *Mohammed* concerning him, are necessary points. 2. That the *Imâms* ought necessarily to keep themselves free from light sins as well as more grievous. 3. That every one ought publicly to declare who it is that he adheres to, and from whom he separates himself, by word, deed, and engagement; and that herein there should be no dissimulation. But in this last point some of the *Zeidians*, a sect so named from *Zeid*, the son of *Ali* surnamed *Zein al âbedîn*, and great grandson of *Ali*, dissented from the rest of the *Shiites*[u]. As to other articles, wherein they agreed not, some of them came pretty near to the notions the *Motazalites*, others to those of the *Mosshabbehites*, and others to those of the *Sonnites*[w]. Among the latter of these *Mohammed al Bâker*, another son of *Zein al âbedîn*'s, seems to claim a place: for his opinion, as to the will of GOD, was, that GOD willeth something *in* us, and something *from* us, and that what he willeth *from* us he hath *revealed* to us; for which reason he thought it preposterous that we should employ our thoughts about those things which GOD willeth *in* us, and neglect those which he willeth *from* us: and, as to GOD's decree, he held that the way lay in the *middle*, and that there was neither compulsion, nor free liberty[x]. A tenet of the *Khattâbians*, or disciples of one *Abu'l Khattâb*, is too pe-

[s] Al Shahrest. ib. p. 261. Abulfar. p. 169. [t] Al Shahrest. ib. p. 262. [u] Idem, ib. V. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. Art. Schiah. [w] V. Poc. ib. [x] Al Shahrest. ib. 263.

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culiar to be omitted. These maintained *paradise* to be no other than the *pleasures of this world*, and *hell-fire* to be the *pains* thereof, and that the world will never decay: which proposition being first laid down, it is no wonder they went farther, and declared it lawful to indulge themselves in drinking wine, and whoring, and to do other things forbidden by the law, and also to omit doing the things commanded by the law [y].

Many of the *Shiites* carried their veneration for *Ali* and his descendants so far, that they transgressed all bounds of reason and decency; though some of them were less extravagant than others. The *Gholaïtes*, who had their name from their *excessive* zeal for their *Imâms*, were so highly transported therewith, that they raised them above the degree of created beings, and attributed divine properties to them; transgressing on either hand, by deifying of mortal men, and by making GOD corporeal: for one while they liken one of their *Imâms* to GOD, and another while they liken GOD to a creature [z]. The sects of these are various, and have various appellations in different countries. *Abd'allah Ebn Saba* (who had been a *Jew*, and had asserted the same thing of *Joshua* the son of *Nun*) was the ring-leader of one of them. This man gave the following salutation to *Ali*, viz. *Thou art Thou*, i. e. *Thou art* GOD: and hereupon the *Gholaïtes* became divided into several species; some maintaining the same thing, or something like it, of *Ali*, and others of some of one of his descendants; affirming that he was not dead, but would return again in the clouds, and fill the earth with justice [a]. But, how much soever they disagreed in other things, they unanimously held a *metempsychosis*, and what they call *al Holûl*, or *the descent* of GOD on his creatures; meaning thereby that GOD is present in every place,

y Al Shahrest. & Ebn al Kossâ, ib. p. 260, &c. z Idem, ibid.
a Idem, ib. p. 264. V. Marracc. Prodr. part iii. p. 80, &c.

and

and speaks with every tongue, and appears in some individual person [b]: and hence some of them asserted their *Imâms* to be *prophets*, and, at length, *gods* [c]. The *Nosairians* and the *Ishâkians* taught that spiritual substances appear in grosser bodies; and that the angels and the devil have appeared in this manner. They also assert that GOD hath appeared in the form of certain men; and since, after *Mohammed*, there hath been no man more excellent than *Ali*, and, after him, his sons have excelled all other men, that GOD hath appeared in their form, spoken with their tongue, and made use of their hands, for which reason, say they, *we attribute divinity to them* [d]. And, to support these blasphemies, they tell several miraculous things of *Ali*, as his moving the gates of *Khaibar* [e], which they urge as a plain proof that he was endued with a particle of divinity and with sovereign power, and that he was the person in whose form GOD appeared, with whose hands he created all things, and with whose tongue he published his commands; and therefore they say he was in being before the creation of heaven and earth [f]. In so impious a manner do they seem to wrest those things which are said in scripture of CHRIST, by applying them to *Ali*. These extravagant fancies of the *Shiites*, however, in making their *Imâms* partakers of the divine nature, and the impiety of some of those *Imâms* in laying claim thereto, are so far from being peculiar to this sect, that most of the other *Mohammedan* sects are tainted with the same madness; there being many found among them, and among the *Sûfis* especially, who pretend to be nearly related to heaven, and who boast of strange revelations before the credulous people [g]. It may not be amiss to hear what *al Ghazâli* has written on this occasion: *Matters are come to that pass*, says

[b] Al Shahrest. ib. p. 265. [c] V. D'Herbel. Bibl. Or. Art. Hakem beamrillah. [d] Idem, ib. Abulfar. p. 169. [e] See *Prid.* Life of *Mah.* p. 93. [f] Al Shah. ubi supr. p. 266. [g] Pocock. Spec. p. 267.

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he, *that some boast of an union with* God, *and of discoursing familiarly with him, without the interposition of a vail, saying, It hath been thus said to us, and We have thus spoken; affecting to imitate* Hosein al Hallâj, *who was put to death for some words of this kind uttered by him, he having said (as was proved by credible witnesses,)* I am the Truth [h], *or* Abu Yazîd al Bastâmi, *of whom it is related that he often used the expression,* Sobhâni, *i. e.* Praise be unto me [i]! *But this way of talking is the cause of great mischief among the common people; insomuch that husbandmen, neglecting the tillage of their land, have pretended to the like privileges; nature being tickled with discourses of this kind, which furnish men with an excuse for leaving their occupations, under pretence of purifying their souls, and attaining I know not what degrees and conditions. Nor is there any thing to hinder the most stupid fellows from forming the like pretensions, and catching at such vain expressions: for, whenever what they say is denied to be true, they fail not to reply, that our unbelief proceeds from learning and logic; affirming learning to be a vail, and logic the work of the mind; whereas what they tell us appears only within, being discovered by the light of truth. But this is that truth the sparks whereof have flown into several countries, and occasioned great mischiefs; so that it is more for the advantage of* God's *true religion to put to death one of those who utter such things, than to bestow life on ten others* [k].

Thus far have we treated of the chief sects among the *Mohammedans* of the first ages; omitting to say any thing of the more modern sects, because the same are taken little or no notice of by their own writers, and would be of no use to our present design [l]. It may be proper, however, to mention a word or two of the great schism at this day subsisting between

[h] V. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. Art. Hallage. [i] V. Ibid. Art. Bastham. [k] Al Ghazâli, apud Poc. ubi. sup. [l] The reader may meet with some account of them in *Ricaut*'s State of the *Ottom.* Empire, l. 2. chap. 12.

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the *Sonnites* and the *Shiites*, or partisans of *Ali*, and maintained on either side with implacable hatred and furious zeal. Though the difference arose at first on a political occasion, it has notwithstanding been so well improved by additional circumstances, and the spirit of contradiction, that each party detest and anathematize the other as abominable heretics, and farther from the truth than either the *Christians* or the *Jews*[m]. The chief points wherein they differ are, 1. That the *Shiites* reject *Abu Becr*, *Omar*, and *Othmân*, the three first *Khalifs*, as usurpers and intruders; whereas the *Sonnites* acknowledge and respect them as rightful *Imâms*. 2. The *Shiites* prefer *Ali* to *Mohammed*, or, at least, esteem them both equal; but the *Sonnites* admit neither *Ali*, nor any of the prophets, to be equal to *Mohammed*. 3. The *Sonnites* charge the *Shiites* with corrupting the *Korân*, and neglecting its precepts; and the *Shiites* retort the same charge on the *Sonnites*. 4. The *Sonnites* receive the *Sonna*, or book of traditions of their prophet, as of canonical authority; whereas the *Shiites* reject it as apocryphal, and unworthy of credit. And to these disputes, and some others of less moment, is principally owing the antipathy which has long reigned between the *Turks*, who are *Sonnites*, and the *Persians*, who are of the sect of *Ali*. It seems strange that *Spinosa*, had he known of no other schism among the *Mohammedans*, should yet never have heard of one so publicly notorious as this between the *Turks* and *Persians*; but it is plain he did not, or he would never have assigned it as the reason of his preferring the order of the *Mohammedan* church to that of the *Roman*, that there have arisen no schisms in the former since its birth[n].

[m] V. ibid. chap. 10. & Chardin. Voy. de Perse, T. II. p. 169, 170, &c.

[n] The words of *Spinosa* are: *Ord nem* Romanæ *ecclesiæ*——*politicum et plurimis lucrosum esse fateor; nec ad decipiendam plebem, et hominum animos coercendum commodiorem isto crederem, ni ordo* Mahumedanæ *ecclesiæ esset, qui longè eundem antecellit. Nam à quo tempore hæc superstitio incepit, nulla in eorum ecclesia schismata orta sunt.* Opera Posth. p. 613.

As

Of persons pretending to prophesy in *Mohammed*'s time and since.

As success in any project seldom fails to draw in imitators, *Mohammed*'s having raised himself to such a degree of power and reputation, by acting the prophet, induced others to imagine they might arrive at the same height by the same means. His most considerable competitors in the prophetic office were *Moseilama* and *al Aswad*, whom the *Mohammedans* usually call *the two lyars*.

Of *Moseilama*.

The former was of the tribe of *Honeifa*, who inhabited the province of *Yamâma*, and a principal man among them. He headed an embassy sent by his tribe to *Mohammed* in the ninth year of the *Hejra*, and professed himself a *Moslem* [o]: but, on his return home, considering that he might possibly share with *Mohammed* in his power, the next year he set up for a prophet also, pretending to be joined with him in the commission to recal mankind from idolatry to the worship of the true God [p]; and he published written revelations, in imitation of the *Korân*, of which *Abu'lfaragius* [q] has preserved the following passage, *viz. Now hath* God *been gracious unto her that was with child, and hath brought forth from her the soul, which runneth between the peritonæum and the bowels.* *Moseilama*, having formed a considerable party among those of *Honeifa*, began to think himself upon equal terms with *Mohammed*, and sent him a letter, offering to go halves with him [r], in these words: *From* Moseilama *the apostle of* God, *to* Mohammed *the apostle of* God. *Now let the earth be half mine, and half thine.* But *Mohammed*, thinking himself too well established to need a partner, wrote him this answer: *From* Mohammed *the apostle of* God, Moseilama *the lyar. The earth is* God's: *he giveth the same for inheritance unto such of his servants as he pleaseth; and the happy issue shall attend those who fear him* [s]. During the few months which *Mohammed* lived after this revolt, *Moseilama* rather gained than lost ground,

[o] Abulfed. p. 160. Dynast. p. 164. [p] Idem, Elmac. p. 9. [q] Hist. Kor. c. 5. [r] Abulfed. ubi sup. [s] Al Beidâwi, in

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and grew very formidable; but *Abu Becr*, his successor, in the eleventh year of the *Hejra*, sent a great army against him, under the command of that consummate general *Khâled Ebn al Walîd*, who engaged *Moseilama* in a bloody battle, wherein the false prophet happening to be slain by *Wahsha*, the negro slave who had killed *Hamza* at *Ohod*, and by the same lance [t], the *Moslems* gained an entire victory, ten thousand of the apostates being left dead on the spot, and the rest returning to *Mohammedism* [u].

Al Aswad, whose name was *Aihala*, was of the tribe of *Ans*, and governed that and the other tribes of *Arabs* descended from *Madhhaj* [w]. This man was likewise an apostate from *Mohammedism*, and set up for himself the very year that *Mohammed* died [x]. He was surnamed *Dhu'lhemâr*, or the *master of the ass*, because he used frequently to say, *The master of the ass is coming unto me* [y]; and pretended to receive his revelations from two angels named *Sohaik* and *Shoraik* [z]. Having a good hand at legerdemain, and a smooth tongue, he gained mightily on the multitude by the strange feats which he shewed them, and the eloquence of his discourse [a]: by these means he greatly increased his power, and, having made himself master of *Najrân* and the territory of *al Tayef* [b], on the death of *Badhân*, the governor of *Yaman* for *Mohammed*, he seized that province also, killing *Shahr*, the son of *Badhân*, and taking to wife his widow, whose father, the uncle of *Firûz* the *Deilamite*, he had also slain [c]. This news being brought to *Mohammed*, he sent to his friends, and to those of *Hamdân*; a party of whom, conspiring with *Kais Ebn Abd'al Yaghûth*, who bore *al Aswad* a grudge, and with *Firûz* and *al Aswad*'s wife, broke by night into his house, where *Firûz* surprized him, and cut off his

Of *al Aswad al Ansi.*

[t] Abulfed. ubi sup. [u] Idem, ib. Abulfarag. p. 173. Elmac. p. 16, &c. See *Ockley*'s Hist. of the *Sarac.* Vol. I. p. 15, &c. [w] Al Soheili, apud Gagnier, in not. ad Abulf. vit. Moh. p. 158. [x] Elmac. p. 9. [y] Abulfed. ubi sup. [z] Al Soheili, ubi supra. [a] Abulfed. ubi sup. [b] Idem, & Elmac. ubi sup. [c] Idem, al Jannâbi, ubi sup.

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head. While he was dispatching, he roared like a bull; at which his guards came to the chamber-door, but were sent away by his wife, who told them the prophet was only agitated by the divine inspiration. This was done the very night before *Mohammed* died. The next morning the conspirators caused the following proclamation to be made, viz. *I bear witness that* Mohammed *is the apostle of* God, *and that* Aihala *is a lyar*; and letters were immediately sent away to *Mohammed*, with an account of what had been done: but a messenger from heaven out-stripped them, and acquainted the prophet with the news, which he imparted to his companions but a little before his death; the letters themselves not arriving till *Abu Becr* was chosen *Khalif*. It is said that *Mohammed*, on this occasion, told those who attended him, that before the day of judgment thirty more impostors, besides *Moseilama* and *al Aswad*, should appear, and every one of them set up for a prophet. The whole time, from the beginning of *al Aswad*'s rebellion to his death, was about four months [d].

In the same eleventh year of the *Hejra*, but after the death of *Mohammed*, as seems most probable, *Toleiha Ebn Khowailed* set up for a prophet, and *Sejâj Bint al Mondar* [e] for a propheteſs.

Toleiha was of the tribe of *Asad*, which adhered to him, together with great numbers of the tribes of *Ghatfân* and *Tay*. Against them likewise was *Khâled* sent, who engaged and put them to flight, obliging *Toleiha* with his shattered troops to retire into *Syria*, where he staid till the death of *Abu Becr*: then he went to *Omar*, and embraced *Mohammedism* in his presence, and, having taken the oath of fidelity to him, returned to his own country and people [f].

Sejâj, surnamed *Omm Sâder*, was of the tribe of *Tamîm*, and the wife of *Abu Cahdala*, a soothsayer of

[d] Abulfed. ubi sup. ibid.

[e] *Ebn Shohnah & Elmacinus* call her the daughter of *al Hareth*.

[f] Elmac. p. 16. al Beidâwi, in Kor. c. 5. *Ta-*

Yamâma. She was followed not only by those of her own tribe, but by several others. Thinking a prophet the most proper husband for her, she went to *Moseilama*, and married him; but, after she had staid with him three days, she left him, and returned home [g]. What became of her afterwards I do not find. *Ebn Shohnah* has given us part of the conversation which passed at the interview between those two pretenders to inspiration; but the same is a little too immodest to be translated.

In succeeding ages several impostors from time to time started up, most of whom quickly came to nothing: but some made a considerable figure, and propagated sects which continued long after their decease. I shall give a brief account of the most remarkable of them, in order of time.

In the reign of *al Mohdi*, the third *Khalif* of the race of *al Abbâs*, one *Hakem Ebn Hâshem* [h], originally of *Merû* in *Khorasân*, who had been an undersecretary to *Abu Moslem*, the governor of that province, and afterwards turned soldier, passed thence into *Mawarâ'lnahr*, where he gave himself out for a prophet. He is generally named by the *Arab* writers *al Mokanna*, and sometimes *al Borkaí*, that is, *the veiled*, because he used to cover his face with a vail, or a gilded mask, to conceal his deformity, having lost an eye in the wars, and being otherwise of a despicable appearance; though his followers pretended he did it for the same reason as *Moses* did, viz. lest the splendor of his countenance should dazzle the eyes of the beholders. He made a great many proselytes at *Nakhshab* and *Kash*, deluding the people with several juggling performances, which they swallowed for miracles, and particularly by causing the appearance of a moon to rise out of a well for many nights together; whence he was also called, in the *Persian* tongue, *Sâzendeh mah*, or *the moon-maker*. This impious impostor, not content

Of *al Mokanna*.

[g] Ebn Shohnah. V. Elmac. p. 16.

[h] Or *Ebn Atâ*, according to *Ebn Shohnah*.

with being reputed a prophet, arrogated divine honours to himself, pretending that the deity resided in his person: and the doctrine whereon he built this was the same with that of the *Gholäites* above mentioned, who affirmed a transmigration or successive manifestation of the divinity through and in certain prophets and holy men, from *Adam* to the latter days, (of which opinion was also *Abu Moslem* himself[1];) but the particular doctrine of *al Mokanna* was, that the person in whom the deity had last resided, was the aforesaid *Abu Moslem*, and that the same had, since his death, passed into himself. The faction of *al Mokanna*, who had made himself master of several fortified places in the neighbourhood of the cities abovementioned, growing daily more and more powerful, the *Khalif* was, at length, obliged to send an army to reduce him; at the approach whereof *al Mokanna* retired into one of his strongest fortresses, which he had well provided for a siege, and sent his emissaries abroad to persuade people that he raised the dead to life, and knew future events. But, being straitly besieged by the *Khalif*'s forces, when he found there was no possibility for him to escape, he gave poison in wine to his wives, family, and all that were with him in the castle, and, when they were dead, he burnt their bodies, together with their cloaths, and all the provisions and cattle; and then, to prevent his own body's being found, he threw himself into the flames, or, as others say, into a tub of *aqua fortis*, or some other preparation, which consumed every part of him, except only his hair: so that, when the besiegers entered the place, they found no creature in it, save one of *al Mokanna*'s concubines, who, suspecting his design, had hid herself, and discovered the whole matter. This contrivance, however, failed not to produce the effect which the impostor designed among the

[1] This explains a doubt of Mr. *Bayle* concerning a passage of *Elmacin*, as translated by *Erpenius*, and corrected by *Bespier*. V. Bayle, Dict. Hist. Art. *Abumuslimus*, vers la fin, & Rem. B.

maintain

maining part of his followers; for he had promised them that his soul should transmigrate into the form of a grey-headed man, riding on a greyish beast; and that, after so many years, he would return to them, and give them the earth for their possession: the expectation of which promise kept the sect in being for several ages after [k], under the name of *Mobeyydites*, or, as the *Persians* call them, *Sefid jâmehghiân*, i. e. *the cloathed in white*, because they wore their garments of that colour, in opposition, as is supposed, to the *Khalîfs* of the family of *Abbâs*, whose banners and habits were black. The historians place the death of *al Mokanna* in the 162d or 163d year of the *Hejra* [l].

Of *Bâbec al Khorremi.*

In the year of the *Hejra* 201, *Bâbec*, surnamed *al Khorremi*, and *Khorremdîn*, either because he was of a certain district near *Ardebîl* in *Adherbijân*, called *Khorrem*; or because he instituted a *merry* religion, which is the signification of the word in *Persian*; began to take on him the title of a prophet. I do not find what doctrine he taught; but it is said he professed none of the religions then known in *Asia*. He gained a great number of devotees in *Adherbijân* and the *Persian Irâk*, and grew powerful enough to wage war with the *Khalîf al Mâmûn*, whose troops he often beat, killing several of his generals, and one of them with his own hand; and by these victories he became so formidable that *al Mótasem*, the successor of *al Mâmûn*, was obliged to employ the forces of the whole empire against him. The general sent to reduce *Bâbec* was *Afshîd*, who, having overthrown him in battle, took his castles, one after another, with invincible patience, notwithstanding the rebels gave him great annoyance; and, at last, shut up the impostor in his principal fortress; which being taken, *Bâbec* found means to escape thence in disguise, with some of his family and principal followers; but, tak-

[k] They were a sect in the days of *Abu'lfaragius*, who lived above five hundred years after this extraordinary event; and may, for aught I know, be so still.

[l] Ex Abu'lfarag. Hist. Dyn. p. 226. Lobb al Tawârikh, Ebn Shohnah, al Tabari, & Khondamir. V. D'Herbel. Bibl. Orient. Art. Hakem Ben Haschem.

ing refuge in the territories of the *Greeks*, was betrayed in the following manner: *Sahel*, an *Armenian* officer, happening to know *Bâbec*, enticed him, by offers of service and respect, into his power, and treated him as a mighty prince, till, when he sat down to eat, *Sahel* clapped himself down by him; at which *Bâbec*, being surprized, asked him how he dared to take that liberty unasked? *It is true, great king*, replied Sahel, *I have committed a fault; for what am I, that I should sit at your majesty's table?* And, immediately sending for a smith, he made use of this bitter sarcasm, *Stretch forth your legs, great king, that this man may put fetters on them.* After this *Sahel* sent him to *Afshîd*, though he had offered a large sum for his liberty, having first served him in his own kind, by causing his mother, sister, and wife, to be ravished before his face; for so *Bâbec* used to treat his prisoners. *Afshîd*, having the arch-rebel in his power, conducted him to *al Mótasem*, by whose order he was put to an ignominious and cruel death. This man had maintained his ground against the power of the *Khalîfs* for twenty years, and had cruelly put to death above two hundred and fifty thousand people; it being his custom never to spare man, woman, or child, either of the *Mohammedans* or their allies[m]. The sectaries of *Bâbec* which remained after his death, seem to have been entirely dispersed, there being little or no mention made of them by historians.

Of *Mahmûd Ebn Faraj.*

About the year 235, one *Mahmûd Ebn Faraj* pretended to be *Moses* resuscitated, and played his part so well that several people believed on him, and attended him, when he was brought before the *Khalîf al Motawakkel*. That prince, having been an eye-witness of his extravagant discourses, condemned him to receive ten buffets from every one of his followers, and then to be drubbed to death; which

[m] Ex Abulfarag. p. 252, &c. Elmacin. p. 141, &c. & Khondamir. V. D'Herbel. Art. Bâbec.

was

was accordingly executed; and his disciples were imprisoned till they came to their right minds [n].

The *Karmatians*, a sect which bore an inveterate malice against the *Mohammedans*, began first to raise disturbances in the year of the *Hejra* 278, and the latter end of the reign of *al Mótamed*. Their origin is not well known; but the common tradition is, that a poor fellow, whom some call *Karmata*, came from *Khûzistan* to the villages near *Câfa*, and there feigned great sanctity and strictness of life, and that God had injoined him to pray fifty times a day; pretending also to invite people to the obedience of a certain *Imâm* of the family of *Mohammed*: and this way of life he continued till he had made a very great party, out of whom he chose twelve, as his apostles, to govern the rest, and to propagate his doctrines. But the governor of the province, finding men neglected their work, and their husbandry in particular, to say those fifty prayers a day, seized the fellow, and, having put him in prison, swore that he should die; which being over-heard by a girl belonging to the governor, she, pitying the man, at night took the key of the dungeon from under her master's head as he slept, and, having let the prisoner out, returned the key to the place whence she had it. The next morning the governor found the bird flown; and the accident, being publicly known, raised great admiration; his adherents giving it out that God had taken him into heaven. Afterwards he appeared in another province, and declared to a great number of people he had got about him, that it was not in the power of any to do him hurt; notwithstanding which, his courage failing him, he retired into *Syria*, and was not heard of any more. His sect, however, continued and increased, pretending that their master had manifested himself to be a true prophet, and had left them a new law, wherein he had changed the

Of the *Karmatians*.

[n] Ebn Shohnah. V. D'Herbel. p. 537.

cere-

ceremonies and form of prayer used by the *Moslems*, and introduced a new kind of fast; and that he had also allowed them to drink wine, and dispensed with several things commanded in the *Korân*. They also turned the precepts of that book into allegory; teaching that prayer was the symbol of obedience to their *Imâm*, and fasting that of silence, or concealing their dogms from strangers: they also believed fornication to be the sin of infidelity; and the guilt thereof to be incurred by those who revealed the mysteries of their religion, or paid not a blind obedience to their chief. They are said to have produced a book, wherein was written (among other things,) *In the name of the most merciful* God. Al Faraj Ebn Othmân *of the town of* Nasrâna *saith, that* Christ *appeared unto him in a human form, and said, Thou art the invitation: thou art the demonstration: thou art the camel: thou art the beast: thou art* John *the son of* Zacharias: *thou art the Holy Ghost*[o]. From the year above-mentioned the *Karmatians*, under several leaders, gave almost continual disturbance to the *Khalifs* and their *Mohammedan* subjects for several years, committing great disorders and outrages in *Chaldea*, *Arabia*, *Syria*, and *Mesopotamia*; and, at length, establishing a considerable principality, the power whereof was in its meridian in the reign of *Abu Dhâher*, famous for his taking of *Mecca*, and the indignities by him offered to the temple there, but which declined soon after his time, and came to nothing[p].

The *Ismaelians.*

To the *Karmatians* the *Ismaelians* of *Asia* were very near of kin, if they were not a branch of them. For these, who were also called *al Molâhedah*, or the *Impious*, and, by the writers of the history of the holy wars, *Assassins*, agreed with the former in many respects; such as their inveterate malice against those of other religions, and especially the *Mohammedan*;

[o] Apud Abulfar. p. 275. [p] Ex Abulfar. ib. Elmacino, p. 174, &c. Ebn Shohnah, Khondamir. V. D'Herbel. Art. Carmath.

their

their unlimited obedience to their prince, at whose command they were ready for assassinations, or any other bloody and dangerous enterprize; their pretended attachment to a certain *Imâm* of the house of *Ali*, &c. These *Ismaelians*, in the year 483, possessed themselves of *al Jebâl*, in the *Persian Irâk*, under the conduct of *Hasan Sabah*; and that prince and his descendants enjoyed the same for an hundred and seventy-one years, till the whole race of them was destroyed by *Holagu* the *Tartar* [q].

And *Batenites.*

The *Bâtenites*, which name is also given to the *Ismaelians* by some authors, and likewise to the *Karmatians* [r], were a sect which professed the same abominable principles, and were dispersed over several parts of the east [s]. The word signifies *Esoterics*, or people of *inward* or *hidden* light or knowledge.

Of *al Motanabbi.*

Abu'l Teyyeb Ahmed, surnamed *al Motanabbi*, of the tribe of *Jofa*, is too famous, on another account, not to claim a place here. He was one of the most excellent poets among the *Arabians*, there being none besides *Abu Temâm* who can dispute the prize with him. His *poetical inspiration* was so warm and exalted, that he either mistook it, or thought he could persuade others to believe it to be *prophetical*, and therefore gave himself out to be a prophet indeed; and thence acquired his surname, by which he is generally known. His accomplishments were too great not to have some success; for several tribes of the *Arabs* of the deserts, particularly that of *Kelâb*, acknowledged him to be what he pretended. But *Lâlâ*, governor in those parts for *Akhshîd* king of *Egypt* and *Syria*, soon put a stop to the further progress of this new sect, by imprisoning their prophet, and obliging him to renounce his chimerical dignity; which having done, he regained his liberty, and applied himself solely to his poetry, by means whereof he got very considerable riches, being in high

[q] V. Abulfar. p. 505, &c. D'Herbel. p. 104, 437, 505, 620, & 784.
[r] V. Elmacin. p. 174 & 286. D'Herb. p. 194. [s] V. Abulfar. p. 361, 374, 380, 483.

esteem

esteem at the courts of several princes. *Al Motanabbi* lost his life, together with his son, on the bank of the *Tigris*, in defending the money which had been given him by *Adado'ddawla*, soltân of *Persia*, against some *Arabian* robbers, who demanded it of him; with which money he was returning to *Cûfa*, his native city. This accident happened in the year 354 [t].

Of *Baba*. The last pretender to prophecy I shall now take notice of, is one who appeared in the city of *Amasia*, in *Natolia*, in the year 638, and by his wonderful feats seduced a great multitude of people there. He was by nation a *Turkmân*, and called himself *Baba*, and had a disciple named *Isaac*, whom he sent about to invite those of his own nation to join him. *Isaac* accordingly, coming to the territory of *Someisat*, published his commission, and prevailed on many to embrace his master's sect, especially among the *Turkmâns*; so that at last he had six thousand horse at his heels, besides foot. With these *Baba* and his disciple made open war on all who would not cry out with them, *There is no* God *but* God; Baba *is the apostle of* God: and they put great numbers of *Mohammedans*, as well as *Christians*, to the sword in those parts; till, at length, both *Mohammedans* and *Christians*, joining together, gave them battle, and, having entirely routed them, put them all to the sword, except their two chiefs, who, being taken alive, had their heads struck off by the executioner [u].

I could mention several other impostors of the same kind, which have arisen among the *Mohammedans* since their prophet's time, and very near enough to complete the number foretold by him: but I apprehend the reader is by this time tired as well as myself, and shall therefore here conclude this discourse, which may be thought already too long for an introduction.

[t] Præf. in opera Motanabbis MS. V. D'Herbel. p. 638, &c. [u] Abulfar. p. 479. Ebn Shohnah, D'Herb. Art. Baba.

AL

AL KORAN.

CHAP. I.

Intitled, The Preface, *or* Introduction[a]; *revealed at* MECCA.

In the name of the most merciful GOD.

PRAISE be to GOD, the LORD of all creatures[b]; the most merciful, the king of the day of judgment. Thee do we worship, and of thee do we beg assistance. Direct us in the right way, in the way of those to

[a] *The Preface, &c.*] In Arabic *al Fâtihat.* This chapter is a prayer, and held in great veneration by the *Mohammedans*, who give it several other honourable titles; as the chapter of *prayer*, of *praise*, of *thanksgiving*, of *treasure*, &c. They esteem it as the quintessence of the whole *Korân*, and often repeat it in their devotions both public and private, as the *Christians* do the *Lord's-Prayer* (1).

[b] *Lord of all creatures*;] The original words are, *Rábbi 'lâlamîna*, which literally signify *Lord of the worlds*; but *âlamîna* in this and other places of the *Korân* properly mean the three species of rational creatures, Men, Genii, and Angels. Father *Marracci* has endeavoured to prove from this passage that *Mohammed* believed a plurality of worlds, which he calls the error of the *Manichees*, &c. (2): but this imputation the learned *Reland* has shewn to be entirely groundless (3).

(1) *V.* BOBOVIUM *de precib. Mohammed. p.* 3. *& seq.* (2) *In Prodromo ad refut. Alcorani Part* IV. *p.* 76. *& in Notis ad Alc. cap.* 1. (3) *De religion. Mohammed. p.* 262.

whom thou haſt been gracious; not of thoſe againſt whom thou art incenſed, nor of thoſe who go aſtray[c].

[c] *Direct us in the right way*, &c.] This laſt ſentence contains a petition, that GOD would lead the ſupplicants into the true religion, by which is meant the *Mohammedan*, in the *Korân* often called *the right way*; in this place more particularly defined to be, *the way of thoſe to whom* GOD *hath been gracious*, that is, of the prophets and faithful who preceded *Mohammed*; under which appellations are alſo comprehended the *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, ſuch as they were in the times of their primitive purity, before they had deviated from their reſpective inſtitutions; *not the way of the modern* Jews, whoſe ſignal calamities are marks of the juſt *anger* of GOD againſt them for their obſtinacy and diſobedience; *nor of the* Chriſtians *of this age*, who have departed from the true doctrine of *Jeſus*, and are bewildered in a labyrinth of *error* (1).

This is the common expoſition of the paſſage; though *al Zamakhſhari*, and ſome others, by a different application of the negatives, refer the whole to the true believers; and then the ſenſe will run thus: *The way of thoſe to whom thou haſt been gracious, againſt whom thou art not incenſed, and who have not erred.* Which tranſlation the original will very well bear.

(1) JALLALO'DDIN. *Al* BEIDAWI, &c.

CHAP. II.

Intitled, The Cow[d]; *revealed partly at* MECCA, *and partly at* MEDINA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

A. L. M.[e] There is no doubt in this book; *it is* a direction to the pious, who believe in the myſteries[f] *of faith*, who obſerve the appointed times of prayer, and diſtribute *alms* out of what we have beſtowed on them; and who believe in that *revelation*, which hath been ſent down unto thee, and that which hath been ſent down *unto the prophets* before thee,

[d] This title was occaſioned by the ſtory of the red heifer, mentioned *p.* 14.

[e] *A. L. M.*] As to the meaning of theſe letters, ſee the *Preliminary Diſcourſe*, Sect. 3.

[f] *Myſteries.*] The *Arabic* word is *ghaib*, which properly ſignifies a thing

thee [g], and have firm assurance in the life to come [h]: these are directed by their LORD, and they shall prosper. As for the unbelievers, it will be equal to them whether thou admonish them, or do not admonish them; they will not believe. GOD hath sealed up their hearts and their hearing; a dimness covereth their sight, and they shall suffer a grievous punishment. There are some who say, We believe in GOD, and the last day; but are not *really* believers; they seek to deceive GOD, and those who do believe, but they deceive themselves only, and are not sensible thereof. There is an infirmity in their hearts, and GOD hath increased that infirmity [i]; and they shall suffer a most painful punishment, because they have disbelieved. When one saith unto them, Act not corruptly [k] in the earth; they reply, Verily we are men of integrity [l]. Are not they themselves corrupt doers? but they are not sensible thereof.

thing that is *absent, at a great distance*, or *invisible*, such as the resurrection, paradise, and hell. And this is agreeable to the language of scripture, which defines faith to be *the evidence of things not seen* (1).

[g] *The prophets before thee.*] The *Mohammedans* believe that GOD gave written revelations not only to *Moses*, *Jesus*, and *Mohammed*, but to several other prophets (2); tho' they acknowledge none of those which preceded the *Koran* to be now extant, except the *Pentateuch* of *Moses*, the *Psalms* of *David*, and the *Gospel* of *Jesus*; which yet they say were even before *Mohammed*'s time altered and corrupted by the *Jews* and *Christians*; and therefore will not allow our present copies to be genuine.

[h] *The life to come*] The original word *al-ákherat* properly signifies *the latter part* of any thing, and by way of excellence *the next life*, *the latter* or *future state* after death; and is opposed to *al-donya*, *this world*; and *al-oula*, the *former* or *present life*. The *Hebrew* word *abharith*, from the same root, is used by *Moses* in this sense, and is translated *latter end* (3).

[i] *Mohammed* here, and elsewhere frequently, imitates the truly inspired writers, in making GOD by operation on the minds of reprobates to prevent their conversion. This fatality or predestination, as believed by the *Mohammedans*, hath been sufficiently treated of in the *Preliminary Discourse*.

[k] *Act not corruptly*] Literally *corrupt not in the earth*, by which some expositors understand the sowing of false doctrine, and corrupting people's principles.

[l] *Men of integrity*] According to the explication in the preceding note, this word must be translated *reformers*, who promote true piety by their doctrine and example.

(1) *Heb.* xi. 1. *See also Rom.* xiv. 25. 2 *Corinth.* iv. 18. & v. 7. (2) *V.* RELAND. *De relig. Moham. p.* 34. & *Dissert. de Samaritanis, p.* 34, &c. (3) *Numb.* xxiv. 20. *Deut.* viii. 16.

And when one ſaith unto them, believe ye as others [m] believe; they anſwer, Shall we believe as fools believe? Are not they themſelves fools? but they know it not. When they meet thoſe who believe, they ſay, We do believe: but when they retire privately to their devils [n], they ſay, We really *hold* with you, and only mock *at thoſe people:* GOD ſhall mock at them, and continue them in their impiety; they ſhall wander in confuſion. Theſe are *the men* who have purchaſed error at the price of *true* direction: but their traffic hath not been gainful, neither have they been *rightly* directed. They are like unto one who kindleth a fire [o], and when it hath enlightened all around him [p]; GOD taketh away their light [q] and leaveth them in darkneſs, they ſhall not ſee; *they are* deaf, dumb, and blind, therefore will they not repent. Or like a ſtormy cloud from heaven, fraught with darkneſs, thunder, and lightning [r], they put

[m] *Others*] The firſt companions and followers of *Mohammed* (1).

[n] *Devils*] The prophet, making uſe of the liberty zealots of all religions have, by preſcription, of giving ill language, beſtows this name on the *Jewiſh* rabbins and *Chriſtian* prieſts; though he ſeems chiefly to mean the former, againſt whom he had by much the greater ſpleen.

[o] In this paſſage *Mohammed* compares thoſe who believed not on him, to a man who wants to kindle a fire, but as ſoon as it burns up, and the flames give a light, ſhuts his eyes, leſt he ſhould ſee. As if he had ſaid: You, O *Arabians*, have long deſired a prophet of your own nation, and now I am ſent unto you, and have plainly proved my miſſion by the excellence of my doctrine and revelation, you reſiſt conviction, and refuſe to believe in me; therefore ſhall GOD leave you in your ignorance.

[p] The ſenſe ſeems to be here imperfect, and may be compleated, by adding the words, he *turns from it, ſhuts his eyes*, or the like.

[q] *Their light*] That is of the unbelievers, to whom the word *their* being in the plural, ſeems to refer; though it is not uſual for *Mohammed* in affectation of the prophetic ſtile, ſuddenly to change the number againſt all rules of grammar.

[r] Here he compares the unbelieving *Arabs* to people caught in a violent ſtorm. To perceive the beauty of this compariſon, it muſt be obſerved, that the *Mohammedan* doctors ſay, this tempeſt is a type or image of the *Korân* it ſelf: the thunder ſignifying the threats therein contained; the lightning, the promiſes; and the darkneſs, the myſteries. The terror of the threats makes them ſtop their ears, unwilling to hear truths ſo diſagreeable; when the promiſes are read to them, they attend with pleaſure; but when any thing myſterious or difficult of belief occurs, they ſtand ſtock ſtill, and will not ſubmit to be directed.

(1) JALLALO'DDIN.

their

their fingers in their ears, becauſe of the noiſe of the thunder, for fear of death; GOD encompaſſeth the infidels: the lightning wanteth but little of taking away their ſight; ſo often as it enlighteneth them, they walk therein, but when darkneſs cometh on them, they ſtand ſtill; and if GOD ſo pleaſed, he would certainly deprive them of their hearing and their ſight, for GOD is almighty. O men of MECCA ſerve your LORD who hath created you, and thoſe who have been before you: peradventure ye will fear *him*; who hath ſpread the earth as a bed for you, and the heaven as a covering, and hath cauſed water to deſcend from heaven, and thereby produced fruits for your ſuſtenance. Set not up therefore any equals unto GOD, againſt your own knowledge. If ye be in doubt concerning that *revelation* which we have ſent down unto our ſervant, produce a chapter like unto it, and call upon your witneſſes, beſides GOD [s], if ye ſay truth. But if ye do *it* not, nor ſhall *ever be able to* do *it*; juſtly fear the fire whoſe fewel is men and ſtones, prepared for the unbelievers. But bear good tidings unto thoſe who believe, and do good works, that they ſhall have gardens watered by rivers; ſo often as they eat of the fruit thereof for ſuſtenance, they *ſhall* ſay, This is what we have formerly eaten of; and they ſhall be ſupplied with *ſeveral ſorts of fruit* having a mutual reſemblance to one another [t]. There ſhall they enjoy wives ſubject to no impurity, and there ſhall they continue for ever. Moreover GOD will not be aſhamed to propound in a parable a gnat, or even a more deſpicable thing [u]: for they who believe will

[s] *Your witneſſes beſides* GOD] i. e. Your falſe gods and idols.

[t] Some commentators (1) approve of this ſenſe, ſuppoſing the fruits of paradiſe, though of various taſtes, are alike in colour and outward appearance: but others (2) think the meaning to be, that the inhabitants of that place will find there fruits of the ſame or the like kinds, as they uſed to eat while on earth.

[u] This was revealed to take off an objection made to the *Korân* by the infidels, for condeſcending to ſpeak of ſuch inſignificant inſects, as the ſpider, the piſmire, the bee, *&c.* (3).

(1) JALLALO'DDIN. (2) *Al* ZAMAKHSHARI. (3) YAHYA.

know it to be the truth from their LORD; but the unbelievers will say, What meaneth GOD by this parable? he will thereby mislead many, and will direct many thereby; but he will not mislead *any* thereby, except the transgressors, who make void the covenant of GOD after the establishing thereof, and cut in sunder that which GOD hath commanded to be joined, and act corruptly in the earth; they shall perish. How *is it that* ye believe not in GOD? Since ye were dead, and he gave you life [w]; he will hereafter cause you to die, and will again restore you to life; then shall ye return unto him. It is he who hath created for you whatsoever is on earth, and then set his mind to *the creation of* heaven, and formed it into seven heavens; he knoweth all things. When thy LORD said unto the angels, I am going to place a substitute on earth [x]; they said, Wilt thou place there one who will do evil therein, and shed blood?

w *Ye were dead, and he gave you life, &c.*] i. e. Ye were dead while in the loins of your fathers, and he gave you life in your mothers wombs; and after death he shall be again raised at the resurrection (1).

x Concerning the creation of *Adam*, here intimated, the *Mohammedans* have several peculiar traditions. They say the Angels, *Gabriel*, *Michael*, and *Israfil*, were sent by GOD, one after another, to fetch for that purpose seven handfuls of earth from different depths, and of different colours (whence some account for the various complexion of mankind (2)); but the earth being apprehensive of the consequence, and desiring them to represent her fear to GOD, that the creature he designed to form, would rebel against him, and draw down his curse upon her, they returned without performing GOD's command; whereupon he sent *Azraïl* on the same errand, who executed his commission without remorse; for which reason, GOD appointed that angel to separate the souls from the bodies, being therefore called *the angel of death*. The earth he had taken was carried into *Arabia*, to a place between *Mecca* and *Tayef*, where being first kneaded by the angels, it was afterwards fashioned by GOD himself into a human form, and left to dry (3) for the space of forty days, or, as others say, as many years; the angels in the mean time often visiting it, and *Eblis* (then one of the angels who are neareſt to GOD's presence, afterwards the devil) among the rest; but he not contented with looking on it, kicked it with his foot till it rung, and knowing GOD designed that creature to be his superior, took a secret resolution never to acknowledge him as such. After this, GOD animated the figure of clay, and indued it with an intelligent soul, and when he had placed him in paradise, formed *Eve* out of his left side (4).

(1) JALLALO'DDIN. (2) *Al* TERMEDI, *from a tradition of* ABU MUSA *al* 'ASHARI. (3) *Korân*, c. 55. (4) KHOND AMIR. JALLALO'DDIN, *Comment. in Korân, &c.* *V.* D'HERBELOT. *Biblioth. Orient. p.* 55.

but

but we celebrate thy praiſe, and ſanctify thee. GOD anſwered, Verily I know that which ye know not; and he taught ADAM the names of all things, and then propoſed them to the angels, and ſaid, Declare unto me the names of theſe things if ye ſay truth. They anſwered, Praiſe be unto thee, we have no knowledge but what thou teacheſt us, for thou art knowing and wiſe. *GOD* ſaid, O ADAM, tell them their names. And, when he had told them their names, *GOD* ſaid, Did I not tell you that I know the ſecrets of heaven and earth, and know that which ye diſcover, and that which ye conceal[y]? And when we ſaid unto the angels, Worſhip [z] ADAM; they *all* worſhipped *him*, except EBLIS *who* refuſed, and was puffed up with pride, and became of the *number* of unbelievers [a]. And we ſaid, O ADAM, dwell thou and thy wife in the garden [b], and eat *of the fruit* thereof plentifully wherever ye will; but approach not this tree [c], leſt ye become of *the number of*

[y] This ſtory *Mohammed* borrowed from the *Jewiſh* traditions; which ſay, that the angels having ſpoken of man with ſome contempt, when GOD conſulted them about his creation, GOD made anſwer, that the man was wiſer than they; and to convince them of it, he brought all kinds of animals to them, and aſked them their names; which they not being able to tell, he put the ſame queſtion to the man, who named them one after another; and being aſked his own name, and GOD's name, he anſwered very juſtly, and gave GOD the name of JEHOVAH (1). The angels adoring of *Adam* is alſo mentioned in the *Talmud* (2).

[z] *Worſhip.*] The original word ſignifies properly to *proſtrate one's ſelf*, till the forehead touches the ground; which is the humbleſt poſture of adoration, and ſtrictly due to GOD only; but it is ſometimes, as in this place, uſed to expreſs that civil worſhip or homage, which may be paid to creatures (3).

[a] This occaſion of the devil's fall has ſome affinity with an opinion which has been pretty much entertained among *Chriſtians* (4), *viz.* that the angels being informed of GOD's intention to create man after his own image, and to dignify human nature by CHRIST's aſſuming it, ſome of them thinking their glory to be eclipſed thereby, envied man's happineſs, and ſo revolted.

[b] *Mohammed*, as appears by what preſently follows, does not place this garden or paradiſe on earth, but in the ſeventh heaven (5).

[c] Concerning this tree or the forbidden fruit, the *Mohammedans*, as well as the *Chriſtians*, have various opinions. Some ſay it was an ear of wheat; ſome will have it to have been

(1) *V.* RIVIN. *Serpent. ſeduct. p.* 56. (2) *R.* MOSES HADDARSHAN, *in Bereſhit rabbah.* (3) JALLAIO'DDIN. (4) IRENAEUS, LACT. GREG. NYSSEN. &c. (5) *Vid.* MARRACC. *in Alc. p.* 24.

of the tranſgreſſors. But SATAN cauſed them to forfeit *paradiſe* [d], and turned them out of *the ſtate of happineſs* wherein they had been; whereupon we ſaid, Get ye down [e], the one of you an enemy unto the other; and there ſhall be a dwelling place for you on earth, and a proviſion for a ſeaſon. And ADAM learned words *of prayer* from his LORD, and GOD turned unto him, for he is eaſy to be reconciled and merciful. We ſaid, Get ye all down from hence; hereafter ſhall there come unto you a direction from me [f], and whoever ſhall follow my direction, on them ſhall no fear come, neither ſhall they be grieved; but they who ſhall be unbelievers, and accuſe our ſigns

been a fig-tree, and others a vine (1). The ſtory of the fall is told, with ſome further circumſtances, in the beginning of the 7th chapter.

[d] Satan *cauſed them to forfeit paradiſe*] They have a tradition that the devil offering to get into paradiſe to tempt *Adam*, was not admitted by the guard: whereupon he begged of the animals, one after another, to carry him in, that he might ſpeak to *Adam* and his wife; but they all refuſed him, except the ſerpent, who took him between two of his teeth, and ſo introduced him. They add, that the ſerpent was then of a beautiful form, and not in the ſhape he now bears (2).

[e] *Get ye down*] The *Mohâmmedans* ſay, that when they were caſt down from paradiſe, *Adam* fell on the iſle of *Ceylon* or *Serendib*, and *Eve* near *Joddah* (the port of *Mecca*) in *Arabia*; and that after a ſeparation of 200 years, *Adam*, was on his repentance, conducted by the angel *Gabriel* to a mountain near *Mecca*, where he found and knew his wife, the mountain being thence named *Arafat*; and that he afterwards retired with her to *Ceylon*, where they continued to propagate their ſpecies (3).

It may not be improper here to mention another tradition concerning the gigantic ſtature of our firſt parents. Their prophet, they ſay, affirmed *Adam* to have been as tall as a high palm-tree (4); but this would be too much in proportion, if that were really the print of his foot, which is pretended to be ſuch, on the top of a mountain in the iſle of *Ceylon*, thence named *Pico de Adam*, and by the *Arab* writers *Rahân*, being ſomewhat above two ſpans long (5) (though others ſay it is ſeventy cubits long, and that when *Adam* ſet one foot here, he had the other in the ſea 6); and too little, if *Eve* were of ſo enormous a ſize, as is ſaid, that when her head lay on one hill near *Mecca*, her knees reſted on two others in the plain, about two muſket ſhot aſunder (7).

[f] *A direction from me*] GOD here promiſes *Adam* that his will ſhould be revealed to him and his poſterity; which promiſe the *Mohammedans* believe was fufilled at ſeveral times by the miniſtry of ſeveral prophets, from *Adam* himſelf who was the firſt, to *Mohammed*, who was the laſt. The number of books revealed

(1) *V.* MARRAC. *in Alc. p.* 22. (2) *V. ib.* (3) D'HERBELOT, *Bibl. orient. p.* 55. (4) YAHYA. (5) MONOCONYS *Voyage, part* 1. *p.* 372, *&c. See* KNOX's *account of Ceylon.* (6) *Anciennes relations des Indes &c. p.* 3. (7) MONOCONYS, *ubi ſup.*

signs[g] of falsehood, they shall be the companions of *hell* fire, therein shall they remain for ever. O children of ISRAEL[h], remember my favour wherewith I have favoured you; and perform *your* covenant with me, and I will perform *my* covenant with you; and revere me: and believe in the *revelation* which I have sent down, confirming that which is with you, and be not the first who believe not therein, neither exchange my signs for a small price; and fear me. Cloath not the truth with vanity, neither conceal the truth against your own knowledge; observe the stated times of prayer, and pay your legal alms, and bow down yourselves with those who bow down. Will ye command men to do justice, and forget your own souls? yet ye read the book *of the law:* do ye not therefore understand? Ask help with perseverance and prayer; this indeed is grievous, unless to the humble, who *seriously* think they shall meet their LORD, and that to him they shall return. O children of ISRAEL, remember my favour wherewith I have favoured you, and that I have preferred you above all nations: dread the day *wherein one* soul shall not make satisfaction for *another* soul, neither shall any intercession be accepted from them, nor shall any compensation be received, neither shall they be helped. *Remember* when we delivered you from the people of PHARAOH, who grievously oppressed you, they slew your male children, and let your females live: therein was a great trial from your LORD. And when we divided the sea for you and delivered you, and

vealed unto *Adam* they say was ten (1).

[g] *Signs*] This word has various significations in the *Korân*; sometimes, as in this passage, it signifies *divine revelation*, or *scripture* in general; sometimes the *verses* of the *Korân* in particular; and at other times *visible miracles*. But the sense is easily distinguished by the context.

[h] The *Jews* are here called upon to receive the *Korân*, as verifying and confirming the *Pentateuch*, particularly with respect to the unity of God and the mission of *Mohammed* (2). And they are exhorted not to conceal the passages of their law, which bear witness to those truths, nor to corrupt them by publishing false copies of the *Pentateuch*, for which the writers were but poorly paid (3).

(1) *V.* HOTTINGER *Hist. orient. p.* 11. RELAND. *de relig. Mohammed. p.* 21. (2) YAHYA. (3) JALLALO'DDIN.

drowned

drowned Pharaoh's people while ye looked on[i]. And when we treated with Moses forty nights; then ye took the calf[k] *for your GOD*, and did evil; yet afterwards we forgave you, that peradventure ye might give thanks. And when we gave Moses the book *of the law*, and the distinction *between good and evil*, that peradventure ye might be directed. And when Moses said unto his people, O my people, verily ye have injured your own souls, by your taking the calf *for your GOD*; therefore be turned unto your Creator, and slay those among you *who have been guilty of that crime*[l]; this will be better for you in the sight of your Creator: and *thereupon* he turned unto you, for he is easy to be reconciled, and merciful. And when ye said, O Moses, we will not believe thee, until we see God manifestly; therefore a punishment came upon you, while ye looked on; then we raised you to life after ye had been dead,

[i] See the story of *Moses* and *Pharaoh* more particularly related chap. vii. & xx. *&c.*

[k] *The calf.*] The person who cast this calf, the *Mohammedans* say, was (not *Aaron* but) *al Sâmeri*, one of the principal men among the children of *Israel*, some of whose descendants it is pretended still inhabit an island of that name in the *Arabian* gulph (1). It was made of the rings (2) and bracelets of gold, silver, and other materials, which the *Israelites* had borrowed of the *Egyptians*; for *Aaron*, who commanded in his brothers absence, having ordered *al Sâmeri* to collect those ornaments from the people, who carried on a wicked commerce with them, and to keep them together till the return of *Moses*; *al Sâmeri*, understanding the founder's art, put them all together into a furnace, to melt them down into one mass, which came out in the form of a calf (3). The *Israelites*, accustomed to the *Ægyptian* idolatry, paying a religious worship to this image, *al Sâmeri* went farther, and took some dust from the footsteps of the horse of the angel *Gabriel*, who marched at the head of the people, and threw it into the mouth of the calf, which immediately began to low, and became animated (4); for such was the virtue of that dust (5). One writer says that all the *Israelites* adored this calf, except only 12000 (6).

[l] *And slay the guilty.*] In this particular, the narration agrees with that of *Moses*, who ordered the *Levites* to slay *every man his brother* (7): but the scripture says, *there fell of the people that day about* 3000 (the Vulgate says 23000) *men* (8); whereas the commentators of the *Korân* make the number of the slain to amount to 70000; and add, that God sent a dark cloud which hindered them from seeing one another, lest the sight should move those who executed the sentence to compassion (9).

(1) *Georg. Nubiens. p.* 45. (2) *Korân, c.* 7. (3) *See Exod.* xxxii. 24. (4) *Korân, c.* 7. (5) Jallalo'ddin, *Vid.* D'Herbelot *Bibl. Orient. p.* 650. (6) Abu'lfeda. (7) *Exod.* xxxii. 26, 27. (8) *Ibid.* 28. (9) Jallalo'ddin, *&c.*

that

that peradventure ye might give thanks [m]. And we cauſed clouds to overſhadow you, and manna and quails [n] to deſcend upon you, *ſaying*, Eat of the good things which we have given you for food: and they injured not us, but injured their own ſouls. And when we ſaid, Enter into this city [o], and eat *of the proviſions* thereof plentifully as ye will; and enter the gate worſhipping, and ſay, Forgiveneſs [p]! we will pardon you your ſins, and give increaſe unto the well-doers. But the ungodly changed the expreſſion into another [q], different from what had been ſpoken unto them; and we ſent down upon the ungodly indignation from heaven [r], becauſe they had tranſgreſſed. And when MOSES aſked drink for his people, we ſaid, Strike the rock [s] with thy rod; and there guſhed

[m] The perſons here meant, are ſaid to have been ſeventy men, who were made choice of by *Moſes*, and heard the voice of GOD talking with him. But, not being ſatisfied with that, they demanded to ſee God; whereupon they were all ſtruck dead by lightening, and, on *Moſes's* interceſſion, reſtored to life (1).

[n] The eaſtern writers ſay, theſe quails were of a peculiar kind, to be found no where but in *Yaman*, from whence they were brought by a ſouth wind in great numbers to the *Iſraelites* camp in the deſart (2). The *Arabs* call theſe birds *Salwâ*, which is plainly the ſame with the *Hebrew Salwim*, and ſay they have no bones, but are eaten whole (3).

[o] *This city*] Some commentators ſuppoſe it to be *Jericho*; others, *Jeruſalem*.

[p] *Forgiveneſs!*] The *Arabic* word is *Hittaton*, which ſome take to ſignify that profeſſion of the unity of God, ſo frequently uſed by the *Mohammedans*, *La ilâha illa 'llaho*, *There is no god but GOD*.

[q] *Changed the expreſſion into another*] According to *Jallalo'ddin*, inſtead of *Hittaton*, they cried *Habbat fi ſhaïrat*, i. e. *a grain in an ear of barley*; and, in ridicule of the divine command to enter the city in an humble poſture, they indecently crept in upon their breech.

[r] *Indignation from heaven*] A peſtilence, which carried off, near 70000 of them (4).

[s] *The rock*] The commentators ſay this was a ſtone which *Moſes* brought from mount *Sinai*, and the ſame that fled away with his garments which he laid upon it one day, while he waſhed: they add that *Moſes* ran after the ſtone naked, till he found himſelf, ere he was aware, in the midſt of the people, who, on this accident, were convinced of the falſhood of a report, which had been raiſed of their prophet, that he was burſten, or, as others write, an hermaphrodite (5).

They deſcribe it to be a ſquare piece of white marble, ſhaped like a man's head; wherein they differ not much from the accounts of *European* travellers, who ſay this rock ſtands among ſeveral leſſer ones, about 100 paces from mount *Horeb*, and appears to have been looſened from the

(1) ISMAEL EBN ALI. (2) *See Pſalm* lxxviii. 26. (3) *V.* D'HERBELOT *Bibl. orient. p.* 477. (4) JALLALO'DDIN. (5) JALLALO'DDIN, YAHYA.

gushed thereout twelve fountains [t] *according to the number of the tribes*, and all men knew their *respective* drinking-place. Eat and drink of the bounty of GOD, and commit not evil in the earth, acting unjustly. And when ye said, O MOSES, we will by no means be satisfied with one *kind* of food; pray unto thy LORD therefore for us, that he would produce for us of that which the earth bringeth forth, herbs, and cucumbers, and garlic, and lentils, and onions [u]; MOSES answered, Will ye exchange that which is better, for that which is worse? Get ye down into EGYPT, for *there* shall ye find what ye desire: and they were smitten with vileness and misery, and drew on themselves indignation from GOD. This *they suffered*, because they believed not in the signs of GOD, and killed the prophets unjustly; this, because they rebelled and transgressed. Surely those who believe, and those who Judaize, and Christians, and Sabians [w], whoever

the neighbouring mountains, having no coherence with the others; that it is a huge mass of red granite, almost round on one side, and flat on the other; 12 feet high, and as many thick, but broader than it is high, and about 50 feet in circumference (1).

[t] *Twelve fountains*] *Marracci* thinks this circumstance looks like a *Rabbinical* fiction, or else that *Mohammed* confounds the water of the rock at *Horeb*, with the twelve wells at *Elim* (2); for he says, several who have been on the spot, affirm there are but three orifices whence the water issued (3). But it is to be presumed, that *Mohammed* had better means of information in this respect, than to fall into such a mistake; for the rock stands within the borders of *Arabia*, and some of his countrymen must needs have seen it, if he himself did not, as it is most probable he did. And, in effect, he seems to be in the right. For one, who went into those parts in the end of the 15th century, tells us expressly, that the water issued from twelve places of the rock, according to the number of the tribes of *Israel*; *egressæ sunt aquæ largissimæ in duodecim locis petræ, juxta numerum duodecim tribuum Israel* (4). A late curious traveller (5) observes, that there are 24 holes in the stone, which may be easily counted; that is to say, twelve on the flat side, and as many on the opposite round side, every one being a foot deep, and an inch wide; and he adds, that the holes on one side do not communicate with those on the other; which a less accurate spectator not perceiving (for they are placed horizontally, within two feet of the top of the rock) might conclude they pierced quite through the stone, and so reckon them to be but twelve.

[u] See *Numb.* xi. 5, *&c.*

[w] Jews, Christians, *and* Sabians, *whoever believeth*, &c.] From these

(1) BREYDENBACH. *Itinerar. chartâ m. p.* 1. SICHARD, *dans les Memoires des Missions, vol.* 7. *p.* 14. (2) *Exod.* xv. 27. *Numb.* xxxiii. 9.
(3) MARRACC. *Prodr. part* 4. *p.* 80. (4) BREYDENBACH, *ubi sup.*
(5) SICARD, *ubi sup.*

whoever believeth in GOD, and the last day, and doth that which is right, they shall have their reward with their LORD, *there shall come* no fear on them, neither shall they be grieved. *Call to mind* also when we accepted your covenant, and lifted up the mountain *of SINAI* over you [x], *saying*, Receive *the law* which we have given you, with a resolution *to keep it*, and remember that which it contained therein, that ye may beware. After this ye again turned back, so that, if it had not been for GOD's indulgence and mercy towards you, ye had certainly been destroyed. Moreover ye know *what befell* those of your nation who transgressed on the sabbath-day [y]; *We*

these words, which are repeated in the 5th chapter, several writers (1) have wrongly concluded that the *Mohammedans* hold it to be the doctrine of their prophet, that every man may be saved in his own religion, provided he be sincere and lead a good life. It is true, some of their doctors do agree this to be the purport of the words (2); but then they say the latitude hereby granted was soon revoked, for that this passage is abrogated by several others in the *Korân*, which expressly declare, that none can be saved who is not of the *Mohammedan* faith; and particularly by those words of the 3d chapter, *Whoever followeth any other religion than* Islâm *(i. e.* the *Mohammedan,) it shall not be accepted of him, and at the last day he shall be of those who perish* (3). However, others are of opinion that this passage is not abrogated, but interpret it differently; taking the meaning of it to be, that no man, whether he be a *Jew*, a *Christian*, or a *Sabian*, shall be excluded from salvation, provided he quit his erroneous religion and become a *Moslem*, which they say is intended by the following words, *Whoever believeth in* GOD *and the last day, and doth that which is right*. And this interpretation is approved by Mr. *Reland*, who thinks the words here import no more than those of the apostle, *In every nation he that feareth* GOD, *and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him* (4); from which it must not be inferred, that the religion of nature, or any other, is sufficient to save, without faith in CHRIST (5).

[x] *When we lifted up mount* Sinai *over you.*] The *Mohammedan* tradition is, that, the *Israelites* refusing to receive the law of *Moses*, GOD tore up the mountain by the roots, and shook it over their heads, to terrify them into a compliance (6).

[y] *Those who transgressed on the sabbath-day*, &c.] The story to which this passage refers, is as follows. In the days of *David* some *Israelites* dwelt at *Ailah*, or *Elath*, on the *Red* sea, where on the night of the sabbath the fish used to come in great numbers to the shore, and stay there all the sabbath, to tempt them; but the night following they returned

(1) SELDEN. *de Jure nat. & gentium sec. Hebr. l.* 6. *c.* 12. ANGEL. *a S.* JOSEPH. *Gazophylac. Persic. p.* 365. NIC. CUSANUS *in Cribratione Alcorani, l.* 3. *c.* 2, &c. (2) *See* CHARDIN *Voyages, vol.* 2. *p.* 326, 331. (3) ABU'LKASEM HEBATALLAH *de abrogante & abrogato.* (4) *Acts* x. 35. (5) *V.* RELAND. *de rel. Moham. p.* 128, *&c.* (6) JALLALO'DDIN.

We ſaid unto them, Be ye *changed into* apes, driven away *from the ſociety of men.* And we made them an example unto thoſe who were contemporary with them, and unto thoſe who came after them, and a warning to the pious. And when MOSES ſaid unto his people, Verily GOD commandeth you to ſacrifice a cow [z]; they anſwered, Doſt thou make a jeſt of

returned into the ſea again. At length, ſome of the inhabitants neglecting GOD's command, catched fiſh on the ſabbath, and dreſſed and eat them; and afterwards cut canals from the ſea, for the fiſh to enter, with ſluices, which they ſhut on the ſabbath, to prevent their return to the ſea. The other part of the inhabitants, who ſtrictly obſerved the ſabbath, uſe both perſuaſion and force, to ſtop this impiety, but to no purpoſe, the offenders growing only more and more obſtinate; whereupon *David* curſed the ſabbath-breakers, and GOD transformed them into apes. It is ſaid, that one going to ſee a friend of his that was among them, found him in the ſhape of an ape, moving his eyes about wildly, and aſking him whether he was not ſuch a one? the ape made a ſign with his head, that it was he; whereupon the friend ſaid to him, Did not I adviſe you to deſiſt? at which the ape wept. They add, that theſe unhappy people remained three days in this condition, and were afterwards deſtroyed by a wind which ſwept them all into the ſea (1).

[z] GOD *commandeth you to ſacrifice a cow*, &c.] The occaſion of this ſacrifice is thus related. A certain man at his death left his ſon, then a child, a cow-calf, which wandered in the deſart till he came to age; at which time his mother told him the heifer was his, and bid him fetch her, and ſell her for three pieces of gold. When the young man came to the market with his heifer, an angel in the ſhape of a man accoſted him, and bid him fix pieces of gold for her; but he would not take the money, till he had aſked his mother's conſent; which when he had obtained, he returned to the market-place, and met the angel, who now offered him twice as much for the heifer, provided he would ſay nothing of it to his mother; but the young man refuſing, went and acquainted her with the additional offer. The woman perceiving it was an angel, bid her ſon go back and aſk him what muſt be done with the heifer; whereupon the angel told the young man, that, in a little time, the children of *Iſrael* would buy that heifer of him at any price. And ſoon after it happened that an *Iſraelite*, named *Hammiel*, was killed by a relation of his, who, to prevent diſcovery, conveyed the body to a place conſiderably diſtant from that where the fact was committed. The friends of the ſlain man accuſed ſome other perſons of the murther before *Moſes*; but they denying the fact, and there being no evidence to convict them, GOD commanded a cow, of ſuch and ſuch particular marks, to be killed; but there being no other which anſwered the deſcription, except the orphan's heifer, they were obliged to buy her for as much gold as her hide would hold; according to ſome, for her full weight in gold, and as others ſay, for ten times as much. This heifer they ſacrificed, and the dead body being, by divine direction, ſtruck with a part of it, revived, and, ſtanding up, named the perſon who had killed him; after which it immediately

(1) ABU'LFEDA. (2) ABU'LFEDA.

of us? *MOSES* said, GOD forbid that I should be *one* of the foolish. They said, Pray for us unto thy LORD, that he would shew us what *cow* it is. *MOSES* answered, He saith, She is neither an old cow, nor a young heifer, but of a middle age between both: do ye therefore that which ye are commanded. They said, Pray for us unto thy LORD that he would shew us what colour she is of. *MOSES* answered, He saith, she is a red cow [a], intensely red, her colour rejoiceth the beholders. They said, Pray for us unto thy LORD, that he would *further* shew us what *cow* it is, for *several* cows with us are like one another, and we, if GOD please, will be directed. *MOSES* answered, He saith, She is a cow not broken to plough the earth, or water the field, a sound one, there is no blemish in her. They said, Now hast thou brought the truth. Then they sacrificed her; yet they wanted but little of leaving it undone [b]. And when ye slew a man, and contended among yourselves concerning him, GOD brought forth *to light* that which ye concealed. For we said, Strike *the dead body* with part of *the sacrificed cow* [c]: so GOD raiseth the dead to life, and sheweth you his signs, that peradventure ye may understand. Then were your hearts hardened after this, even as stones, or exceeding *them* in hardness: for from some stones have rivers bursted forth, others have been rent in sunder, and water hath issued from them, and others have fallen down for fear of GOD. But GOD is not regardless of that which ye do. Do ye therefore desire that *the Jews* should believe you? yet a part of them heard the word of GOD, and then perverted

mediately fell down dead again (1). The whole story seems to be borrowed from the red heifer, which was ordered by the *Jewish* law to be burnt, and the ashes kept for purifying those who happened to touch a dead corps (2).

[a] *A red cow.*] The epithet in the original is *yellow*; but this word we do not use in speaking of the colour of cattle.

[b] *And they wanted but little of leaving it undone,*] Because of the exorbitant price which they were obliged to pay for the heifer.

[c] *With part of the cow,*] *i. e.* Her tongue, or the end of her tail (2).

(1) *Numb.* xix. (2) JALLALO'DDIN.

it,

it, after they had understood it, against their own conscience. And when they meet the true believers, they say, We believe: but when they are privately assembled together, they say, Will ye acquaint them with what GOD hath revealed unto you, that they may dispute with you concerning it in the presence of your LORD? Do ye not therefore understand? Do not they know that GOD knoweth that which they conceal as well as that which they publish? But there are illiterate men among them, who know not the book *of the law*, but only lying stories, although they think otherwise. And woe unto them who transcribe *corruptly* the book *of the law*[d] with their hands, and then say, This is from GOD: that they may sell it for a small price. Therefore woe unto them because of that which their hands have written; and woe unto them for that which they have gained. They say, The fire *of hell* shall not touch us but for a *certain* number of days[e]. Answer, Have ye received any promise from GOD *to that purpose?* for GOD will not act contrary to his promise: or do ye speak concerning GOD that which ye know not? Verily whoso doth evil[f], and is encompassed by his iniquity, they *shall be* the companions of *hell* fire, they shall remain therein for ever: but they who believe and do good works, they shall be the companions of paradise, they shall continue therein for ever. *Remember* also, when we ac-

[d] *Mohammed* again accuses the *Jews* of corrupting their scripture.

[e] *The fire of hell shall not touch us, but for a certain number of days*;] That is, says *Jallalo'ddin*, forty; being the number of days that their forefathers worshipped the golden calf; after which they gave out that their punishment should cease. It is a received opinion among the *Jews* at present, that no person, be he ever so wicked, or of whatever sect, shall remain in hell above eleven months, or at most a year; except *Dathan* and *Abiram*, and atheists, who will be tormented there to all eternity (1).

[f] *Whoso doth evil*, &c.] By *evil* in this place the commentators generally understand polytheism or idolatry; which sin the *Mohammedans* believe, unless repented of in this life, is unpardonable, and will be punished by eternal damnation; but all other sins they hold will at length be forgiven. This therefore is that irremissible impiety, in their opinion, which in the *New Testament* is called *the sin against the holy Ghost*.

(1) *Vid.* BARTOLOCCII *Biblioth. Rabbinic. Tom.* 2. *p.* 128. & *T.* 3. *p.* 421.

cepted

cepted the covenant of the children of ISRAEL, *saying*, Ye ſhall not worſhip *any other* except GOD, and *ye ſhall ſhew* kindneſs to *your* parents and kindred, and to orphans, and to the poor, and ſpeak that which is good unto men, and be conſtant at prayer, and give alms. Afterwards ye turned back, except a few of you, and retired afar off. And when we accepted your covenant, *ſaying*, Ye ſhall not ſhed your *brother*'s blood, nor diſpoſſeſs one another of your habitations. Then ye confirmed *it*, and were witneſſes *thereto*. Afterwards ye were they who ſlew one another[g], and turned ſeveral of your *brethren* out of their houſes, mutually aſſiſting each other againſt them with injuſtice and enmity; but if they come captives unto you, ye redeem them: yet it is *equally* unlawful for you to diſpoſſeſs them. Do ye therefore believe in part of the book *of the law*, and reject other part thereof? But whoſo among you doth this, ſhall have no other reward than ſhame in this life, and on the day of reſurrection they ſhall be ſent to a moſt grievous puniſhment; for GOD is not regardleſs of that which ye do. Theſe are they who have purchaſed this preſent life, at the price of that which is to come; wherefore their puniſhment ſhall not be mitigated, neither ſhall they be helped. We formerly delivered the book *of the law* unto MOSES, and cauſed apoſtles to ſucceed him, and gave evident miracles to JESUS the ſon of MARY, and ſtrengthened him with the holy ſpirit[h]. Do ye therefore, whenever an apoſtle cometh unto you

[g] *Ye ſlew one another*, &c.] This paſſage was revealed on occaſion of ſome quarrels which aroſe between the *Jews* of the tribes of *Koreidha*, and thoſe of *al Aws*, *al Nadhir*, and *al Khazraj*, and came to that height that they took arms and deſtroyed one another's habitations, and turned one another out of their houſes; but, when any were taken captive, they redeemed them. When they were aſked the reaſon of their acting in this manner, they anſwered, That they were commanded by their law to redeem the captives, but that they fought out of ſhame, leſt their chiefs ſhould be deſpiſed (1).

[h] *The holy ſpirit.*] We muſt not imagine *Mohammed* here means the *Holy Ghoſt*, in the *Chriſtian* acceptation. The commentators ſay, this ſpirit was the angel *Gabriel*, who ſanctified *Jeſus* and conſtantly attended on him (2).

(1) JALLALO'DDIN.

(2) JALLALO'DDIN.

with that which your ſouls deſire not, proudly reject *him*, and accuſe ſome of impoſture, and ſlay others? *The Jews* ſay, Our hearts are uncircumciſed: but GOD hath curſed them with their infidelity, therefore few ſhall believe. And when a book came unto them from GOD, confirming *the ſcriptures* which were with them, although they had before prayed for aſſiſtance againſt thoſe who believed not[i], *yet* when that came unto them which they knew *to be from GOD*, they would not believe therein: therefore the curſe of GOD ſhall be on the Infidels. For a vile *price* have they ſold their ſouls, that they ſhould not believe in that which GOD hath ſent down[k]; out of envy, becauſe GOD ſendeth down his favours to ſuch of his ſervants as he pleaſeth: therefore they brought on themſelves indignation on indignation; and the unbelievers ſhall ſuffer an ignominious puniſhment. When one ſaith unto them, Believe in that which GOD hath ſent down; they anſwer, We believe in that which hath been ſent down unto us[l]: and they reject what *hath been revealed* ſince, although it be the truth, confirming that which is with them. Say, Why therefore have ye ſlain the prophets of GOD in times paſt, if ye be true believers? MOSES formerly came unto you with evident ſigns, but ye afterwards took the calf *for your god* and did wickedly. And when we accepted your covenant and lifted the mountain *of SINAI* over you[m], *ſaying*, Receive *the law* which we have given you, with a reſolution *to perform it*, and hear; they ſaid, We have heard, and have rebelled: and they were made to drink down the calf into their hearts[n] for their unbelief. Say, A grievous thing hath

[i] *Although they had before prayed*, &c.] The *Jews* in expectation of the coming of *Mohammed* (according to the tradition of his followers) uſed this prayer, *O God, help us againſt the unbelievers by the prophet who is to be ſent in the laſt times* (1).

[k] The *Korân*.

[l] The *Pentateuch*.

[m] See before p. 15.

[n] *They were made to drink down the calf*, &c.] MOSES *took the calf which they had made, and burnt it in the fire, and ground it to powder, and*

(1) *Idem.*

ſtrewed

hath your faith commanded you, if ye be true believers [o]. Say, If the future manſion with GOD be *prepared* peculiarly for you, excluſive of the reſt of mankind, wiſh for death, if ye ſay truth: but they will never wiſh for it, becauſe of that which their hands have ſent before them [p]; GOD knoweth the wicked doers; and thou ſhalt ſurely find them of all men the moſt covetous of life, even *more* than the idolaters; one of them would deſire his life to be prolonged a thouſand years, but none ſhall reprieve himſelf from puniſhment, that his life may be prolonged: GOD ſeeth that which they do. Say, Whoever is an enemy to GABRIEL [q] (for he hath cauſed *the KORAN* to deſcend on thy heart, by the permiſſion of GOD, confirming that which was before *revealed*, a direction, and good tidings to the faithful;) whoſoever is any enemy to GOD, or his angels, or his apoſtles, or to GABRIEL, or MICHAEL, verily GOD is an enemy to the unbelievers. And now we have ſent down unto thee evident

ſtrewed it upon the water (of the brook that deſcended from the mount), and made the children of Iſrael *drink of it* (1).

[o] *A grievous thing*, &c.] *Mohammed* here infers from their forefathers diſobedience in worſhiping the calf, at the ſame time that they pretended to believe in the law of *Moſes*, that the faith of the *Jews* in his time was as vain and hypocritical, ſince they rejected him, who was foretold therein, as an impoſtor (2).

[p] *Which their hands have ſent before them*,) That is, by reaſon of the wicked forgeries which they have been guilty of in reſpect to the ſcriptures. An expreſſion much like that of St. *Paul*, where he ſays, *that ſome men's ſins are open before-hand, going before to judgment* (3).

[q] *Whoever is an enemy to* Gabriel, &c.] The commentators ſay, that the *Jews* aſked, what angel it was that brought the divine revelations to *Mohammed*; and being told that it was *Gabriel*, they replied, that he was their enemy, and the meſſenger of wrath and puniſhment; but, if it had been *Michael*, they would have believed on him, becauſe that angel was their friend, and the meſſenger of peace and plenty. And on this occaſion, they ſay, this paſſage was revealed (4).

That *Michael* was really the protector or guardian angel of the *Jews*, we know from ſcripture (5); and it ſeems that *Gabriel* was, as the *Perſians* call him, *the angel of revelations*, being frequently ſent on meſſages of that kind (6); for which reaſon, it is probable, *Mohammed* pretended he was the angel from whom he received the *Korân*.

(1) *Exod.* xxxii. 20. *Deut.* ix. 21. (2) JALLALO'DDIN. YAHYA, *al* BEIDAWI. (3) 1 *Tim.* v. 24. (4) JALLALO'DDIN. *al* ZAMAKH. YAHYA. (5) *Dan.* xii. 1. (6) *Ibid. ch.* viii. 16. *and* ix. 21. *Luk:* i. 19, 26. *See* HYDE *de rel. vet. Perſar. p.* 263.

signs [r], and none will disbelieve them but the evil-doers. Whenever they make a covenant, will some of them reject it? yea the greater part of them do not believe. And when there came unto them an apostle from GOD, confirming that *scripture* which was with them, some of those to whom the scriptures were given, cast the book of GOD behind their backs, as if they knew it not: and they followed *the device* which the devils devised against the kingdom of SOLOMON [s]; and SOLOMON was not an unbeliever; but the devils believed not, they taught men sorcery, and that which was sent down to the two angels at *BABEL*, HARUT and MARUT [t]: yet those

[r] *Evident signs*,] *i. e.* the revelations of this book.

[s] *They followed the device of the devils against* Solomon, *&c.*] The devils having, by GOD's permission, tempted *Solomon* without success, they made use of a trick to blast his character. For they wrote several books of magic, and hid them under that prince's throne, and, after his death, told the chief men that if they wanted to know by what means *Solomon* had obtained his absolute power over men, genii, and the winds, they should dig under his throne; which having done, they found the aforesaid books, which contained impious superstitions. The better sort refused to learn the evil arts therein delivered, but the common people did; and the priests published this scandalous story of *Solomon*, which obtained credit among the *Jews*, till GOD, say the *Mohammedans*, cleared that king by the mouth of their prophet, declaring that *Solomon* was no idolater (1).

[t] *The devils taught sorcery, and that which was sent down to* Harût *and* Marût, *&c.*] Some say only that these were two magicians, or angels sent by GOD to teach men magic, and to tempt them (2). But others tell a longer fable; that the angels expressing their surprize at the wickedness of the sons of *Adam*, after prophets had been sent to them with divine commissions, GOD bid them chuse two out of their own number to be sent down to be judges on earth. Whereupon they pitched upon *Harût* and *Marût*, who executed their office with integrity for some time, till *Zohara*, or the planet *Venus*, descended and appeared before them in the shape of a beautiful woman, bringing a complaint against her husband (though others say she was a real woman.) As soon as they saw her, they fell in love with her, and endeavoured to prevail on her to satisfy their desires; but she flew up again to heaven, whither the two angels also returned, but were not admitted. However, on the intercession of a certain pious man, they were allowed to chuse whether they would be punished in this life, or in the other; whereupon they chose the former, and now suffer punishment accordingly in *Babel*, where they are to remain till the day of judgment. They add, that if a man has a fancy to learn magic, he may go to them, and hear their voice, but cannot see them (3).

This story *Mohammed* took directly from the *Persian Magi*, who mention

(1) YAHYA. JALLALO'DDIN. (2) JALLALO'DDIN. (3) YAHYA, *&c.*

those two taught no man until they had said, Verily we are a temptation, therefore be not an unbeliever. So men learned from those two *a charm* by which they might cause division between a man and his wife; but they hurt none thereby, unless by GOD's permission; and they learned that which would hurt them, and not profit them; and yet they knew that he who bought that *art* should have no part in the life to come, and woeful *is the price* for which they have sold their souls, if they knew it. But if they had believed, and feared *GOD*, verily the reward *they would have had* from GOD would have been better, if they had known it. O true believers, say not *to our apostle* RAINA; but say ONDHORNA [u]; and hearken: the infidels shall suffer a grievous punishment. It is not the desire of the unbelievers, either among those unto whom the scriptures have been given, or among the idolaters, that any good should be sent down unto you from your LORD: but GOD will appropriate his mercy unto whom he pleaseth; for GOD is exceeding beneficent. Whatever verse we shall abrogate, or cause *thee* to forget, we will bring a better than it, or one like unto it. Dost thou not know that GOD is almighty? Dost thou not know that unto GOD belongeth the kingdom of heaven and earth? neither have ye any protector or helper except GOD. Will ye require of your apostle according to that which was formerly required of MOSES [w]? but he

mention two rebellious angels of the same names, now hung up by the feet, with their heads downwards, in the territory of *Babel* (1). And the *Jews* have something like this, of the angel *Shambozai*, who, having debauched himself with women, repented, and by way of penance hung himself up between heaven and earth (2).

[u] *Say not unto our apostle* Raïna, *but* Ondhorna.] Those two *Arabic* words have both the same signification, *viz. Look on us*; and are a kind of salutation. *Mohammed* had a great aversion to the first, because the *Jews* frequently used it in derision, it being a word of reproach in their tongue (3). They alluded, it seems, to the *Hebrew* verb רוע *ruá*, which signifies to *be bad* or *mischievous*.

[w] *What was formerly required of* Moses.] Namely, to see GOD manifestly (4).

(1) *V.* HYDE, *ubi sup. cap.* 12. (2) *Berreshit rabbah, in Genes.* vi. 2.
(3) JALLALO'DDIN. (4) *See before p.* 13.

that hath exchanged faith for infidelity, hath already erred from the ſtrait way. Many of thoſe unto whom the ſcriptures have been given, deſire to render you again unbelievers, after ye have believed; out of envy from their ſouls, even after the truth is become manifeſt unto them; but forgive *them*, and avoid *them*, till GOD ſhall ſend his command; for GOD is omnipotent Be conſtant in prayer, and give alms; and what good ye have ſent before for your ſouls, ye ſhall find it with GOD; ſurely GOD ſeeth that which ye do. They ſay, Verily none ſhall enter paradiſe, except they who are Jews or Chriſtians[x]: this is their wiſh. Say, Produce your proof *of this*, if ye ſpeak truth. Nay, but he who reſigneth himſelf[y] to GOD, and doth that which is right[z], he ſhall have his reward with his LORD; there ſhall *come* no fear on them, neither ſhall they be grieved. The Jews ſay, The Chriſtians are *grounded* on nothing[a]; and the Chriſtians ſay, The Jews are *grounded* on nothing: yet they *both* read the ſcriptures. So likewiſe ſay they who know not *the ſcripture*, according to their ſaying. But GOD ſhall judge between them on the day of the reſurrection, concerning that about which they *now* diſagree. Who is more unjuſt than he who prohibiteth the temples GOD[b], that his name

[x] *None ſhall enter paradiſe, except* Jews *or* Chriſtians.] This paſſage was revealed on occaſion of a diſpute which *Mohammed* had with the *Jews* of *Medina*, and the *Chriſtians* of *Najrân*, each of them aſſerting that thoſe of their religion only ſhould be ſaved (1).

[y] *Reſigneth himſelf*, &c.] Literally, *reſigneth his face*, &c.

[z] *And doth that which is right*, &c.] That is, aſſerteth the unity of GOD (2).

[a] *The* Jews *ſay, the* Chriſtians *are grounded on nothing*, &c.] The *Jews* and *Chriſtians* are here accuſed of denying the truth of each other's religion, notwithſtanding they read the ſcriptures. Whereas the *Pentateuch* bears teſtimony to JESUS, and the Goſpel bears teſtimony to *Moſes* (3).

[b] *Who prohibiteth the temples of* GOD, *&c.*] Or hindereth men from paying their adorations to GOD in thoſe ſacred places. This paſſage, ſays *Jallalo'ddin*, was revealed on news being brought, that the *Romans* had ſpoiled the temple of *Jeruſalem*; or elſe when the idolatrous *Arabs* obſtructed *Mohammed*'s viſiting the temple of *Mecca*, in the expedition of *al Hodeibiya*, which happened in the 6th year of the *Hejra* (4).

(1) JALLALO'DDIN, *vit. Moham. p.* 84, *&c.* (2) *Idem.* (3) *Idem.* (4) *V.* ABU'LFEDAE

ſhould

ſhould be remembered therein, and who haſteth to deſtroy them? Thoſe men cannot enter therein, but with fear: they ſhall have ſhame in this world, and in the next a grievous puniſhment. To GOD *belongeth* the eaſt and the weſt; therefore, whitherſoever ye turn yourſelves to pray, there is the face of GOD; for GOD is omnipreſent and omniſcient. They ſay, GOD hath begotten children[c]: GOD forbid! To him *belongeth* whatever is in heaven, and on earth; all is poſſeſſed by him, the Creator of heaven and earth; and, when he decreeth a thing, he only ſaith unto it, Be, and it is. And they who know not *the ſcriptures* ſay, Unleſs GOD ſpeak unto us, or thou ſhew us a ſign, *we will not believe.* So ſaid thoſe before them, according to their ſaying: their hearts reſemble each other. We have already ſhewn manifeſt ſigns unto people who firmly believe; we have ſent thee in truth, a bearer of good tidings, and a preacher; and thou ſhalt not be queſtioned concerning the companions of hell. But the Jews will not be pleaſed with thee, neither the Chriſtians, until thou follow their religion; ſay, The direction of GOD is the *true* direction. And verily if thou follow their deſires, after the knowledge which hath been given thee, thou ſhalt find no patron or protector againſt GOD. They to whom we have given the book *of the KORAN* and who read it with its true reading, they believe therein; and whoever believe not therein, they ſhall periſh. O children of ISRAEL, remember my favour wherewith I have favoured you, and that I have preferred you before all nations; and dread the day wherein *one* ſoul ſhall not make ſatisfaction for *another* ſoul, neither ſhall any compenſation be accepted from them, nor ſhall any interceſſion avail, neither ſhall they be helped. *Remember* when the LORD tried ABRAHAM

[c] *They ſay* GOD *hath begotten children.*] This is ſpoken not only of the *Chriſtians*, and of the *Jews* (for they are accuſed of holding *Ozair*, or *Ezra*, to be the ſon of GOD,) but alſo the pagan *Arabs*, who imagined the angels to be daughters of GOD.

by *certain* words [d], which he fulfilled: *GOD* said, Verily I will constitute thee a model of religion [e] unto mankind; he answered, And also of my posterity; *GOD* said, My covenant doth not comprehend the ungodly. And when we appointed the *holy* house [f] *of MECCA* to be a place of resort for mankind, and a place of security; and *said*, Take the station of ABRAHAM [g] for a place of prayer; and we covenanted with ABRAHAM and ISMAEL, that they should cleanse my house for those who should compass *it*, and those who should be devoutly assiduous *there*, and those who should bow down and worship. And when ABRAHAM said, LORD, make this a territory of security, and bounteously bestow fruits on its inhabitants, such of them as believe in GOD and the last day; *GOD* answered, And whoever believeth not, I will bestow on him little, afterwards I will drive him to the punishment of *hell*-fire; an ill journey shall it be! And when ABRAHAM and ISMAEL raised the foundations of the house, *saying*, LORD, accept *it* from us, for thou art he who heareth and knoweth: LORD, make us also resigned [h] unto thee, and of our posterity a people resigned unto thee, and shew us our holy ceremonies, and be turned unto us, for thou art easy to be reconciled, and merci-

[d] *When the* LORD *tried* Abraham, *&c.*] GOD tried *Abraham* chiefly by commanding him to leave his native country, and to offer his son. But the commentators suppose the trial here meant related only to some particular ceremonies, such as circumcision, pilgrimage to the *Caaba*, several rites of purification, and the like (1).

[e] *A model of religion.*] I have rather expressed the meaning, than truly translated the *Arabic* word *Imâm*, which answers to the *Latin Antistes*. This title the *Mohammedans* give to their priests, who begin the prayers in their *Mosques*, and whom all the congregation follow.

[f] *The holy house, &c.*] That is, the *Caaba*, which is usually called, by way of eminence, *the House*. Of the sanctity of this building and other particulars relating to it, see the *Preliminary Discourse*, sect. IV.

[g] *The station of* Abraham, *&c.*] A place so called within the inner inclosure of the *Caaba*, where they pretend to shew the print of his foot in a stone (2).

[h] *Resigned.*] The *Arabic* word is *Moslemûna*, in the singular *Moslem*, which the *Mohammedans* take as a title peculiar to themselves. The *Europeans* generally write and pronounce it *Mussulman*.

(1) JALLALO'DDIN. (2) *See the Prelim. Disc.* § IV.

ful:

ful: LORD, ſend them likewiſe an apoſtle from among them, who may declare thy ſigns unto them, and teach them the book *of the KORAN* and wiſdom, and may purify them; for thou art mighty and wiſe. Who will be averſe to the religion of ABRAHAM, but he whoſe mind is infatuated? Surely we have choſen him in this world, and in that which is to come he ſhall be one of the righteous. When his LORD ſaid unto him, Reſign thyſelf *unto me*; he anſwered, I have reſigned myſelf unto the LORD of all creatures. And ABRAHAM bequeathed this *religion* to his children, and JACOB *did the ſame, ſaying*, My children, verily GOD hath choſen this religion for you, therefore die not, unleſs ye alſo be reſigned. Were ye preſent when JACOB was at the point of death? when he ſaid to his ſons, Whom will ye worſhip after me? They anſwered, We will worſhip thy GOD, and the GOD of thy fathers ABRAHAM, and ISMAEL, and ISAAC, one GOD, and to him will we be reſigned. That people are now paſſed away, they have what they have gained [i], and ye ſhall have what ye gain; and ye ſhall not be queſtioned concerning that which they have done. They ſay, Become Jews or Chriſtians that ye may be directed. Say, Nay, *we follow* the religion of ABRAHAM the orthodox, who was no idolater. Say, We believe in GOD, and that which hath been ſent down unto us, and that which hath been ſent down unto ABRAHAM, and ISMAEL, and ISAAC, and JACOB, and the tribes; and that which was delivered unto MOSES, and JESUS, and that which was delivered to the prophets from their LORD: we make no diſtinction between any of them, and to GOD are we reſigned. Now, if they believe according to what ye believe, they are ſurely directed; but, if they turn back, they are in ſchiſm. GOD ſhall ſupport thee

[i] *What they have gained,*] or deſerved. The *Mohammedan* notion, as to the imputation of moral actions to man, which they call *gain*, or *acquiſition*, is ſufficiently explained in the *Preliminary Diſcourſe*.

againſt

againſt them, for he is the hearer, the wiſe. The baptiſm of GOD[k] *have we received*, and who is better than GOD to baptize? him do we worſhip. Say, will ye diſpute with us concerning GOD[l], who is our LORD, and your LORD? we have our works, and ye have your works, and unto him are we ſincerely devoted. Will ye ſay, truly ABRAHAM, and ISMAEL, and ISAAC, and JACOB, and the tribes were Jews or Chriſtians? Say, Are ye wiſer, or GOD? And who is more unjuſt than he who hideth the teſtimony which he hath *received* from GOD[m]? But GOD is not regardleſs of that which ye do. That people are paſſed away, they have what they have gained, and ye ſhall have what ye gain, nor ſhall ye be queſtioned concerning that which they have done. * The fooliſh men will ſay, What hath turned them from their KEBLAH, towards which they formerly *prayed*[n]? Say, unto GOD *belongeth* the eaſt and the weſt: he directeth whom he pleaſeth into the right way. Thus have we placed you, *O ARABIANS*, an intermediate nation[o], that ye may be witneſſes againſt *the reſt*

[k] *The baptiſm of* GOD.] By *baptiſm* is to be underſtood the religion which GOD inſtituted in the beginning; becauſe the ſigns of it appear in the perſon who profeſſes it, as the ſigns of water appear in the cloaths of him that is baptized (1).

[l] *Will ye diſpute with us concerning* GOD?] Theſe words were revealed, becauſe the *Jews* inſiſted, that they firſt received the ſcriptures, that their KEBLAH was more ancient, and that no prophets could ariſe among the *Arabs*; and therefore, if *Mohammed* was a prophet, he muſt have been of their nation (2).

[m] *Who hideth the teſtimony*, &c.] The *Jews* are again accuſed of corrupting and ſuppreſſing the prophecies in the *Pentateuch* relating to *Mohammed*.

[n] *What hath turned them from their* KEBLAH, *&c.*] At firſt, *Mohammed* and his followers obſerved no particular rite in turning their faces towards any certain place, or quarter of the world, when they prayed; it being declared to be perfectly indifferent (3). Afterwards, when the prophet fled to *Medina*, he directed them to turn towards the temple of *Jeruſalem* (probably to ingratiate himſelf with the *Jews*,) which continued to be their KEBLAH for ſix or ſeven months; but. either finding the *Jews* too intractable, or deſpairing otherwiſe to gain the pagan *Arabs*, who could not forget their reſpect to the temple of *Mecca*, he ordered that prayers for the future ſhould be towards the laſt. This change was made in the ſecond year of the *Hejra* (4), and occaſioned many to fall from him, taking offence at his inconſtancy (5).

[o] *An intermediate nation*, &c.] This ſeems to be the ſenſe of the words; though the commentators (6) will have the meaning to be, that the *Arabians* are here declared to be a moſt *juſt* and *good* nation.

(1) JALLALO'DDIN. (2) *Idem.* (3) *See before*, p. 23. (4) *V.* ABULF. *vit. Moham. p.* 54. (5) JALLALO'DDIN. (6) *Idem*, YAHYA, *&c.*

of

of mankind, and that the apoſtle may be a witneſs againſt you. We appointed the KEBLAH towards which thou didſt formerly *pray*, only that we might know him who followeth the apoſtle, from him who turneth back on his heels [p]; though this *change* ſeem a great matter, unleſs unto thoſe whom GOD hath directed. But GOD will not render your faith of none effect [q]; for GOD is gracious and merciful unto man. We have ſeen thee turn about thy face towards heaven *with uncertainty*, but we will cauſe thee to turn thyſelf towards a KEBLAH that will pleaſe thee. Turn therefore thy face towards the holy temple *of MECCA*; and, wherever ye be, turn your faces towards that *place*. They to whom the ſcripture hath been given, know this to be truth from their LORD. GOD is not regardleſs of that which ye do. Verily, although thou ſhouldeſt ſhew unto thoſe, to whom the ſcripture hath been given, all kinds of ſigns, yet they will not follow thy KEBLAH, neither ſhalt thou follow their KEBLAH; nor will one part of them follow the KEBLAH of the other. And, if thou followeſt their deſires, after the knowledge which hath been given thee, verily thou wilt become *one* of the ungodly. They to whom we have given the ſcripture, know *our apoſtle*, even as they know their own children; but ſome of them hide the truth againſt their own knowledge. Truth is from thy LORD, therefore thou ſhalt not doubt. Every ſect hath a certain tract *of heaven* to which they turn themſelves *in prayer*; but do ye ſtrive to run after good things: wherever ye be, GOD will bring you all back *at the reſurrection*, for GOD is almighty. And, from what place ſoever thou comeſt forth, turn thy face towards the holy temple; for this is truth from thy LORD; neither is GOD regardleſs of that which ye do. From what place ſoever thou comeſt forth, turn thy face towards the holy temple; and,

[p] *Who turneth back on his heels*] I. e. returneth to *Judaiſm*.

[q] *God will not render your faith of none effect*;] Or will not ſuffer it to go without it's reward, while ye prayed towards *Jeruſalem*.

wherever

wherever ye be, thitherward turn your faces, left men have matter of diſpute againſt you; but as for thoſe among them who are unjuſt doers, fear them not, but fear me, that I may accompliſh my grace upon you, and that ye may be directed. As we have ſent unto you an apoſtle from among you[r], to rehearſe our ſigns unto you, and to purify you, and to teach you the book *of the KORAN* and wiſdom, and to teach you that which ye knew not: therefore remember me, and I will remember you, and give thanks unto me, and be not unbelievers. O *true* believers, beg aſſiſtance with patience and prayer, for GOD is with the patient. And ſay not of thoſe who are ſlain in fight for the religion of GOD[s], that *they are* dead; yea, *they are* living[t]: but ye do not underſtand. We will ſurely prove you *by afflicting you* in ſome meaſure with fear, and hunger, and decreaſe of wealth, and *loſs* of lives, and *ſcarcity* of fruits: but bear good tidings unto the patient; who, when a misfortune befalleth them, ſay, We are GOD's, and unto him ſhall we ſurely return[u]. Upon them ſhall be bleſſings from their LORD and mercy, and they are the rightly directed. Moreover SAFA and MERWAH are *two* of the monuments of GOD: whoever therefore goeth on pilgrimage to the temple *of MECCA* or viſiteth *it*, it ſhall be no crime in him if he compaſs them both[w]. And as for him who voluntarily performeth

[r] *An apoſtle from among you*;] That is, of your own nation.

[s] *Who are ſlain in fight for the religion of* GOD.] The original words are literally, *who are ſlain in the way of* GOD; by which expreſſion, frequently occurring in the *Korân*, is always meant war undertaken againſt unbelievers for the propagation of the *Mohammedan* faith.

[t] *They are living.*] The ſouls of martyrs (for ſuch they eſteem thoſe who die in battle againſt infidels) ſays *Jallalo'ddin*, are in the crops of green birds, which have liberty to fly wherever they pleaſe in paradiſe, and feed on the fruits thereof.

[u] *We are* GOD's, *and unto him ſhall we ſurely return.*] An expreſſion frequently in the mouths of the *Mohammedans*, when under any great affliction, or in any imminent danger.

[w] *Whoever goeth on pilgrimage to* Mecca, *it ſhall be no crime in him if he compaſs them both.*] *Safá* and *Merwa* are two mountains near *Mecca*, whereon were anciently two idols, to which the pagan *Arabs* uſed to pay a ſuperſtitious veneration (1). *Jallalo'ddin* ſays this paſſage was revealed

(1) *See the Prelim. Diſc. p.* 38.

performeth a good work; verily GOD is grateful and knowing. They who conceal any of the evident signs, or the direction which we have sent down, after what we have manifested unto men in the scripture, GOD shall curse them; and they who curse shall curse them[x]. But as for those who repent and amend, and make known *what they concealed*, I will be turned unto them, for I am easy to be reconciled and merciful. Surely they who believe not, and die in their unbelief, upon them shall be the curse of GOD, and of the angels, and of all men; they shall remain under it for ever, their punishment shall not be alleviated, neither shall they be regarded[y]. Your GOD is one GOD, there is no GOD but He, the most merciful. Now in the creation of heaven and earth, and the vicissitude of night and day, and in the ship which saileth in the sea, *loaden* with what is profitable for mankind, and in the *rain* water which GOD sendeth from heaven, quickening thereby the dead earth, and replenishing the same with all sorts of cattle, and in the change of winds, and the clouds that are compelled to do service[z] between heaven and earth, are signs

vealed because the followers of *Mohammed* made a scruple of going round these mountains, as the idolaters did. But the true reason of his allowing this relic of ancient superstition seems to be the difficulty he found in preventing it. *Abu'l Kásem Hebatu'llah* thinks these last words are abrogated by those other, *Who will reject the religion of* Abraham, *except he who hath infatuated his soul* (1)? So that he will have the meaning to be quite contrary to the letter, as if it had been, *it shall be no crime in him if he do not compass them.* However, the expositors are all against him (2), and the ceremony of running between these two hills is still observed at the pilgrimage (3).

x *They who curse shall curse them.*] That is, the angels, the believers, and all things in general (4). But *Yahya* interprets it of the curses which will be given to the wicked, when they cry out because of the punishment of the sepulchre (5), by all who hear them, that is, by all creatures except men and genii.

y *Regarded.*] Or, as *Jallalo'ddin* expounds it, GOD will not wait for their repentance.

z *Compelled.*] The original word signifies properly *that are pressed or compelled to do personal service without hire*; which kind of service is often exacted by the eastern princes of their subjects, and is called, by the *Greek* and *Latin* writers, *Angaria*. The

(1) *See before*, p. 25. (2) *V.* MARRACC. *in Alc.* p. 69, &c. (3) *See the Prelim. Disc. sect.* IV. (4) JALLALO'DDIN. (5) *See Prelim. Disc. sect.* IV.

signs to people of understanding: yet some men take idols beside God, and love them as with the love *due to* God; but the true believers are more fervent in love towards God. O that they who act unjustly did perceive[a], when they behold their punishment, that all power belongeth unto God, and that he is severe in punishing! When those who have been followed, shall separate themselves from their followers[b], and shall see the punishment, and the cords *of relation* between them shall be cut in sunder; the followers shall say, If we could return to *life*, we would separate ourselves from them, as they have *now* separated themselves from us. So God will shew them their works; they shall sigh grievously, and shall not come forth from the fire of *hell*. O men, eat of that which is lawful and good on the earth; and tread not in the steps of the devil, for he is your open enemy. Verily he commandeth you evil and wickedness, and that ye should say that of God which ye know not. And when it is said unto them *who believe not*, Follow that which God hath sent down; they answer, Nay, but we will follow that which we found our fathers practise. What? though their fathers knew nothing, and were not *rightly* directed? The unbelievers are like unto one who crieth aloud to that which heareth not so much as *his* calling, or the sound of *his* voice. *They are* deaf, dumb, and blind, therefore do they not understand. O true believers, eat of the good things which we have bestowed on you for food, and return thanks unto God, if ye serve him. Verily he hath

The scripture often mentions this sort of compulsion or force (1).

[a] *Oh that they who act unjustly did perceive*, &c.] Or it may be translated, *Although the ungodly will perceive*, &c. But some copies, instead of *yara*, in the third person, read *tara*, in the second; and then it must be rendered, *Oh if thou didst see when the ungodly behold their punishment*, &c.

[b] *When those who have been followed shall separate themselves from their followers*, &c.] That is, when the broachers or heads of new sects shall at the last day forsake or wash their hands of their disciples, as if they were not accomplices in their superstitions.

(1) *Matt.* v. 41. xxvii. 32, &c.

forbidden

forbidden you *to eat* that which dieth of itſelf, and blood, and ſwine's fleſh, and that on which any other name but GOD's hath been invocated [c]. But he who is forced by neceſſity, not luſting, nor returning *to tranſgreſs*, it ſhall be no crime in him *if he eat of thoſe things*, for GOD is gracious and merciful. Moreover, they who conceal *any part* of the ſcripture which GOD hath ſent down unto them, and ſell it for a ſmall price, they ſhall ſwallow into their bellies nothing but fire; GOD ſhall not ſpeak unto them on the day of reſurrection, neither ſhall he purify them, and they ſhall ſuffer a grievous puniſhment. Theſe are they who have ſold direction for error, and pardon for puniſhment: but how great will their ſuffering be in the fire! This *they ſhall endure*, becauſe GOD ſent down the book *of the KORAN* with truth, and they who diſagree concerning that book are certainly in a wide miſtake. It is not righteouſneſs that ye turn your faces *in prayer* towards the eaſt and the weſt, but righteouſneſs is of him who believeth in GOD and the laſt day, and the angels, and the ſcriptures, and the prophets; who giveth money for *GOD's* ſake unto his kindred, and unto orphans, and the needy, and the ſtranger, and thoſe who aſk, and for redemption of captives; who is conſtant at prayer, and giveth alms; and of thoſe who perform their covenant, when they have covenanted, and who behave themſelves patiently in adverſity, and hardſhips, and in time of violence: theſe are they who are true, and theſe are they who fear *GOD*. O true believers, the law of retaliation is ordained you for the ſlain: the free *ſhall die* for the free, and the ſervant for the ſervant, and a woman for a woman [d]: but he

[c] For this reaſon, whenever the *Mohammedans* kill any animal for food, they always ſay *Biſmi'llah*, or, *In the name of* GOD; which, if it be neglected, they think it not lawful to eat of it.

[d] *A woman for a woman.*] This is not to be ſtrictly taken; for, according to the *Sonna*, a man alſo is to be put to death for the murder of a woman. Regard is alſo to be had to difference in religion, ſo that a *Mohammedan*, though a ſlave, is not to be put to death for an infidel, though a freeman (1). But the civil magiſtrates do not think themſelves always obliged to conform to this laſt determination of the *Sonna*.

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whom

whom his brother ſhall forgive, may be proſecuted, *and obliged to make ſatisfaction* according to what is juſt, and a fine ſhall be ſet on him [e] with humanity. This is indulgence from your LORD, and mercy. And he who ſhall tranſgreſs after this, *by killing the murtherer*, ſhall ſuffer a grievous puniſhment. And in this law of retaliation ye have life, O ye of underſtanding! that peradventure ye may fear. It is ordained you, when any of you is at the point of death, if he leave any goods, *that he bequeath* a legacy to his parents, and kindred, according to what ſhall be reaſonable [f]. This is a duty *incumbent* on thoſe who fear *GOD*. But he who ſhall change *the legacy*, after he hath heard it *bequeathed by the dying perſon*, ſurely the ſin thereof ſhall be on thoſe who change it, for GOD is he who heareth and knoweth. Howbeit he who apprehendeth from the teſtator any miſtake or injuſtice, and ſhall compoſe *the matter* between them, that ſhall be no crime in him, for GOD is gracious and merciful. O true believers, a faſt is ordained you, as it was ordained unto thoſe before you, that ye may fear *GOD*. A certain number of days *ſhall ye faſt:* but he among you who ſhall be ſick, or on a journey, *ſhall faſt an equal* number of other days, and thoſe who can [g] *keep it, and do not*, muſt redeem *their neglect*

[e] This is the common practice in *Mohammedan* countries, particularly in *Perſia* (1); where the relations of the deceaſed may take their choice, either to have the murtherer put into their hands to be put to death; or elſe to accept of a pecuniary ſatisfaction.

[f] *That he bequeath a legacy to his parents and kindred, according to what ſhall be reaſonable*, &c.] That is, the legacy was not to exceed a third part of the teſtator's ſubſtance, nor to be given where there was no neceſſity. But this injunction is abrogated by the law concerning inheritances.

[g] *Thoſe who can keep it, and do not*, &c.] The expoſitors differ much about the meaning of this paſſage, thinking it very improbable that people ſhould be left intirely at liberty either to faſt or not, on compounding for it in this manner. *Jallalo'ddin* therefore ſuppoſes the negative particle *not* to be underſtood, and that this is allowed only to thoſe who are *not able* to faſt, by reaſon of age or dangerous ſickneſs: but afterwards he ſays, that in the beginning of *Mohammediſm* it was free for them to chuſe whether they would faſt or maintain a poor man; which liberty was ſoon after taken away, and this paſſage

(1) *V.* CHARDIN, *Voyage de Perſe, tom.* II. *p.* 299, *&c.*

neglect by maintaining of a poor man [h]. And he who voluntarily dealeth better *with the poor man than he is obliged*, this ſhall be better for him. But if ye faſt it will be better for you, if ye knew it. The month of RAMADAN *ſhall ye faſt*, in which the KORAN was ſent down *from heaven* [i], a direction unto men and declarations of direction, and the diſtinction *between good and evil*. Therefore, let him among you who ſhall be preſent [k] in this month, faſt the ſame *month*; but he who ſhall be ſick, or on a journey, *ſhall faſt* the *like* number of other days. GOD would *make this* an eaſe unto you, and would not *make it* a difficulty unto you; that ye may fulfil the number *of days*, and glorify GOD, for that he hath directed you, and that ye may give thanks. When my ſervants aſk thee concerning me, Verily I am near; I will hear the prayer of him that prayeth, when he prayeth unto me: but let them hearken unto me, and believe in me, that they may be rightly directed. It is lawful for you on the night of the faſt to go in unto your wives [l]; they are a garment [m] unto you, and ye are a garment unto them. GOD knoweth that ye defraud yourſelves *therein*, wherefore he turneth unto you, and forgiveth you. Now therefore go in

paſſage abrogated by the following, *Therefore let him who ſhall be preſent in this month, faſt the ſame month.* Yet this abrogation, he ſays, does not extend to women with child, or that give ſuck, leſt the infant ſuffer. *Al Zamakhſhari*, having firſt given an explanation of *Ebn Abbás*, who, by a different interpretation of the *Arabic* word *Yotikúnaho*, which ſignifies *can* or *are able* to faſt, renders it, *Thoſe who find great difficulty therein*, &c. adds an expoſition of his own, by ſuppoſing ſomething to be underſtood; according to which the ſenſe will be, *Thoſe who can faſt and yet have a legal excuſe to break it, muſt redeem it*, &c.

[h] *By maintaining of a poor man.*] According to the uſual quantity which a man eats in a day, and the cuſtom of the country (1).

[i] See the *Prelim. Diſc.* Sect. II.

[k] *Who ſhall be preſent*] i. e. at home, and not in a ſtrange country, where the faſt cannot be performed, or on a journey.

[l] *It is lawful for you on the faſt to go in unto your wives by night.*] In the beginning of *Mohammediſm*, during the faſt, they neither lay with their wives, nor ate nor drank after ſupper. But both are permitted by this paſſage (2).

[m] *They are a garment unto you*, &c.] A metaphorical expreſſion, to ſignify the mutual comfort a man and his wife find in each other.

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(2) JALLALO'DDIN.

unto them, and earneſtly deſire that which GOD ordaineth you; and eat and drink, until ye can plainly diſtinguiſh a white thread from a black thread by the day-break: then keep the faſt until night, and go not in unto them, but be conſtantly preſent in the places of worſhip. Theſe are the preſcribed bounds of GOD, therefore draw not near them *to tranſgreſs them.* Thus GOD declareth his ſigns unto men, that they may fear *him.* Conſume not your wealth among yourſelves in vain; nor preſent it unto judges, that ye may devour part of men's ſubſtance unjuſtly, againſt your own conſciences. They will aſk thee concerning the phaſes of the moon: anſwer, They are times appointed unto men, and to *ſhew the ſeaſon of* the pilgrimage to *MECCA.* It is not righteouſneſs that ye enter *your* houſes by the back parts thereof [n], but righteouſneſs is of him who feareth *GOD.* Therefore enter *your* houſes by their doors; and fear GOD, that ye may be happy. And fight for the religion of GOD againſt thoſe who fight againſt you, but tranſgreſs not *by attacking them firſt,* for GOD loveth not the tranſgreſſors. And kill them wherever ye find them, and turn them out of that whereof they have diſpoſſeſſed you; for temptation *to idolatry* is more grievous than ſlaughter: yet fight not againſt them in the holy temple, until they attack you therein; but if they attack you, ſlay them *there.* This ſhall be the reward of the infidels. But if they deſiſt, GOD is gracious and merciful. Fight therefore againſt them, until there be no temptation *to idolatry,* and the religion be GOD's: but if they deſiſt, then let there be no hoſtility, except againſt the ungodly. A ſacred month for a ſacred month [o], and the holy limits *of MECCA, if they attack you therein, do ye alſo attack them therein in* retaliation;

[n] Some of the *Arabs* had a ſuperſtitious cuſtom after they had been at *Mecca* (in pilgrimage, as it ſeems) on their return home, not to enter their houſe by the old door, but to make a hole through the back part for a paſſage, which practice is here reprehended.

[o] As to theſe ſacred months, wherein it was unlawful for the ancient *Arabs* to attack one another, ſee the *Prelim. Diſc.* ſect. VII.

and

and whoever tranſgreſſeth againſt you *by ſo doing*, do ye tranſgreſs againſt him in like manner as he hath tranſgreſſed againſt you, and fear GOD, and know that GOD is with thoſe who fear *him*. Contribute *out of your ſubſtance* toward the defence of the religion of GOD, and throw not *yourſelves* with your own hands into perdition [p]; and do good, for GOD loveth thoſe who do good. Perform the pilgrimage *of MECCA*, and the viſitation of GOD: and, if ye be beſieged, *ſend* that offering which ſhall be the eaſieſt; and ſhave not your heads [q], until your offering reacheth the place of ſacrifice. But, whoever among you is ſick, or is troubled with any diſtemper of the head, muſt redeem *the ſhaving his head* by faſting, or alms, or ſome offering [r]. When ye are ſecure *from enemies*, he who tarrieth in the viſitation *of the temple of MECCA*, until the pilgrimage, ſhall *bring* that offering which ſhall be the eaſieſt [s]. But he who findeth not *any thing to offer*, ſhall faſt three days in the pilgrimage, and ſeven when ye are returned: they ſhall be ten *days* complete. This *is incumbent* on him, whoſe family ſhall not be preſent at the holy temple. And fear GOD, and know that GOD is ſevere in puniſhing. The pilgrimage *muſt be performed in* the known months [t]; whoſoever, therefore, purpoſeth to go on pilgrimage therein, let him not know a woman, nor tranſgreſs, nor quarrel in the pilgrimage. The good

[p] *And throw not yourſelves away*, &c.] i. e. Be not acceſſary to your own deſtruction, by neglecting your contributions towards the wars againſt infidels, and thereby ſuffering them to gather ſtrength.

[q] *Shave not your heads*, &c.] For this was a ſign they had completed their vow, and performed all the ceremonies of the pilgrimage (1).

[r] *Shall redeem the ſhaving of his head by faſting*, &c.] That is, either by faſting three days, or feeding ſix poor people, or ſacrificing a ſheep.

[s] *He who tarrieth*, &c.] This paſſage is ſomewhat obſcure. *Yahya* interprets it of him who marries a wife during the viſitation, and performs the pilgrimage the year following. But *Jallalo'ddin* expounds it of him who ſtays within the ſacred incloſures, in order to complete the ceremonies, which (as it ſhould ſeem) he had not been able to do within the preſcribed time.

[t] *The known months*,] i. e. *Shawâl*, *Dhu'lkaada*, and *Dhu'lhaija*. See *Prelim. Diſc.* ſect. IV.

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which ye do, God knoweth it. Make provision *for your journey*; but the best provision is piety: and fear me, O ye of understanding. It shall be no crime in you, if ye seek an encrease from your Lord, *by trading during the pilgrimage.* And when ye go in procession [u] from Arafat [w], remember God near the holy monument [x]; and remember him for that he hath directed you, although ye were before this of *the number of* those who go astray. Therefore go in procession from whence the people go in procession, and ask pardon of God, for God is gracious and merciful. And when ye have finished your holy ceremonies, remember God, according as ye remember your fathers, or with a more reverend commemoration. There are some men who say, O Lord, give us *our portion* in this world; but such shall have no portion in the next life: and there are others who say, O Lord, give us good in this world, and also good in the next world, and deliver us from the torment of *hell* fire. They shall have a portion of that which they have gained: God is swift in taking an account [y]. Remember God the *appointed* number of days [z]: but if any haste *to depart from the valley of MINA* in two days, it shall be no crime in him. And if any tarry longer, it shall be

[u] *When ye go in procession,*] The original word signifies *to rush forward impetuously*; as the pilgrims do when they proceed from *Arafât* to *Mozdalifa*.

[w] *Arafât,*] A mountain near *Mecca*, so called, because *Adam* there met and *knew* his wife, after a long separation (1). Yet others say that *Gabriel*, afer he had instructed *Abraham* in all the sacred ceremonies, coming to *Arafât*, there asked him if he *knew* the ceremonies which had been shewn him; to which *Abraham* answering in the affirmative, the mountain had thence its name (2).

[x] *The holy monument*;] In *Arabic*, *al Mashar al harâm*. It is a mountain in the farther part of *Mozdalifa*, where it is said *Mohammed* stood praying and praising God, till his face became extremely shining (3). *Bobovius* calls it *Farkh* (4), but the true name seems to be *Kazah*; the variation being occasioned only by the different pointing of the *Arabic* letters.

[y] God *is swift in taking an account.*] For he will judge all creatures, says *Jallalo'ddin*, in the space of half a day.

[z] *The appointed number of days,*] i. e. Three days after slaying the sacrifices.

(1) *See before, p.* 3. *not.* e. (2) *Al* Hasan. (3) Jallalo'ddin. (4) Bobov. *de peregr. Meccana, p.* 15.

no

no crime in him, in him who feareth *GOD*. Therefore fear GOD, and know that unto him ye ſhall be gathered. There is a man who cauſeth thee to marvel [a] by his ſpeech concerning this preſent life, and calleth GOD to witneſs that which is in his heart, yet he is moſt intent in oppoſing thee; and, when he turneth away *from thee*, he haſteth to act corruptly in the earth, and to deſtroy that which is ſown, and ſpringeth up [b]: but GOD loveth not corrupt doing. And if one ſay unto him, Fear GOD; pride ſeizeth him, together with wickedneſs; but hell ſhall be his reward, and an unhappy couch ſhall it be. There is alſo a man who ſelleth his ſoul for the ſake of thoſe things which are pleaſing unto GOD [c]; and GOD is gracious unto *his* ſervants. O *true* believers, enter into the true religion wholly, and follow not the ſteps of SATAN, for he is your open enemy. If ye have ſlipped after the declarations *of our will* have come unto you, know that GOD is mighty and wiſe. Do *the infidels* expect leſs than that GOD ſhould come down to them overſhadowed with clouds, and the angels *alſo?* but the thing is decreed, and to GOD ſhall *all* things return. Aſk the children of ISRAEL how many evident ſigns we have ſhewed them; and whoever ſhall change the grace of GOD, after it ſhall have come unto him, verily GOD will be ſevere in puniſhing *him*. The preſent life was ordained for thoſe who believe not, and they laugh the faithful to ſcorn; but they who fear *GOD* ſhall be above them, on the day of the reſurrection: for GOD is

[a] *There is a man who cauſeth thee to marvel*, &c.] This perſon was *al Akhnas Ebn Shoraik*, a fair ſpoken diſſembler, who ſwore that he believed in *Mohammed*, and pretended to be one of his friends, and to contemn this world. But GOD here reveals to the prophet his hypocriſy and wickedneſs (1).

[b] *He haſteth to act corruptly, and to deſtroy that which is ſown*, &c.] Setting fire to his neighbour's corn, and killing his aſſes by night (2).

[c] *There is a man who ſelleth his ſoul*, &c.] The perſon here meant was one *Soheib*, who, being perſecuted by the idolators of *Mecca*, forſook all he had, and fled to *Medina* (3).

(1) JALLALO'DDIN. (2) *Idem.* (3) *Idem.*

bountiful unto whom he pleaſeth without meaſure. Mankind was of one faith, and GOD ſent prophets bearing good tidings, and denouncing threats, and ſent down with them the ſcripture in truth, that it might judge between men of that concerning which they diſagreed: and none diſagreed concerning it, except thoſe to whom the ſame *ſcriptures* were delivered, after the declarations *of GOD's will* had come unto them out of envy among themſelves. And GOD directed thoſe who believed, to that truth concerning which they diſagreed, by his will: for GOD directeth whom he pleaſeth into the right way. Did ye think ye ſhould enter paradiſe, when as yet no ſuch thing had happened unto you, as *hath happened* unto thoſe who have been before you? They ſuffered calamity, and tribulation, and were afflicted; ſo that the apoſtle, and they who believed with him, ſaid: When *will* the help of GOD *come?* Is not the help of GOD nigh? They will aſk thee what they ſhall beſtow *in alms:* Anſwer: The good which ye beſtow, *let it be given* to parents and kindred, and orphans, and the poor, and the ſtranger. Whatſoever good ye do, GOD knoweth it. War is injoined you *againſt the Infidels*; but this is hateful unto you: yet perchance ye hate a thing which is better for you, and perchance ye love a thing which is worſe for you: but GOD knoweth and ye know not. They will aſk thee concerning the ſacred month, *whether they may* war therein: Anſwer, To war therein is grievous; but to obſtruct the way of GOD, and infidelity towards him, and *to keep men* from the holy temple, and to drive out his people from thence, is more grievous in the ſight of GOD, and the temptation *to idolatry* is more grievous than to kill *in the ſacred months.* They will not ceaſe to war againſt you, until they turn you from your religion, if they be able: but whoever among you ſhall turn back from his religion, and die an infidel, their works ſhall be vain in this world, and the next; they ſhall be the companions of *hell* fire,

fire, they ſhall remain therein for ever. But they who believe, and who fly for the ſake of religion, and fight in GOD's cauſe, they ſhall hope for the mercy of GOD; for GOD is gracious and merciful. They will aſk thee concerning wine [d] and lots [e]: Anſwer, In both there is great ſin, and *alſo ſome* things of uſe unto men [f]: but their ſinfulneſs is greater than their uſe. They will aſk thee alſo what they ſhall beſtow *in alms*: Anſwer, What ye have to ſpare. Thus GOD ſheweth *his* ſigns unto you, that peradventure ye might ſeriouſly think of this preſent world, and of the next. They will alſo aſk thee concerning orphans: Anſwer, to deal righteouſly with them is beſt; and if ye intermeddle with *the management of what belongs to* them, *do them no wrong*; they are your brethren: GOD knoweth the corrupt dealer from the righteous; and if GOD pleaſe, he will ſurely diſtreſs you [g], for GOD is mighty and wiſe. Marry not *women who are* idolaters, until they believe: verily a maid ſervant who believeth, is better than an idolatreſs, although ſhe pleaſe you *more*. And give not *women who believe* in marriage to the idolaters, until they believe; for verily a ſervant, who is a true believer, is better than an idolater, though he pleaſe you *more*. They invite unto *hell* fire, but GOD inviteth unto paradiſe and pardon through his will, and de-

[d] *Wine.*] Under the name of *wine* all ſorts of ſtrong and inebriating liquors are comprehended (1).

[e] *Lots.*] The original word, *al Meiſer*, properly ſignifies a particular game performed with arrows, and much in uſe with the pagan *Arabs*. But by *lots* we are here to underſtand all games whatſoever, which are ſubject to chance or hazard, as dice, cards, *&c.* (2).

[f] *In both there is great ſin, and alſo ſome things of uſe.*] From theſe words ſome ſuppoſe that only drinking to exceſs and too frequent gaming are prohibited (3). And the moderate uſe of wine they alſo think is allowed by theſe words of the 16th chapter, *And of the fruits of palm-trees and grapes ye obtain inebriating drink, and alſo good nouriſhment.* But the more received opinion is, that both drinking wine or other ſtrong liquors in any quantity, and playing at any game of chance, are abſolutely forbidden (4).

[g] *God will ſurely diſtreſs you.*] *viz.* By his curſe, which will certainly bring to nothing what ye ſhall wrong the orphans of.

(1) *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. V. (2) *See ibid.* (3) *V.* JALLALO'DDIN & *al* ZAMAKHSHARI. (4) *See the Prelim. Diſc.* ubi ſup.

clareth his signs unto men, that they may remember. They will ask thee also, concerning the courses of women: Answer, They are a pollution: therefore separate yourselves from women in their courses, and go not near them, until they be cleansed. But when they are cleansed, go in unto them as GOD hath commanded you [h], for GOD loveth those who repent, and loveth those who are clean. Your wives are your tillage; go in therefore unto your tillage in what manner soever ye will [i]: and do first some act *that may be profitable* unto your souls [k]; and fear GOD, and know that ye must meet him; and bear good tidings unto the faithful. Make not GOD the object of your oaths [l], that ye will deal justly, and be devout, and make peace among men [m]; for GOD is he who heareth and knoweth. GOD will not punish you for an inconsiderate word [n] in your oaths; but he will punish you for that which your hearts have assented unto: GOD is merciful and gracious. They who vow *to abstain* from their wives, are *allowed* to wait four months [o], but if they go back

[h] *As God hath commanded you*;] But not while they have their courses, nor by using preposterous venery (1).

[i] *In what manner soever ye will*;] That is, in any posture; either standing, sitting, lying, forwards, or backwards. And this passage, it is said, was revealed to answer the *Jews*, who pretended that if a man lay with his wife backwards, he would get a more witty child (2). It has been imagined that these words allow that preposterous lust, which the commentators say is forbidden by the preceding; but I question whether this can be proved.

[k] *Do first some act that may profit your soul*;] i. e. Perform some act of devotion or charity.

[l] *Make not God the object of your oaths*;] i. e. So as to swear frequently by him. The word translated *object*, properly signifies a but to shoot at with arrows (3).

[m] *That ye will deal justly*, &c.] Some commentators (4) expound this negatively, *That ye will not deal justly nor be devout*, &c. For such wicked oaths, they say, were customary among the idolatrous inhabitants of *Mecca*; which gave occasion to the following saying of *Mohammed*: *When you swear to do a thing, and afterwards find it better to do otherwise; do that which is better, and make void your oath.*

[n] *An inconsiderate word*;] When a man swears inadvertently, and without design.

[o] *They who vow to abstain from their wives, are allowed to wait four months*;] That is, they may take so much time to consider; and shall not, by a rash oath, be obliged actually to divorce them.

(1) EBN ABBAS, JALLALO'DDIN. (2) JALLALO'DDIN, YAHYA, AL ZAMAKHSHARI. *Vid.* LUCRET. *de rer. nat. l.* iv. *v. l.* 1258, &c. (3) JALLALO'DDIN. (4) *Idem.* YAHYA.

from

from their vow, verily GOD is gracious and merciful [p]; and if they reſolve on a divorce, GOD is he who heareth and knoweth. The *women who are* divorced ſhall wait concerning themſelves until they have their courſes thrice [q], and it ſhall not be lawful for them to conceal that which GOD hath created in their wombs [r], if they believe in GOD and the laſt day; and their huſbands will act more juſtly to bring them back at this *time*, if they deſire a reconciliation. The women ought alſo *to behave towards their huſbands* in like manner as *their huſbands ſhould behave* towards them, according to what is juſt: but the men ought to have a ſuperiority over them. GOD is mighty and wiſe. Ye may divorce *your wives* twice; and then either retain *them* with humanity, or diſmiſs *them* with kindneſs. But it is not lawful for you to take away any thing of what ye have given them, unleſs both fear that they cannot obſerve the ordinances of GOD [s]. And if ye fear that they cannot obſerve the ordinances of GOD, it ſhall be no crime in either of them on account of that for which *the wife* ſhall redeem herſelf [t]. Theſe are

[p] *If they go back from their vow*, &c.] i. e. If they be reconciled to their wives within four months, or after, they may retain them; and GOD will diſpenſe with their oath.

[q] This is to be underſtood of thoſe only with whom the marriage has been conſummated; for as to the others there is no time limited. Thoſe who are not quite paſt childbearing (which a woman is reckoned to be after her courſes ceaſe, and ſhe is fifty-five lunar years, or about fifty three ſolar years old) and thoſe who are too young to have children, are allowed three months only; but they who are with child, muſt wait till they be delivered (1).

[r] *They ſhall not conceal what God hath created in their wombs*;] That is, they ſhall tell the real truth, whether they have their courſes, or be with child, or not; and ſhall not, by deceiving their huſband, obtain a ſeparation from him before the term be accompliſhed: leſt the firſt huſband's child ſhould, by that means, go to the ſecond; or the wife, in caſe of the firſt huſband's death, ſhould ſet up her child as his heir, or demand her maintenance during the time ſhe went with ſuch child, and the expences of her lying in, under pretence that ſhe waited not her full preſcribed time (2).

[s] *Unleſs both fear they cannot obſerve the ordinances of* GOD.] For if there be a ſettled averſion on either ſide, their continuing together may have very ill, and perhaps fatal conſequences.

[t] *It ſhall be no crime if ſhe redeem herſelf*;] i. e. If ſhe prevail on her huſband to diſmiſs her, by releaſing part of her dowry.

(1) JALLALO'DDIN. (2) YAHYA.

the

the ordinances of God; therefore tranſgreſs them not; for whoever tranſgreſſeth the ordinances of God, they are unjuſt doers. But if *the huſband* divorce her *a third time*, ſhe ſhall not be lawful for him again, until ſhe marry another huſband. But if he *alſo* divorce her, it ſhall be no crime in them, if they return to each other, if they think they can obſerve the ordinances of God; and theſe are the ordinances of God, he declareth them to people of underſtanding. But when ye divorce women, and they have fulfilled their preſcribed time, either retain them with humanity, or diſmiſs them with kindneſs; and retain them not by violence, ſo that ye tranſgreſs [u]; for he who doth this, ſurely injureth his own ſoul. And make not the ſigns of God a jeſt: but remember God's favour towards you, and that he hath ſent down unto you the book *of the KORAN*, and wiſdom, admoniſhing you thereby; and fear God, and know that God is omniſcient. But when ye have divorced *your* wives, and they have fulfilled their preſcribed time, hinder them not from marrying their huſbands, when they have agreed among themſelves according to what is honourable. This is given in admonition unto him among you who believeth in God, and the laſt day. This is moſt righteous for you, and moſt pure. God knoweth, but ye know not. Mothers *after they are divorced* ſhall give ſuck unto their children two full years, to him who deſireth the time of giving ſuck to be compleated; and the father ſhall be obliged to maintain them and cloath them *in the mean time*, according to that which ſhall be reaſonable. No perſon ſhall be obliged beyond his ability. A mother ſhall not be compelled *to what is unreaſonable* on account of her child, nor a father on account of his child. And the heir *of the father* ſhall be obliged to do in like manner. But if they chuſe to wean *the child before the end of two years*,

[u] *And retain them not by force ſo that ye tranſgreſs*;] *viz.* By obliging them to purchaſe their liberty with part of their dowry.

by

by common consent, and on mutual consideration, it shall be no crime in them. And if ye have a mind to provide a nurse for your children, it shall be no crime in you, in case ye fully pay what ye offer *her*, according to that which is just. And fear GOD, and know that GOD seeth whatsoever ye do. Such of you as die, and leave wives, *their wives* must wait concerning themselves four months and ten *days*[w], and when they shall have fulfilled their term, it shall be no crime in you, for that which they shall do with themselves[x], according to what is reasonable. GOD well knoweth that which ye do. And it shall be no crime in you, whether ye make public overtures of marriage unto *such* women, *within the said four months and ten days*, or whether ye conceal *such your designs* in your minds: GOD knoweth that ye will remember them. But make no promise unto them privately, unless ye speak honourable words; and resolve not on the knot of marriage, until the prescribed time be accomplished; and know that GOD knoweth that which is in your minds, therefore beware of him, and know that GOD is gracious and merciful. It shall be no crime in you, if ye divorce your wives, so long as ye have not touched them, nor settled any dowry on them. And provide for them (he who is at his ease must *provide* according to his circumstances, and he who is straitened according to his circumstances) necessaries, according to what shall be reasonable. *This is* a duty *incumbent* on the righteous. But if ye divorce them before ye have touched them, and have already settled a dowry on them, *ye shall give them* half of what ye have settled, unless they release *any part*, or he release *part* in whose hand the

[w] *The wives of such as die, must wait four months and ten days*;] That is to say, before they marry again; and this not only for decency sake, but that it may be known whether they be with child by the deceased or not

[x] *For that which they shall do with themselves*;] That is, if they leave off heir mourning weeds, and look out for new husbands.

knot

knot of marriage is[y]; and if ye releaſe *the whole*, it will approach nearer unto piety. And forget not liberality among you, for GOD ſeeth that which ye do. Carefully obſerve the *appointed* prayers, and the middle prayer[z], and be aſſiduous *therein*, with devotion towards GOD. But if ye fear *any danger*, *pray* on foot or on horſeback; and when ye are ſafe, remember GOD, how he hath taught you what as yet ye knew not. And ſuch of you as ſhall die and leave wives, ought to bequeath their wives a year's maintenance, without putting them out *of their houſes*: but if they go out *voluntarily*, it ſhall be no crime in you, for that which they ſhall do with themſelves, according to what ſhall be reaſonable; GOD is mighty and wiſe. And unto thoſe who are divorced, a reaſonable proviſion *is alſo due*; *this is* a duty *incumbent* on thoſe who fear *GOD*. Thus GOD declareth his ſigns unto you, that ye may underſtand. Haſt thou not conſidered thoſe, who left their habitations, (and they were thouſands) for fear of death[a]? And GOD

[y] *Unleſs they, or he in whoſe hand the knot of marriage is, releaſe it*, &c.] i. e. Unleſs the wife agree to take leſs than half her dowry, or unleſs the huſband be ſo generous as to give her more than half, or the whole; which is here approved of as moſt commendable.

[z] *The middle prayer.*] *Yahya* interprets this from a tradition of *Mohammed*, who being aſked which was the *middle prayer*, anſwered, The evening prayer which was inſtituted by the prophet *Solomon*. But *Jallalo'ddin* allows a greater latitude, and ſuppoſes it may be the afternoon prayer, the morning prayer, the noon prayer, or any other.

[a] *Haſt thou not conſidered thoſe who left their habitations for fear of death*, &c.] Theſe were ſome of the children of *Iſrael*, who abandoned their dwellings becauſe of a peſtilence; or, as others ſay, to avoid ſerving in a religious war: but as they fled, God ſtruck them all dead in a certain valley. About eight days or more after, when their bodies were corrupted, the prophet *Ezekiel* the ſon of *Buzi* happening to paſs that way, at the ſight of their bones, wept; whereupon God ſaid to him, *Call to them*, O Ezekiel, *and I will reſtore them to life*. And accordingly on the prophet's call they all aroſe, and lived ſeveral years after; but they retained the colour and ſtench of dead corps as long as they lived, and the cloaths they wore changed as black as pitch; which qualities they tranſmitted to their poſterity (1). As to the number of theſe *Iſraelites*, the commentators are not agreed; they who reckon leaſt ſay they were 3000, and they who reckon moſt, 70,000. This ſtory ſeems to have been taken from *Ezekiel*'s viſion of the reſurrection of dry bones (2). Some

(1) JALLALO'DDIN, YAHYA, ABULFEDA, *&c.* (2) *Ezek.* xxxvii. 1—10.

GOD said unto them, Die; then he reſtored them to life, for GOD is gracious towards mankind; but the greater part of men do not give thanks. Fight for the religion of GOD, and know that GOD is he who heareth and knoweth. Who is he that will lend unto GOD on good uſury [b]? verily he will double it unto him manifold; for GOD contracteth and extendeth *his hand* as he pleaſeth, and to him ſhall ye return. Haſt thou not conſidered the aſſembly of the children of ISRAEL, after *the time of* MOSES; when they ſaid unto their prophet *SAMUEL*, Set a king over us, that we may fight for the religion of GOD? *The prophet* anſwered, If ye are injoined to go to war, will ye be near refuſing to fight? They anſwered, And what ſhould ail us that we ſhould not fight for the religion of GOD, ſeeing we are diſpoſſeſſed of our habitations, and *deprived* of our children? But when they were injoined to go to war, they turned back, except a few of them: and GOD knew the ungodly. And their prophet ſaid unto them, Verily GOD hath ſet TALUT [c], king over you: they anſwered, How ſhall he reign over us, ſeeing we are more worthy of the kingdom than he, neither is he poſſeſſed of great riches? *SAMUEL* ſaid, Verily GOD hath choſen him before you, and hath cauſed him to increaſe in knowledge and ſtature, for GOD giveth his kingdom unto whom he pleaſeth; GOD is bounteous and wiſe. And their prophet ſaid unto them, Verily the ſign of his kingdom ſhall be, that the ark ſhall come unto you [d]: therein

Some of the *Mohammedan* writers will have *Ezekiel* to have been one of the judges of *Iſrael*, and to have ſucceeded *Othoniel* the ſon of *Caleb*. They alſo call this prophet *Ebn al ajúz*, or *the ſon of the old woman*; becauſe they ſay his mother obtained him by her prayers in her old age (1).

[b] *Who will lend unto God, on good uſury?*] *viz.* By contributing towards the eſtabliſhment of his true religion.

[c] *Tálút.*] So the *Mohammedans* name *Saul*.

[d] *The ark ſhall come unto you*, &c.] This ark, ſays *Jallalo'ddin*, contained the images of the prophets, and was ſent down from heaven to *Adam*, and at length came to the *Iſraelites*, who put great confidence therein, and

(1) *Al* THALABI, ABU ISHAK, *&c.*

therein shall be tranquillity from your LORD [e], and the relics [f] which have been left by the family of *Moses*, and the family of AARON; the angels shall bring it. Verily this shall be a sign unto you, if ye believe. And when TALUT departed with his soldiers, he said, Verily GOD will prove you by the river: for he who drinketh thereof, shall not be on my side (but he who shall not taste thereof he shall be on my side) except he who drinketh a draught out of his hand. And they drank thereof, except a few of them [g]. And when they had passed *the river*, he and those who believed with him, they said, We have no strength to-day, against JALUT [h] and his forces. But they who considered that they should meet GOD *at the resurrection*, said, How often hath a small army discomfited a great army, by the will of GOD? and GOD is with those who patiently persevere. And when they went forth to battle against JALUT and his forces, they said, O LORD, pour on us patience, and confirm our feet, and help us against the unbelieving people. Therefore they discomfited them, by the will of GOD, and DAVID slew JALUT. And GOD gave him the kingdom and wisdom, and taught

and continually carried it in the front of their army, till it was taken by the *Amalekites*. But on this occasion the angels brought it back, in the sight of all the people, and placed it at the feet of *Talût*; who was thereupon unanimously acknowledged for their king.

This relation seems to have arisen from some imperfect tradition of the taking and sending back the ark by the *Philistines* (1).

[e] *Therein shall be tranquillity from your Lord*;] That is, because of the great confidence the *Israelites* placed in it, having won several battles by its miraculous assistance. I imagine however, that the *Arabic* word *Sakinat*, which signifies *tranquillity* or *security of mind*, and is so understood by the commentators, may not improbably mean the *divine presence* or *glory*, which used to appear on the ark, and which the *Jews* express by the same word *Shechinah*.

[f] *The relics*, &c.] These were the shoes and rod of *Moses*, the mitre of *Aaron*, a pot of *Manna*, and the broken pieces of the two tables of the law (2).

[g] *And they drank thereof except a few*, &c.] The number of those who drank out of their hands were about 313 (3). It seems, that *Mohammed* has here confounded *Saul* with *Gideon*, who, by the divine direction, took with him against the *Midianites* such of his army only as lapped water out of their hands, which were 300 men (4).

[h] *Jálût*] Or *Goliah*.

(1) *Sam.* iv. v. and vi. (2) JALLALO'DDIN. (3) *Idem*, YAHYA. (4) *Judges* vii.

him

him his will[i]; and if GOD had not prevented men, the one by the other, verily the earth had been corrupted: but GOD is beneficent towards *his* creatures. These are the signs of GOD: we rehearse them unto thee with truth, and thou art surely *one* of those who have been sent *by GOD.* * These are the III. apostles; we have preferred some of them before others: some of them hath GOD spoken unto, and hath exalted the degree of others of them. And we gave unto JESUS the son of MARY manifest signs, and strengthened him with the holy spirit[k]. And if GOD had pleased, they who came after those *apostles*, would not have contended among themselves, after manifest signs had been shewn unto them. But they fell to variance; therefore some of them believed, and some of them believed not; and if GOD had so pleased, they would not have contended among themselves, but GOD doth what he will. O true believers, give *alms* of that which ye have bestowed on you, before the day cometh wherein there shall be no merchandizing, nor friendship, nor intercession. The infidels are unjust doers. GOD! there is no GOD but he[l]; the living, the self-subsisting: neither slumber nor sleep seizeth him; to him *belongeth* whatsoever is in heaven, and on earth. Who is he that can intercede with him, but through his good pleasure? He knoweth that which is past, and that which is to come to them, and they shall not comprehend any thing of his knowledge, but so far as he pleaseth. His throne is extended over

[i] *His will*;] Or *what he pleased* to teach him. *Yahya* most rationally understands hereby the divine revelations which *David* received from GOD; but *Jallalo'ddin*, the art of making coats of mail (which the *Mohammedans* believe was that prophet's peculiar trade) and the knowledge of the language of birds.

[k] See before p. 17. Note [h].

[l] *God! there is no God but he*, &c.] The following seven lines contain a magnificent description of the divine majesty and providence; but it must not be supposed the translation comes up to the dignity of the original. This passage is justly admired by the *Mohammedans*, who recite it in their prayers; and some of them wear it about them, engraved on an agate or other precious stone (1).

(1) *V.* ROBOV. *de prec. Moham. p.* 5. & RELAND. *Dissert. de gemmis Arab. p.* 235, 239.

heaven

heaven and earth [m], and the preſervation of both is no burthen unto him. He is the high, the mighty. Let there be no violence in religion [n]. Now is right direction manifeſtly diſtinguiſhed from deceit, whoever therefore ſhall deny TAGUT [o], and believe in GOD, he ſhall ſurely take hold on a ſtrong handle, which ſhall not be broken; GOD is he who heareth and ſeeth. GOD is the patron of thoſe who believe; he ſhall lead them out of darkneſs into light: but *as to* thoſe who believe not, their patrons are TAGUT; they ſhall lead them from the light into darkneſs; they ſhall be the companions of *hell* fire, they ſhall remain therein for ever. Haſt thou not conſidered him who diſputed with ABRAHAM concerning his LORD [p], becauſe GOD had given him the kingdom? When ABRAHAM ſaid, My LORD is he who giveth life, and killeth: he anſwered, I give life, and I kill. ABRAHAM ſaid, Verily GOD bringeth the ſun from the eaſt, now do thou bring it from the weſt. Whereupon the infidel was confounded; for GOD directeth not the ungodly people. Or *haſt thou not conſidered* how he *behaved* who paſſed by a city which had been deſtroyed, even to her foundations [q]? He ſaid, How ſhall

[m] *His throne is extended over heaven and earth*, &c.] This throne, in *Arabic* called *Corſi*, is, by the *Mohammedans*, ſuppoſed to be GOD's tribunal, or ſeat of juſtice; being placed under that other called *al Arſh*, which they ſay is his imperial throne. The *Corſi*, allegorically, ſignifies the divine providence, which ſuſtains and governs the heaven and the earth, and is infinitely above humane comprehenſion (1).

[n] *Let there be no violence in religion.*] This paſſage was particularly directed to ſome of *Mohammed*'s firſt proſelytes, who having ſons that had been brought up in idolatry or *Judaiſm*, would oblige them to embrace *Mohammediſm* by force (2).

[o] *Tâgût.*] This word properly ſignifies *an idol*, or whatever is worſhipped beſides GOD; particularly the two idols of the *Meccans*, *Allât* and *al Uzza*; and alſo the devil, or any ſeducer.

[p] *Him who diſputed with* Abraham, &c.] This was *Nimrod*; who, as the commentators ſay, to prove his power of life and death by ocular demonſtration, cauſed two men to be brought before him at the ſame time, one of whom he ſlew, and ſaved the other alive. As to this tyrant's perſecution of *Abraham*, ſee chap. 21. and the notes thereon.

[q] *Haſt thou not conſidered him who paſſed by a city which had been deſtroyed*, &c.] The perſon here meant was

(1) *Vid.* D'HERBELOT. *Bibl. Orient. Art.* Corſi. (2) JALLALO'DDIN.

ſhall GOD quicken this *city*, after ſhe hath been dead? And GOD cauſed him to die for an hundred years, and afterwards raiſed him to life. *And GOD* ſaid, How long haſt thou tarried *here?* He anſwered, A day, or part of a day. *GOD* ſaid, Nay, thou haſt tarried *here* an hundred years. Now look on thy food and thy drink, they are not yet corrupted; and look on thine aſs: and this *have we done* that we might make thee a ſign unto men. And look on the bones *of thine aſs*, how we raiſe them, and afterwards cloath them with fleſh. And when *this* was ſhewn unto him, he ſaid, I know that GOD is able to do all things. And when ABRAHAM ſaid, O LORD, ſhew me how thou wilt raiſe the dead[r]; *GOD* ſaid, Doſt thou not yet believe? He anſwered, Yea; but *I aſk this* that my heart may reſt at eaſe. *GOD* ſaid, take therefore four birds, and divide them[s]; then lay a part of them

was *Ozair* or *Ezra*, who, riding on an aſs by the ruins of *Jeruſalem*, after it had been deſtroyed by the *Chaldeans*, doubted in his mind by what means GOD could raiſe the city and its inhabitants again; whereupon GOD cauſed him to die, and he remained in that condition 100 years; at the end of which GOD reſtored him to life, and he found a baſket of figs and a cruſe of wine he had with him, not in the leaſt ſpoiled or corrupted, but his aſs was dead, the bones only remaining; and theſe, while the prophet looked on, were raiſed and cloathed with fleſh, becoming an aſs again, which being inſpired with life, began immediately to bray (1).

This apocryphal ſtory may perhaps have taken its riſe from *Nehemiah*'s viewing of the ruins of *Jeruſalem* (2).

[r] *When* Abraham *ſaid*, LORD *ſhew me how thou wilt raiſe the dead.*] The occaſion of this requeſt of *Abraham* is ſaid to have been on a doubt propoſed to him by the devil, in human form, how it was poſſible for the ſeveral parts of the corps of a man which lay on the ſea ſhore, and had been partly devoured by the wild beaſts, the birds, and the fiſh, to be brought together at the reſurrection (3).

[s] *Take four birds and divide them.*] Theſe birds, according to the commentators, were an eagle (a dove, ſay others) a peacock, a raven, and a cock; which *Abraham* cut to pieces, and mingled their fleſh and feathers together, or, as ſome tell us, pounded all in a mortar, and, dividing the maſs into four parts, laid them on ſo many mountains, but kept the heads, which he had preſerved whole, in his hand. Then he called them each by their name, and immediately one part flew to the other, till they all recovered their firſt ſhape, and then came to be joined to their reſpective heads (4). This

(1) JALLALO'DDIN, YAHYA, *&c. See* D'HERBEL. *Bibl. Orient. Art.* Ozair. (2) *Nehem.* ii. 12, *&c.* (3) *See* D'HERBELOT, *p.* 13. (4) JALLALO'DDIN. See D'HERBELOT, *ubi ſupra.*

them on every mountain; then call them, and they shall come swiftly unto thee, and know that God is mighty and wise. The similitude of those who lay out their substance for advancing the religion of God, is as a grain *of corn* which produceth seven ears, and in every ear an hundred grains; for God giveth twofold unto whom he pleaseth: God is bounteous and wise. They who lay out their substance for the religion of God, and afterwards follow not what they have *so* laid out by reproaches or mischief [t]; they shall have their reward with their Lord; upon them shall no fear come, neither shall they be grieved. A fair speech, and to forgive, is better than alms followed by mischief. God is rich and merciful. O true believers, make not your alms of none effect by reproaching, or mischief, as he who layeth out what he hath to appear unto men *to give alms*, and believeth not in God and the last day. The likeness of such a one is as a flint covered with earth, on which a violent rain falleth, and leaveth it hard. They cannot prosper in any thing which they have gained, for God directeth not the unbelieving people. And the likeness of those who lay out their substance from a desire to please God, and for an establishment for their souls, is as a garden on a hill, on which a violent rain falleth, and it bringeth forth its fruits twofold; and, if a violent rain falleth not on it, yet the dew *falleth thereon:* and God seeth that which ye do. Doth any of you desire to have a garden of palm trees and vines [u], through which rivers flow, wherein he may have all *kinds of* fruits, and that he may attain to old-age, and have a weak offspring? then a

This seems to be taken from *Abraham*'s sacrifice of birds mentioned by *Moses* (1), with some additional circumstances.

[t] *And follow not alms by reproaches or mischief*, &c.] i. e. Either by reproaching the person whom they have relieved, with what they have done for them; or by exposing his poverty to his prejudice (2).

[u] *Doth any of you desire a garden*, &c.] This garden is an emblem of alms given out of hypocrisy, or attended with reproaches, which perish, and will be of no service hereafter to the giver (3).

(1) *Gen.* xv. (2) Jallalo'ddin. (3) *Idem.*

violent

violent fiery wind shall strike it, so that it shall be burned. Thus GOD declareth his signs unto you, that ye may consider. O true believers bestow *alms* of the good things which ye have gained, and of that which we have produced for you out of the earth, and chuse not the bad thereof, to give it *in alms*, such as ye would not accept yourselves, otherwise than by connivance[w]: and know that GOD is rich and worthy to be praised. The devil threateneth you with poverty, and commandeth you filthy covetousness; but GOD promiseth you pardon from himself and abundance: GOD is bounteous and wise. He giveth wisdom unto whom he pleaseth; and he unto whom wisdom is given, hath received much good: but none will consider, except the *wise* of heart. And whatever alms ye shall give, or *whatever* vow ye shall vow, verily GOD knoweth it; but the ungodly shall have none to help *them*. If ye make your alms to appear, it is well; but if ye conceal them, and give them unto the poor, this *will be* better for you, and will atone for your sins: and GOD is well informed of that which ye do. The direction of them belongeth not unto thee; but GOD directeth whom he pleaseth. The good that ye shall give *in alms shall redound* unto yourselves; and ye shall not give unless out of desire of *seeing* the face of GOD[x]. And what good thing ye shall give *in alms*, it shall be repaid you, and ye shall not be treated unjustly; unto the poor who are wholly employed in fighting for the religion of GOD, and cannot go to and fro in the earth; whom the ignorant man thinketh rich, because of their modesty: thou shalt know them by this mark, they ask not men with importunity; and what good ye shall give *in alms*, verily GOD knoweth it. They who distribute *alms of* their substance night and day, in private and in

[w] *By connivance.*] That is, on having some amends made by the seller of such goods, either by abatement of the price, or giving something else to the buyer to make up the value.

[x] *Out of desire of seeing the face of* GOD.] i. e. For the sake of a reward hereafter, and not for any worldly consideration (1).

(1) JALLALO'DDIN.

public, shall have their reward with their LORD; on them shall no fear come, neither shall they be grieved. They who devour usury shall not arise *from the dead*, but as he ariseth whom SATAN hath infected by a touch [y]: this *shall happen to them* because they say, Truly selling is but as usury: and yet GOD hath permitted selling and forbidden usury. He therefore who, when there cometh unto him an admonition from his LORD, abstaineth *from usury for the future*, shall have what is past *forgiven him*, and his affair belongeth to GOD. But whoever returneth *to usury*, they shall be the companions of *hell* fire, they shall continue therein for ever. GOD shall take his blessing from usury, and shall increase alms: for GOD loveth no infidel, or ungodly person. But they who believe and do that which is right, and observe the stated times of prayer, and pay their legal alms, they shall have their reward with their LORD: there shall come no fear on them, neither shall they be grieved. O true believers, fear GOD, and remit that which remaineth of usury [z], if ye *really* believe; but if ye do it not, hearken unto war, *which is declared against you* from GOD and his apostle: yet if ye repent, ye shall have the capital of your money. Deal not unjustly *with others*, and ye shall not be dealt with unjustly. If there be any *debtor* under a difficulty *of paying his debt*, let *his creditor* wait till it be easy *for him to do it*; but if ye remit it as alms, it will be better for you, if ye knew it. And fear the day wherein ye shall return unto GOD, then shall every soul be paid what it hath gained, and they shall not be treated unjustly. O true believers, when ye bind yourselves one to the other in a debt for a certain time,

y *As he whom* Satan *hath infected*, &c.] viz. Like *dæmoniacs* or possessed persons, that is, in great horror and distraction of mind and convulsive agitation of body.

z *Remit what remaineth of usury.*] Or the interest due before usury was prohibited. For this some of *Mohammed*'s followers exacted of their debtors, supposing they lawfully might (1).

(1) JALLALO'DDIN.

write

write it down; and let a writer write between you according to juſtice, and let not the writer refuſe writing according to what GOD hath taught him; but let him write, and let him who oweth the debt dictate, and let him fear GOD his LORD, and not diminiſh aught thereof. But if he who oweth the debt be fooliſh, or weak, or be not able to dictate himſelf, let his agent [a] dictate according to equity; and call to witneſs two witneſſes of your *neighbouring* men; but if there be not two men, *let there be* a man and two women of thoſe whom ye ſhall chuſe for witneſſes: if one of thoſe *women* ſhould miſtake, the other of them will cauſe her to recollect. And the witneſſes ſhall not refuſe, whenſoever they ſhall be called. And diſdain not to write it down, be it a large *debt*, or be it a ſmall one, until its time *of payment*: this will be more juſt in the ſight of GOD, and more right for bearing witneſs, and more eaſy, that ye may not doubt. But if it be a preſent bargain which ye tranſact between yourſelves, it ſhall be no crime in you, if ye write it not down. And take witneſſes when ye ſell one to the other, and let no harm be done to the writer, nor to the witneſs; *which* if ye do, it will ſurely be injuſtice in you: and fear GOD, and GOD will inſtruct you, for GOD knoweth all things. And if ye be on a journey, and find no writer, *let* pledges *be* taken: but if one of you truſt the other, let him who is truſted return what he is truſted with, and fear GOD his LORD. And conceal not the teſtimony, for he who concealeth it, hath ſurely a wicked heart: GOD knoweth that which ye do. Whatever is in heaven and on earth is GOD's: and whether ye manifeſt that which is in your minds, or conceal it, GOD will call you to account for it, and will forgive whom he pleaſeth, and will puniſh whom he pleaſeth; for GOD is almighty. The apoſtle believeth in that which hath

[a] *His agent.*] Whoever manages his affairs, whether his father, heir, guardian, or interpreter (1).

(1) JALLALO'DDIN.

been sent down unto him from his LORD, and the faithful *also*. Every one *of them* believeth in GOD, and his angels, and his scriptures, and his apostles: we make no distinction at all between his apostles[b]. And they say, We have heard, and do obey: we *implore* thy mercy, O LORD, for unto thee must we return. GOD will not force any soul beyond its capacity: it shall have *the good* which it gaineth, and it shall suffer *the evil* which it gaineth. O LORD, punish us not, if we forget, or act sinfully: O LORD, lay not on us a burthen like that which thou hast laid on those who have been before us[c]; neither make us, O LORD, to bear what we have no strength to *bear*, but be favourable unto us, and forgive us, and spare us, and be merciful unto us. Thou art our patron, help us therefore against the unbelieving nations.

[b] *We make no distinction between his apostles.*] But this, say the *Mohammedans*, the *Jews* do, who receive *Moses*, but reject *Jesus*; and the *Christians*, who receive both those prophets, but reject *Mohammed* (1).

[c] *Lay not on us such a burthen, as thou didst lay on those who have been before us*;] That is, on the *Jews*, who, as the commentators tell us, were ordered to kill a man by way of atonement, to give one fourth of their substance in alms, and to cut off an unclean ulcerous part (2), and were forbidden to eat fat, of animals that divided the hoof, and were obliged to observe the sabbath, and other particulars wherein the *Mohammedans* are at liberty (3).

(1) JALLALO'DDIN. (2) *Idem.* (3) YAHYA.

CHAP. III.

Intitled, The family of IMRAN[a]; *revealed at* MEDINA.

In the name of the most merciful GOD.

A. L. M.[b]. There is no GOD but GOD, the living, the self-subsisting: He hath sent down unto thee the book *of the* KORAN with truth,

[a] *Imrân.*] This name is given in the *Korân* to the father of the virgin *Mary*. See below, p. 59.

[b] *A. L. M.*] For the meaning of these letters, the reader is referred to the Preliminary Discourse, Sect. III.

con-

confirming that which was *revealed* before it; for he had formerly ſent down the law, and the goſpel, a direction unto men; and he had alſo ſent down the diſtinction *between good and evil.* Verily thoſe who believe not the ſigns of GOD, ſhall ſuffer a grievous puniſhment; for GOD is mighty, able to revenge. Surely nothing is hidden from GOD, *of that which is* on earth, or in heaven: it is he who formeth you in the wombs, as he pleaſeth; there is no GOD but he, the mighty, the wiſe. It is he who hath ſent down unto thee the book, wherein are ſome verſes clear to be underſtood, they are the foundation of the book; and others are parabolical[c]. But they whoſe hearts are perverſe will follow that which is parabolical therein, out of love of ſchiſm, and a deſire of the interpretation thereof; yet none knoweth the interpretation thereof, except GOD. But they who are well grounded in knowledge ſay, We believe therein, the whole is from our LORD; and none will conſider except the prudent. O LORD, cauſe not our hearts to ſwerve *from truth*, after thou haſt directed us: and give us from thee mercy, for thou art he who giveth. O LORD, thou ſhalt ſurely gather mankind together, unto a day *of reſurrection:* there is no doubt of it, for GOD will not be contrary to the promiſe. As for the infidels, their wealth ſhall not profit them any thing, nor their children, againſt GOD: they ſhall be the fewel of *hell* fire. According to the wont of the people of PHARAOH, and of thoſe who went before them, they charged our ſigns

[c] *Wherein are ſome verſes clear to be underſtood,——and others are parabolical.*] This paſſage is tranſlated according to the expoſition of *al Zamakhſhari* and *al Beidâwi*, which ſeems to be the trueſt.

The contents of the *Korân* are here diſtinguiſhed into ſuch paſſages as are to be taken in the literal ſenſe, and ſuch as require a figurative acceptation. The former, being plain and obvious to be underſtood, compoſe the fundamental part, or, as the original expreſſes it, *the mother* of the book, and contain the principal doctrines and precepts; agreeably to, and conſiſtently with which, thoſe paſſages which are wrapt up in metaphors, and delivered in an ænigmatical, allegorical ſtile, are always to be interpreted (1).

(1) *See the Prelim. Diſc.* § III.

with a lye; but GOD caught them in their wickedness, and GOD is severe in punishing. Say unto those who believe not, Ye shall be overcome, and thrown together into hell; an unhappy couch *shall it be*. Ye have already had a miracle *shewn you* in the two armies, which attacked each other [d]: one army fought for GOD's true religion, but the other were infidels; they saw *the faithful* twice as many as themselves in *their* eye-sight; for GOD strengtheneth with his help whom he pleaseth. Surely herein was an example unto men of understanding. The love and eager desire of wives, and children, and sums heaped up of gold and silver, and excellent horses, and cattle, and land, is prepared for men: this is the provision of the present life; but unto GOD shall be the most excellent return. Say, Shall I declare unto you better *things* than this? For those

[d] *Ye have already had a miracle shewn you in the two armies*, &c.] The sign or miracle here meant, was the victory gained by *Mohammed* in the second year of the *Hejra*, over the idolatrous *Meccans*, headed by *Abu Sofián*, in the valley of *Bedr*, which is situate near the sea between *Mecca* and *Medina*. *Mohammed*'s forces consisted of no more than three hundred and nineteen men, but the enemies army of near a thousand; notwithstanding which odds, he put them to flight, having killed seventy of the principal *Koreish*, and taken as many prisoners, with the loss of only fourteen of his own men (1). This was the first victory obtained by the prophet, and though it may seem no very considerable action, yet it was of great advantage to him, and the foundation of all his future power and success. For which reason it is famous in the *Arabian* history, and more than once vaunted in the *Korân* (2), as an effect of the divine assistance. The miracle, it is said, consisting in three things; 1. *Mohammed*, by the direction of the angel *Gabriel*, took a handful of gravel and threw it towards the enemy in the attack, saying, *May their faces be confounded*; whereupon, they immediately turned their backs and fled. But, though the prophet seemingly threw the gravel himself, yet he is told in the *Korân* (3), that it was not he, but GOD, who threw it; that is to say, by the ministry of his angel. 2. The *Mohammedan* troops seemed to the infidels to be twice as many in number as themselves, which greatly discouraged them. And, 3. GOD sent down to their assistance first a thousand, and afterwards three thousand angels, led by *Gabriel*, mounted on his horse *Haizúm*; and, according to the *Korân* (4), these celestial auxiliaries really did all the execution, though *Mohammed*'s men imagined themselves did it, and fought stoutly at the same time.

(1) *See* ELMACIN. *p.* 5. HOTTINGER. *Hist. Orient. l.* 2. *c.* 4. ABULFED. *vit. Moham. p.* 56, *&c.* PRIDEAUX's *Life of Mahom. p.* 71, *&c.*
(2) *See this chap. below, & chap.* 8, *&* 32. (3) *Chap.* 8. *not far from the beginning.* (4) *Ibid.*

who

who are devout *are prepared*, with their LORD, gardens through which rivers flow; therein ſhall they continue for ever: and *they ſhall enjoy* wives free from impurity, and the favour of GOD; for GOD regardeth *his* ſervants; who ſay, O LORD, we do ſincerely believe; forgive us therefore our ſins, and deliver us from the pain of *hell* fire: the patient, and the lovers of truth, and the devout, and the almſgivers, and thoſe who aſk pardon *early* in the morning. GOD hath borne witneſs that there is no GOD but he; and the angels, and *thoſe who are* endowed with wiſdom, *profeſs the ſame*; who executeth righteouſneſs; there is no GOD but he; the mighty, the wiſe. Verily the *true* religion, in the ſight of GOD, is ISLAM [e]; and they who had received the ſcriptures diſſented not *therefrom*, until after the knowledge *of GOD's unity* had come unto them, out of envy among themſelves; but whoſoever believeth not in the ſigns of GOD, verily GOD will be ſwift in *bringing him to* account. If they diſpute with thee, ſay, I have reſigned myſelf unto GOD, and he who followeth me *doth the ſame*: and ſay unto them who have received the ſcriptures, and to the ignorant [f], Do ye profeſs *the religion of* ISLAM? now if they embrace ISLAM, they are ſurely directed; but if they turn their backs, verily unto thee *belongeth* preaching *only*; for GOD regardeth his ſervants. And unto thoſe who believe not in the ſigns of GOD, and ſlay the prophets without a cauſe, and put thoſe men to death who teach juſtice; denounce unto them a painful puniſhment. Theſe are they whoſe works periſh in this world, and in that which is to come; and they ſhall have none to help them. Haſt thou not obſerved thoſe unto whom part of

[e] *Iſlâm.*] The proper name of the *Mohammedan* religion, which ſignifies the *reſigning* or *devoting one's ſelf* entirely to GOD and his ſervice. This, they ſay, is the religion which all the prophets were ſent to teach, being founded on the unity of GOD (1).

[f] *The ignorant*;] i. e. The pagan *Arabs*, who had no knowledge of the ſcriptures (2).

(1) JALLALO'DDIN, *Al* BEIDAWI. (2) *Iidem.*

the

the ſcripture was given[g]? They were called unto the book of God, that it might judge between them[h]; then ſome of them turned their backs, and retired afar off. This *they did* becauſe they ſaid, The fire *of hell* ſhall by no means touch us, but for a *certain* number of days[i]: and that which they had falſly deviſed, hath deceived them in their religion. How then *will it be with them*, when we ſhall gather them together at the day *of judgment*[k], of which there is no doubt; and every ſoul ſhall be paid that which it hath gained, neither ſhall they be

g *Thoſe unto whom part of the ſcripture was given*;] That is, the *Jews*.

h *They were called unto the book of* God, *&c.*] This paſſage was revealed on occaſion of a diſpute *Mohammed* had with ſome *Jews*, which is differently related by the commentators.

Al Beidâwi ſays, that, *Mohammed* going one day into a *Jewiſh* ſynagogue, *Na'im Ebn Amru* and *al Hareth Ebn Zeid* aſked him what religion he was of? To which he anſwering, Of the religion of *Abraham*; they replied, *Abraham* was a *Jew*; but, on *Mohammed*'s propoſing that the *Pentateuch* might decide the queſtion, they would by no means agree to at.

But *Jallalo'ddin* tells us, That, two perſons of the *Jewiſh* religion having committed adultery, their puniſhment was referred to *Mohammed*, who gave ſentence that they ſhould be ſtoned, according to the law of *Moſes*. This the *Jews* refuſed to ſubmit to, alledging, there was no ſuch command in the *Pentateuch*: but, on *Mohammed*'s appealing to the book, the ſaid law was found therein. Whereupon the criminals were ſtoned, to the great mortification of the *Jews*.

It is very remarkable that this law of *Moſes* concerning the ſtoning of adulterers is mentioned in the *New Teſtament* (1) (though I know ſome diſpute the authenticity of that whole paſſage) but is not now to be found, either in the *Hebrew* or *Samaritan Pentateuch*, or in the *Septuagint*; it being only ſaid that ſuch *ſhall be put to death* (2). This omiſſion is inſiſted on by the *Mohammedans* as one inſtance of the corruption of the law of *Moſes* by the *Jews*.

It is alſo obſervable that there was a verſe once extant in the *Korân*, commanding adulterers to be ſtoned; and the commentators ſay the words only are abrogated, the ſenſe or law ſtill remaining in force (3).

i *A certain number of days*;] i. e. Forty, the time their forefathers worſhipped the calf (4). *Al Beidâwi* adds, that ſome of them pretended their puniſhment was to laſt but ſeven days, that is, a day for every thouſand years which they ſuppoſed the world was to endure; and that they imagined they were to be ſo mildly dealt with, either by reaſon of the interceſſion of their fathers the prophets, or becauſe God had promiſed *Jacob*, that his offspring ſhould be puniſhed but ſlightly.

k *How will it be with them*, &c.] The *Mohammedans* have a tradition, that the firſt banner of the infidels that ſhall be ſet up, on the day of judgment, will be that of the *Jews*; and that God will firſt reproach them, with their wickedneſs, over the heads of thoſe who are preſent, and then order them to hell (5).

(1) *John* viii. 5. (2) *Lev.* xx. 10. *See* Whiston's *Eſſay towards reſtoring the true text of the* Old Teſt. *p.* 99, 100. (3) *See the Prelim. Diſc.* § III. (4) *See before, p.* 16. *Note* e. (5) *Al* Beidawi.

treated

treated unjuſtly? Say, O GOD, who poſſeſſeſt the kingdom; thou giveſt the kingdom unto whom thou wilt, and thou takeſt away the kingdom from whom thou wilt: Thou exalteſt whom thou wilt, and thou humbleſt whom thou wilt. In thy hand is good, for thou art almighty. Thou makeſt the night to ſucceed the day: thou bringeſt forth the living out of the dead, and thou bringeſt forth the dead out of the living[l]; and provideſt food for whom thou wilt without meaſure. Let not the faithful take the infidels for their protectors, rather than the faithful: he who doth this, ſhall not be *protected* of GOD at all; unleſs ye fear any danger from them: but GOD warneth you to beware of himſelf; for unto GOD muſt ye return. Say, Whether ye conceal that which is in your breaſts, or whether ye declare it, GOD knoweth it; for he knoweth whatever is in heaven, and whatever is on earth: GOD is almighty. On the *laſt* day every ſoul ſhall find the good which it hath wrought, preſent; and the evil which it hath wrought, it ſhall wiſh that between itſelf and that were a wide diſtance: but GOD warneth you to beware of himſelf; for GOD is gracious unto his ſervants. Say, if ye love GOD, follow me: *then* GOD ſhall love you, and forgive you your ſins; for GOD is gracious, and merciful. Say, Obey GOD, and *his* apoſtle: but if ye go back, verily GOD loveth not the unbelievers. GOD hath ſurely choſen ADAM, and NOAH, and the family of ABRAHAM, and the family of IMRAN[m] above the *reſt of the* world;

[l] *Thou bringeſt forth the living out of the dead, and the dead out of the living*;] As a man from ſeed, and a bird from an egg; and *vice verſâ* (1).

[m] *Imrân*,] Or *Amrân*, is the name of two ſeveral perſons, according to the *Mohammedan* tradition. One was the father of *Moſes* and *Aaron*; and the other was the father of the virgin *Mary* (1); but he is called, by ſome *Chriſtian* writers *Joachim*. The commentators ſuppoſe the firſt, or rather both of them to be meant in this place; however, the perſon intended in the next paſſage, it is agreed, was the latter; who, beſides *Mary*, the mother of JESUS, had alſo a ſon named *Aaron* (2), and another daughter, named *Iſhá* (or *Elizabeth*) who married *Zacharias*, and was the mother of *John* the *Baptiſt*; whence that prophet and JESUS are uſually called by the

(1) JALLALO'DDIN. (2) *Al* ZAMAKHSHARI, *al* BEIDAWI.

world; a race *descending* the one from the other: GOD is he who heareth and knoweth. *Remember* when the wife of IMRAN [n] said, LORD, verily I have vowed unto thee that which is in my womb, to be dedicated *to thy service* [o]: accept *it* therefore of me; for thou art he who heareth and knoweth. And when she was delivered of it, she said, LORD, verily I have brought forth a female, (and GOD well knew what she had brought forth) and a male is not as a

the *Mohammedans*, *The two sons of the aunt*, or the cousin-germans.

From the identity of names it has been generally imagined by *Christian* writers (1) that the *Korân* here confounds *Mary*, the mother of JESUS, with *Mary* or *Miriam*, the sister of *Moses* and *Aaron*; which intolerable anachronism, if it were certain, is sufficient of itself to destroy the pretended authority of this book. But though *Mohammed* may be supposed to have been ignorant enough in ancient history and chronology, to have committed so gross a blunder; yet I do not see how it can be made out from the words of the *Korân*. For it does not follow, because two persons have the same name, and have each a father and brother who bear the same names, that they must therefore necessarily be the same person: besides, such a mistake is inconsistent with a number of other places in the *Korân*, whereby it manifestly appears, that *Mohammed* well knew, and asserted, that *Moses* preceded JESUS several ages. And the commentators accordingly fail not to tell us, that there had passed about one thousand eight hundred years between *Amrân* the father of *Moses*, and *Amrân* the father of the virgin *Mary*: they also make them the sons of different persons; the first, they say, was the son of *Yeshar*, or *Izhar*, (though he was really his brother) (2) the son of *Kâhath*, the son of *Levi*; and the other was the son of *Mathân* (3), whose genealogy they trace, but in a very corrupt and imperfect manner, up to *David*, and thence to *Adam* (4).

It must be observed, that though the virgin *Mary* is called, in the *Korân* (5), the sister of *Aaron*, yet she is no where called the sister of *Moses*; however some *Mohammedan* writers have imagined, that the same individual *Mary*, the sister of *Moses*, was miraculously preserved alive from his time till that of JESUS CHRIST, purposely to become the mother of the latter (6).

[n] *The wife of* Imrân.] The *Imrân* here mentioned, was the father of the virgin *Mary*, and his wife's name was *Hannah* or *Ann*, the daughter of *Fakudh*. This woman, say the commentators, being aged, and barren, on seeing a bird feed her young ones, became very desirous of issue, and begged a child of GOD, promising to consecrate it to his service in the temple; whereupon she had a child, but it proved a daughter (7).

[o] *Dedicated to thy service.*] The *Arabic* word is *free*; but here signifies particularly one that is *free* or detached from all wordly desires and occupations, and wholly devoted to GOD's service (8).

(1) *Korân, c.* 19. (2) *V.* RELAND. *de rel. Moh. p*, 211. MARRACC. *in Alc. p*, 115, *&c.* PRIDEAUX, *letter to the Deists, p.* 185. (3) *Exod.* vi. 18. (4) *Al* ZAMAKH. *al* BEIDAWI. (5) *V.* RELAND. *ubi sup.* D'HERBELOT. *Bibl. Orient. p.* 583. (6) *Chap.* 19. (7) *V.* GUADAGNOL. *Apolog. pro rel. Christ. contra Ahmed Ebn Zein al Abedin. p.* 279. (8) *Al* BEIDAWI, *al* THALABI.

female:

female [p]: I have called her MARY; and I commend her to thy protection, and *also* her iſſue, againſt SATAN driven away with ſtones [q]. Therefore the LORD accepted her with a gracious acceptance [r], and cauſed her to bear an excellent offſpring. And ZACHARIAS took care of *the child*; whenever ZACHARIAS went into the chamber to her, he found proviſions with her [s]: *and* he ſaid, O MARY, whence hadſt thou this? ſhe anſwered, This is from GOD: for GOD provideth for whom he pleaſeth without meaſure [t]. There ZACHARIAS called on his LORD, *and* ſaid, LORD, give me from thee a good offſpring,

[p] *A male is not as a female*;] Becauſe a female could not miniſter in the temple as a male could (1).

[q] Satan *driven away with ſtones.*] This expreſſion alludes to a tradition, that *Abraham*, when the devil tempted him to diſobey GOD in not ſacrificing his ſon, drove the fiend away by throwing ſtones at him; in memory of which the *Mohammedans*, at the pilgrimage of *Mecca*, throw a certain number of ſtones at the devil, with certain ceremonies, in the valley of *Mina* (2).

It is not improbable that the pretended immaculate conception of the virgin *Mary* is intimated in this paſſage. For, according to a tradition of *Mohammed*, every perſon that comes into the world, is touched at his birth by the devil, and therefore cries out, *Mary* and her ſon only excepted; between whom, and the evil ſpirit, GOD placed a veil, ſo that his touch did not reach them (3). And for this reaſon they ſay, neither of them were guilty of any ſin, like the reſt of the children of *Adam* (4); which peculiar grace they obtained by virtue of this recommendation of them by *Hannah* to GOD's protection.

[r] *The* LORD *accepted her*, &c.] Though the child happened not to be a male, yet her mother preſented her to the prieſts who had the care of the temple, as one dedicated to GOD; and, they having received her, ſhe was committed to the care of *Zacharias*, as will be obſerved by and by, and he built her an apartment in the temple, and ſupplied her with neceſſaries (5).

[s] *Whenever* Zacharias *went into the chamber, he found proviſions with her*, &c.] The commentators ſay that none went into *Mary*'s apartment but *Zacharias* himſelf, and that he locked ſeven doors upon her; yet he found ſhe had always winter fruits in ſummer, and ſummer fruits in winter (6).

[t] There is a ſtory of *Fâtema, Mohammed*'s daughter, that ſhe once brought two loaves and a piece of fleſh to her father, who returned them to her, and having called for her again, when ſhe uncovered the diſh, it was full of bread and meat; and on *Mohammed*'s aſking her whence ſhe had it? ſhe anſwered in the words of this paſſage, *This is from* GOD; *for* GOD *provideth for whom he pleaſeth without meaſure.* Whereupon he bleſſed GOD, who thus favoured her, as he had the moſt excellent of the daughters of *Iſrael* (7).

(1) JALLALO'DDIN. (2) *See the Prelim. Diſc.* § IV. (3) JALLALO'DDIN. *al* BEIDAWI. (4) KITABA. (5) JALLALO'DDIN. *al* BEIDAWI. *V.* LUD. *de* DIEU, *in not. ad Hiſt. Chriſti Xaverii, p.* 542. (6) *Al* BEIDAWI. *V. de* DIEU, *ub. ſupr. p.* 548. (7) *Al* BEIDAWI.

for

for thou art the hearer of prayer. And the angels[u] called to him, while he ſtood praying in the chamber, *ſaying*, Verily God promiſeth thee *a ſon named* John, who ſhall bear witneſs to the Word[w] *which cometh* from God; an honourable perſon, chaſt[x], and one of the righteous prophets. He anſwered, Lord, how ſhall I have a ſon, when old-age hath overtaken me[y], and my wife is barren? *The angel* ſaid, So God doth that which he pleaſeth. ZACHARIAS anſwered, Lord, give me a ſign. *The angel* ſaid, Thy ſign ſhall be, that thou ſhalt ſpeak unto no man[z] for three days, otherwiſe than by geſture: remember thy Lord often, and praiſe *him* evening and morning. And when the angels ſaid, O Mary, verily God hath choſen thee, and hath purified thee, and hath choſen thee above *all* the women of the world: O Mary, be devout towards thy Lord, and worſhip, and bow down with thoſe who bow down. This is a ſecret hiſtory: we reveal it unto thee, although thou waſt not preſent with them when they threw in their rods *to caſt lots* which of them ſhould have the education of Mary[a]; neither waſt thou with them, when they ſtrove among

[u] *The angels*;] Though the word be in the plural, yet the commentators ſay, it was the angel *Gabriel* only. The ſame is to be underſtood where it occurs in the following paſſages.

[w] *The Word*;] That is Jesus; who, *al Beidâwi* ſays, is ſo called, becauſe he was conceived by the word or command of God, without a father.

[x] *Choſt.*] The original word ſignifies one who refrains not only from women, but from all other worldly delights and deſires. *Al Beidâwi* mentions a tradition, that during his childhood ſome boys invited him to play, but he refuſed, ſaying that he was not created to play.

[y] *When old-age hath overtaken me*, &c.] *Zacharias* was then ninety-nine years old, and his wife eighty-nine (1).

[z] *Thou ſhalt ſpeak unto no man for three days*;] Though he could not ſpeak to any body elſe, yet his tongue was at liberty to praiſe God; as he is directed to do by the following words.

[a] *When they threw in their rods*, &c.] When *Mary* was firſt brought to the temple, the prieſts, becauſe ſhe was the daughter of one of their chiefs, diſputed among themſelves, who ſhould have the education of her. *Zacharias* inſiſted that he ought to be preferred, becauſe he had married her aunt; but, the others not conſenting that it ſhould be ſo, they agreed to decide the matter by caſting of lots: whereupon twenty-ſeven of them went to the river *Jordan*, and threw

(1) *Al* Beidawi.

among themſelves. When the angels ſaid, O MARY, verily GOD ſendeth thee good tidings, *that thou ſhalt bear* the word, *proceeding* from himſelf; his name ſhall be CHRIST JESUS the ſon of MARY, honourable in this world and in the world to come, and *one* of thoſe who approach near *to the preſence of GOD*; and he ſhall ſpeak unto men in the cradle[b], and when he is grown up[c]; and he ſhall be *one* of the righteous: ſhe anſwered, LORD, how ſhall I have a ſon, ſince a man hath not touched me? *the angel* ſaid, So GOD createth that which he pleaſeth: when he decreeth a thing, he only ſaith unto it, Be, and it is: *GOD* ſhall teach him the ſcripture, and wiſdom, and the law, and the goſpel; *and ſhall appoint him his* apoſtle to the children of ISRAEL; *and he ſhall ſay*, Verily I come unto you with a ſign from your LORD; for I will make before you, of

threw in their rods (or arrows without heads or feathers, ſuch as the *Arabs* uſed for the ſame purpoſe) on which they had written ſome paſſages of the law, but they all ſunk, except that of *Zacharias*, which floated on the water; and he had thereupon the care of the child committed to him (1).

[b] *He ſhall ſpeak unto men in the cradle.*] Beſides an inſtance of this given in the *Korân* itſelf (2), which I ſhall not here anticipate, a *Mohammedan* writer (of no very great credit indeed) tells two ſtories, one of JESUS's ſpeaking while in his mother's womb, to reprove her couſin *Joſeph* for his unjuſt ſuſpicions of her (3); and another of his giving an anſwer to the ſame perſon ſoon after he was born. For *Joſeph* being ſent by *Zacharias* to ſeek *Mary* (who had gone out of the city by night to conceal her delivery) and, having found her, began to expoſtulate with her, but ſhe made no reply; whereupon the child ſpoke theſe words: *Rejoice, O* Joſeph, *and be of good chear*; *for* GOD *hath brought me forth from the darkneſs of the womb, to the light of the world*; *and I ſhall go to the children of* Iſrael, *and invite them to the obedience of* GOD (4).

Theſe ſeem all to have been taken from ſome fabulous traditions of the eaſtern *Chriſtians*, one of which is preſerved to us in the ſpurious goſpel of the *Infancy* of CHRIST; where we read that JESUS ſpoke while yet in the cradle, and ſaid to his mother, *Verily I am* JESUS *the ſon of* GOD, *the word which thou haſt brought forth, as the angel* Gabriel *did declare unto thee*; *and my father hath ſent me to ſave the world* (5).

[c] *And when he is grown up.*] The *Arabic* word properly ſignifies a man in full age, that is, between thirty or thirty-four and fifty-one; and the paſſage may relate to CHRIST's preaching here on earth. But, as he had ſcarce attained this age when he was taken up into heaven, the commentators chuſe to underſtand it of his ſecond coming (6).

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, *&c.* (2) *Chap.* 19. (3) *V.* SIKII *notas in Evang. Infant. p.* 5. (4) *Al* KESSAI, *apud eundem.* (5) *Evang. Infant. p.* 5. (6) JALLALO'DDIN, *Al* BEIDAWI.

clay,

clay, as it were the figure of a bird[d]; then I will breathe thereon, and it shall become a bird, by the permission of GOD[e]: and I will heal him that hath been blind from his birth; and the leper: and I will raise the dead[f] by the permission of GOD: and I will prophesy unto you what ye eat, and what ye lay up for store in your houses. Verily herein will be a sign unto you, if ye believe. And *I come* to confirm the Law which was *revealed* before me, and to allow unto you, as lawful, part of that which hath been forbidden you[g]: and I come unto you with a sign from your LORD; therefore fear GOD, and obey me. Verily GOD is my LORD, and your LORD: therefore serve him. This is the right way. But when JESUS perceived their unbelief, he said, Who *will be* my helpers towards GOD? The

[d] *I will make the figure of a bird*, &c.] Some say it was a bat (1), though others suppose JESUS made several birds of different sorts (2).

This circumstance is also taken from the following fabulous tradition, which may be found in the spurious gospel abovementioned. JESUS being seven years old, and at play with several children of his age, they made several figures of birds and beasts, for their diversion, of clay; and, each preferring his own workmanship, JESUS told them, that he would make his walk and leap; which accordingly, at his command, they did. He made also several figures of sparrows and other birds, which flew about or stood on his hands as he ordered them, and also eat and drank when he offered them meat and drink. The children telling this to their parents, were forbidden to play any more with JESUS, whom they held to be a sorcerer (3).

[e] *By the permission of* GOD.] The commentators observe, that these words are added here, and in the next sentence, lest it should be thought JESUS did these miracles by his own power, or was GOD (4).

[f] *I will raise the dead*, &c.] *Jallalo'ddin* mentions three persons whom CHRIST restored to life, and who lived several years after, and had children; *viz. Lazarus*, the widow's son, and the publican's (I suppose he means the ruler of the synagogue's) daughter. He adds, that he also raised *Shem* the son of *Noah*, who, as another writer (5), thinking he had been called to judgment, came out of his grave with his head half grey, whereas men did not grow grey in his days; after which he immediately died again.

[g] *And to allow you part of that which hath been forbidden you*;] Such as the eating of fish that have neither fins nor scales, the cawl and fat of animals, and camels flesh, and to work on the sabbath. These things, say the commentators, being arbitrary institutions in the law of *Moses*, were abrogated by JESUS; as several of the same kind instituted by the latter, have been since abrogated by *Mohammed* (6).

(1) JALLALO'DDIN. (2) *Al* THALABI. (3) *Evang. Infant.* p. 111, &c. (4) *Al* BEIDAWI, &c. (5) *Al* THALABI. (6) *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN.

apostles

apoſtles [h] anſwered, We *will be* the helpers of GOD; we believe in GOD, and do thou bear witneſs that we are true believers. O LORD, we believe in that which thou haſt ſent down, and we have followed thy apoſtle; write us down therefore with thoſe who bear witneſs *of him*. And *the Jews* deviſed a ſtratagem *againſt him* [i]; but GOD deviſed a ſtratagem *againſt them* [k]; and GOD is the beſt deviſer of ſtratagems.

[h] *The apoſtles*;] In *Arabic, al Hawâriyûn*; which word they derive from *Hâra, to be white*, and ſuppoſe the apoſtles were ſo called either from the *candor* and *ſincerity* of their minds, or becauſe they were princes and wore white garments, or elſe becauſe they were by trade *fullers* (1). According to which laſt opinion, their vocation is thus related: That, as JESUS paſſed by the ſea-ſide, he ſaw ſome fullers at work, and, accoſting them, ſaid, *Ye cleanſe theſe cloaths, but cleanſe not your hearts*; upon which they believed on him. But the true etymology ſeems to be from the *Ethiopic* verb *Hawyra, to go*; whence *Hawârya* ſignifies *one that is ſent*, a *meſſenger* or *apoſtle* (2).

[i] *The Jews deviſed a ſtratagem againſt him*;] i. e. They laid a deſign to take away his life.

[k] *But* GOD *deviſed a ſtratagem againſt them*;] This ſtratagem of GOD's was the taking of JESUS up into heaven, and ſtamping his likeneſs on another perſon, who was apprehended and crucified in his ſtead. For it is the conſtant doctrine of the *Mohammedans* that it was not JESUS himſelf who underwent that ignominious death, but ſomebody elſe in his ſhape and reſemblance (3). The perſon crucified ſome will have to be a ſpy that was ſent to intrap him; others that it was one *Titian*, who by the direction of *Judas* entered in at a window of the houſe where JESUS was, to kill him; and others that it was *Judas* himſelf, who agreed with the rulers of the *Jews* to betray him for thirty pieces of ſilver, and led thoſe who were ſent to take him.

They add, that *Jeſus* after his crucifixion in *effigy*, was ſent down again to the earth, to comfort his mother and diſciples, and acquaint them how the *Jews* were deceived; and was then taken up a ſecond time into heaven (4).

It is ſuppoſed by ſeveral that this ſtory was an original invention of *Mohammed*'s; but they are certainly miſtaken: for ſeveral ſectaries held the ſame opinion, long before his time. The *Baſilidians* (5), in the very beginning of *Chriſtianity*, denied that *Chriſt* himſelf ſuffered, but that *Simon* the *Cyrenean* was crucified in his place. The *Cerinthians* before them, and the *Carpocratians* next (to name no more of thoſe, who affirmed *Jeſus* to have been a mere man) did believe the ſame thing; that it was not himſelf but one of his followers, very like him, that was crucified. *Photius* tells us, that he read a book intitled, *The journeys of the apoſtles*, relating the acts of *Peter*, *John*, *Andrew*, *Thomas*, and *Paul*; and, among other things contained therein, this was one, *that* Chriſt *was not crucified, but another in his ſtead*, and that therefore *he laughed at his*

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. (2) *V.* LUDOLFI *Lexic. Æthiop.* col. 40. & GOLII. *notas ad cap.* 61. *Korâni, c.* 14. (3) *See Korân, c.* 4. (4) *V.* MARRACC. *in Alc. p.* 113, *&c. & in Prodr. part.* 3 *p.* 63, *&c.* (5) IRENÆUS *l.* 1. *c.* 23, *&c.* EPIPHAN. *Hæreſ.* 24. *num.* 3.

gems. When God said, O JESUS, verily I will cause thee to die[1], and I will take thee up unto

his crucifiers (1), or those who thought they had crucified him (2).

I have in another place (3) mentioned an apocryphal gospel of *Barnabas*, a forgery originally of some nominal *Christians*, but interpolated since by *Mohammedans*; which gives this part of the history of *Jesus* with circumstances too curious to be omitted. It is therein related, that, the moment the *Jews* were going to apprehend *Jesus* in the garden, he was snatched up into the third heaven, by the ministry of four angels, *Gabriel*, *Michael*, *Raphael*, and *Uriel*: that he will not die till the end of the world, and it was *Judas* who was crucified in his stead; GOD having permitted that traitor to appear so like his master, in the eyes of the *Jews*, that they took and delivered him to *Pilate*. That this resemblance was so great, that it deceived the Virgin *Mary* and the apostles themselves; but that *Jesus Christ* afterwards obtained leave of GOD to go and comfort them. That *Barnabas* having then asked him, why the divine goodness had suffered the mother and disciples of so holy a prophet to believe even for one moment that he died in so ignominious a manner? *Jesus* returned the following answer: "O *Barnabas*, believe "me that every sin, how small so-"ever, is punished by GOD with "great torment, because GOD is "offended with sin. My mother "therefore and faithful disciples "having loved me with a mixture "of earthly love, the just GOD has "been pleased to punish this love "with their present grief, that they "might not be punished for it "hereafter in the flames of hell. "And as for me, though I have "myself been blameless in the "world, yet other men having "called me GOD, and the son of "GOD; therefore GOD, that I "might not be mocked by the de-"vils at the day of judgment, has "been pleased that in this world I "should be mocked by men with "the death of *Judas*, making every "body believe that I died upon the "cross. And hence it is that this "mocking is still to continue till "the coming of *Mohammed*, the "messenger of GOD; who, com-"ing into the world, will undeceive "every one who shall believe in the "law of GOD, from this mis-"take (4)."

[1] *I will cause thee to die*, &c.] It is the opinion of a great many *Mohammedans*, that *Jesus* was taken up into heaven without dying; which opinion is consonant to what is delivered in the spurious gospel above-mentioned. Wherefore several of the commentators say that there is a *hysteron proteron* in these words, *I will cause thee to die, and I will take thee up unto me*; and that the copulative does not import order, or that he died before his assumption; the meaning being this, *viz.* that GOD would first take *Jesus* up to heaven, and deliver him from the infidels, and afterwards cause him to die; which they suppose is to happen when he shall return into the world again, before the last day (5). Some, thinking the order of the words is not to be changed, interpret them figuratively, and suppose their signification to be that *Jesus* was lifted up while he was asleep, or that GOD caused him to die a spiritual death to all worldly desires. But others acknowledge that he actually died a natural death, and continued in that state three hours, or, according to another tradition, seven hours; after which he was restored to life, and then taken up to heaven (6).

(1) PHOTIUS, *Bibl. Cod.* 114. *col.* 291. (2) TOLAND'S *Nazarenus*, *p.* 17, *&c.* (3) *Prelim. Disc.* §. IV. *p.* 97. (4) *See the Menagiana, Tom.* 4. *p.* 326, *&c.* (5) *See the Prelim. Disc.* §. IV. *p.* 107. (6) *Al* BEIDAWI.

me [m], and I will deliver thee from the unbelievers; and I will place those who follow thee, above the unbelievers, until the day of resurrection [n]: then unto me shall ye return, and I will judge between you of that concerning which ye disagree. Moreover, as for the infidels, I will punish them with a grievous punishment in this world, and in that which is to come; and there shall be none to help them. But they who believe, and do that which is right, he shall give them their reward; for GOD loveth not the wicked doers. These signs and this prudent admonition do we rehearse unto thee. Verily the likeness of JESUS, in the sight of GOD, is as the likeness of ADAM: he created him out of the dust, and then said unto him, Be; and he was [o]. *This is* the truth from thy LORD; be not therefore *one* of those who doubt: and whoever shall dispute with thee concerning him [p], after the knowledge which hath been given thee, say *unto them*, Come let us call together our sons, and your sons, and our wives, and your wives, and our selves, and your selves; then let us make imprecations, and lay the curse of GOD on those who lye [q]. Verily this is a true history: and

[m] *And I will take thee up unto me*;] Some *Mohammedans* say this was done by the ministry of *Gabriel*; but others that a strong whirlwind took him up from mount *Olivet* (1).

[n] *I will place those who follow thee above the unbelievers, until the day of resurrection.*] That is, they who believe in *Jesus* (among whom the *Mohammedans* reckon themselves) shall be for ever superior to the *Jews*, both in arguments and in arms. And accordingly, says *al Beidâwi*, to this very day the *Jews* have never prevailed either against the *Christians* or *Moslems*, nor have they any kingdom or established government of their own.

[o] Jesus *in the sight of* GOD *is as* Adam, *&c.*] He was like to *Adam* in respect of his miraculous production by the immediate power of GOD (2).

[p] *Him*;] Namely, *Jesus*.

[q] *Let us call together our sons, &c. and imprecate the curse of* GOD *on those who lye.*] To explain this passage the commentators tell the following story: That some *Christians*, with their bishop named *Abu Hareth*, coming to *Mohammed* as ambassadors from the inhabitants of *Najrân*, and entering into some disputes with him touching religion and the history of *Jesus Christ*, they agreed the next morning to abide the trial here mentioned, as a quick way of deciding which of them were in the wrong. *Mohammed* met them accordingly, accompanied by his daughter *Fâtima*, his

(1) *Al* THALABI. *See* 2 *Kings* ii. 1, 11. (2) JALLALO'DDIN, *&c.*

and there is no GOD, but GOD; and GOD is most mighty and wise. If they turn back, GOD well knoweth the evil-doers. Say, O ye who have received the scripture, come to a just determination between us and you [r]; that we worship not *any* except GOD, and associate no creature with him; and that the one of us take not the other for lords [s], beside GOD. But, if they turn back, say, Bear witness that we are true believers. O ye to whom the scriptures have been given, why do ye dispute concerning ABRAHAM [t], since the Law and Gospel were not sent down until after him? Do ye not therefore understand? Behold ye are they who dispute concerning that which ye have some knowledge in; why therefore do ye dispute concerning that which ye have no knowledge of [u]? GOD knoweth, but ye know not. ABRAHAM was neither a Jew, nor a Christian; but he was of the true religion, one resigned *unto GOD*, and was not of the *number of the* idolaters. Verily the men who are the nearest *of kin* unto ABRAHAM, are they who follow him; and this prophet, and they who believe *on him:* GOD is the patron of the faithful. Some of those who have

his son-in-law *Ali*, and his two grandsons, *Hasan* and *Hosein*, and desired them to wait till he had said his prayers. But, when they saw him kneel down, their resolution failed them, and they durst not venture to curse him, but submitted to pay him tribute (1).

[r] *Let us come to a just determination between us and you*, &c.] That is, to such terms of agreement as are indisputably consonant to the doctrine of all the prophets and scriptures, and therefore cannot be reasonably rejected (2).

[s] *And that the one of us take not the other for lords*, &c.] Besides other charges of idolatry on the *Jews* and *Christians*, *Mohammed* accused them of paying too implicit an obedience to their priests and monks, who took upon them to pronounce what things were lawful, and what unlawful, and to dispense with the laws of GOD (3).

[t] *Why do ye dispute concerning* Abraham?] *viz.* By pretending him to have been of your religion.

[u] *Ye dispute concerning that which ye have some knowledge in; why therefore do ye dispute concerning that which ye have no knowledge of?*] i. e. Ye perversely dispute even concerning those things which ye find in the Law and the Gospel, whereby it appears, that they were both sent down long after *Abraham*'s time; why then will ye offer to dispute concerning such points of *Abraham*'s religion, of which your scriptures say nothing, and of which ye consequently can have no knowledge (4)?

(1) JALLALO'DIN, *Al* BEIDAWI. (2) *Idem.* (3) *Idem.* (4) *Al* BEIDAWI.

received

received the ſcriptures deſire to ſeduce you [w]; but they ſeduce themſelves only, and they perceive *it* not. O ye who have received the ſcriptures, why do ye not believe in the ſigns of GOD, ſince ye are witneſſes *of them?* O ye who have received the ſcriptures, why do ye clothe truth with vanity, and knowingly hide the truth [x]? And ſome of thoſe to whom the ſcriptures were given, ſay, Believe in that which hath been ſent down unto thoſe who believe, in the beginning of the day; and deny *it* in the end thereof; that they may go back *from their faith* [y]: and believe him only who followeth your religion. Say, Verily the *true* direction is the direction of GOD, that there may be given unto ſome other *a revelation* like unto what hath been given unto you. Will they diſpute with you before your LORD? Say, Surely excellence is in the hand of GOD; he giveth it unto whom he pleaſeth; GOD is bounteous and wiſe: he will confer peculiar mercy on whom he pleaſeth; for GOD is indued with great beneficence. There is of thoſe who have received the ſcriptures, unto whom if thou truſt a talent, he will reſtore it unto thee [z]; and

[w] *Some of thoſe to whom the ſcriptures were given ſeek to ſeduce you*, &c.] This paſſage was revealed when the *Jews* endeavoured to pervert *Hodheifa*, *Ammâr*, and *Moádh* to their religion (1).

[x] *Why do ye clothe truth with vanity, and knowingly hide the truth?*] The *Jews* and *Chriſtians* are again accuſed of corrupting the ſcriptures, and ſtifling the prophecies concerning *Mohammed*.

[y] The commentators, to explain this paſſage, ſay, that *Caab Ebn al Aſhraf* and *Malec Ebn al Seif* (two *Jews* of *Medina*) adviſed their companions, when the *Kebla* was changed (2), to make as if they believed it was done by the divine direction, and to pray towards the *Caaba* in the morning; but that in the evening they ſhould pray as formerly towards the temple of *Jeruſalem*; that *Mohammed*'s followers, imagining the *Jews* were better judges of this matter than themſelves, might imitate their example. But others ſay, theſe were certain *Jewiſh* prieſts of *Khaibar*, who directed ſome of their people to pretend in the morning that they had embraced *Mohammediſm*; but, in the cloſe of the day, to ſay, that they had looked into their books of ſcripture, and conſulted their *Rabbins*, and could not find that *Mohammed* was the perſon deſcribed and intended in the law; by which trick they hoped to raiſe doubts in the minds of the *Mohammedans* (3).

[z] *There is of thoſe who have*

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI, BEIDAWI. (2) *See before*, c. ii. p. 26. (3) *Al*

and *there is alſo* of them, unto whom if thou truſt a dinâr, he will not reſtore it unto thee, unleſs thou ſtand over him continually *with great urgency* [a]. This *they do* becauſe they ſay, We are not obliged to obſerve juſtice with the Heathen: but they utter a lye againſt GOD, knowingly. Yea, whoſo keepeth his covenant, and feareth *GOD*, GOD ſurely loveth thoſe who fear *him*. But they who make merchandize of GOD's covenant, and of their oaths, for a ſmall price, ſhall have no portion in the next life; neither ſhall GOD ſpeak to them, or regard them, on the day of reſurrection; nor ſhall he cleanſe them; but they ſhall ſuffer a grievous puniſhment,

received the ſcriptures, unto whom if thou truſt a talent, he will reſtore it;] As an inſtance of this, the commentators bring *Abd'allah Ebn Salâm*, a *Jew*, very intimate with *Mohammed* (1), to whom one of the *Koreiſh* lent 1200 ounces of gold, which he very punctually repaid at the time appointed (2).

[a] *There is alſo of them unto whom if thou truſt a* dinâr, *he will not reſtore it*, &c.] *Al Beidâwi* produces an example of ſuch a piece of injuſtice in one *Phineas Ebn Azûra*, a *Jew*, who borrowed a *dinâr*, which is a gold coin worth about ten ſhillings, of a *Koreiſhite*, and afterwards had the conſcience to deny it.

But the perſon, more directly ſtruck at in this paſſage, was the above-mentioned *Caab Ebn al Aſhraf*, a moſt inveterate enemy of *Mohammed* and his religion, of whom *Jallalo'ddin* relates the ſame ſtory as *al Beidâwi* does of *Phineas*. This *Caab*, after the battle of *Bedr*, went to *Mecca*, and there, to excite the *Koreiſh* to revenge themſelves, made and recited verſes lamenting the death of thoſe who were ſlain in that battle, and reflecting very ſeverely on *Mohammed*; and he afterwards returned to *Medina*, and had the boldneſs to repeat them publicly there alſo; at which *Mohammed* was ſo exceedingly provoked, that he proſcribed him, and ſent a party of men to kill him, and he was circumvented and ſlain by *Mohammed Ebn Moſlema* in the third year of the *Hejra* (3). Dr. *Prideaux* (4) has confounded the *Caab*, we are now ſpeaking of, with another very different perſon of the ſame name, and a famous poet, but who was the ſon of *Zohair*, and no *Jew*; as a learned gentleman has already obſerved (5). In conſequence of which miſtake, the doctor attributes what the *Arabian* hiſtorians write of the latter to the former, and wrongly affirms that he was not put to death by *Mohammed*.

Some of the commentators, however, ſuppoſe that in the former part of this paſſage the *Chriſtians* are intended, who, they ſay, are generally people of ſome honour and juſtice; and, in the latter part, the *Jews*, who, they think, are more given to cheating and diſhoneſty (6).

(1) *See* PRIDEAUX's *Life of Mahom.* p. 33. (2) *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. (3) *Al* JANNABI, ELMACIN. (4) *Life of Moham.* p. 78, &c. *Vit. Moh.* p. 64 & 122. (5) *V.* GAGNIER, *in Not. ad* ABULFED. (6) *Al* BEIDAWI.

And

And there are certainly ſome of them, who read the ſcriptures perverſly, that ye may think *what they read* to be really in the ſcriptures, yet it is not in the ſcripture; and they ſay, This is from GOD; but it is not from GOD: and they ſpeak that which is falſe concerning GOD, againſt their own knowledge. It is not *fit* for a man, that GOD ſhould give him a book *of revelations*, and wiſdom, and prophecy; and then he ſhould ſay unto men, Be ye worſhippers of me, beſides GOD; but *he ought to ſay*, Be ye perfect in knowledge, and in works, ſince ye know the ſcriptures, and exerciſe yourſelves therein [b]. *GOD* hath not commanded *you* to take the angels and the prophets for *your* Lords: Will he command *you* to become infidels, after ye have been true believers? And *remember* when GOD accepted the covenant of the prophets [c], *ſaying*, *This* verily *is* the ſcripture and the wiſdom which I have given you: hereafter ſhall an apoſtle come unto you, confirming the truth of that *ſcripture* which is with you; ye ſhall ſurely believe on him, and ye ſhall aſſiſt him. *GOD* ſaid, Are ye firmly reſolved, and do you accept my covenant on this *condition?* They anſwered, We are firmly reſolved: *GOD* ſaid, Be ye therefore witneſſes; and I alſo bear witneſs with you: and whoſoever turneth back after this, they are ſurely the tranſgreſſors. Do they therefore ſeek any other religion but GOD's? ſince to him is reſigned whoſoever is in heaven or on earth, voluntarily, or of force: and to him ſhall

[b] *It is not fit for a man*, &c.] This paſſage was revealed, ſay the commentators, in anſwer to the *Chriſtians*, who inſiſted that *Jeſus* had commanded them to worſhip him as GOD. *Al Beidâwi* adds, that two *Chriſtians*, named *Abu Râfe al Koradhi* and *al Seyid al Nejrâni*, offered to acknowledge *Mohammed* for their Lord, and to worſhip him; to which he anſwered, GOD *forbid that we ſhould worſhip any beſides* GOD.

[c] *When* GOD *accepted the covenant of the prophets*, &c.] Some commentators interpret this of the children of *Iſrael* themſelves, of whoſe race the prophets were. But others ſay, the ſouls of all the prophets, even of thoſe who were not then born, were preſent on mount *Sinai*, when GOD gave the law to *Moſes*, and that they entered into the covenant here mentioned with him. A ſtory borrowed by *Mohammed* from the *Talmudiſts*, and therefore moſt probably his true meaning in this place.

they return. Say, We believe in GOD, and that which hath been sent down unto us, and that which was sent down unto ABRAHAM, and ISMAEL, and ISAAC, and JACOB, and the tribes, and that which was delivered to MOSES, and JESUS, and the prophets, from their LORD; we make no distinction between any of them; and to him are we resigned. Whoever followeth any other religion than ISLAM, it shall not be accepted of him: and in the next life he shall be of those who perish [d]. How shall GOD direct men who have become infidels after they had believed, and borne witness that the apostle was true, and manifest declarations *of the divine will* had come unto them? for GOD directeth not the ungodly people. Their reward shall be, that on them *shall fall* the curse of GOD, and of angels, and of all mankind: they shall remain under the same for ever; their torment shall not be mitigated, neither shall they be regarded; except those who repent after this, and amend; for GOD is gracious and merciful. Moreover they who become infidels after they have believed, and yet increase in infidelity, their repentance shall in no wise be accepted; and they are those who go astray. Verily they who believe not, and die in their unbelief, the world full of gold shall in no wise be accepted from any of them, even though he should give it for his ransom; they shall suffer a grievous punishment, and they
IV. shall have none to help them. * Ye will never attain unto righteousness, until ye give in alms of that which ye love: and, whatever ye give, GOD knoweth it. All food was permitted unto the children of ISRAEL, except what ISRAEL forbad unto himself [e], before the

[d] See before, ch. ii. p. 12. *Note* w.

[e] *All food was permitted unto the children of* Israel, *except what* Israel *forbad unto himself.*] This passage was revealed on the *Jews* reproaching *Mohammed* and his followers with their eating of the flesh and milk of camels (1), which they said was forbidden *Abraham*, whose religion *Mohammed* pretended to follow.

(1) *See Lev.* xi. 4. *Deut.* xiv. 7.

the Pentateuch was sent down [f]. Say *unto the Jews*, Bring hither the Pentateuch and read it, if ye speak truth. Whoever therefore contriveth a lye against GOD after this, they will be evil-doers. Say, GOD is true: follow ye therefore the religion of ABRAHAM the orthodox; for he was no idolater. Verily the first house appointed unto men *to worship in* was that which is in BECCA [g]; blessed, and a direction to all creatures [h]. Therein are manifest signs [i]: the place where ABRAHAM stood; and whoever entereth therein, shall be safe. And *it is a duty* towards GOD, *incumbent* on those who are able to go thither [k], to

low. In answer to which he tells them, that GOD ordained no distinction of meats before he gave the law to *Moses*, though *Jacob* voluntarily abstained from the flesh and milk of camels; which, some commentators say, was the consequence of a vow made by that patriarch, when afflicted with the *sciatica*, that, if he were cured, he would eat no more of that meat which he liked best; and that was camels flesh: but others suppose he abstained from it by the advice of physicians only (1).

This exposition seems to be taken from the children of *Israel*'s not eating of the sinew on the hollow of the thigh, because the angel, with whom *Jacob* wrestled at *Peniel*, touched *the hollow of his thigh in the sinew that shrank* (2).

[f] *Before the* Pentateuch *was sent down*;] Wherein the *Israelites*, because of their wickedness and perverseness, were forbidden to eat certain animals which had been allowed their predecessors (3).

[g] *The first house appointed unto men, was that which is in* Becca.] *Mohammed* received this passage, when the *Jews* said that their *Kebla*, or the temple of *Jerusalem*, was more ancient than that of the *Mohammedans*, or the *Caaba* (4). *Becca* is another name of *Mecca* (5). *Al Beidâwi* observes that the *Arabs* used the *M* and *B* promiscuously in several words.

[h] *A direction to all creatures*:] i. e. the *Kebla*, towards which they are to turn their faces in prayer.

[i] *Therein are manifest signs*;] Such as the stone wherein they shew the print of *Abraham*'s feet, and the inviolable security of the place, immediately mentioned; that the birds light not on the roof of the *Kaaba*, and wild beasts put off their fierceness there; that none who came against it in a hostile manner ever prospered (6), as appeared particularly in the unfortunate expedition of *Abraha al Ashram* (7); and other fables of the same stamp which the *Mohammedans* are taught to believe.

[k] *Those who are able to go thither*;] According to an exposition of this passage attributed to *Mohammed*, he is supposed to be able to perform the pilgrimage, who can supply himself with provisions for the journey, and

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. KORAN, c. 4. *See the notes there.* (2) *Gen.* xxxii. 32. (3) KORAN, c. 4. (4) *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. (5) *See the Prelim. Disc.* §. 1. *p.* 4. (6) JALLALO'DDIN, *Al* BEIDAWI. (7) *See Korân*, c. 105.

a beast

to visit this house; but whosoever disbelieveth, verily God needeth not *the service of* any creature. Say, O ye who have received the scriptures, why do ye not believe in the signs of God? Say, O ye who have received the scriptures, why do ye keep back, from the way of God, him who believeth? Ye seek to make it crooked, and ye are witnesses *that it is the right:* but God will not be unmindful of what ye do. O true believers, if ye obey some of those who have received the scripture, they will render you infidels, after ye have believed [l]: and how can ye be infidels, when the signs of God are read unto you, and his apostle is among you? But he who cleaveth firmly unto God, is already directed into the right way. O believers, fear God with his true fear; and die not, unless ye also be true believers. And cleave all *of you* unto the covenant [m] of God, and depart

a beast to ride upon. *Al Shâfeï* has decided that those who have money enough, if they cannot go themselves, must hire some other to go in their room. *Malec Ebn Ans* thinks he is to be reckoned *able*, who is strong and healthy, and can bear the fatigue of the journey on foot, if he has no beast to ride, and can also earn his living by the way. But *Abu Hanîfa* is of opinion that both money sufficient and health of body are requisite to make the pilgrimage a duty (1).

[l] *If ye obey some of those who have received the scriptures*, &c.] This passage was revealed on occasion of a quarrel excited between the tribes of *al Aws* and *al Khazraj*, *by one Shâs Ebn Kais*, a *Jew*; who passing by some of both tribes as they were sitting and discoursing familiarly together, and being inwardly vexed at the friendship and harmony which reigned among them on their embracing *Mahommedism*; whereas they had been, for 120 years before, most inveterate and mortal enemies, though descendants of two brothers; in order to set them at variance, sent a young man to sit down by them, directing him to relate the story of the battle of *Boâth* (a place near *Medina*) wherein, after a bloody fight, *al Aws* had the better of *al Khazraj*, and to repeat some verses on that subject. The young man executed his orders; whereupon those of each tribe began to magnify themselves, and to reflect on and irritate the other, till, at length, they called to arms; and, great numbers getting together on each side, a dangerous battle had ensued, if *Mohammed* had not stepped in and reconciled them; by representing to them how much they would be to blame, if they returned to Paganism, and revived those animosities which *Islâm* had composed; and telling them, that what had happened was a trick of the devil, to disturb their present tranquillity (2).

[m] *Cleave unto the covenant of God*, &c.] Literally, *Hold fast by the cord*

(1) *Al* Beidawi. (2) *Idem.*

of

depart not *from it*; and remember the favour of GOD towards you: since ye were enemies, and he reconciled your hearts, and ye became companions and brethren by his favour: and ye were on the brink of a pit of fire, and he delivered you thence. Thus GOD declareth unto you his signs, that ye may be directed. Let there be people among you, who invite to the best *religion*; and command that which is just, and forbid that which is evil; and they shall be happy. And be not as they who are divided, and disagree *in matters of religion*[n], after manifest proofs have been brought unto them: they shall suffer a great torment. On the day *of resurrection some* faces shall become white, and *other* faces shall become black[o]. And unto them whose faces shall become black *GOD will say*, Have ye returned unto *your* unbelief, after ye had believed? therefore taste the punishment, for that ye have been unbelievers: but they whose faces shall become white *shall be* in the mercy of GOD; therein shall they remain for ever. These are the signs of GOD: we recite them unto thee with truth. GOD will not deal unjustly with *his* creatures. And to GOD *belongeth* whatever is in heaven and on earth; and to GOD shall *all* things return. Ye are the best nation that hath been raised up unto mankind: ye command that which is just, and ye forbid that which is unjust, and ye believe in GOD. And, if they who have received the scriptures had believed, it had surely been the better for

of GOD. That is, *Secure yourselves by adhering to* Islâm, which is here metaphorically expressed by a *cord*, because it is as sure a means of saving those who profess it from perishing hereafter, as holding by a rope is to prevent one's falling into a well, or other like place. It is said that *Mohammed* used, for the same reason, to call the *Korân Habl Allah al matîn*, i. e. *the sure cord of* GOD (1).

n *And be not as those who are divided*, &c.] i. e. As the *Jews* and *Christians*, who dispute concerning the unity of GOD, the future state, *&c.* (2).

o *On the day of the resurrection the faces of some shall become white*, &c.] See the Preliminary Discourse, §. IV.

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI. (2) *Idem.*

them:

them: there are believers among them[p], but the greater part of them are transgressors. They shall not hurt you, unless with a *slight* hurt; and, if they fight against you, they shall turn their backs to you; and they shall not be helped[q]. They are smitten with vileness, wheresoever they are found, unless *they obtain security* by *entering into* a treaty with GOD, and a treaty with men[r]: and they draw on themselves indignation from GOD, and they are afflicted with poverty. This *they suffer*, because they disbelieved the signs of GOD, and slew the prophets unjustly; this, because they were rebellious, and transgressed. *Yet* they are not *all* alike: there are, of those who have received the scriptures, upright people[s]; they meditate on the signs of GOD[t] in the night season, and worship; they believe in GOD, and the last day; and command that which is just, and forbid that which is unjust, and zealously strive *to excel* in good works: these are of the righteous. And ye shall not be denied *the reward of* the good which ye do[u]; for GOD knoweth the pious. As for the unbelievers, their wealth shall not profit them at all, neither their children, against GOD: they *shall be* the companions of *hell* fire; they shall continue therein for ever. The likeness of that which they lay out in this present life, is as a wind wherein there is a scorching cold: it falleth on the standing

[p] *There are believers among them;*] As *Abd'allah Ebn Salâm* and his companions (1), and those of the tribes of *al Aws* and *al Khazraj* who had embraced *Mohammedism*.

[q] *And they shall not be helped.*] This verse, *al Beidâwi* says, is one of those whose meaning is mysterious, and relates to something future; intimating the low condition to which the *Jewish* tribes of *Koreidha*, *Nadir*, *Banu Kainekâ*, and those who dwelt at *Khaibar*, were afterwards reduced by *Mohammed*.

[r] *Unless they obtain security by entering into a treaty with* GOD, *and a treaty with men;*] i. e. Unless they either profess the *Mohammedan* religion, or submit to pay tribute.

[s] *There are, of those who have received the scriptures, upright people;*] Those, namely, who have embraced *Islâm*.

[t] *The signs of* GOD;] That is, the *Korân*.

[u] *Ye shall not be denied*, &c.] Some copies have a different reading in this passage, which they express in the third person: *They shall not be denied*, &c.

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI.

com

corn of those men who have injured their own souls, and destroyeth it. And GOD dealeth not unjustly with them; but they injure their own souls. O true believers, contract not an intimate friendship *with any* besides yourselves [w]: they will not fail to corrupt you. They wish for that which may cause you to perish: their hatred hath already appeared from out of their mouths; but what their breasts conceal is yet more inveterate. We have already shewn you signs *of their ill-will towards you*, if ye understand. Behold, ye love them, and they do not love you: ye believe in all the scriptures, and, when they meet you, they say, We believe; but, when they assemble privately together, they bite their fingers ends out of wrath against you. Say *unto them*, Die in your wrath: verily GOD knoweth the innermost part of *your* breasts. If good happen unto you, it grieveth them; and, if evil befal you, they rejoice at it. But if ye be patient, and fear *GOD*, their subtlety shall not hurt you at all; for GOD comprehendeth whatever they do. *Call to mind* when thou wentest forth early from thy family, that thou mightest prepare the faithful a camp for war [x]; and GOD heard and knew

[w] *Besides yourselves*;] i. e. Of a different religion.

[x] *When thou wentest forth to prepare a camp*, &c.] This was at the battle of *Obod*, a mountain about four miles to the north of *Medina*. The *Koreish*, to revenge their loss at *Bedr* (1), the next year, being the third of the *Hejra*, got together an army of 3000 men, among whom there were 200 horse, and 700 armed with coats of mail. These forces marched under the conduct of *Abu Sofian*, and sat down at *Dhu'lholeifa*, a village about six miles from *Medina*. *Mohammed*, being much inferior to his enemies in numbers, at first determined to keep himself within the town, and receive them there; but afterwards, the advice of some of his companions prevailing, he marched out against them at the head of 1000 men, (some say he had 1050 men, and others but 900) of whom 100 were armed with coats of mail; but he had no more than one horse, besides his own, in his whole army. With these forces he formed a camp in a village near *Obod*, which mountain he contrived to have on his back; and, the better to secure his men from being surrounded, he placed fifty archers in the rear, with strict orders not to quit their post. When they came to engage, *Mohammed* had the better at first, but afterwards by the fault of his archers, who left their ranks for the sake of the plunder, and suffered the enemies horse to encompass the *Moham-*

(1) *See before*, p. 56.

medans

knew *it*; when two companies of you were anxiously thoughtful, so that ye became faint-hearted [y]; but GOD was the supporter of them both; and in GOD let the faithful trust. And GOD had already given you the victory at BEDR [z], when ye were inferior in *number*; therefore fear GOD, that ye may be thankful. When thou saidst unto the faithful, Is it not enough for you, that your LORD should assist you with three thousand angels, sent down *from heaven?* Verily if ye persevere, and fear *GOD*, and *your enemies* come upon you suddenly, your LORD will assist you with five thousand angels, distinguished *by their horses and attire* [a]. And this GOD designed only as good tidings for you [b] that your hearts might rest secure: for victory is from GOD alone, the mighty, the wise. That he should cut off the uttermost part of the unbelievers, or cast them down, or that they should be overthrown and unsuccessful, *is nothing to thee.* It is no business of thine, whether *GOD* be turned unto them, or whether he punish them; they are surely unjust doers [c]. To GOD belongeth whatsoever

medans and attack them in the rear, he lost the day, and was very near losing his life; being struck down by a shower of stones, and wounded in the face with two arrows, on pulling out of which his two foreteeth dropped out. Of the *Moslems* 70 men were slain, and among them *Hamza* the uncle of *Mohammed*, and of the infidels 22 (1). To excuse the ill success of this battle, and to raise the drooping courage of his followers, is *Mohammed*'s drift in the remaining part of this chapter.

y *When two companies of you were anxiously thoughtful*, &c.] These were some of the families of *Banu Salma*, of the tribe of *al Khazraj*, and *Banu'l Hareth*, of the tribe of *al Aus*, who composed the two wings of *Mohammed*'s army. Some ill impressions had been made on them by *Abda'llah Ebn Abi Solúl*, then an infidel, who, having drawn off 300 men, told them that they were going to certain death, and advised them to return back with him; but he could prevail on but a few, the others being kept firm by the divine influence, as the following words intimate (2).

z See before, p. 56.

a *Distinguished*, &c.] The angels who assisted the *Mohammedans* at *Bedr*, rode, say the commentators, on black and white horses, and had on their heads white and yellow sashes, the ends of which hung down between their shoulders.

b *As good tidings for you*;] i. e. As an earnest of future success.

c *It is no business of thine whether* GOD *be turned unto them*, &c.] This passage was revealed when *Moham-*

(1) ABULFEDA, *in vita Moham. p.* 64, *&c.* ELMACIN *l.* 1. PRIDEAUX's *Life of Mahom. p.* 80.

(2) *Al* BEIDAWI.

med

soever is in heaven and on earth: he spareth whom he pleaseth, and he punisheth whom he pleaseth; for GOD is merciful. O true believers, devour not usury, doubling it twofold; but fear GOD, that ye may prosper: and fear the fire which is prepared for the unbelievers; and obey GOD, and *his* apostle, that ye may obtain mercy. And run with emulation to *obtain* remission from your LORD, and paradise, whose breadth *equalleth* the heavens and the earth, which is prepared for the godly; who give alms in prosperity and adversity; who bridle their anger, and forgive men: for GOD loveth the beneficent[d]. And who, after they have committed a crime, or dealt unjustly with their own souls, remember GOD, and ask pardon for their sins, (for who forgiveth sins except GOD?) and persevere not in what they have done knowingly: their reward shall be pardon from their LORD, and gardens wherein rivers flow, they shall remain therein for ever: and how excellent is the reward of those who labour! There have already been before you examples of punishment *of infidels*, therefore go through the earth, and behold what hath been the end of those who accuse *GOD's apostles* of imposture. This *book* is a declaration unto men, and a direction, and an admonition to the pious. And be not dismayed, neither be ye grieved; for ye shall be superior *to the unbelievers*, if ye believe.

med received the wounds abovementioned at the battle of *Ohod*, and cried out, *How shall that people prosper who have stained their prophet's face with blood, while he called them to their Lord?* The person who wounded him was *Otba* the son of *Abu Wakkâs* (1).

[d] It is related of *Hasan* the son of *Ali*, that a slave, having once thrown a dish on him boiling hot, as he sat at table, and fearing his master's resentment, fell immediately on his knees, and repeated these words, *Paradise is for those who bridle their anger*: *Hasan* answered, *I am not angry*. The slave proceeded, *and for those who forgive men*: *I forgive you*, said *Hasan*. The slave, however, finished the verse, adding, *for* GOD *loveth the beneficent. Since it is so*, replied *Hasan, I give you your liberty, and four hundred pieces of silver* (2). A noble instance of moderation and generosity.

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI. ABULFED. *ubi supra.* (2) *V.* D'HERBELOT, *Bibl. Orient. Art. Hassan.*

If

If a wound hath happened unto you *in war* [e], a like wound hath already happened unto the *unbelieving* people [f]: and we cauſe theſe days *of different ſucceſs* interchangeably to ſucceed each other among men; that GOD may know thoſe who believe, and may have martyrs from among you: (GOD loveth not the workers of iniquity;) and that GOD might prove thoſe who believe, and deſtroy the infidels. Did ye imagine that ye ſhould enter paradiſe, when as yet GOD knew not thoſe among you who fought ſtrenuouſly *in his cauſe*; nor knew thoſe who perſevered with patience? Moreover ye did ſometimes wiſh for death before that ye met it [g]; but ye have now ſeen it, and ye looked on, *but retreated from it.* MOHAMMED is no more than an apoſtle; the *other* apoſtles have already deceaſed before him: if he die therefore, or be ſlain, will ye turn back on your heels [h]? but he who turneth back on his heels, will not hurt GOD at all; and GOD will ſurely reward the thankful. No ſoul can die unleſs by the permiſſion of GOD, according to *what is written in* the

[e] *If a wound hath happened unto you in war*;] That is, by your being worſted at *Ohod*.

[f] *A like wound hath happened to the infidels*;] When they were defeated at *Bedr*. It is obſervable, that the number of *Mohammedans*, ſlain at *Ohod*, was equal to that of the idolaters ſlain at *Bedr*; which was ſo ordered by GOD for a reaſon to be given elſewhere (1).

[g] *Ye wiſhed for death*, &c.] Several of *Mohammed*'s followers, who were not preſent as *Bedr*, wiſhed for an opportunity of obtaining, in another action, the like honour as thoſe had gained who fell martyrs in that battle; yet were diſcouraged on ſeeing the ſuperior numbers of the idolaters in the expedition of *Ohod*. On which occaſion this paſſage was revealed (2).

[h] Mohammed *is no more than an apoſtle*, &c.] Theſe words were revealed when it was reported in the battle of *Ohod*, that *Mohammed* was ſlain; whereupon the idolaters cried out to his followers, *Since your prophet is ſlain, return to your ancient religion, and to your friends*; if Mohammed *had been a prophet, he had not been ſlain.* It is related that a *Moſlem*, named *Ans Ebn al Nadar*, uncle to *Ans Ebn Malec*, hearing theſe words, ſaid aloud to his companions, *My friends, though* Mohammed *be ſlain, certainly* Mohammed's LORD *liveth and dieth not; therefore value not your lives, ſince the prophet is dead, but fight for the cauſe for which he fought*: then he cried out, *O* GOD, *I am excuſed before thee, and acquitted in thy ſight of what they ſay*; and drawing his ſword fought valiantly till he was killed (3).

(1) *In not. ad cap.* 8. (2) *Al* BEIDAWI. (3) *Idem.*

book

book containing the determinations of things [i]. And whoso chooseth the reward of this world, we will give him thereof: but whoso chooseth the reward of the world to come, we will give him thereof; and we will surely reward the thankful. How many prophets have incountered those who had many myriads *of troops:* and yet they desponded not in their mind for what had befallen them in fighting for the religion of GOD; and were not weakened, neither behaved themselves in an abject manner? GOD loveth those who persevere patiently. And their speech was no other than that they said, Our LORD forgive us our offences, and our transgressions in our business; and confirm our feet, and help us against the unbelieving people. And GOD gave them the reward of this world, and a glorious reward in the life to come; for GOD loveth the well-doers. O ye who believe, if ye obey the infidels, they will cause you to turn back on your heels, and ye will be turned backed and perish [k]: but GOD is your LORD; and he is the best helper. We will surely cast a dread into the hearts of the unbelievers [l], because they have associated with GOD that concerning which he sent them down no power: their dwelling shall be the fire *of*

[i] *No soul can die, unless by the permission of* GOD, &c.] *Mohammed*, the more effectually to still the murmurs of his party on their defeat, represents to them that the time of every man's death is decreed and predetermined by GOD, and that those who fell in the battle could not have avoided their fate, had they staid at home; whereas they had now obtained the glorious advantage of dying martyrs for the faith. Of the *Mohammedan* doctrine of absolute predestination I have spoken in another place (1).

[k] *If ye obey the infidels, they will cause you to turn back*, &c.] This passage was also occasioned by the endeavours of the *Koreish* to seduce the *Mohammedans* to their old idolatry, as they fled in the battle of *Ohod*.

[l] *We will surely cast a dread into the hearts of the unbelievers*, &c.] To this *Mohammed* attributed the sudden retreat of *Abu Sofian* and his troops, without making any farther advantage of their success; only giving *Mohammed* a challenge to meet them next year at *Bedr*, which he accepted. Others say, that as they were on their march home, they repented they had not utterly extirpated the *Mohammedans*, and began to think of going back to *Medina* for that purpose; but were prevented by a sudden consternation or panic fear, which fell on them from GOD (2).

(1) *Prelim. Disc.* §. IV. (2) *Al* BEIDAWI.

hell; and the receptacle of the wicked shall be miserable. God had already made good unto you his promise, when ye destroyed them by his permission [m], until ye became faint-hearted, and disputed concerning the command *of the apostle*, and were rebellious [n]; after *GOD* had shewn you what ye desired. Some of you chose this present world, and others of you chose the world to come [o]. Then he turned you *to flight* from before them, that he might make trial of you: (but he hath now pardoned you; for God is indued with beneficence towards the faithful;) when ye went up *as ye fled*, and looked not back on any; while the apostle called you, in the uttermost part of you [p]. Therefore *GOD* rewarded you with affliction on affliction, that ye be not grieved *hereafter* for the *spoils* which ye fail of, nor for that which befalleth you [q]; for God is well acquainted with whatever ye do. Then he sent down upon you, after affliction, security; a soft sleep which fell on some part of you; but *other* part were troubled by

[m] God *had already made good unto you his promise*, &c.] i. e. In the beginning of the battle, when the *Moslems* had the advantage, putting the idolaters to flight, and killing several of them.

[n] *Till ye became faint-hearted, and disputed the command of the apostle*, &c.] That is, till the bow-men, who were placed behind to prevent their being surrounded, seeing the enemy fly, quitted their post, contrary to *Mohammed*'s express orders, and dispersed themselves to seize the plunder; whereupon *Khâled Ebn al Walîd*, perceiving their disorder, fell on their rear with the horse which he commanded, and turned the fortune of the day. It is related, that though *Abda'llah Ebn Jobair*, their captain, did all he could to make them keep their ranks, he had not ten that stayed with him out of the whole fifty (1).

[o] *Some of you chose this present world, and others of you chose the world to come.*] The former were they, who, tempted by the spoil, quitted their post; and the latter, they who stood firm by their leader.

[p] *And the apostle called you*, &c.] Crying aloud, *Come hither to me, O servants of* God; *I am the apostle of* God: *he who returneth back shall enter paradise.* But, notwithstanding all his endeavours to rally his men, he could not get above thirty of them about him.

[q] *Therefore* God *rewarded you with affliction*, &c.] i. e. God punished your avarice and disobedience by suffering you to be beaten by your enemies, and to be discouraged by the report of your prophet's death; that ye might be inured to patience under adverse fortune, and not repine at any loss or disappointment for the future.

(1) *Al* Beidawi. *V.* Abulfed. *vit. Mah. p.* 65, 66. *& not. ib.*

their

their own souls [r]; falsely thinking of GOD a foolish imagination, saying, Will any thing of the matter *happen* unto us [s]? Say, Verily the matter *belongeth* wholly unto GOD. They concealed in their minds what they declared not unto thee; saying [t], If any thing of the matter had happened unto us [u], we had not been slain here. Answer, If ye had been in your houses, verily they would have gone forth to fight, whose slaughter was decreed, to the places where they died, and *this came to pass* that GOD might try what was in your breasts, and might discern what was in your hearts; for GOD knoweth the innermost parts of the breasts *of men*. Verily they among you who turned their backs on the day whereon the two armies met each other *at OHOD*, SATAN caused them to slip, for some *crime* which they had committed [w]: but now hath GOD forgiven them; for GOD is gracious and merciful. O true believers, be not as they who believed not, and said of their brethren, when they had journied in the land, or had been at war, If they had been with us, those had not died, nor had these been slain: *whereas what befel them was so ordained* that GOD might make it *matter of* sighing in their hearts. GOD giveth life, and causeth to die: and GOD seeth that which ye do. Moreover, if ye be slain, or die in defence of the religion of GOD; verily pardon from GOD, and mercy is better than

[r] *Then he sent down upon you—a soft sleep*, &c.] After the action, those who had stood firm in the battle were refreshed, as they laid in the field, by falling into an agreeable sleep, so that the swords fell out of their hands; but those who had behaved themselves ill were troubled in their minds, imagining they were now given over to destruction (1).

[s] *Will any thing of the matter happen unto us?*] That is, Is there any appearance of success, or of the divine favour and assistance which we have been promised (2)?

[t] *Saying*, &c.] i. e. To themselves, or to one another in private.

[u] *If any thing of the matter had happened unto us*, &c.] If GOD had assisted us according to his promise; or, as others interpret the words, if we had taken the advice of *Abdallah Ibn Abi Solûl*, and had kept within the town of *Medina*; our companions had not lost their lives (3).

[w] *For some crime which they have committed*;] viz. For their covetousness in quitting their post to seize the plunder.

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. (2) *Idem.* (3) *Idem.*

what they heap together *of worldly riches.* And if ye die, or be slain, verily unto God shall ye be gathered. And as to the mercy *granted unto the disobedient* from God, thou, *O MOHAMMED!* hast been mild towards them; but if thou hadst been severe, and hard-hearted, they had surely separated themselves from about thee. Therefore forgive them, and ask pardon for them: and consult them in the affair *of war*; and, after thou hast deliberated, trust in God; for God loveth those who trust *in him.* If God help you, none shall conquer you; but if he desert you, who is it that will help you after him? Therefore in God let the faithful trust. It is not *the part* of a prophet to defraud [x], for he who defraudeth, shall bring with him what he hath defrauded *any one of*, on the day of the resurrection [y]. Then shall every soul be paid what he hath gained; and they shall not be treated unjustly. Shall he therefore who followeth that which is well-pleasing unto God, be as he who bringeth on himself wrath from God, and whose receptacle is hell? an evil journey shall it be *thither.* There shall be degrees *of rewards and punishments* with God, for God seeth what they do. Now hath God been gracious unto the believers when he raised up among them, an apostle of their own nation [z], who should recite his signs unto them, and

x *It is not the part of a prophet to defraud*, &c.] This passage was revealed, as some say, on the division of the spoil at *Bedr*; when some of the soldiers suspected *Mohammed* of having privately taken a scarlet carpet, made all of silk and very rich, which was missing (1). Others suppose the archers, who occasioned the loss of the battle of *Ohod*, left their station because they imagined *Mohammed* would not give them their share of plunder; because, as it is related, he once sent out a party, as an advanced guard, and in the mean time, attacking the enemy, took some spoils which he divided among those who were with him in the action, and gave nothing to the party that was absent on duty (2).

y *He who defraudeth shall bring with him what he hath defrauded any one of, on the day of resurrection.*] According to a tradition of *Mohammed*, whoever cheateth another will on the day of judgment carry his fraudulent purchase publicly on his neck.

z *Of their own nation.*] Some copies, instead of *min anfosihim*, i. e. *of themselves*, read *min anfasihim*, i. e. *of the noblest among them*; for such was the tribes of *Koreish*, of which *Mohammed* was descended (3).

(1) *Al* Beidawi, Jallalo'ddin. (2) *Al* Beidawi. (3) *Idem.*

purify

purify them, and teach them the book *of the KORAN* and wiſdom [a]; whereas they were before in manifeſt error. After a misfortune hath befallen you *at OHOD*, (ye had already obtained two equal advantages [b]) do ye ſay, Whence *cometh* this? Anſwer, This is from yourſelves [c]: for GOD is almighty. And what happened unto you, on the day whereon the two armies met, was certainly by the permiſſion of GOD; and that he might know the faithful, and that he might know the ungodly. It was ſaid unto them, Come, fight for the religion of GOD, or drive back *the enemy:* they anſwered, If we had known *ye went out* to fight, we had certainly followed you [d]. They were on that day nearer unto unbelief, than they were to faith; they ſpake with their mouths, what was not in their hearts: but GOD perfectly knew what they concealed; who ſaid of their brethren, *while themſelves* ſtaid *at home*, if they had obeyed us, they had not been ſlain. Say, Then keep back death from yourſelves, if ye ſay truth. Thou ſhalt in no wiſe reckon thoſe who have been ſlain *at OHOD* in the cauſe of GOD, dead; nay, they are ſuſtained alive with their LORD [e], rejoicing for what GOD of his favour hath granted them; and being glad for thoſe, who, coming after them, have not as yet overtaken them [f]; becauſe there ſhall no fear

[a] *And wiſdom*;] i. e. The *Sonna* (1).

[b] *Ye had already obtained two equal advantages*;] *viz.* In the battle of *Bedr*, where ye ſlew ſeventy of the enemy, equalling the number of thoſe who loſt their lives at *Ohod*, and alſo took as many priſoners (2).

[c] *This from yourſelves*;] It was the conſequence of your diſobeying the orders of the prophet, and abandoning your poſt for the ſake of plunder.

[d] *If we had known ye went out to fight*, &c.) That is, if we had conceived the leaſt hopes of ſucceſs when ye marched out of *Medina* to encounter the infidels, and had not known that ye went rather to certain deſtruction, than to battle, we had gone with you. But this *Mohammed* here tells them was only a feigned excuſe; the true reaſon of their ſtaying behind being their want of faith and firmneſs in their religion (3).

[e] See before, p. 27.

[f] *Being glad for thoſe, who, coming after them, have not as yet overtaken them*;] i. e. Rejoicing alſo for their ſakes; who are deſtined to ſuffer martyrdom, but have not as yet attained it (4).

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI. (2) *See before*, p. 56. (3) *Al* BEIDAWI. (4) *V. Revel.* vi. 11.

come on them, neither ſhall they be grieved. They are filled with joy for the favour *which they have received* from GOD, and *his* bounty; and for that GOD ſuffereth not the reward of the faithful to periſh. They who hearkened unto GOD and *his* apoſtle, after a wound had befallen them *at Ohod* [g], ſuch of them as do good works, and fear *GOD*, ſhall have a great reward; unto whom *certain* men ſaid, Verily the men *of MECCA* have already gathered *forces* againſt you, be ye therefore afraid of them [h]: but *this* increaſed their faith, and they ſaid, GOD is our ſupport, and the moſt excellent patron. Wherefore

[g] *They who hearken to* GOD *and his apoſtle*, &c.] The commentators differ a little as to the occaſion of this paſſage. When news was brought to *Mohammed*, after the battle of *Ohod*, that the enemy, repenting of their retreat, were returning towards *Medina*, he called about him thoſe who had ſtood by him in the battle, and marched out to meet the enemy as far as *Homarâ al Aſad* about eight miles from that town, notwithſtanding ſeveral of his men were ſo ill of their wounds that they were forced to be carried; but a panic fear having ſeized the army of the *Koreiſh*, they changed their reſolution and continued their march home; of which *Mohammed* having received intelligence, he alſo went back to *Medina*: and, according to ſome commentators, the *Korân* here approves the faith and courage of thoſe who attend the prophet on this occaſion. Others ſay, the perſons intended in this paſſage were thoſe who went with *Mohammed* the next year, to meet *Abu Soſiân* and the *Koreiſh*, according to their challenge, at *Bedr* (1), where they waited ſometime for the enemy, and then returned home; for the *Koreiſh*, though they ſet out from *Mecca*, yet never came ſo far as the place of appointment, their hearts failing them on their march; which *Mohammed* attributed to their being ſtruck with a terror from GOD (2). This expedition the *Arabian* hiſtories call the *ſecond*, or *leſſer expedition of* Bedr.

[h] *Unto whom certain men ſaid, Verily thoſe of* Mecca *have already gathered forces againſt you*, &c.] The perſons who thus endeavoured to diſcourage the *Mohammedans*, were, according to one tradition, ſome of the tribe of *Abd Kais*, who, going to *Medina*, were bribed by *Abu Soſiân* with a camel's load of dried raiſins; and, according to another tradition, it was *Noaim Ebn Maſûd al Aſhjaï*, who was alſo bribed with a ſhe camel ten months gone with young, (a valuable preſent in *Arabia*). This *Noaim*, they ſay, finding *Mohammed* and his men preparing for the expedition, told them that *Abu Soſiân*, to ſpare them the pains of coming ſo far as *Bedr*, would ſeek them in their own houſes, and that none of them could poſſibly eſcape otherwiſe than by timely flight. Upon which *Mohammed*, ſeeing his followers a little diſpirited, ſwore that he would go himſelf though not one of them went with him. And accordingly he ſet out with ſeventy horſe-men, every one of them crying out *Haſbna Allah*, i. e. GOD *is our ſupport* (3).

(1) *See before*, p. 83. *not. l.* (2) *Al* BEIDAWI. (3) *Idem* JALLALO'DDIN.

they

they returned with favour from GOD, and advantage [i]; no evil befel them: and they followed what was well pleasing unto GOD; for GOD is endowed with great liberality. Verily that devil [k] would cause you to fear his friends: but be ye not afraid of them; but fear me, if ye be true believers. They shall not grieve thee, who emuously hasten unto infidelity; for they shall never hurt GOD at all. GOD will not give them a part in the next life, and they shall suffer a great punishment. Surely those who purchase infidelity with faith, shall by no means hurt GOD at all, but they shall suffer a grievous punishment. And let not the unbelievers think, because we grant them lives long and prosperous, that it is better for their souls: we grant them long and prosperous lives only that their iniquity may be increased; and they shall suffer an ignominious punishment. GOD is not *disposed* to leave the faithful in the condition which ye are now in [l], until he sever the wicked from the good; nor is GOD *disposed* to make you acquainted with what is a hidden secret, but GOD chuseth such of his apostles as he pleaseth, *to reveal his mind unto* [m]: believe therefore in GOD, and his apostles; and if ye believe, and fear *GOD*, ye shall receive a great reward. And let not those who are covetous of what *GOD* of his bounty hath granted them, imagine that *their avarice* is better for them: nay, rather it is worse for them. That which they have covetously reserved shall be bound as a collar

[i] *Wherefore they returned with advantage*;] While they staid at *Bedr* expecting the enemy, they opened a kind of fair there, and traded to very considerable profit (1).

[k] *That devil*;] Meaning either *Noaim*, or *Abu Sofiân* himself.

[l] GOD *will not leave the faithful in the condition ye are now in*, &c.] That is, he will not suffer the good and sincere among you to continue indiscriminately mixed with the wicked and hypocritical.

[m] *Nor is* GOD *disposed to acquaint you with what is a hidden secret, but* GOD *chuseth such of his apostles as he pleaseth*.] This passage was revealed on the rebellious and disobedient *Mohammedans* telling *Mohammed*, that if he was a true prophet, he could easily distinguish those who sincerely believed from the dissemblers (2).

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI. (2) *Idem.*

about

about their neck [n], on the day of the resurrection: unto God *belongeth* the inheritance of heaven and earth; and God is well acquainted with what ye do. God hath already heard the saying of those who said, Verily God is poor, and we are rich [o]: we will surely write down what they have said, and the slaughter which they have made of the prophets without a cause; and we will say *unto them*, Taste ye the pain of burning. This *shall they suffer* for the *evil* which their hands have sent before them, and because God is not unjust towards mankind: who *also* say, Surely God hath commanded us, that we should not give credit to *any* apostle, until *one* should come unto us with a sacrifice, which should be consumed by fire [p]. Say

[n] *That which they have covetously reserved shall be bound as a collar about their neck*, &c.] *Mohammed* is said to have declared, that whoever pays not his legal contribution of alms duly, shall have a serpent twisted about his neck at the resurrection (1).

[o] God *hath heard the saying of those who said*, God *is poor, and we are rich.*] It is related that *Mohammed*, writing to the *Jews* of the tribe of *Kainokâ* to invite them to *Islâm*, and exhorting them, among other things, in the words of the *Korân* (2), *to lend unto* God *on good usury*, *Phineas Ebn Azûra*, on hearing that expression, said, *Surely* God *is poor, since they ask to borrow for him.* Whereupon *Abu Becr*, who was the bearer of that letter, struck him on the face, and told him, that if it had not been for the truce between them he would have struck off his head: and on *Phineas*'s complaining to *Mohammed* of *Abu Becr*'s ill usage, this passage was revealed (3).

[p] The *Jews*, say the commentators, insisted that it was a peculiar proof of the mission of all the prophets sent to them, that they could, by their prayers, bring down fire from heaven to consume the sacrifice, and therefore they expected *Mohammed*, should do the like. And some *Mohammedan* doctors agree that God appointed this miracle as the test of all their prophets, except only Jesus and *Mohammed* (4); though others say any other miracle was a proof full as sufficient as the bringing down fire from heaven (5).

The *Arabian Jews* seem to have drawn a general consequence from some particular instances of this miracle in the Old Testament (6). And the *Jews*, at this day, say, that the first which fell from heaven on the altar of the tabernacle (7), after the consecration of *Aaron* and his sons, and afterwards that which descended on the altar of *Solomon*'s temple, at the dedication of that structure (8), was fed and constantly maintained there by the priests, both day and night, without being suffered once to go out; till it was extinguished, as some think, in the reign of *Manasses* (9); but accord-

(1) *Al* Beidawi, Jallalo'ddin. (2) *Chap.* 2. *p.* 45. (3) *Al* Beidawi. (4) Jallalo'ddin. (5) *Al* Beidawi. (6) *Lev.* ix. 24. 1 *Chron.* xxi. 26. 2 *Chron.* vii. 1. 1 *Kings* xviii. 38. (7) *Levit.* ix. 24. (8) 2 *Chron.* vii. 1. (9) *Talmud, Zebachin, c.* 6.

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Say, Apoſtles have already come unto you before me [q], with plain proofs, and with the *miracle* which ye mention: why therefore have ye ſlain them, if ye ſpeak truth? If they accuſe thee of impoſture, the apoſtles before thee have alſo been accounted impoſtors, who brought evident demonſtrations, and the ſcriptures, and the book which inlighteneth *the underſtanding*. Every ſoul ſhall taſte of death, and ye ſhall have your rewards on the day of reſurrection; and he who ſhall be far removed from *hell* fire, and ſhall be admitted into paradiſe, ſhall be happy: but the preſent life is only a deceitful proviſion. Ye ſhall ſurely be proved in your poſſeſſions, and *in* your perſons; and ye ſhall hear from thoſe unto whom the ſcripture was delivered before you, and from the idolators, much hurt: but if ye be patient, and fear GOD, this is a matter that is abſolutely determined. And when GOD accepted the covenant of thoſe to whom the book *of the law* was given, *ſaying*, Ye ſhall ſurely publiſh it unto mankind, ye ſhall not hide it: yet they threw it behind their backs, and ſold it for a ſmall price; but woful *is the price* for which they have ſold *it* [r]. Think not that they who rejoice at what they have done, and expect to be praiſed for what they have not done [s]; think not, O *prophet*

ing to the more received opinion, when the temple was deſtroyed by the *Chaldeans*. Several *Chriſtians* (1). have given credit to this aſſertion of the *Jews*, with what reaſon I ſhall not here enquire; and the *Jews*, in conſequence of this notion, might probably expect, that a prophet, who came to reſtore GOD's true religion, ſhould rekindle for them this heavenly fire, which they have not been favoured with ſince the *Babyloniſh* captivity.

[q] *Apoſtles, have already come unto you before me.*] Among theſe the commentators reckon *Zacharias* and *John* the *Baptiſt*.

[r] *Woful is the price for which they have ſold it*;] i. e. Dearly ſhall they pay hereafter for taking bribes to ſtifle the truth. *Whoever concealeth the knowledge which* GOD *has given him*, ſays *Mohammed*, GOD *ſhall put on him a bridle of fire on the day of reſurrection.*

[s] *Who rejoice at what they have done, and expect to be praiſed for what they have not done*;] i. e. Who think they have done a commendable deed in concealing and diſſembling the teſtimonies in the *Pentateuch* concerning *Mohammed*, and in diſobeying GOD's commands to the contrary. It is ſaid, that *Mohammed*, once

(1) *See* PRIDEAUX's *Connect. part* 1. *book* 3, *p.* 158.

aſking

prophet, that they shall escape from punishment, for they shall suffer a painful punishment; and unto God *belongeth* the kingdom of heaven and earth: God is almighty. Now in the creation of heaven and earth, and the vicissitude of night and day, are signs unto those who are indued with understanding; who remember God standing, and sitting, and *lying* on their sides [t]; and meditate on the creation of heaven and earth, *saying*, O Lord, thou hast not created this in vain; far be it from thee: therefore deliver us from the torment of *hell* fire: O Lord, surely whom thou shalt throw into the fire, thou wilt also cover with shame: nor shall the ungodly have any to help them. O Lord, we have heard a preacher [u] inviting *us* to the faith, *and saying*, Believe in your Lord: and we believed. O Lord, forgive us therefore our sins, and expiate our evil deeds from us, and make us to die with the righteous. O Lord, give us also *the reward* which thou hast promised by thy apostles; and cover us not with shame on the day of resurrection; for thou art not contrary to the promise. Their Lord therefore answereth them, *saying*, I will not suffer the work of him among you who worketh to be lost, whether he be male, or female [w]: the one of you is from the other. They therefore who have left their country, and have been turned out of their houses, and have suf-

asking some *Jews* concerning a passage in their law, they gave him an answer very different from the truth, and were mightily pleased that they had, as they thought, deceived him. Others, however, think this passage relates to some pretended *Mohammedans* who rejoiced in their hypocrisy, and expected to be commended for their wickedness (1).

[t] *Who remember* God *standing, and sitting, and lying on their sides*;] *viz.* At all times and in all postures. *Al Beidâwi* mentions a saying of *Mohammed* to one *Imraân Ebn Hosein*, to this purpose; *pray standing, if thou art able; if not, sitting; and, if thou canst not set up, then as thou liest along. Al Shâfai* directs that the sick should pray lying on their right side.

[u] *We have heard a preacher*, &c.] Namely, *Mohammed*, with the *Koran*.

[w] *Whether he be male or female*] These words were added, as some relate, on *Omm Salma*, one of the prophet's wives, telling him that she had observed God often made mention of the *men* who fled their country for the sake of their faith, but took no notice of the *women* (2).

(1) *Al* Beidawi. (2) *Idem.*

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fered for my sake, and have been slain in battle; verily I will expiate their evil deeds from them, and I will surely bring them into gardens watered by rivers; a reward from GOD: and with GOD is the most excellent reward. Let not the prosperous dealing of the unbelievers in the land, deceive thee[x]: *it is but* a slender provision[y]; *and* then their receptacle shall be hell: an unhappy couch *shall it be.* But they who fear their LORD shall have gardens through which rivers flow, they shall continue therein for ever: this is the gift of GOD; for what is with GOD shall be better for the righteous *than short-lived worldly prosperity.* There are some of those who have received the scriptures, who believe in GOD, and that which hath been sent down unto you, and that which hath been sent down to them, submitting themselves unto GOD[z]; they sell not the signs of GOD for a small price: these shall have their reward with their LORD; for GOD is swift in taking an account[a]. O true believers, be patient, and strive to excel in patience, and be constant-minded, and fear GOD, that ye may be happy.

[x] *Let not the prosperous dealing, &c.*] The original word properly signifies, success in the affairs of life, and particularly in trade. It is said that some of *Mohammed*'s followers, observing the prosperity the idolaters enjoyed, expressed their regret that those enemies of GOD should live in such ease and plenty, while themselves were perishing for hunger and fatigue; whereupon this passage was revealed (1).

[y] *A slender provision*;] Because of its short continuance.

[z] *There are some of those who have received the scriptures, who believe in* GOD, *&c.*] The persons here meant, some will have to be *Abdallah Ebn Salâm* (2) and his companions; others suppose they were forty *Arabs* of *Najrân*, or thirty two *Ethiopians*, or else eight *Greeks*, who were converted from *Christianity* to *Mohammedism*; and others say this passage was revealed in the ninth year of the *Hejra*, when *Mohammed*, on *Gabriel*'s bringing him the news of the death of *Ahama* king of *Ethiopia*, who had embraced the *Mohammedan* religion some years before (3), prayed for the soul of the departed; at which some of his hypocritical followers were displeased, and wondered that he should pray for a *Christian* proselyte whom he had never seen (4).

[a] GOD *is swift in taking an account.*] See before, p. 35 and 36, and the *Preliminary Discourse*, §. IV.

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI. (2) *See before, p.* 70 and 71. (3) *See the Prel'm. Discourse, p.* 59. (4) *Al* BEIDAWI.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

Intitled, Women [b]; *revealed at* MEDINA.

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

O MEN! fear your LORD, who hath created you out of one man, and out of him created his wife, and from them two hath multiplied mankind men, and women: and fear GOD by whom ye beſeech one another [c]; and *reſpect* women [d] *who have borne you*, for GOD is watching over you. And give the orphans, *when they come to age*, their ſubſtance; and render *them* not in exchange bad for good [e]: and devour not their ſubſtance, *by adding it to* your own ſubſtance; for this is a great ſin. And if ye fear that ye ſhall not act with equity towards orphans of *the female ſex*, take in marriage of ſuch *other* women as pleaſe you, two, or three, or four, *and not more*

[b] This title was given to this chapter, becauſe it chiefly treats of matters relating to women; as, marriages, divorces, dower, prohibited degrees, &c.

[c] *By whom ye beſeech one another*;] ſaying, I beſeech thee, for GOD's ſake (1).

[d] *Women*] Literally, *the wombs*.

[e] *Render them not in exchange bad for good*;] That is, take not what ye find of value among their effects to your own uſe, and give them worſe in its ſtead.

[f] *And if ye fear that ye cannot act with equity towards orphans of the female ſex*, &c.] The commentators underſtand this paſſage differently. The true meaning ſeems to be, as it is here tranſlated; *Mohammed* adviſing his followers that if they found they ſhould wrong the female orphans under their care, either by marrying them againſt their inclinations, for the ſake of their riches or beauty, or by not uſing or maintaining them ſo well as they ought, in reaſon of their having already ſeveral wives, they ſhould rather chuſe to marry other women, to avoid the occaſion of ſin (2). Others ſay that when this paſſage was revealed, many of the *Arabians*, fearing trouble and temptation, refuſed to take upon them the charge of orphans, and married multiplied wives to a great number and uſed them ill; or, as others write, gave themſelves up to fornication; which occaſioned the paſſage. And, according to theſe, its meaning muſt be either, that if they feared they could not act juſtly towards orphans, they had as great reaſon to apprehend they could not deal equitably with ſo many wives, and therefore are commanded to marry but a certain number; or elſe, that if fornication was a crime as well as wronging of orphans, they ought to avoid that alſo, by marrying according to their abilities (3).

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI. (2) *Idem.* (3) *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN.

But if ye fear that ye cannot act equitably *towards ſo many*, *marry* one *only*, or the ſlaves which ye ſhall have acquired [g]. This will be eaſier, that ye ſwerve not *from righteouſneſs*. And give women their dowry freely; but if they voluntarily remit unto you any part of it, enjoy it with ſatisfaction and advantage. And give not unto thoſe who are weak of underſtanding, the ſubſtance which GOD hath appointed you to preſerve *for them*; but maintain them thereout, and clothe them, and ſpeak kindly unto them. And examine the orphans [h] until they attain *the age of* marriage [i]: but if ye perceive they are able to manage their affairs well, deliver their ſubſtance unto them; and waſte it not extravagantly, or haſtily, becauſe they grow up [k]. Let him who is rich abſtain *entirely from the orphans eſtates*; and let him who is poor take *thereof* according to what ſhall be reaſonable [l]. And when ye deliver their ſubſtance unto them, call witneſſes *thereof* in their preſence: GOD taketh ſufficient account *of your actions*. Men ought to have a part of what *their* parents and kindred leave *behind them when they die*: and women *alſo* ought to have a part of what *their* parents and kindred leave [m], whether it be little, or whether it be much; a determinate part *is*

[g] *Or the ſlaves which ye ſhall have acquired.*] For ſlaves requiring not ſo large a dower, nor ſo good and plentiful a maintenance as free women, a man might keep ſeveral of the former, as eaſily as one of the latter.

[h] *Examine the orphans*, &c.] i. e. Try whether they be well grounded in the principles of religion, and have ſufficient prudence for the management of their affairs. Under this expreſſion is alſo comprehended the duty of a curator's inſtructing his pupils in thoſe reſpects.

[i] *Until they attain the age of marriage*;] Or age of maturity, which is generally reckoned to be fifteen; a deciſion ſupported by a tradition of their prophet; though *Abu Hanifah* thinks eighteen the proper age (1).

[k] *Becauſe they grow up*,] i. e. Becauſe they will ſhortly be of age, to receive what belongs to them.

[l] *According to what ſhall be reaſonable.*] That is, no more than what ſhall make ſufficient recompence for the trouble of their education.

[m] *Women ought to have a part of what their parents and kindred leave.*] This law was given to aboliſh a cuſtom of the pagan *Arabs*, who ſuffered not women or children to have any part of their huſband's or father's inheritance; on pretence that they only ſhould inherit who were able to go to war (2).

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI. (2) *Idem*

due

due to them. And when they who are of kin are present at the dividing *of what is left*, and also the orphans, and the poor; distribute unto them *some part* thereof; and *if the estate be too small, at least* speak comfortably unto them. And let those fear *to abuse orphans*, who if they leave behind them a weak off-spring, are sollicitous for them: let them therefore fear God, and speak that which is convenient [n]. Surely they who devour the possessions of orphans unjustly, shall swallow down nothing but fire into their bellies, and shall broil in raging flames. God hath *thus* commanded you concerning your children. A male shall have as much as the share of two females [o]: but if they be females *only, and* above two *in number*, they shall have two third parts of what *the deceased* shall leave [p]; and if there be *but* one, she shall have the half [q]. And the parents of *the deceased* shall have each of them a sixth part of what he shall leave, if he have a child: but if he have no child, and his parents be his heirs, then his mother shall have the third part [r]. And if he have brethren, his mother shall have a sixth part, after the legacies [s]

[n] *Let them speak that which is convenient*;] *viz.* Either to comfort the children, or to assure the dying father they shall be justly dealt by (1).

[o] *A male shall have as much as the share of two females.*] This is the general rule to be followed in the distribution of the estate of the deceased, as may be observed in the following cases (2).

[p] *If there be above two in number, they shall have two third parts*, &c.] Or if there be two and no more, they will have the same share.

[q] And the remaining third part, or the remaining moiety of the estate, which is not here expressly disposed of, if the deceased leaves behind him no son, nor a father, goes to the public treasury. It must be observed that Mr. *Selden* is certainly mistaken, when, in explaining this passage of the *Korân*, he says, that, where there is a son and an only daughter, each of them will have a moiety (3): for the daughter can have a moiety but in one case only, that is, where there is no son; for if there be a son, she can have but a third, according to the abovementioned rule.

[r] *His mother shall have the third part*;] And his father consequently the other two thirds (4).

[s] *The legacies.*] By *legacies* in this and the following passages are chiefly meant those bequeathed to pious uses; for the *Mohammedans* approve not of a person's giving away his substance from his family and near relations on any other account.

(1) *Al* Beidawi. (2) *V. Prelim. Disc.* §. VI. (3) Selden, *de Succes. ad leges Ebræor. l.* 1. *c.* i. (4) *Al* Beidawi.

which

which he ſhall bequeath, and his debts *be paid*. Ye know not whether your parents or your children be of greater uſe unto you. *This is* an ordinance from GOD, and GOD is knowing and wiſe. Moreover ye may claim half of what your wives ſhall leave, if they have no iſſue; but if they have iſſue, then ye ſhall have the fourth part of what they ſhall leave, after the legacies which they ſhall bequeath, and the debts *be paid*. They alſo ſhall have the fourth part of what ye ſhall leave, in caſe ye have no iſſue; but if ye have iſſue, then they ſhall have the eighth part of what ye ſhall leave, after the legacies which ye ſhall bequeath, and your debts *be paid*. And if a man or woman's *ſubſtance* be inherited by a diſtant relation [t], and he *or ſhe* have a brother or ſiſter; each of them two ſhall have a ſixth part *of the eſtate* [u]. But if there be more than this *number*, they ſhall be *equal* ſharers in a third part, after *payment of* the legacies which ſhall be bequeathed, and the debts, without prejudice *to the heirs*. *This is* an ordinance from GOD: and GOD is knowing and gracious. Theſe are the ſtatutes of GOD. And whoſo obeyeth GOD and his apoſtle, *GOD* ſhall lead him into gardens wherein rivers flow, they ſhall continue therein for ever; and this ſhall be great happineſs. But whoſo diſobeyeth GOD, and his apoſtle, and tranſgreſſeth his ſtatutes, *GOD* ſhall caſt him into *hell* fire; he ſhall remain therein for ever, and he ſhall ſuffer a ſhameful puniſhment. If any of your women be guilty of whoredom [w], produce four witneſſes from among you againſt them, and if they bear witneſs *againſt them*, impriſon them in *ſeparate* apartments until death releaſe them, or GOD affordeth

[t] For this may happen by contract, or on ſome other ſpecial occaſion.

[u] *Each of them ſhall have a ſixth part*, &c.] Here, and in the next caſe, the brother and ſiſter are made equal ſharers, which is an exception to the general rule, of giving a male twice as much as a female; and the reaſon is ſaid to be, becauſe of the ſmallneſs of the portion, which deſerve not ſuch exactneſs of diſtribution; for, in other caſes, the rule holds between brother and ſiſter, as well as other relations (1).

[w] *Whoredom*,] Either adultery or fornication.

(1) *See this chap. near the end.*

them

them a way *to escape* [x]. And if two of you commit the like *wickedness* [y], punish them both [z]: but if they repent and amend, let them both alone; for God is easy to be reconciled and merciful. Verily repentance *will be accepted* with God, from those who do evil ignorantly, and then repent speedily; unto them will God be turned: for God is knowing and wise. But no repentance *shall be accepted* from those who do evil until *the time* when death presenteth itself unto one of them, *and he* saith, Verily I repent now; nor unto those who die unbelievers: for them have we prepared a grievous punishment. O true believers, it is not lawful for you to be heirs of women against their will [a], nor to hinder them *from marrying*

[x] *Imprison them—till death release them*, &c.] Their punishment in the beginning of *Mohammedism* was to be immured till they died, but afterwards this cruel doom was mitigated, and they might avoid it by undergoing the punishment ordained in its stead by the *Sonna*; according to which the maidens are to be scourged with a hundred stripes, and to be banished for a full year; and the married women to be stoned (1).

[y] *And if two of you commit the like wickedness*, &c.] The commentators are not agreed whether the text speaks of fornication or sodomy. *Al Zamakhshari*, and, from him, *al Beidâwi* suppose the former is here meant: but *Jallalo'ddin* is of opinion that the crime intended in this passage must be committed between two men, and not between a man and a woman; not only because the pronouns are in the masculine gender; but, because both are ordered to suffer the same slight punishment, and are both allowed the same repentance and indulgence; and especially for that a different and much severer punishment is appointed for the women in the preceding words. *Abu'l Kâsem Hebatallah* takes simple fornication to be the crime intended, and that this passage is abrogated by that of the 24th chapter, where the man and the woman, who shall be guilty of fornication are ordered to be scourged with a hundred stripes each.

[z] *Punish them both.*] The original is, *Do them some hurt or damage*: by which some understand that they are only to reproach them in public (2), or strike them on the head with their slippers (3), (a great indignity in the east;) though some imagine they may be scourged (4).

[a] *It is not lawful for you to be heirs of women against their will.*] It was customary among the pagan *Arabs*, when a man died, for one of his relations to claim a right to his widow, which he asserted by throwing his garment over her; and then he either married her himself, if he thought fit, on assigning her the same dower that her former husband had done, or kept her dower and married her to another, or else refused to let her marry unless she redeemed herself by quitting what she might claim of her husband's goods (5). This unjust custom is abolished by this passage.

(1) Jallalo'ddin. (2) *Idem.* Yahyâ, Abu'l Kasem Hebatallah, *Al* Beidawi. (3) Jallalo'ddin, *Al* Beidawi. (4) *Al* Beidawi. (5) *Idem.*

others

others [b], that ye may take away part of what ye have given them *in dowry*; unleſs they have been guilty of a manifeſt crime [c]: but converſe kindly with them. And, if ye hate them, it may happen that ye may hate a thing wherein GOD hath placed much good. If ye be deſirous to exchange a wife for *another* wife [d], and ye have already given one of them a talent [e]; take not away any thing therefrom [f]: will ye take it by ſlandering *her*, and *doing her* manifeſt injuſtice? And how can ye take it, ſince the one of you hath gone in unto the other, and they have received from you a firm covenant? Marry not women, whom your fathers have had to wife; (except what is already paſt:) for this is uncleanneſs, and an abomination, and an evil way. Ye are forbidden *to marry* your mothers, and your daughters, and your ſiſters, and your aunts, both on the fathers and on the mothers ſide, and your brothers daughters, and your ſiſters daughters, and your mothers who have given you ſuck, and your foſter-ſiſters, and your wives mothers, and your daughters-in-law who are under your tuition, *born* of your wives unto whom ye have gone in, (but, if ye have not gone in unto them, it ſhall be no ſin in you *to marry them*,) and the wives of your ſons who *proceed* out of your loins; and *ye are alſo forbidden* to take to wife two ſiſters [g]: except what is already paſt: for GOD is gracious and merciful. * *Ye are* alſo *forbidden to take to wife* V. free women *who are married*, except thoſe *women*

[b] *Nor to hinder them from marrying others.*] Some ſay theſe words are directed to huſbands who uſed to impriſon their wives without any juſt cauſe, and out of covetouſneſs, merely to make them relinquiſh their dower or their inheritance (1).

[c] *A manifeſt crime.*] Such as diſobedience, ill behaviour, immodeſty, and the like (2).

[d] *If ye be deſirous to exchange a wife for another wife*, &c.] That is, by divorcing one, and marrying another.

[e] *A talent*] i. e. Ever ſo large a dower.

[f] See chap. 2. p. 120.

[g] *Ye are forbidden to take to wife two ſiſters.*] The ſame was alſo prohibited by the *Levitical* law (3).

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI. (2) *Idem.* (3) *Levit.* xviii. 18.

whom your right hands shall possess *as slaves* [h]. *This is* ordained you from God. Whatever is besides this, is allowed you; that ye may, with your substance, provide *wives* for yourselves, acting that which is right, and avoiding whoredom. And, for the advantage which ye receive from them, give them their reward [i], according to what is ordained: but it shall be no crime in you to make any other agreement among yourselves [k], after the ordinance *shall be complied with*; for God is knowing and wise. Whoso among you hath not means sufficient that he may marry free women, who are believers, *let him marry* with such of your maid-servants whom your right hands possess, as are true believers; for God well knoweth your faith. Ye are the one from the other [l]: therefore marry them with the consent of their masters; and give them their dower according to justice; *such as are* modest, not guilty of whoredom, nor entertaining lovers. And, when they are married, if they be guilty of adultery, they shall suffer half the punishment which *is appointed* for the free women [m]. This *is allowed* unto him among you, who feareth to sin *by marrying free women*; but, if ye abstain *from*

[h] *Ye are forbidden to take to wife free women who are married, except those women whom ye shall possess as slaves.*] According to this passage it is not lawful to marry a free woman that is already married, be she a *Mohammedan* or not, unless she be legally parted from her husband by divorce; but it is lawful to marry those who are slaves, or taken in war, after they shall have gone through the proper purifications, though their husbands be living. Yet, according to the decision of *Abu Hanifah*, it is not lawful to marry such whose husbands shall be taken, or in actual slavery with them (1).

[i] *Give them their reward*;] That is, assign them their dower.

[k] *It shall be no crime in you to make any other agreement among yourselves*, &c.] That is, either to increase the dower, or to abate some part or even the whole of it.

[l] *Ye are one from the other*;] Being alike descended from *Adam*, and of the same faith (2).

[m] *The slaves, if guilty of adultery, shall suffer half the punishment of the free women.*] The reason of this is, because they are not presumed to have had so good education. A slave therefore, in such a case, is to have fifty stripes, and to be banished for half a year; but she shall not be stoned, because it is a punishment which cannot be inflicted by halves (3).

(1) *Al* Beidawi. (2) *Idem.* (3) *Idem.*

marrying

marrying slaves, it will be better for you; GOD is gracious and merciful. GOD is willing to declare *these things* unto you, and to direct you according to the ordinances of those who *have gone* before you [n], and to be merciful unto you. GOD is knowing and wise. GOD desireth to be gracious unto you; but they who follow *their* lusts [o], desire that ye should turn aside *from the truth* with great deviation. GOD is minded to make *his religion* light unto you: for man was created weak [p]. O true believers! consume not your wealth among yourselves in vanity [q]; unless there be merchandizing among you by mutual consent: neither slay yourselves [r]; for GOD is merciful towards you: and whoever doth this maliciously [s] and wickedly, he will surely cast him to be broiled in *hell* fire; and this is easy with GOD. If ye turn aside from the grievous sins [t]; of those which ye

[n] *Of those who have been before you*;] *viz.* Of the prophets, and other holy and prudent men of former ages (1).

[o] *They who follow their lusts*, &c.] Some commentators suppose that these words have a particular regard to the *Magians*, who formerly were frequently guilty of incestuous marriages, their prophet *Zerdusht* having allowed them to take their mothers and sisters to wife; and also to the *Jews*, who likewise might marry within some of the degrees here prohibited (2).

[p] *For man was created weak*;] Being unable to refrain from women, and too subject to be led away by carnal appetites (3).

[q] *Consume not your wealth in vanity*;] That is, employ it not in things prohibited by GOD; such as usury, extortion, rapine, gaming, and the like (4).

[r] *Neither slay yourselves*;] Literally, *slay not your souls*; i. e. says *Jallalo'ddin*, by committing mortal sins, or such crimes as will destroy them. Others, however, are of opinion that self-murder, which the gentile *Indians* did, and still do, often practise in honour of their idols, or else the taking away the life of any true believer, is hereby forbidden (5).

[s] See Wisdom xvi. 14. in the vulgate.

[t] *Grievous sins.*] These sins *al Beidâwi*, from a tradition of *Mohammed*, reckons to be seven (equalling in number the sins called deadly by *Christians*) that is to say, idolatry, murder, falsly accusing modest women of adultery, wasting the substance of orphans, taking of usury, desertion in a religious expedition, and disobedience to parents. But *Ebn Abbâs* says, they amount to near seven hundred; and others suppose that idolatry only, of different kinds, in worshipping idols or any crea-

(1) JALLALO'DDIN. *Al* BEIDAWI. (2) *Al* BEIDAWI. (3) *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN. (4) *Idem*. (5) *Al* BEIDAWI.

ture

ye are forbidden *to commit*, we will cleanse you from your *smaller* faults; and will introduce you *into paradise* with an honourable entry. Covet not that which GOD hath bestowed on some of you preferably to others [u]. Unto the men *shall be given* a portion of what they shall have gained; and unto the women *shall be given* a portion of what they shall have gained [w]: therefore ask GOD of his bounty; for GOD is omniscient. We have appointed unto every one kindred, *to inherit part* of what their parents and relations shall leave *at their deaths*. And, unto those with whom your right hands have made an alliance, give their part *of the inheritance* [x]; for GOD is witness of all things. Men shall have the pre-eminence above women, because of those *advantages* wherein GOD hath caused the one of them to excel the other [y], and for that which they expend of their

ture, either in opposition to, or jointly with, the true GOD, is here intended; that sin being generally esteemed by *Mohammedans*, and, in a few lines after declared, by the *Korân* itself, to be the only one which GOD will not pardon (1).

[u] *Covet not that which* GOD *hath bestowed on some of you preferably to others*;] Such as honour, power, riches, and other worldly advantages. Some, however, understand this of the distribution of inheritances according to the preceding determinations, whereby some have a larger share than others (2).

[w] *Unto the men shall be given a portion of what they shall have gained*, &c.] That is, they shall be blessed according to their deserts; and ought, therefore, instead of displeasing GOD, by envying of others, to endeavour to merit his favour by good works, and to apply to him by prayer.

[x] *Unto those with whom ye have made an alliance, give their part*, &c.] A precept conformable to an old custom of the *Arabs*, that, where persons mutually entered into a strict friendship or confederacy, the surviving friend should have a sixth part of the deceased's estate. But this was afterwards abrogated, according to *Jallalo'ddin* and *al Zamakhshari*, at least as to infidels. The passage may likewise be understood of a private contract, whereby the survivor is to inherit a certain part of the substance of him who dies first (3).

[y] *Because of those advantages wherein* GOD *hath caused the one to excel the other*;] Such as superior understanding and strength, and the other privileges of the male sex, which enjoys the dignities in church and state, goes to war in defence of GOD's true religion, and claims a double share of their deceased ancestors estates (4).

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI. *See before, chap. 2. p. 16 and 17.* (2) *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN. (3) *V. Al* BEIDAWI. (4) *Idem.*

sub-

ſubſtance *in maintaining their wives.* The honeſt women *are* obedient, careful in the abſence *of their huſbands* [z], for that GOD preſerveth *them, by committing them to the care and protection of the men.* But thoſe, whoſe perverſeneſs ye ſhall be apprehenſive of, rebuke; and remove them into ſeparate apartments [a], and chaſtiſe them [b]. But, if they ſhall be obedient unto you, ſeek not an occaſion *of quarrel* againſt them; for GOD is high and great. And, if ye fear a breach between the *huſband and wife*, ſend a judge [c] out of his family, and a judge out of her family: if they ſhall deſire a reconciliation, GOD will cauſe them to agree; for GOD is knowing and wiſe. Serve GOD, and aſſociate no creature with him; and *ſhew* kindneſs unto parents, and relations, and orphans, and the poor, and *your* neighbour, who is of kin to you [d], and alſo *your* neighbour who is a ſtranger, and to *your* familiar companion, and the traveller, and *the captives* whom your right hands ſhall poſſeſs; for GOD loveth not the proud *or* vainglorious, who are covetous, and recommend covetouſneſs unto men, and conceal that which GOD, of his bounty, hath given them [e]; (we have prepared a ſhameful puniſhment for the unbelievers;) and who beſtow their wealth *in charity* to be obſerved of men, and believe not in GOD, nor in the laſt day; and

[z] *Careful in the abſence of their huſbands*;] Both to preſerve their huſband's ſubſtance from loſs or waſte, and themſelves from all degrees of immodeſty (1).

[a] *Remove them into ſeparate apartments*;] That is, baniſh them from your bed.

[b] *And chaſtiſe them.*] By this paſſage the *Mohammedans* are, in plain terms, allowed to beat their wives, in caſe of ſtubborn diſobedience; but not in a violent or dangerous manner (2).

[c] *Send a judge*, &c.] i. e. Let the magiſtrate firſt ſend two arbitrators or mediators, one on each ſide, to compoſe the difference, and prevent, if poſſible, the ill conſequences of an open rupture.

[d] *Your neighbour who is of kin to you*;] Either of your own nation or religion.

[e] *And conceal that which* GOD, *of his bounty, hath given them*;] Whether it be wealth, knowledge, or any other talent whereby they may help their neighbour.

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. (2) *Al* BEIDAWI.

who,

whoever hath Satan for a companion, an evil companion *hath he!* And what *harm would befal* them if they ſhould believe in God, and the laſt day, and give alms out of that which God hath beſtowed on them? ſince God knoweth them *who do this.* Verily God will not wrong *any one, even* the weight of an ant [f]: and, if it be a good action, he will double it, and will recompenſe *it* in his ſight with a great reward. How *will it be with the unbelievers,* when we ſhall bring a witneſs out of each nation *againſt itſelf* [g], and ſhall bring thee, *O MOHAMMED!* a witneſs againſt theſe *people* [h]? In that day they who have not believed, and have rebelled againſt the apoſtle *of GOD,* ſhall wiſh the earth was levelled with them; and they ſhall not *be able to* hide any matter from God. O true believers! come not to prayers when ye are drunk [i], until ye underſtand what ye ſay; nor when ye are polluted by emiſſion of ſeed, unleſs ye be travelling on the road, until ye waſh yourſelves. But, if ye be ſick, or on a journey, or any of you come from eaſing nature, or have touched women, and find no water; take

[f] *God will not wrong any one the weight of an ant;*] Either by diminiſhing the recompenſe due to his good actions, or too ſeverely puniſhing his ſins. On the contrary, he will reward the former in the next life, far above their deſerts. The *Arabic* word *dharra,* which is tranſlated *an ant,* ſignifies a very ſmall ſort of that inſect, and is uſed to denote a thing that is exceeding ſmall, as a *mite.*

[g] *When we ſhall bring a witneſs out of each nation,* &c.] When the prophet, who was ſent to each nation in particular, ſhall, on the laſt day, be produced to give evidence againſt ſuch of them as refuſed to believe on him, or obſerved not the laws which he brought.

[h] *Againſt theſe people.*] That is, the *Arabians,* to whom *Mohammed* was, as he pretended, more peculiarly ſent (1).

[i] *Come not to prayers when ye are drunk,* &c.] It is related, that, before the prohibition of wine, *Abd alrahmân Ebn Awf* made an entertainment, to which he invited ſeveral of the apoſtle's companions; and after they had ate and drank plentifully, the hour of evening prayer being come, one of the company roſe up to pray; but, being overcome with liquor, made a ſhameful blunder in reciting a paſſage of the *Korân;* whereupon, to prevent the danger of any ſuch indecency for the future, this paſſage was revealed (2).

(1) *See before, c. 2. p. 26.* (2) *Al* Beidawi.

fine

fine clean sand, and rub your faces and your hands *therewith* [k]; for GOD is merciful, and inclined to forgive. Hast thou not observed those unto whom part of the scripture [l] was delivered? they sell error, and desire that ye may wander from the *right* way; but GOD well knoweth your enemies. GOD is a sufficient patron, and GOD is a sufficient helper. Of the Jews there are some who pervert words from their places [m]; and say, We have heard, and have disobeyed; and do thou hear without understanding *our meaning* [n], and look upon us [o]: perplexing with their tongues, and reviling the *true* religion. But if they had said, We have heard, and do obey; and do thou hear, and regard us [p]: certainly it were better for them, and more right. But GOD hath cursed them by reason of their infidelity; therefore a few *of them* only shall believe. O *ye* to whom the scriptures have been given! believe in the *revelation* which we have sent down, confirming that which is with you; before we deface *your* countenances, and render them as the back parts thereof [q]; or curse them, as we cursed those who transgressed on the sabbath-

[k] *Take sand and rub your faces and your hands therewith.*] See the *Prelim. Disc.* §. IV.

[l] *Those unto whom part of the scripture was delivered*;] Meaning the *Jews*, and particularly their *Rabbins*.

[m] *Who pervert words from their places*;] That is, (according to the commentators,) who change the true sense of the pentateuch by dislocating passages, or by wresting the words according to their own fancies and lusts (1). But *Mohammed* seems chiefly to intend here the *Jews* bantering of him in their addresses, by making use of equivocal words, seeming to bear a good sense in *Arabic*, but spoken by them in derision according to their acceptation in *Hebrew*; an instance of which he gives in the following words.

[n] *Without understanding*;] Literally, *without being made to hear*, or apprehend what we say.

[o] *Look upon us*;] The original word is *Raina*, which, being a term of reproach in *Hebrew*, *Mohammed* forbad their using to him (2).

[p] *And regard us.*] In *Arabic*, *Ondhorna*; which, having no ill equivocal meaning, the prophet ordered them to use instead of the former.

[q] *And render them as the back parts thereof*;] That is, perfectly plain, without eyes, nose, or mouth. The original, however, may also be translated, *and turn them behind*, by wringing their necks backward.

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. (2) *See before*, c. 2. *p.* 21.

day;

day [r]; and the command of God was fulfilled. Surely God will not pardon the giving him an equal [s]; but will pardon any other *sin*, except that, to whom he pleaseth [t]: and whoso giveth a companion unto God, hath devised a great wickedness. Hast thou not observed those who justify themselves [u]? But God justifieth whomsoever he pleaseth, nor shall *they* be wronged a hair [w]. Behold, how they imagine a lye against God; and therein is iniquity sufficiently manifest. Hast thou not considered those to whom part of the scripture hath been given? They believe in false gods and idols [x], and say of those who believe not, These are more rightly directed in the way *of truth*, than they who believe *on MOHAMMED*. Those are *the men* whom *GOD* hath cursed; and unto him whom God shall curse, thou shalt surely find no helper. Shall they have a part in the kingdom [y], since even then they would not bestow the

[r] *Those who transgressed on the sabbath-day*;] And were therefore changed into apes (1).

[s] *The giving him an equal*;] That is, idolatry of all kinds.

[t] *To whom he pleaseth*;] *viz.* To those who repent (2).

[u] *Those who justify themselves*;] i. e. The *Christians* and *Jews*, who called themselves *the children of* God, *and his beloved people* (3).

[w] *A hair.*] The original word signifies a little skin in the cleft of a date-stone, and is used to express a thing of no value.

[x] *In false gods and idols*;] The *Arabic* is, in *Jibt* and *Taghût*. The former is supposed to have been the proper name of some idol; but it seems rather to signify any false deity in general. The latter we have explained already (4).

It is said, that this passage was revealed on the following occasion: *Hoyai Ebn Akhtab* and *Caab Ebn al Ashraf* (5), two chief men among the *Jews*, with several others of that religion, went to *Mecca*, and offered to enter into a confederacy with the *Koreish*, and to join their forces against *Mohammed*. But the *Koreish*, entertaining some jealousy of them, told them, that the *Jews* pretended to have a written revelation from heaven, as well as *Mohammed*, and their doctrines and worship approached much nearer to what he taught, than the religion of their tribe; wherefore, said they, if you would satisfy us that you are sincere in the matter, do as we do, and worship our gods. Which proposal, if the story be true, these *Jews* complied with, out of their inveterate hatred to *Mohammed* (6).

[y] *Shall they have a part in the*

(1) *See before, c. 2. p. 13 and 14.* (2) *Al* Beidawi. (3) *Idem*, Jallalo'ddin. *See c. 5. not far from the beginning.* (4) *See p. 48, note o.* (5) *See before, p. 71, note z.* (6) *Al* Beidawi.

king-

the ſmalleſt matter [z] on men? Do they envy *other* men that which GOD, of his bounty, hath given them [a]? We formerly gave unto the family of ABRAHAM a book *of revelations* and wiſdom; and we gave them a great kingdom [b]. There is of them who believeth on him [c]; and there is of them who turneth aſide from him: but the raging fire of hell is *a* ſufficient *puniſhment*. Verily thoſe who diſbelieve our ſigns, we will ſurely caſt to be broiled in *hell* fire; ſo often as their ſkins ſhall be well burned, we will give them other ſkins in exchange, that they may take the *ſharper* torment; for GOD is mighty and wiſe. But thoſe who believe, and do that which is right, we will bring into gardens watered by rivers, therein ſhall they remain for ever, *and* there ſhall they enjoy wives free from all impurity; and we will lead them into perpetual ſhades. Moreover, GOD commandeth you to reſtore what ye are truſted with, to the owners [d]; and, when ye judge between men,

kingdom, &c.] For the *Jews* gave out that they ſhould be reſtored to their ancient power and grandeur (1); depending, it is to be preſumed, on the victorious *Meſſiah* whom they expected.

[z] *The ſmalleſt matter*;] The original word properly ſignifies a ſmall dent on the back of a date-ſtone; and is commonly uſed to expreſs a thing of little or no value.

[a] *Do they envy other men that which* GOD, *of his bounty, hath given them?*] *viz.* The ſpiritual gifts of prophecy, and divine revelations; and the temporal bleſſings of victory and ſucceſs, beſtowed on *Mohammed* and his followers.

[b] *We gave them a great kingdom.*] Wherefore GOD will doubtleſs ſhew equal favour to this prophet, (a deſcendant alſo of *Abraham,*) and thoſe who believe on him (2).

[c] *Who believeth on him*;] Namely, on *Mohammed*.

[d] GOD *commandeth you to return what ye are intruſted with, to the owners*;] This paſſage, it is ſaid, was revealed on the day of the taking of *Mecca*, the primary deſign of it being to direct *Mohammed* to return the keys of the *Caaba* to *Othmân Ebn Telha Ebn Abdaldâr*, who had then the honour to be keeper of that holy place (3), and not to deliver them to his uncle *al Abbâs*, who, having already the cuſtody of the well *Zemzem*, would fain have had alſo that of the *Caaba*. The prophet, obeying the divine order, *Othmân* was ſo affected with the juſtice of the action, notwithſtanding he had, at firſt, refuſed him entrance, that he immediately embraced *Mohammediſm*; whereupon the guardianſhip of the *Caaba* was

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI. (2) *Idem.* (3) *See* PRIDEAUX's *Life of* Mahom. *p.* 2.

con-

men, that ye judge according to equity: and surely an excellent *virtue it is* to which God exhorteth you; for God *both* heareth and seeth. O true believers! obey God, and obey the apostle, and those who are in authority among you; and, if ye differ in any thing, refer it unto God [g] and the apostle, if ye believe in God, and the last day: this is better, and a fairer *method of* determination. Hast thou not observed those who pretend they believe in what hath been revealed unto thee, and what hath been revealed before thee? They desire to go to judgment before Taghut [f], although they have been commanded not to believe in him; and Satan desireth to seduce him into a wide error. And, when it is said unto them, Come unto *the book* which God hath sent down, and to the apostle; thou seest the ungodly turn aside from thee, with *great* aversion. But how *will they behave* when a misfortune shall befal them, for that which their hands have sent before them? Then will they come unto thee, and swear by God,

confirmed to this *Othmân* and his heirs for ever (1).

[e] *Unto* God;] i. e. To the decision of the *Korân*.

[f] *They desire to go to judgment before* Taghut;] That is, before the tribunals of infidels. This passage was occasioned by the following remarkable accident. A certain *Jew* having a dispute with a wicked *Mohammedan*, the latter appealed to the judgment of *Caab Ebn al Ashraf*, a principal *Jew*, and the former to *Mohammed*. But, at length, they agreed to refer the matter to the prophet singly, who, giving it in favour of the *Jew*, the *Mohammedan* refused to acquiesce in his sentence, but would needs have it re-heard by *Omar*, afterwards *Khalif*. When they came to him, the *Jew* told him that *Mohammed* had already decided the affair in his favour; but that the other would not submit to his determination; and the *Mohammedan* confessing this to be true, *Omar* bid them stay a little, and, fetching his sword, struck off the obstinate *Moslem*'s head, saying aloud, *This is the reward of him who refuseth to submit to the judgment of* God *and his apostle*. And, from this action, *Omar* had the surname of *al Farûk*, which alludes both to his *separating* that knave's head from his body, and to his *distinguishing* between truth and falsehood (2). The name of *Taghût* (3), therefore, in this place, seems to be given to *Caab Ebn al Ashraf*.

(1) *Al* Beidawi. *See* D'Herbel. *Bibl. Orient. p.* 220, 221. (2) Jallalo'ddin, *Al* Beidawi. *See* D'Herbel. *Bibl. Orient.* p. 688 *and* Ockley's *Hist. of the Sarac. v.* 1. *p.* 365. (3) *See before, p.* 43 *and* 49.

say

saying, If we intended any other, than to do good, and to reconcile *the parties* [g]. GOD knoweth what is in the hearts of these *men*; therefore let them alone, and admonish them, and speak unto them a word which may affect their souls. We have not sent any apostle, but that he might be obeyed by the permission of GOD: but if they, after they have injured their own souls [h], come unto thee, and ask pardon of GOD, and the apostle ask pardon for them, they shall surely find GOD easy to be reconciled, and merciful. And by thy LORD they will not *perfectly* believe, until they make thee judge of their controversies; and shall not afterwards find in their own minds any hardship in what thou shalt determine; but shall acquiesce *therein* with *entire* submission. And, if we had commanded them, *saying*, Slay yourselves, or depart from your houses [i]; they would not have done it, except a few of them. And, if they had done what they were admonished, it would certainly have been better for them, and more efficacious for confirming *their faith*; and we should then have surely given them in our sight an *exceeding* great reward, and we should have directed them in the right way. Whoever obeyeth GOD and the apostle, they *shall be* with those unto whom GOD hath been gracious, of the prophets, and the sincere, and the martyrs, and the righteous; and these are the most excellent company. This is bounty from GOD; and GOD is sufficiently knowing. O true believers! take your *necessary* precaution [k] *against your enemies*, and *either* go forth *to*

[g] *They will swear they intended no other than to do good*, &c.] For this was the excuse of the friends of the *Mohammedan* whom *Omar* slew, when they came to demand satisfaction for his blood (1).

[h] *After they have injured their own souls*;] *viz.* By acting wickedly, and appealing to the judgment of infidels.

[i] *Slay yourselves, or depart from your houses*;] Some understand these words of their venturing their lives in a religious expedition; and others, of their undergoing the same punishments which the *Israelites* did, for their idolatry in worshiping the golden calf (2).

[k] *Take your precaution*;] i. e. Be vigilant, and provide yourselves with arms and necessaries.

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI. (2) *Idem. See before, p.* 10 *and* 11.

war in separate parties, or go forth all together *in a body*. There is of you who tarrieth behind [l]; and, if a misfortune befal you, he saith, Verily GOD hath been gracious unto me, that I was not present with them: but, if success attend you from GOD, he will say, (as if there was no friendship between you and him [m],) Would to GOD I had been with them, for I should have acquired great merit. Let them therefore fight for the religion of GOD, who part with the present life in exchange for that which is to come [n]; for whosoever fighteth for the religion of GOD, whether he be slain, or be victorious [o], we will surely give him a great reward. And what ails you, that ye fight not for GOD's true religion, and *in defence* of the weak among men, women, and children [p], who say, O LORD! bring us forth from this city, whose inhabitants are wicked; grant us from before thee a protector, and grant us from before thee a defender [q]. They who believe fight for the religion of

[l] *Who tarrieth behind*, &c.] *Mohammed* upbraids the hypocritical *Moslems*, who, for want of faith and constancy in their religion, were backward in going to war for it's defence.

[m] *As if there was no friendship between you and him*;] i. e. As one who attendeth not to the public, but his own private interest. Or else these may be the words of the hypocritical *Mohammedan* himself, insinuating that he stayed not behind the rest of the army by his own fault, but was left by *Mohammed*, who chose to let the others share in his good fortune, preferably to him (1).

[n] *Who part with the present life in exchange for that which is to come*;] By venturing their lives and fortunes in defence of the faith.

[o] *Whether he be slain, or be victorious.*] For no man ought to quit the field, till he either fall a martyr, or gain some advantage for the cause (2).

[p] *In defence of the weak*, &c.] *viz.* Those believers who stayed behind at *Mecca*, being detained there either forcibly by the idolaters, or for want of means to fly for refuge to *Medina*. *Al Beidâwi* observes that *children* are mentioned here, to shew the inhumanity of the *Korrish*, who persecuted even that tender age.

[q] *O* LORD! *bring us forth from this city, and grant us from thee a protector*, &c.] This petition, the commentators say, was heard. For GOD afforded several of them an opportunity and means of escaping, and delivered the rest at the taking of *Mecca* by *Mohammed*, who left *Otâb Ebn Osaid* governor of the city: and, under his care and protection, those who had suffered for their religion, became the most considerable men in the place.

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI. (2) *Idem.*

GOD;

GOD; but they who believe not fight for the religion of TAGHUT [r]. Fight therefore against the friends of SATAN, for the stratagem of SATAN is weak. Hast thou not observed those unto whom it was said, With-hold your hands *from war*, and be constant at prayers, and pay the legal alms [s]? But, when war is commanded them, behold, a part of them fear men as they should fear GOD, or with a greater fear, and say, O LORD! wherefore hast thou commanded us to go to war, and hast not suffered us to wait *our* approaching end [t]? Say *unto them*, The provision of this life is *but* small; but the future *shall be* better for him who feareth *GOD*; and ye shall not be in the least injured *at the day of judgment*. Whereſoever ye be, death will overtake you, although ye be in lofty towers. If good befal them, they say, This is from GOD; but, if evil befal them, they say, This is from thee, *O MOHAMMED* [u]! say, All is from GOD; and what aileth these people, that they are so far from understanding what is said *unto them?* Whatever good befalleth thee, *O man!* it is from GOD; and whatever evil befalleth thee, it is from thyself [w]. We have sent thee an apostle unto men, and GOD is a sufficient witness *thereof*. Whoever obeyeth the apostle, obeyeth GOD; and whoever turneth back, we have not sent thee *to be* a keeper over them [x]. They say, Obedience: yet, when they go forth from thee,

[r] *Taghût.*] See before, p. 48 and 49.

[s] *Hast thou not observed those unto whom it was said, With-hold your hands from war*, &c.] These were some of *Mohammed*'s followers, who readily performed the duties of their religion, so long as they were commanded nothing that might endanger their lives.

[t] *Our approaching end*;] That is, a natural death.

[u] *If evil befal them, they say, This is from thee*;] As the *Jews* in particular, who pretended that their land was grown barren, and provisions scarce, since *Mohammed* came to *Medina* (1).

[w] *Whatever evil befalleth thee, it is from thyself*;] These words are not to be understood as contradictory to the preceding, *That all proceeds from* GOD; since the evil which befals mankind, though ordered by GOD, is yet the consequence of their own wicked actions.

[x] *We have not sent thee to be a keeper over them*;] Or, to take an account of their actions; for this is GOD's part.

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI.

part

part of them meditate by night a *matter* different from what thou speakest; but God shall write down what they meditate by night: therefore let them alone, and trust in God, for God is a sufficient protector. Do they not attentively consider the Koran? if it had been from any besides God, they would certainly have found therein many contradictions. When any news cometh unto them, either of security or fear, they *immediately* divulge it; but if they told it to the apostle, and to those who are in authority among them, such of them would understand *the truth of* the matter, as inform themselves thereof *from the apostle and his chiefs*. And, if the favour of God, and his mercy, *had* not *been* upon you, ye had followed the devil, except a few *of you*[y]. Fight therefore for the religion of God, and oblige not any to what is difficult[z], except thyself; however, excite the faithful *to war*; perhaps God will restrain the courage of the unbelievers; for God is stronger *than they*, and more able to punish. He who intercedeth *between men*, with a good intercession[a], shall have a portion thereof; and he who intercedeth, with an evil intercession, shall have a portion

y *If* God's *mercy had not been upon you, ye had followed the devil, except a few of you:*] That is, if God had not sent his apostle with the *Korân* to instruct you in your duty, ye had continued in idolatry, and been doomed to destruction; except only those, who, by God's favour, and their superior understanding, should have true notions of the divinity; such, for example, as *Zeid Ebn Amru Ebn Nofail* (1), and *Waraka Ebn Nawfal* (2), who left idols, and acknowledged but one God, before the mission of *Mohammed* (3).

z *Oblige not any to what is difficult, except thyself;*] It is said this passage was revealed when the *Mohammedans* refused to follow their prophet to the lesser expedition of *Bedr*, so that he was obliged to set out with no more than 70 (4). Some copies vary in this place, and instead of *la tokallafo*, in the second person singular, read *la nokallafo*, in the first person plural, *We do not oblige*, &c. The meaning being, that the prophet only was under an indispensable necessity of obeying God's commands, however difficult, but others might chuse, though at their peril.

a *With a good intercession;*] i. e. To maintain the right of a believer, or to prevent his being wronged.

(1) *V.* Millium, *de Mohammedismo ante Moh. p.* 311, (2) *See* the *Prelim. Disc. p.* 56. (3) *Al* Beidawi. (4) *See before*, *th.* 3. *p.* 86.

thereof;

thereof; for GOD overlooketh all things. When ye are saluted with a salutation, salute *the person* with a better salutation [b], or, *at least*, return the same; for GOD taketh an account of all things. GOD! there is no GOD but he; he will surely gather you together on the day of resurrection; there is no doubt of it: and who is more true than GOD in what he saith? Why are ye *divided* concerning the ungodly into two parties [c]; since GOD hath overturned them for what they have committed? Will ye direct him whom God hath led astray; since for him whom GOD shall lead astray, thou shalt find no *true* path? They desire that ye should become infidels, as they are infidels, and that ye should be equally *wicked with themselves*. Therefore take not friends from among them, until they fly *their country* for the religion of GOD; and if they turn back *from the faith*, take them, and kill them wherever ye find them; and take no friend from among them, nor any helper, except those who go unto a people who are in alliance with you [d], or those who come unto you, their hearts forbidding them either to fight against you, or to fight against their own people [e]. And, if GOD pleased, he would have permitted them to have prevailed against

[b] *Salute the person with a better salutation*;] By adding something farther. As, when one salutes another by this form, *Peace be upon thee*, he ought not only to return the salutation, but to add, *and the mercy of* GOD, *and his blessing*.

[c] *Why are ye divided concerning the ungodly into two parties?*] This passage was revealed, according to some, when certain of *Mohammed*'s followers, pretending not to like *Medina*, desired leave to go elsewhere; and, having obtained it, went farther and farther, till they joined the idolaters; or, as others say, on occasion of some deserters at the battle of *Obod*; concerning whom the *Moslems* were divided in opinion whether they should be slain, as infidels, or not.

[d] *A people who are in alliance with you*;] The people here meant, say some, were the tribe of *Khozâah*; or, according to others, the *Aslamians*, whose chief, named *Helâl Ebn Owaimar*, agreed with *Mohammed*, when he set out against *Mecca*, to stand neuter; or, as others rather think, *Banu Becr Ebn Zeid* (1).

[e] *Whose hearts forbid them to fight either against you, or their own people*:] These, it is said, were the tribe of *Modlaj*, who came in to *Mohammed*, but would not be obliged to assist him in war.

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN.

you,

you, and they would have fought againſt you. But, if they depart from you, and fight not againſt you, and offer you peace, God doth not allow you *to take or kill* them. Ye ſhall find others who are deſirous to enter into a confidence with you, and, *at the ſame time*, to preſerve a confidence with their own people [f]: ſo often as they return to ſedition, they ſhall be ſubverted therein; and, if they depart not from you, and offer you peace, and reſtrain their hands *from warring againſt you*, take them and kill them whereſoever ye find them; over theſe have we granted you a manifeſt power. It is not *lawful* for a believer to kill a believer, unleſs *it happen* by miſtake [g]; and whoſo killeth a believer by miſtake, *the penalty ſhall be* the freeing of a believer from ſlavery, and a fine to be paid to the family of *the deceaſed* [h], unleſs they remit *it* as alms: and, if *the ſlain perſon* be of a people at enmity with you, and be a true believer, *the penalty ſhall be* the freeing of a believer [i]; but, if he be of a people in confederacy with you, a fine to be paid to his family, and the freeing of a believer. And he who findeth not *wherewith to do this*, ſhall faſt two months conſecutively, *as* a penance *injoined* from God; and God is knowing and wiſe. But whoſo killeth a believer deſignedly, his reward ſhall be hell; he ſhall remain therein *for ever* [k]; and God ſhall be angry with him, and ſhall

[f] *Who deſire to enter into a confidence with you*, &c.] The perſons hinted at here, were the tribes of *Aſad* and *Ghatfân*, or, as ſome ſay, *Banu Abdaldâr*, who came to *Medina* and pretended to embrace *Mohammediſm*, that they might be truſted by the *Moſlems*; but, when they returned, fell back to their old idolatry (1).

[g] *Unleſs it be by miſtake*;] That is, by accident, and without deſign. This paſſage was revealed to decide the caſe of *Ayâſh Ebn Abi Rabîa*, the brother, by the mother's ſide, of *Abu Jahl*, who meeting *Hareth Ebn Zeid* on the road, and not knowing that he had embraced *Mohammediſm*, flew him (3).

[h] *And a fine to be paid to the family of the deceaſed*;] Which fine is to be diſtributed according to the laws of inheritances given in the beginning of this chapter (4).

[i] *The freeing of a true believer*;] And no fine ſhall be paid, becauſe, in ſuch caſe, his relations, being infidels, and at open war with the *Moſlems*, have no right to inherit what he leaves.

[k] *He ſhall remain therein for ever*;] That is, unleſs he repent.

(1) *Al* Beidawi. (2) *Idem.* (3) *Idem.* (4) *Idem.* Others

ſhall curſe him, and ſhall prepare for him a great puniſhment. O true believers! when ye are on a march in defence of the true religion, juſtly diſcern *ſuch as ye ſhall happen to meet*, and ſay not unto him who ſaluteth you, Thou art not a true believer [l]; ſeeking the accidental goods of the preſent life [m]; for with GOD is much ſpoil. Such have ye formerly been; but GOD hath been gracious unto you [n]; therefore make a juſt diſcernment, for GOD is well acquainted with that which ye do. Thoſe believers who ſit ſtill *at home*, not having any hurt [o], and thoſe who employ their fortunes, and their perſons, for the religion of GOD, ſhall not be held equal. GOD hath preferred thoſe who employ their fortunes, and their perſons, *in that cauſe*, to a degree *of honour* above thoſe who ſit at home: GOD hath indeed promiſed every one paradiſe, but GOD hath preferred thoſe who fight *for the faith* before thoſe who ſit ſtill, *by adding unto them* a great reward, *by* degrees *of honour conferred on them* from him, and *by granting them* forgiveneſs, and mercy; for GOD is indulgent *and*

Others, however, underſtand not here an eternity of damnation, (for it is the general doctrine of the *Mohammedans* that none who profeſs that faith ſhall continue in hell for ever) but only a long ſpace of time (1).

[l] *Say not unto him who ſaluteth you, Thou art not a true believer*;] On pretence that he only feigns to be a *Moſlem*, that he might eſcape from you. The commentators mention more inſtances than one, of perſons ſlain and plundered by *Mohammed*'s men under this pretext, notwithſtanding they declared themſelves *Moſlems* by repeating the uſual form of words, and ſaluting them; for which reaſon this paſſage was revealed, to prevent ſuch raſh judgments for the future.

[m] *Seeking the accidental goods of this life*;] That is, being willing to judge him an infidel, only that ye may kill and plunder him.

[n] *Such were ye formerly*, &c.] *viz.* At your firſt profeſſion of *Iſlamiſm*, before ye had given any demonſtrations of your ſincerity and zeal therein.

[o] *Not having any hurt*;] i. e. Not being diſabled from going to war by ſickneſs, or other juſt impediment. It is ſaid; that, when the paſſage was firſt revealed, there was no ſuch exception therein, which occaſioned *Ebn Omm Maktûm*, on his hearing it repeated, to object, *And what if I ſhould be blind?* Whereupon *Mohammed*, falling into a kind of trance, which was ſucceeded by ſtrong agitations, pretended he had received the divine direction to add theſe words to the text (2).

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI. (2) *Idem.*

merciful. Moreover, unto those whom the angels put to death, having injured their own souls [p], *the angels* said, Of what *religion* were ye? they answered, We were weak in the earth [q]. *The angels* replied, Was not God's earth wide *enough*, that ye might fly therein *to a place of refuge* [r]? Therefore their habitation shall be hell; and an evil journey *shall it be thither*: except the weak among men, and women, and children, who were not able to find means, and were not directed in the way; these, peradventure, God will pardon, for God is ready to forgive *and* gracious. Whosoever flieth *from his country* for the sake of God's true religion, shall find in the earth many forced *to do the same*, and plenty *of provisions*. And whoever departeth from his house, and flieth unto God and his apostle, if death overtake him *in the way* [s], God will be obliged to reward him; for God is gracious *and* merciful. When ye march *to war* in the earth, it shall be no crime in you if ye shorten your prayers, in case ye fear the infidels may attack you; for the infidels are your open enemy. But when thou, *O prophet!* shalt be among them, and shalt pray with them, let a party of them arise to prayer with thee, and let them take their arms; and, when they shall have worshipped, let them

p *Those whom the angels put to death*, &c.] These were certain inhabitants of *Mecca*, who held with the hare, and ran with the hounds; for, though they embraced *Mohammedism*, yet they would not leave that city to join the prophet, as the rest of the *Moslems* did; but, on the contrary, went out with the idolaters, and were therefore slain with them at the battle of *Bedr* (1).

q *We were weak in the earth*;] Being unable to fly, and compelled to follow the infidels to war.

r *Was not* God's *earth wide enough, that ye might fly to a place of refuge?*] As they did who fled to *Ethiopia*, and to *Medina*.

s *If death overtake him in the way*;] This passage was revealed, says *al Beidâwi*, on account of *Jondob Ebn Damra*. This person being sick, was, in his flight, carried by his sons on a couch, and, before he arrived at *Medina*, perceiving his end approached, he clapped his right hand on his left, and solemnly plighting his faith to God and his apostle, died.

(1) *Al* Beidawi, Jallalo'ddin.

stand

ſtand behind you [t], and let another party come that hath not prayed, and let them pray with thee, and let them be cautious, and take their arms. The unbelievers would that ye ſhould neglect your arms, and your baggage, *while ye pray*, that they might turn upon you at once. It ſhall be no crime in you, if ye be incommoded by rain, or be ſick, that ye lay down your arms; but take your *neceſſary* precaution [u]: GOD hath prepared for the unbelievers an ignominious puniſhment. And, when ye ſhall have ended *your* prayer, remember GOD, ſtanding, and ſitting, and *lying* on your ſides [w]. But, when ye are ſecure *from danger*, complete *your* prayers; for prayer is commanded the faithful, *and* appointed *to be ſaid* at the ſtated times. Be not negligent in ſeeking out the *unbelieving* people, though ye ſuffer *ſome inconvenience*; for they *alſo* ſhall ſuffer, as ye ſuffer, and ye hope for *a reward* from GOD which they cannot hope for; and GOD is knowing *and* wiſe [x]. We have ſent down unto thee the book *of the KORAN* with truth, that thou mayeſt judge between men through that *wiſdom* which GOD ſheweth thee *therein*; and be not an advocate for the fraudulent [y]; but aſk pardon of

[t] *And let them ſtand behind you*;] To defend thoſe who are at prayers, and to face the enemy.

[u] *Take your neceſſary precaution*;] By keeping ſtrict guard.

[w] *Standing, and ſitting, and lying on your ſides*;] That is, in ſuch poſture as ye ſhall be able (1).

[x] *Be not negligent in ſeeking out the unbelievers*, &c.] This verſe was revealed on occaſion of the unwillingneſs of *Mohammed*'s men to accompany him in the leſſer expedition of *Bedr* (2).

[y] *And be not an advocate for the fraudulent*, &c.] *Tima Ebn Obeirak*, of the ſons of *Dhafar*, one of *Mohammed*'s companions, ſtole a coat of mail from his neighbour *Kitâda Ebn al Noman*, in a bag of meal; and hid it at a *Jew*'s, named *Zeid Ebn al Samîn*: *Tima* being ſuſpected, the coat of mail was demanded of him; but, he denying he knew any thing of it, they followed the track of the meal, which had ran out through a hole in the bag, to the *Jew*'s houſe, and there ſeized it, accuſing him of the theft; but he, producing witneſſes of his own religion, that he had it of *Tima*, the ſons of *Dhafar* came to *Mohammed*, and deſired him to defend his companion's reputation, and condemn the *Jew*; which he having ſome thoughts of doing, this paſſage was

(1) *See before*, c. 3. p. 90.

(2) *Al* BEIDAWI.

of God *for thy wrong intention*, since God is indulgent *and* merciful. Dispute not for those who deceive one another, for God loveth not him who is a deceiver *or* unjust[z]. *Such* conceal themselves from men, but they conceal not themselves from God; for he is with them when they imagine by night a saying which pleaseth *him* not[a], and God comprehendeth what they do. Behold, ye are they who have disputed for them in this present life; but who shall dispute with God for them on the day of resurrection, or who will become their patron? yet he who doth evil, or injureth his own soul, and afterwards asketh pardon of God, shall find God gracious *and* merciful. Whoso committeth wickedness, committeth it against his own soul: God is knowing *and* wise. And whoso committeth a sin or iniquity, and afterwards layeth it on the innocent, he shall surely bear *the guilt of* calumny and manifest injustice. If the indulgence and mercy of God had not been upon thee, surely a part of them had studied to seduce thee[b]; but they shall seduce themselves only, and shall not hurt thee at all. God hath sent down unto thee the book *of the KORAN* and wisdom, and hath taught thee that which thou knewest not[c]; for the favour of God hath been great towards thee. There is no good in the multitude of

revealed, reprehending him for his rash intention, and commanding him to judge, not according to his own prejudice and opinion, but according to the merit of the case (1).

[z] *For God loveth not a deceiver or unjust person*] *Al Beidâwi*, as an instance of the divine justice, adds, that *Tîma*, after the fact above-mentioned, fled to *Mecca*, and returned to idolatry; and there, undermining the wall of a house, in order to commit a robbery, the wall fell in upon him, and crushed him to death.

[a] *When they imagine by night a saying which pleaseth him not*;] That is, when they secretly contrive means, by false evidence, or otherwise, to lay their crimes on innocent persons.

[b] *A part of them had studied to seduce thee*;] Meaning the sons of *Dhafar*.

[c] *And hath taught thee that which thou knewest not*;] By instructing thee in the knowledge of right and wrong, and the rules of justice.

(1) *Al* Beidawi, Jallalo'ddin, Yahya.

their

their private discourses, unless *in the discourse* of him who recommendeth alms, or that which is right, or agreement amongst men: whoever doth this out of a desire to please GOD, we will surely give him a great reward. But whoso separateth himself from the apostle, after *true* direction hath been manifested unto him, and followeth any other way than that of the true believers, we will cause him to obtain that to which he is inclined [d], and will cast him to be burned in hell; and an unhappy journey shall it be *thither*. Verily GOD will not pardon the giving him a companion, but he will pardon *any crime* besides that, unto whom he pleaseth: and he who giveth a companion unto GOD, is surely led aside into a wide mistake: the *infidels* invoke, beside him, only female *deities* [e]; and only invoke rebellious SATAN. GOD cursed him; and he said, Verily I will take of thy servants a part cut off *from the rest* [f], and I will seduce them, and will insinuate *vain* desires into them, and I will command them and they shall cut off the ears of cattle [g]; and I will command them and they shall change GOD's creature [h]. But whoever taketh SATAN for his patron, besides GOD [i], shall surely

[d] *We will cause him to obtain that towards which he is inclined*;] *viz.* Error, and false notions of religion.

[e] *The infidels invoke besides him only female deities*;] Namely, *Allât*, *al Uzza*, and *Menât*, the idols of the *Meccans*; or the angels, whom they called the *daughters of* GOD (1).

[f] *A part cut off from the rest*;] Or, as the original may be translated, a part *destined* or *predetermined* to be seduced by me.

[g] *And they shall cut off the ears of cattle*;] Which was done out of superstition by the old pagan *Arabs*. See more of this custom in the notes to the 5th chapter.

[h] *And they shall change* GOD's *creature*;] Either by maiming it, or putting it to uses not designed by the Creator. *Al Beidâwi* supposes the text to intend, not only the superstitious amputations of the ears, and other parts of cattle, but the castration of slaves, the marking their bodies with figures, by pricking and dying them with woad or indico, (as the *Arabs* did and still do) the sharpening their teeth by filing; and also sodomy, and the unnatural amours between those of the female sex, the worship of the sun, moon, and other parts of nature, and the like.

[i] *Besides* GOD;] i. e. By leaving the service of GOD, and doing the works of the devil.

(1) *See the Prelim. Discourse*, §. I. *p.* 23, &c.

periſh with a manifeſt deſtruction. He maketh them promiſes, and inſinuateth into them vain deſires; yet SATAN maketh them only deceitful promiſes. The receptacle of theſe ſhall be hell; they ſhall find no refuge from it. But they who believe, and do good works, we will ſurely lead them into gardens, through which rivers flow, they ſhall continue therein for ever, *according to* the true promiſe of GOD; and who is more true than GOD in what he ſaith? It ſhall not be according to your deſires, nor *according to* the deſires of thoſe who have received the ſcriptures[k]. Whoſo doth evil ſhall be rewarded for it; and ſhall not find any patron or helper, beſide GOD; but whoſo doth good works, whether he be male or female, and is a true believer; they ſhall be admitted into paradiſe, and ſhall not, in the leaſt, be unjuſtly dealt with. Who is better in point of religion than he who reſigneth himſelf unto GOD, and is a worker of righteouſneſs; and followeth the law of ABRAHAM the orthodox? ſince GOD took ABRAHAM for his friend[l]: and to GOD *belongeth* whatſoever is in heaven

[k] *It ſhall not be according to your deſires, nor according to the deſires of thoſe who have received the ſcriptures*;] That is, the promiſes of GOD are not to be gained by acting after your own fancies, nor yet after the fancies of the *Jews* or *Chriſtians*, but by obeying the commands of GOD. This paſſage, they ſay, was revealed on a diſpute which aroſe between thoſe of the three religions, each preferring his own, and condemning the others. Some, however, ſuppoſe the perſons here ſpoken to in the ſecond perſon, were not the *Mohammedans*, but the idolaters (1).

[l] *Since* GOD *took* Abraham *for his friend*;] Therefore the *Mohammedans* uſually call that patriarch, as the ſcripture alſo does, *Khalil Allah*, the *Friend of* GOD, and ſimply *al Khalil*; and they tell the following ſtory: That *Abraham*, in a time of dearth, ſent to a friend of his in *Egypt* for a ſupply of corn; but the friend denied him, ſaying, in his excuſe; That, though there was a famine in their country alſo, yet, had it been for *Abraham*'s own family, he would have ſent what he deſired, but he knew he wanted it only to entertain his gueſts, and give away to the poor, according to his uſual hoſpitality. The ſervants whom *Abraham* had ſent on this meſſage, being aſhamed to return empty, to conceal the matter from their neighbours, filled their ſacks with fine white ſand, which, in the eaſt, pretty much reſembles meal.

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, YAHYA.

Here

ven and on earth; GOD comprehendeth all things. They will conſult thee concerning women [m]; Anſwer, GOD inſtructeth you concerning them [n]; and that which is read unto you in the book *of the KORAN* concerning female orphans, to whom ye give not that which is ordained them, neither will ye marry them [o], and concerning weak infants [p]; and that ye obſerve juſtice towards orphans: whatever good ye do, GOD knoweth it. If a woman fear ill uſage, or averſion from her huſband, it ſhall be no crime in them if they agree the matter amicably between themſelves [q]; for a reconciliation is better *than a ſeparation.* *Mens* ſouls are naturally inclined to covetouſneſs [r]: but, if ye be kind *towards women,*

Abraham, being informed by his ſervants, on their return, of their ill ſucceſs, the concern he was under threw him into a ſleep; and, in the mean time, *Sarah*, knowing nothing of what had happened, opening one of the ſacks, found good flower in it, and immediately ſet out about making of bread. *Abraham* awaking, and ſmelling the new bread, aſked her whence ſhe had the flower? *Why*, ſays ſhe, *from your friend in* Egypt; *Nay*, replied the Patriarch, *it muſt have come from no other than my friend*, GOD *Almighty* (1).

[m] *They will conſult thee concerning women*;] i. e. As to the ſhare they are to have in the diſtribution of the inheritances of their deceaſed relations; for it ſeems the *Arabs* were not ſatisfied with *Mohammed*'s decision in this point, againſt the old cuſtoms.

[n] GOD *inſtructeth you concerning them*, &c.] i. e. He hath already made his will known unto you, by revealing the paſſages concerning inheritances in the beginning of this chapter.

[o] *Neither will ye marry with them*;] Or the words may be rendered in the affirmative, *and whom ye deſire to marry.* For the Pagan *Arabs* uſed to wrong their female orphans in both inſtances; obliging them to marry againſt their inclinations, if they were beautiful or rich; or elſe not ſuffering them to marry at all, that they might keep what belonged to them (2).

[p] *And concerning weak infants*;] That is, male children of tender years, to whom the *Arabs*, in the time of Paganiſm, uſed to allow no ſhare in the diſtribution of their parents eſtate (3).

[q] *If they agree the matter between themſelves*;] *viz.* By the wife's remitting part of her dower, or other dues.

[r] *Mens ſouls are naturally inclined to covetouſneſs*;] So that the woman, on the one ſide, is unwilling to part with any of her right, and the huſband, on the other, cares not to retain one he has no affection for; or, if he ſhould retain her, ſhe can ſcarce expect he will uſe her in all reſpects as he ought (4).

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI. *See* D'HERBEL. *Bibl. Orient. p.* 14. *and* MORGAN'S *Mahometiſm explained, V.* 1. *p.* 132. (2) *Al* BEIDAWI. (3) *See before, p.* 93. *not.* [m]. (4) *Al* BEIDAWI.

and fear *to wrong them*, GOD is well acquainted with what ye do. Ye can, by no means, carry yourselves equally between women *in all respects*, although ye study *to do it*; therefore turn not *from a wife* with all *manner of* aversion [s], nor leave her like one in suspense [t]: if ye agree, and fear *to abuse your wives*, GOD is gracious *and* merciful; but, if they separate, GOD will satisfy *them* both of his abundance [u]; for GOD is extensive *and* wise, and unto GOD *belongeth* whatsoever is in heaven and on earth. We have already commanded those unto whom the scriptures were given before you, and *we command* you also, *saying*, Fear GOD; but, if ye disbelieve, unto GOD *belongeth* whatsoever is in heaven and on earth; and GOD is self-sufficient [w], *and* to be praised; for unto GOD *belongeth* whatsoever is in heaven and on earth, and GOD is a sufficient protector. If he pleaseth he will take you away, O men! and will produce others [x] *in your stead*; for GOD is able to do this. Whoso desireth the reward of this world, verily with GOD is the reward of this world, and *also* of that which is to come; GOD *both* heareth *and* seeth. O true believers! observe justice when ye bear witness before GOD, although *it be* against yourselves, or *your* parents, or relations; whether *the party* be rich, or *whether he be* poor; for GOD is more worthy than them both: therefore follow not *your own* lust *in bearing testimony*, so that ye swerve *from justice*. And

[s] *Turn not from a wife with all manner of aversion*;] i. e. Though you cannot use her equally well with a beloved wife, yet observe some measures of justice towards her; for, if a man is not able perfectly to perform his duty, he ought not, for that reason, intirely to neglect it (1).

[t] *Nor leave her like one in suspense*;] Or, like one who neither has a husband, nor is divorced and at liberty to marry elsewhere.

[u] GOD *will satisfy them both*, &c.] That is, either will bless them with a better and more advantageous match, or with peace and tranquillity of mind (2).

[w] GOD *is self-sufficient*;] Wanting the service of no creature.

[x] *And will produce others*, &c.] i. e. Either another race of men, or a different species of creatures.

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI. (2) *Idem.*

whether

whether ye wreſt *your evidence*, or decline *giving it*, GOD is well acquainted with that which ye do. O true believers! believe in GOD and his apoſtle, and the book which he hath cauſed to deſcend unto his apoſtle, and the book which he hath formerly ſent down [y]. And whoſoever believeth not in GOD, and his angels, and his ſcriptures, and his apoſtles, and the laſt day, he ſurely erreth in a wide miſtake. Moreover, they who believed, and, afterwards, became infidels, and then believed *again*, and, after that, diſbelieved, and increaſed in infidelity [z], GOD will, by no means, forgive them, nor direct them into the *right* way. Declare unto the ungodly [a] that they ſhall ſuffer a painful puniſhment. They who take the unbelievers for their protectors, beſides the faithful, do they ſeek for power with them? ſince all power belongeth unto GOD. And he hath already revealed unto you, in the book *of the KORAN* [b], *the following paſſage:* When ye ſhall hear the ſigns of GOD, they ſhall not be believed, but they ſhall be laughed to ſcorn. Therefore ſit not with them *who believe not*, until they engage in different diſcourſe; for, *if ye do*, ye will certainly *become* like unto them. GOD will ſurely gather the ungodly and the unbe-

[y] *Believe in* GOD *and his apoſtle*, &c.] It is ſaid, that *Abdallah Ebn Salâm* and his companions told *Mohammed*, that they believed in him, and his *Korân*, and in *Moſes*, and the pentateuch, and in *Ezra*, but no farther; whereupon this paſſage was revealed, declaring that a partial faith is little better than none at all; and that a true believer muſt believe in all GOD's prophets and revelations without exception (1).

[z] *They who believed, and, afterwards, became infidels; and then believed again, and, after that, diſbelieved, and again increaſed in infidelity;*] Theſe were the *Jews*, who firſt believed in *Moſes*, and, afterwards, fell into idolatry by worſhipping the golden calf; and, though they repented of that, yet, in after-ages, rejected the prophets who were ſent to them, and, particularly, *Jeſus*, the ſon of *Mary*, and now filled up the meaſure of their unbelief by rejecting of *Mohammed* (2).

[a] *Declare unto the ungodly*, &c.] *Mohammed* here means thoſe who hypocritically pretended to believe in him, but really did not; and, by their treachery, did great miſchief to his party (3).

[b] *In the* Korân;] Chap. 6.

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI. (2) *Idem.* (3) *Idem.*

lievers

lievers together in hell. They who wait *to observe what befalleth* you, if victory be *granted* you from God, say, Were we not with you [c]? But, if any advantage happen to the infidels, they say *unto them*, Were we not superior to you [d], and have we not defended you against the believers? God shall judge between you on the day of resurrection; and God will not grant the unbelievers means *to prevail* over the faithful. The hypocrites act deceitfully with God, but he will deceive them; and, when they stand up to pray, they stand carelessly, affecting to be seen of men, and remember not God, unless a little [e], wavering between *faith and infidelity, and adhering* neither unto these, nor unto those [f]: and, for him whom God shall lead astray, thou shalt find no true path. O true believers! take not the unbelievers for *your* protectors, besides the faithful. Will ye furnish God with an evident argument *of impiety* against you? Moreover, the hypocrites shall be in the lowest bottom of *hell* fire [g], and thou shalt not find any to help them *thence*. But they who repent and amend, and adhere firmly unto God, and approve the sincerity of their religion to God, they shall be *numbered* with the faithful; and God will surely give the faithful a great reward. And how should God go about to punish you, if ye be thankful and believe? for God
VI. is grateful *and* wise. * God loveth not the speaking ill *of any one* in public, unless he who is injured *call for assistance*; and God heareth *and* knoweth: whether

[c] *Were we not with you?*] i. e. Did we not assist you? therefore give us a part of the spoil (1).

[d] *Were we not superior to you?*] Would not our army have cut you off, if it had not been for our faint assistance, or rather desertion, of the *Moslems*, and our disheartning them (2)?

[e] *Unless a little*;] That is, with the tongue, and not with the heart.

[f] *Adhering neither unto these, nor unto those*;] Halting between two opinions, and being staunch friends neither to the *Moslems*, nor the infidels.

[g] *The hypocrites shall be in the lowest bottom of hell fire*;] See the *Preliminary Discourse*, §. IV. p. 122.

(1) *Al* Beidawi, (2) *Idem.*

ye

ye publiſh a good *action*, or conceal it, or forgive evil, verily GOD is gracious *and* powerful. They who believe not in GOD, and his apoſtles, and would make a diſtinction between GOD and his apoſtles [h], and ſay, We believe in ſome *of the prophets* and reject others *of them*, and ſeek to take a *middle* way in this *matter*; theſe are really unbelievers: and we have prepared for the unbelievers an ignominious puniſhment. But they who believe in GOD and his apoſtles, and make no diſtinction between any of them, unto thoſe will we ſurely give their reward; and GOD is gracious *and* merciful. They who have received the ſcriptures [i] will demand of thee, that thou cauſe a book to deſcend unto them from heaven: they formerly aſked of MOSES a greater *thing* than this; for they ſaid, Shew us GOD viſibly [k]. Wherefore a ſtorm of fire from heaven deſtroyed them, becauſe of their iniquity. Then they took the calf *for their GOD* [l], after that evident proofs *of the divine unity* had come unto them: but we forgave *them* that, and gave MOSES a manifeſt power *to puniſh them* [m]. And we lifted the mountain *of SINAI* over them [n], *when we exacted from them* their covenant; and ſaid unto them, Enter the gate *of the city* worſhipping [o]. We alſo ſaid unto them, Tranſgreſs not on the ſabbath day. And we received from them a firm covenant, *that they would obſerve theſe things.* Therefore for that [p] they have maid void their covenant, and

[h] See chap. ii. p. 54, not. *b*.

[i] *They who have received the ſcriptures*, &c.] That is, the *Jews*; who demanded of *Mohammed*, as a proof of his miſſion, that they might ſee a book of revelation deſcended to him from heaven; or, that he would produce one written in a celeſtial character, like the two tables of *Moſes*.

[k] *Shew us* GOD *viſibly*, &c.] See chap. ii. p. 10.

This ſtory ſeems to be an addition to what *Moſes* ſays of the ſeventy elders, who went up to the mountain with him, and with *Aaron*, *Nadab*, and *Abihu*, and ſaw the GOD of *Iſrael* (1).

[l] See chap. ii. p. 10.

[m] See ibid. p. 10. not. *l*.

[n] See ibid. p. 13.

[o] See ibid. p. 11.

[p] *Therefore for that*, &c.] There being nothing in the following words

(1) *Exod.* xxiv. 9, 10, 11.

of

and have not believed in the signs of God, and have slain the prophets unjustly, and have said, Our hearts are uncircumcised; (but God had sealed them up, because of their unbelief; therefore they shall not believe, except a few *of them:*) and, for that they have not believed *on JESUS*, and have spoken against Mary a grievous calumny [q]; and have said, Verily we have slain Christ Jesus, the son of Mary, the apostle of God; yet they slew him not, neither crucified him, but he was represented *by one* in his likeness [r]; and verily they who disagreed concerning him [s], were in a doubt as to this *matter*, and had no *sure* knowledge thereof, but followed only an *uncertain* opinion. They did not really kill him; but God took him up unto himself: and God is mighty *and* wise. And *there shall not be one* of those who have received the scriptures, who shall not believe in him, before his death [t]; and, on the day of resur-

of this sentence, to answer to the causal *for that*, *Jallalo'ddin* supposes something to be understood to complete the sense, as, *therefore we have cursed them*, or the like.

[q] *And have spoken against* Mary *a grievous calumny*;] By accusing her of fornication (1).

[r] *Yet they slew him not*, &c.] See chap. iii. p. 64. and the notes there.

[s] *Who disagreed concerning him*;] For some maintained that he was justly and really crucified; some insisted that it was not *Jesus*, who suffered, but another who resembled him in the face, pretending the other parts of his body, by their unlikeness, plainly discovered the imposition; some said, he was taken up into heaven; and others, that his manhood only suffered, and that his godhead ascended into heaven (2).

[t] *There shall not be one of those who have received the scriptures, who shall not believe in him, before his death*;] This passage is expounded two ways.

Some, referring the relative *his*, to the first antecedent, take the meaning to be, that no *Jew* or *Christian* shall die, before he believes in *Jesus:* for they say, that when one of either of those religions is ready to breathe his last, and sees the angel of death before him, he shall then believe in that prophet as he ought, though his faith will not then be of any avail. According to a tradition of *Hejâj*, when a *Jew* is expiring, the angels will strike him on the back and face, and say to him: *O thou enemy of God!* Jesus *was sent as a prophet unto thee, and thou didst not believe on him*; to which he will answer, *I now believe him to be the servant of God:* and, to a dying *Christian*, they will say: Jesus *was sent as a prophet unto thee, and thou hast imagined him to be God, or the Son of God*; whereupon he will believe him to be the servant of God only, and his apostle.

Others, taking the abovementioned relative to refer to *Jesus*, suppose the

(1) *See the Kor. chap.* xix, *and that virulent book intitled* Toldoth Jesu.
(2). *Al* Beidawi.

resurrection, he shall be a witness against them [u]. Because of the iniquity of those who judaize, we have forbidden them good things, which had been *formerly* allowed them [w]; and because they shut out many from the way of GOD, and have taken usury, which was forbidden them *by the law*, and devoured men's substance vainly: we have prepared for such of them as are unbelievers a painful punishment. But those among them who are well grounded in knowledge [x], and the faithful, who believe in that which hath been sent down unto thee, and that which hath been sent down *unto the prophets* before thee, and who observe the stated times of prayer, and give alms, and believe in GOD and the last day; unto these will we give a great reward. Verily we have revealed *our will* unto thee, and we have revealed *it* unto NOAH and the prophets who succeeded him; and *as* we revealed *it* unto ABRAHAM, and ISMAEL, and ISAAC, and JACOB, and the tribes, and unto JESUS, and JOB, and JONAS, and AARON, and SOLOMON; and *we have given thee the KORAN, as* we gave the psalms unto DAVID: *some* apostles *have we sent*, whom we have formerly mentioned unto thee, and *other* apostles *have we sent*, whom we have not mentioned unto thee; and GOD spake unto MOSES, discoursing *with him*; apostles declaring good tidings, and denouncing threats, lest men should have an argument *of excuse* against GOD, after the apostles *had been sent unto them*; GOD is mighty *and* wise. GOD is

the intent of the passage to be, that all *Jews* and *Christians*, in general, shall have a right faith in that prophet before his death; that is, when he descends from heaven and returns into the world, where he is to kill *Antichrist*, and to establish the *Mohammedan* religion, and a most perfect tranquility and security on earth (1).

[u] *He shall be a witness against them*;] i. e. Against the *Jews*, for rejecting him; and against the *Christians*, for calling him GOD, and the Son of GOD (2).

[w] See chap. iii. p. 64 and 72, and the notes there.

[x] *Those among them who are well grounded in knowledge*;] as *Abdallah Ebn Salâm*, and his companions (3).

(1) JALLALO'DDIN, YAHYA, *Al* ZAMAKHSHARI, *and Al* BEIDAWI, *&c. the Prelim. Disc.* §. iv. *p.* 100. (2) *Al* BEIDAWI. (3) *Idem.*

witness

witneſs of that *revelation* which he hath ſent down unto thee; he ſent it down with his *ſpecial* knowledge: the angels alſo are witneſſes *thereof*; but God is a ſufficient witneſs. They who believe not, and turn aſide *others* from the way of God, have erred in a wide miſtake. Verily thoſe who believe not, and act unjuſtly, God will, by no means, forgive, neither will he direct them into *any other* way, than the way of hell; they ſhall remain therein for ever: and this is eaſy with God. O men! now is the apoſtle come unto you, with truth from your Lord; believe therefore, *it will be* better for you. But, if ye diſbelieve, verily unto God *belongeth* whatſoever *is* in heaven and on earth; and God is knowing *and* wiſe. O ye who have received the ſcriptures! exceed not the juſt bounds in your religion [y], neither ſay of God *any other* than the truth. Verily Christ Jesus, the ſon of Mary, *is* the apoſtle of God, and his word, which he conveyed into Mary, and a ſpirit *proceeding* from him. Believe, therefore, in God, and his apoſtles, and ſay not, *There are* three *GODS* [z]; forbear *this*; it will be better for you. God is but one God. Far be it from him that he ſhould have a ſon! unto him *belongeth* whatſoever *is* in heaven and on earth; and God is a ſufficient protector. Christ doth not proudly diſdain to be a ſervant unto God; neither the angels who approach near *to his preſence:* and

y *Exceed not the juſt bounds in your religion*;] Either by rejecting and contemning of *Jeſus*, as the *Jews* do; or raiſing him to an equality with God, as do the *Chriſtians* (1).

z *Say not, there are three Gods*;] Namely, God, *Jeſus* and *Mary* (2). For the eaſtern writers mention a ſect of *Chriſtians*, which held the Trinity to be compoſed of thoſe three (3); but it is allowed that this hereſy has been long ſince extinct (4). The paſſage, however, is equally levelled againſt the Holy Trinity, according to the doctrine of the orthodox *Chriſtians*, who, as *Al Beidâwi* acknowledges, believe the divine nature to conſiſt of three perſons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt; by the Father, underſtanding God's eſſence, by the Son, his knowledge, and, by the Holy Ghoſt, his life.

(1) *Al* Beidawi. (2) *Idem*, Jallalo'ddin, Yahya. (3) Elmacin; *p.* 227. Eutych, *p.* 120. *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. II. *p.* 45. (4) Ahmed Ebn Abd'al Halim.

whoſo

whoſo diſdaineth his ſervice, and is puffed up with pride, *GOD* will gather them all to himſelf, *on the laſt day*. Unto thoſe who believe, and do that which is right, he ſhall give their rewards, and ſhall *ſuperabundantly* add unto them of his liberality: but thoſe who are diſdainful and proud, he will puniſh with a grievous puniſhment; and they ſhall not find any to protect or to help them, beſides GOD. O men! now is an evident proof come unto you from your LORD, and we have ſent down unto you manifeſt light [a]. They who believe in GOD and firmly adhere to him, he will lead them into mercy from him, and abundance; and he will direct them in the right way to himſelf [b]. They will conſult thee *for thy deciſion in certain caſes*; ſay *unto them*, GOD giveth you *theſe* determinations, concerning the more remote degrees of kindred [c]. If a man die without iſſue, and have a ſiſter; ſhe ſhall have the half of what he ſhall leave [d]: and he ſhall be heir to her [e], in caſe ſhe have no iſſue. But, if there be two *ſiſters*, they ſhall have, *between them*, two third parts of what he ſhall leave; and, if there be *ſeveral*, *both* brothers and ſiſters, a male ſhall have as much as the portion of two females. GOD declareth unto you *theſe precepts*, leſt ye err: and GOD knoweth all things.

[a] *An evident proof and manifeſt light*;] That is, *Mohammed* and his *Koran*.

[b] *In the right way to him*;] viz. Into the religion of *Iſlâm*, in this world, and the way to paradiſe in the next (1).

[c] See the beginning of this chapter, p. 95.

[d] *She ſhall have the half of what he ſhall leave*;] And the other half will go to the public treaſury.

[e] *And he ſhall be heir to her*;] That is, he ſhall inherit her whole ſubſtance.

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Intitled, The Table [f]; *revealed at* Medina.

In the name of the moſt merciful God.

O TRUE believers! perform your contracts. Ye are allowed *to eat* the brute cattle [g], other than what ye are commanded *to abſtain from*; except the game which ye are allowed *at other times*, *but not* while ye are on pilgrimage to *MECCA*; God ordaineth that which he pleaſeth. O true believers! violate not the holy rites of God [h], nor the ſacred month [i]; nor the offering, nor the ornaments hung *thereon* [k], nor thoſe who are travelling to the holy houſe, ſeeking favour from their Lord, and to pleaſe *him*. But, when ye ſhall have finiſhed *your pilgrimage*; then hunt. And let not the malice of ſome, in that they hindered you *from entering* the ſacred temple [l], provoke you to tranſgreſs, *by taking revenge on them in the ſacred months*. Aſſiſt one another, according to juſtice and piety, but aſſiſt not one another in injuſtice and malice: therefore fear God; for God is ſevere in puniſhing. Ye are forbidden *to eat* that which dieth of itſelf, and

[f] This title is taken from the *Table*, which, towards the end of the chapter, is fabled to have been let down from heaven to *Jeſus*. It is ſometimes alſo called the chapter of *Contracts*, which word occurs in the firſt verſe.

[g] *The brute cattle*, &c.] As camels, oxen, and ſheep; and alſo wild cows, antelopes, &c. (1): but not ſwine, nor what is taken in hunting during the pilgrimage.

[h] *The holy rites of* God;] i. e. The ceremonies uſed in the pilgrimage of *Mecca*.

[i] See the *Preliminary Diſcourſe*, §. VII.

[k] *Nor the offering, nor the ornaments hung thereon*;] The offering here meant, is the ſheep led to *Mecca*, to be there ſacrificed; about the neck of which they uſe to hang garlands, green boughs, or ſome other ornament, that it may be diſtinguiſhed as a thing ſacred (2).

[l] *In that they hindered you from entering the ſacred temple*;] In the expedition of *Al Hodeibiya* (3).

(1) Jallalo'ddin, *Al* Beidawi. (2) *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. IV.
(3) *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. II. *p.* 69.

blood,

blood, and swine's flesh, and that on which the name of any besides GOD, hath been invocated [m]; and that which hath been strangled, or killed by a blow, or by a fall, or by the horns *of another beast*, and that which hath been eaten by a wild beast [n], except what ye shall kill *yourselves* [o]; and that which hath been sacrificed unto idols [p]. *It is likewise unlawful for you* to make division by casting lots with arrows [q]. This is an impiety. On this day [r], woe be unto those who have apostatized from their religion; therefore fear not them, but fear me. This day have I perfected your religion for you [s], and have completed my mercy upon you [t]; and I have chosen for you ISLAM, *to be your* religion. But whosoever shall be driven by necessity through hunger, *to eat of what we have forbidden*, not designing to sin, surely GOD *will be* indulgent *and* merciful *unto him*. They will ask thee what is allowed them *as lawful to eat?* Answer, Such things as are good [u] are allowed you; and what ye shall teach animals of prey *to catch* [w], training them

[m] *On which the name of any besides* GOD *hath been invocated*;] For the idolatrous *Arabs* used, in killing any animal for food, to consecrate it, as it were, to their idols, by saying, In the name of *Allât*, or *al Uzza* (1).

[n] *Which hath been eaten by a wild beast*;] Or by a creature trained up to hunting (2).

[o] *Except what ye shall kill yourselves*;] That is, unless ye come up time enough to find life in the animal, and to cut it's throat.

[p] *Idols.*] The word also signifies certain stones, which the pagan *Arabs* used to set up near their houses, and on which they superstitiously slew animals, in honour of their gods (3).

[q] See *Prelim. Disc.* §. V.

[r] *On this day*, &c.] This passage, it is said, was revealed on Friday evening, being the day of the pilgrims visiting mount *Arafat*, the last time *Mohammed* visited the temple of *Mecca*, therefore called the *Pilgrimage of valediction* (4).

[s] *This day have I perfected your religion for you*;] And therefore the commentators say, that after this time, no positive or negative precept was given (5).

[t] *And have completed my mercy upon you*;] By having given you a true and perfect religion; or, by the taking of *Mecca*, and the destruction of idolatry.

[u] *Such things as are good*;] Not such as are filthy, or unwholesome.

[w] *Animals of prey*;] Whether beasts or birds.

(1) *See ch.* 2. *p.* 31. (2) *Al* BEIDAWI. (3) *Idem.* (4) *Idem*, *See* PRID. *Life of* Mahom. *p.* 99. (5) *V.* ABULFED. *vit. Moh. p.* 121.

up for hunting, after the manner of dogs, *and* teaching them according to the *skill* which GOD hath taught you. Eat therefore of that which they shall catch for you; and commemorate the name of GOD thereon[x]; and fear GOD, for GOD is swift in taking an account. This day are ye allowed to eat such things as are good, and the food of those to whom the scriptures were given[y] is *also* allowed as lawful unto you; and your food is allowed as lawful unto them. And *ye are also allowed to marry* free women who are believers, and also free women of those who have received the scriptures before you, when ye shall have assigned them their dower; living chastly *with them*, neither committing fornication, nor taking *them for* concubines. Whoever shall renounce the faith, his work shall be vain, and in the next life he shall be of those who perish. O true believers! when ye prepare yourselves to pray, wash your faces, and your hands unto the elbows; and rub your heads, and your feet unto the ancles; and if ye be polluted by having lain with a woman, wash yourselves *all over*. But if ye be sick, or on a journey, or any of you cometh from the privy, or *if* ye have touched women, and ye find no water, take fine clean sand, and rub your faces and your hands therewith; GOD would not put a difficulty upon you; but he desireth to purify you, and to complete his favour upon you, that ye may give thanks. Remember the favour of GOD towards you, and his covenant which he hath made with you, when ye said, We have heard, and will obey[z]. Therefore

[x] *And commemorate the name of* GOD *thereon*;] Either when ye let go the hound, hawk, or other animal, after the game; or when ye kill it.

[y] *Viz.* Slain or dressed by *Jews* or *Christians*.

[z] *We have heard and will obey*.] These words are the form used at the inauguration of a prince; and *Mohammed* here intends the oath of fidelity which his followers had taken to him at *al Akaba* (1).

(1) *V. ib. p.* 43, *and the* Prelim. Disc. §. II. *p.* 63.

few

fear GOD, for GOD knoweth the innermoſt parts of the breaſts *of men*. O true believers! obſerve juſtice when ye appear as witneſſes before GOD, and let not hatred towards any induce you to do wrong: *but* act juſtly; this will approach nearer unto piety; and fear GOD, for GOD is fully acquainted with what ye do. GOD hath promiſed unto thoſe who believe, and do that which is right, that they ſhall receive pardon and a great reward. But they who believe not, and accuſe our ſigns of falſhood, they ſhall be the companions of hell. O true believers! remember GOD's favour towards you, when certain men deſigned to ſtretch forth their hands againſt you, but he reſtrained their hands from *hurting* you [a]; therefore fear GOD, and in GOD let the faithful truſt. GOD formerly accepted the covenant of the children of ISRAEL, and we appointed out of them twelve

[a] *When certain men deſigned to ſtretch forth their hands againſt you, but he reſtrained them*;] The commentators tell ſeveral ſtories as the occaſion of this paſſage. One ſays, that *Mohammed* and ſome of his followers being at *Oſfán* (a place not far from *Mecca*, in the way to *Medina*) and performing their noon devotions, a company of idolaters, who were in view, repented they had not taken that opportunity of attacking them; and therefore waited till the hour of evening prayer, intending to fall upon them then: but GOD defeated their deſign, by revealing the verſe of *fear*. Another relates, that the prophet going to the tribe of *Koreidha* (who were *Jews*) to levy a fine for the blood of two *Moſlems*, who had been killed by miſtake, by *Amru Ebn Omeya al Dimri*, they deſired him to ſit down and eat with them, and they would pay the fine; *Mohammed*, complying with their requeſt, while he was ſitting, they laid a deſign againſt his life, one *Amru Ebn Jahâſh* undertaking to throw a millſtone upon him; but GOD withheld his hand, and *Gabriel* immediately deſcended to acquaint the prophet with their treachery, upon which he roſe up, and went his way. A third ſtory is, that *Mohammed*, having hung up his arms on a tree, under which he was reſting himſelf, and his companions being diſperſed ſome diſtance from him, an *Arab* of the deſart came up to him, and drew his ſword, ſaying, *Who hindereth me from killing thee?* To which *Mohammed* anſwered, GOD: and *Gabriel* beating the ſword out of the *Arab*'s hand, *Mohammed* took it up, and aſked him the ſame queſtion, *Who hinders me from killing thee?* the *Arab* replied, *No body*; and immediately profeſſed *Mohammediſm* (1). *Abúlfeda* (2) tells the ſame ſtory, with ſome variation of circumſtances.

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI. (2) *Vit. Mob. p.* 73.

leaders: And GOD ſaid, Verily I am with you[b]: if ye obſerve prayer, and give alms, and believe in my apoſtles, and aſſiſt them, and lend unto GOD on good uſury[c], I will ſurely expiate your evil *deeds* from you, and I will lead you into gardens, wherein rivers flow: but he among you who diſbelieveth after this, erreth from the ſtrait path. Wherefore, becauſe they have broken their covenant, we have curſed them, and hardened their hearts; they diſlocate the words *of the pentateuch* from their places, and have forgotten part of what they were admoniſhed; and thou wilt not ceaſe to diſcover deceitful practices among them, except a few of them. But forgive them[d], and pardon them, for GOD loveth the beneficent. And from thoſe who ſay We are Chriſtians, we have received their covenant; but they have forgotten part of what they were admoniſhed; wherefore we have raiſed up enmity and hatred among them, till the day of reſurrection; and GOD will *then* ſurely declare unto them what they have been doing. O ye who have received the ſcriptures! now is our apoſtle come unto you, to make manifeſt unto you many *things* which ye concealed in the

[b] GOD *appointed them twelve leaders, and ſaid, Verily I am with you,* &c.] After the *Iſraelites* had eſcaped from *Pharaoh*, GOD ordered them to go againſt *Jericho*, which was then inhabited by giants, of the race of the *Canaanites*, promiſing to give it into their hands; and *Moſes*, by the divine direction, appointed a prince or captain over each tribe, to lead them in that expedition (1), and, when they came to the borders of the land of *Canaan*, ſent the captains as ſpies to get information of the ſtate of the country, injoining them ſecrecy; but they being terrified at the prodigious ſize and ſtrength of the inhabitants, diſheartened the people by publicly telling what they had ſeen, except only *Caleb* the ſon of *Yufanna (Jephunneh)* and *Joſhua* the ſon of *Nun* (2).

[c] *And lend unto* GOD *on good uſury*;] By contributing towards this holy war.

[d] *Forgive them, and pardon them*;] That is, if they repent and believe, or ſubmit to pay tribute. Some, however, think theſe words are abrogated by the verſe of the *ſword* (3).

(1) *See Numb.* i. 4, 5. (2) *Al* BEIDAWI. *See Numb.* xiii. and xiv. (3) *Al* BEIDAWI.

ſcriptures;

ſcriptures [e]; and to paſs over [f] many *things*. Now is light and a perſpicuous book *of revelations* come unto you from GOD. Thereby will GOD direct him who ſhall follow his good pleaſure, into the paths of peace; and ſhall lead them out of darkneſs into light, by his will, and ſhall direct them in the right way. They are infidels, who ſay, Verily GOD is CHRIST, the ſon of MARY. Say unto them, And who could obtain any thing from GOD *to the contrary*, if he pleaſed to deſtroy CHRIST, the ſon of MARY, and his mother, and all thoſe who are on the earth? For unto GOD *belongeth* the kingdom of heaven and earth, and whatſoever *is contained* between them; he createth what he pleaſeth, and GOD is almighty. The Jews and the Chriſtians ſay, We are the children of GOD, and his beloved. Anſwer, Why therefore doth he puniſh you for your ſins? Nay, but ye are men, of thoſe whom he hath created. He forgiveth whom he pleaſeth, and puniſheth whom he pleaſeth; and unto GOD *belongeth* the kingdom of heaven and earth, and of what *is contained* between them both; and unto him ſhall *all things* return. O ye who have received the ſcriptures! now is our apoſtle come unto you, declaring unto you *the true religion*, during the ceſſation of apoſtles [g], leſt ye ſhould ſay, There came unto us no bearer of good tidings, nor any warner: but now is a bearer of good tidings, and a warner come unto you; and GOD is almighty. *Call to mind* when MOSES ſaid

[e] *To make manifeſt unto you many things which ye concealed in the ſcriptures*;] Such as the verſe of ſtoning adulterers (1), the deſcription of *Mohammed*, and *Chriſt*'s prophecy of him by the name of *Ahmed* (2).

[f] *And to paſs over many things*;] i.e. Thoſe which it was not neceſſary to reſtore.

[g] *During the ceſſation of apoſtles*;] The *Arabic* word *al Fatra* ſignifies the intermediate ſpace of time between two prophets, during which no new revelation, or diſpenſation, was given; as the interval between *Moſes* and JESUS, and between JESUS and *Mohammed*, at the expiration of which laſt, *Mohammed* pretended to be ſent.

(1) *See Chap. 3. p. 58.*

(2) *Al* BEIDAWI.

unto his people, O my people! remember the favour of GOD towards you, since he hath appointed prophets among you, and constituted you kings [h], and bestowed on you what he hath given to no *other nation* in the world [i]. O my people! enter the holy land, which GOD hath decreed you, and turn not your backs, lest ye be subverted and perish. They answered, O MOSES! verily there are a gigantic people in the *land* [k]; and we will by no means enter it, until they depart thence; but if they depart thence, then will we enter *therein*. *And* two men of those who feared *GOD*, unto whom GOD had been gracious, said, Enter ye upon them *suddenly by* the gate *of the city*; and when ye shall have entered the same, ye shall surely be victorious: therefore trust in GOD, if ye are true believers. They replied, O MOSES! we will never enter *the land*, while they remain therein: go therefore thou, and thy LORD, and fight; for we will sit here. MOSES said, O LORD! surely I am not master of any except myself, and my brother; therefore make a distinction between us and the ungodly people. *GOD* answered, Verily the *land* shall be forbidden them forty years; *during which time* they shall wander *like men astonished* in the earth [m]; therefore be not thou solicitous

[h] *And constituted you kings*;] This was fulfilled, either by GOD's giving them a kingdom, and a long series of princes; or, by his having made them *kings* or *masters* of themselves, by delivering them from the *Egyptian* bondage.

[i] *And bestowed on you what he hath given to no other nation*;] Having divided the red-sea for you, and guided you by a cloud, and fed you with quails and manna, *&c.* (1).

[k] *A gigantic people*;] The largest of these giants, the commentators say, was *Og* the son of *Anak*; concerning whose enormous stature, his escaping the flood, and the manner of his being slain by *Moses*, the *Mohammedans* relate several absurd fables (2).

[l] *Two men*;] Namely, *Caleb* and *Joshua*.

[m] *The land shall be forbidden them forty years; during which they shall wander in the earth like men astonished.*] The commentators pretend, that the *Israelites*, while they thus wandered in the desart, were kept

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI. (2) *V.* MARRACC. *in Alcor. p.* 231, *&c.* D'HERBEL. *Bibl. Orient. p.* 336.

within

citous for the ungodly people. Relate alſo unto them the hiſtory of the two ſons of ADAM [n], with truth. When they offered *their* offering [o], and it was accepted from one of them [p], and was not accepted from the other, *CAIN* ſaid *to his brother*, I will certainly kill thee. *ABEL* anſwered, GOD only accepteth *the offering* of the pious; if thou ſtretcheſt forth thy hand againſt me, to ſlay me, I will not ſtretch forth my hand againſt thee, to ſlay thee; for I fear GOD, the LORD of all creatures [q]. I chooſe that thou ſhouldeſt bear my iniquity, and thine own iniquity; and that thou become a companion of *hell* fire; for that is the reward of the unjuſt [r]. But his ſoul ſuffered him to ſlay his brother, and he ſlew him [s]; where-

within the compaſs of about eighteen (or, as ſome ſay, twenty-ſeven) miles; and, that though they travelled from morning to night, yet, they conſtantly found themſelves, the next day, at the place from whence they ſet out (1).

[n] *The two ſons of* Adam;] viz. *Cain* and *Abel*, whom the *Mohammedans* call *Kâbîl* and *Hâbîl*.

[o] *When they offered their offering.*] The occaſion of their making this offering is thus related, according to the common tradition in the eaſt (2). Each of them being born with a twin-ſiſter, when they were grown up, *Adam*, by GOD's direction, ordered *Cain* to marry *Abel*'s twin-ſiſter; and that *Abel* ſhould marry *Cain*'s; (for it being the common opinion that marriages ought not to be had in the neareſt degrees of conſanguinity; ſince they muſt neceſſarily marry their ſiſters, it ſeemed reaſonable to ſuppoſe they ought to take thoſe of the remoter degree) but this, *Cain* refuſing to agree to, becauſe his own ſiſter was the handſomeſt, *Adam* ordered them to make their offerings to GOD, thereby referring the diſpute to his determination (3). The commentators ſay, *Cain*'s offering was a ſheaf of the very worſt of his corn, but *Abel*'s a fat lamb, of the beſt of his flock.

[p] *And it was accepted from one of them;*] Namely, from *Abel*; whoſe ſacrifice GOD declared his acceptance of in a viſible manner, by cauſing fire to deſcend from heaven and conſume it, without touching that of *Cain* (4).

[q] *I will not ſtretch forth my hand againſt thee;*] To enhance *Abel*'s patience, *al Beidâwi* tells us, that he was the ſtronger of the two, and could eaſily have prevailed againſt his brother.

[r] The converſation between the two brothers is related ſomewhat to the ſame purpoſe in the *Jeruſalem Targum*, and that of *Jonathan ben Uzziel*.

[s] *And he ſlew him;*] Some ſay, he knocked out his brains with a ſtone (5); and pretend, that as *Cain*

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. (2) *V.* ABU'LFARAG. *p.* 6, 7. EUTYCH. *annal. p.* 15, 16. *and* D'HERBELOT, *Bibl. Orient. Art. Cabil.* (3) *Al* BEIDAWI. (4) *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN. (5) *V.* EUTYCH. *ubi ſupra.*

wherefore he became *of the number* of those who perish. And GOD sent a raven, which scratched the earth, to shew him how he should hide the shame of his brother [t], *and* he said, Wo is me! am I unable to be like this raven, that I may hide my brother's shame? and he became *one* of those who repent. Wherefore we commanded the children of ISRAEL, that he who slayeth a soul, without *adding thereto the murder of another* soul, or *without* committing wickedness in the earth [u], *shall be* as if he had slain all mankind [w]: but he who saveth *a soul* alive, *shall be* as if he had saved the lives of all mankind. Our apostles formerly came unto them, with evident *miracles*; then were many of them, after this, transgressors on the earth. But the recompense of those who fight against GOD and his apostle, and study to act corruptly in the earth, *shall be*, that they shall be slain, or crucified, or have their hands and their feet cut off on the opposite *sides*, or be banished the land [x]. This shall be their disgrace in this world, and

was considering which way he should effect the murder, the devil appeared to him in a human shape, and shewed him how to do it, by crushing the head of a bird between two stones (1).

[t] GOD *sent a raven which scratched the earth, and shewed him how to hide his brother's shame*;] i. e. His dead corps. For *Cain*, having committed this fratricide, became exceeding troubled in his mind, and carried the dead body about on his shoulders for a considerable time, not knowing where to conceal it, till it stank horridly; and then GOD taught him to bury it by the example of a raven, who, having killed another raven in his presence, dug a pit with his claws and beak, and buried him therein (2). For this circumstance of the raven, *Mohammed* was beholden to the *Jews*, who tell the same story, except only that they make the raven to appear to *Adam*, and that he thereupon buried his son (3).

[u] *Without committing wickedness on the earth*;] Such as idolatry, or robbing on the highway (4).

[w] *Shall be as if he had slain all mankind*;] Having broken the commandment, which forbids the shedding of blood.

[x] The lawyers are not agreed as to the applying of these punishments. But the commentators suppose, that they who commit murder only, are to be put to death in the ordinary way; those who murder and rob too, to be crucified; those who rob, without committing murder, to have their

(1) *V.* D'HERBEL. *ubi sup.*
(2) JALLALO'DDIN, *Al* BEIDAWI.
(3) *V.* R. ELIEZER, *Pirke*, c. 20.
(4) *Al* BEIDAWI.

and in the next world they shall suffer a grievous punishment; except those who shall repent, before ye prevail against them; for know that GOD *is* inclined to forgive, *and* merciful. O true believers! fear GOD, and earnestly desire a near conjunction with him, and fight for his religion, that ye may be happy. Moreover, they who believe not, although they had whatever *is* in the earth, and as much more withal, that they might therewith redeem themselves from punishment on the day of resurrection; it shall not be accepted from them, but they shall suffer a painful punishment. They shall desire to go forth from the fire, but they shall not go forth from it, and their punishment shall be permanent. If a man or a woman steal, cut off their hands [y], in retribution for that which they have committed; *this is* an exemplary punishment *appointed* by GOD; and GOD is mighty *and* wise. But whoever shall repent after his iniquity, and amend, verily GOD will be turned unto him [z], for GOD *is* inclined to forgive, *and* merciful. Dost thou not know that the kingdom of heaven and earth is GOD's? He punisheth whom he pleaseth; and he pardoneth whom he pleaseth; for God is almighty. O apostle! let not them grieve

their right hand, and their left foot, cut off; and they who assault persons, and put them in fear, to be banished (1). It is also a doubt whether they who are to be crucified shall be crucified alive, or be first put to death; or whether they shall hang on the cross till they die (2).

[y] *Cut off their hands*;] But this punishment, according to the *Sonna*, is not to be inflicted, unless the value of the thing stolen amount to four *dinârs*, or about forty shillings. For the first offence the criminal is to lose his right hand, which is to be cut off at the wrist; for the second offence, his left foot, at the ancle; for the third, his left hand; for the fourth, his right foot; and, if he continue to offend, he shall be scourged at the discretion of the judge (3).

[z] *But whoever shall repent and amend,* GOD *will be turned unto him,* &c.] That is, GOD will not punish him for it hereafter; but his repentance does not supersede the execution of the law here, nor excuse him from making restitution. Yet, according to *al Shâfei*, he shall not be punished, if the party wronged forgive him before he be carried before a magistrate (4).

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. (2) *Al* BEIDAWI. (3) JALLALO'DDIN, *Al* BEIDAWI. (4) *Idem*.

thee,

thee, who haſten to infidelity [a], *either* of thoſe who ſay, We believe, with their mouths, but whoſe hearts believe not [b]; or of the Jews, who hearken to a lie, *and* hearken to other people [c]; *who* come not unto thee: they pervert the words *of the law* from their *true* places [d], *and* ſay, If this be brought unto you, receive it; but if it be not brought unto you, beware *of receiving aught elſe* [e]; and, in behalf of him whom GOD ſhall reſolve to ſeduce, thou ſhalt not prevail with GOD at all. They, whoſe hearts GOD ſhall not pleaſe to cleanſe, ſhall ſuffer ſhame in this world, and a grievous puniſhment in the next: who hearken to a lie, *and* eat that which is forbidden [f]. But if they come unto thee *for judgment*, either judge between them, or leave them [g]; and if thou

[a] *Who haſten to infidelity*;] i. e. Who take the firſt opportunity to throw off the maſk, and to join the unbelievers.

[b] *Who ſay, We believe, with their mouths*, &c.] *viz.* The hypocritical *Mohammedans*.

[c] *Who hearken to a lie, and hearken to other people*;] Theſe words are capable of two ſenſes; and may either mean that they attended to the lies and forgeries of their *Rabbins*, neglecting the remonſtrances of *Mohammed*; or elſe, that they came to hear *Mohammed* as ſpies only, that they might report what he ſaid to their companions, and repreſent him as a liar (1).

[d] See Ch. 4. p. 103. note *m*.

[e] *If this be brought unto you, receive it; but if it be not brought unto you, beware of receiving aught elſe*;] That is, if what *Mohammed* tells you, agrees with ſcripture, as corrupted and diſlocated by us, then you may accept it as the word of GOD, but if not, reject it. Theſe words, it is ſaid, relate to the ſentence pronounced by that prophet, on an adulterer and an adultereſs (2), both perſons of ſome figure among the *Jews*. For they, it ſeems, though they referred the matter to *Mohammed*, yet directed the perſons who carried the criminals before him, that if he ordered them to be ſcourged, and to have their faces blackened (by way of ignominy) they ſhould acquieſce in his determination; but, in caſe he condemned them to be ſtoned, they ſhould not. And *Mohammed* pronouncing the latter ſentence againſt them, they refuſed to execute it, till *Ebn Súriya* (a *Jew*) who was called upon to decide the matter, acknowledged the law to be ſo. Whereupon they were ſtoned at the door of the moſque (3).

[f] *And eat that which is forbidden*;] Some underſtand this of unlawful meats; but others, of taking or *devouring*, as it is expreſſed, of uſury and bribes (4).

[g] *Either judge between them, or leave them*;] i. e. Take thy choice, whether thou wilt determine their

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI. (2) *See ch.* 3. *p.* 58. *not. h.* (3) *Al* BEIDAWI. (4) *Idem.*

differences

thou leave them, they ſhall not hurt thee at all. But if thou *undertake to* judge, judge between them with equity; for GOD loveth thoſe who obſerve juſtice. And how will they ſubmit to thy deciſion, ſince they have the law, containing the judgment of GOD [h]? Then will they turn their backs, after this [i]; but theſe are not true believers [k]. We have ſurely ſent down the law, containing direction, and light: thereby did the prophets, who profeſſed the true religion, judge thoſe who Judaized; and the doctors and prieſts *alſo judged* by the book of GOD, which had been committed to their cuſtody; and they were witneſſes thereof [l]. Therefore fear not men, but fear me; neither ſell my ſigns for a ſmall price. And whoſo judgeth not according to what GOD hath revealed, they are infidels. We have therein commanded them, that *they ſhould give* life for life [m], and eye

differences or not. Hence *al Shâfeï* was of opinion that a judge was not obliged to decide cauſes between *Jews* or *Chriſtians*; though if one or both of them be tributaries, or under the protection of the *Mohammedans*, they are obliged: this verſe not regarding them. *Abu Hanîfa*, however, thought that the magiſtrates were obliged to judge all cauſes which were ſubmitted to them (1).

[h] *And how will they ſubmit to thy deciſion, ſince they have the law*, &c.] In the following paſſage *Mohammed* endeavours to anſwer the objections of the *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, who inſiſted that they ought to be judged, the former by the law of *Moſes*, and the latter by the goſpel. He allows that the law was the proper rule of judging till the coming of *Jeſus Chriſt*; after which the goſpel was the rule; but pretends, that both are ſet aſide by the revelation of the *Koran*, which is ſo far from being contradictory to either of the former, that it is more full and explicit; declaring ſeveral points which had been ſtifled, or corrupted therein, and requiring a rigorous execution of the precepts in both, which had been too remiſſly obſerved, or rather neglected, by the latter profeſſors of thoſe religions.

[i] *Then will they turn their backs after this*;] That is, notwithſtanding their outward ſubmiſſion, they will not abide by the ſentence, though conformable to the law, if it contradict their own falſe and looſe deciſions.

[k] *Theſe are not true believers*;] As gainſaying the doctrine of the books which they acknowledge for ſcripture.

[l] *And they were witneſſes thereof*;] That is, vigilant, to prevent any corruptions therein.

[m] *Life*;] The original word is *ſoul*.

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI.

for

for eye, and nose for nose, and ear for ear, and tooth for tooth; and *that* wounds *should also be punished by* retaliation[n]: but whoever should remit it as alms, it *should be accepted as* an atonement for him. And whoso judgeth not according to what GOD hath revealed, they are unjust. We also caused JESUS, the son of MARY, to follow the footsteps of *the prophets*, confirming the law which *was sent down* before him; and we gave him the gospel, containing direction and light; confirming also the law which *was given* before it, and a direction and admonition unto those who fear *GOD*: that they, who have received the gospel, might judge according to what GOD hath revealed therein: and whoso judgeth not according to what GOD hath revealed, they are transgressors. We have also sent down unto thee the book *of the KORAN* with truth, confirming that scripture which *was revealed* before it; and preserving the same safe *from corruption*. Judge, therefore, between them according to that which GOD hath revealed; and follow not their desires, *by swerving* from the truth which hath come unto thee. Unto every of you have we given a law, and an open path; and, if GOD had pleased, he had surely made you one people[o]; but *he hath thought fit to give you different laws*, that he might try you in that which he hath given you *respectively*. Therefore, strive to excel each other in good works: unto GOD shall ye all return, and *then* will he declare unto you that concerning which ye have disagreed. Wherefore, *do thou, O prophet!* judge between them according to that which GOD hath revealed, and follow not their desires; but, beware of them, lest they cause thee to err[p] from part

[n] See Exod. xxi. 24, &c.

[o] *He had made you one people*;] i. e. He had given you the same laws, which should have continued in force through all ages, without being abolished or changed by new dispensations; or, he could have forced you all to embrace the *Mohammedan* religion (1).

[p] *And follow not their desires; but, beware of them, lest they cause thee to err*, &c.] It is related, that certain

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI.

of

part of those *precepts* which GOD hath sent down unto thee; and, if they turn back [q], know that GOD is pleased to punish them for some of their crimes; for a great number of men are transgressors. Do they, therefore, desire the judgment of *the time of* ignorance [r]? but, who is better than GOD, to judge between people who reason aright? O true believers! take not the Jews, or Christians for *your* friends; they are friends the one to the other; but whoso among you taketh them for *his* friends, he *is* surely *one* of them: verily, GOD directeth not unjust people. Thou shalt see those in whose hearts there is an infirmity, to hasten unto them, saying, We fear lest some adversity befal us [s]; but it is easy for GOD to give victory, or a command from him [t], that they may repent of that which they concealed in their minds. And they who believe, will say, Are these *the men* who have sworn by GOD, with a most firm oath, that they surely *held* with you [u]? their works are become vain, and they are of those who perish.

of the *Jewish* priests came to *Mohammed* with a design to intrap him; and, having first represented to him, that, if they acknowledged him for a prophet, the rest of the *Jews*, would certainly follow their example, made this proposal; that, if he would give judgment for them in a controversy of moment, which they pretended to have with their own people, and which was agreed to be referred to his decision, they would believe on him: but, this *Mohammed* absolutely refused to comply with (1).

[q] *If they turn back*;] Or, refuse to be judged by the *Koran*.

[r] *The judgment of the time of ignorance*;] That is, to be judged according to the customs of paganism, which indulge the passions and vicious appetites of mankind: for this, it seems, was demanded by the *Jewish* tribes of *Koreidha* and *al Nadir* (2).

[s] *We fear lest some adversity befal us*;] These were the words of *Ebn Obba*, who, when *Obâdah Ebn al Sâmat* publicly renounced the friendship of the infidels, and professed, that he took GOD and his apostle for his patrons, said, that he was a man apprehensive of the fickleness of fortune, and, therefore, would not throw off his old friends, who might be of service to him hereafter (3).

[t] *A command from him*;] To extirpate and banish the *Jews*; or, to detect and punish the hypocrites.

[u] *Are these the men who have sworn*, &c.] These words may be spoken by the *Mohammedans*, either to one another, or, to the *Jews*; since these hypocrites had given their oaths to both (4).

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI. (2) *Idem.* (3) *Idem.* (4) *Idem.*

O true

O true believers! whoever of you apoſtatizeth from his religion, God will certainly bring *other* people *to ſupply his place* [w], whom he will love, and who will love him; *who ſhall be* humble towards the believers, *but* ſevere to the unbelievers: they ſhall fight for the religion of God, and ſhall not fear the obloquy of the detractor. This *is* the bounty of God, he beſtoweth it on whom he pleaſeth: God *is* extenſive *and* wiſe. Verily, your protector is God, and his apoſtle, and thoſe who believe, who obſerve the ſtated times of prayer, and give alms, and who bow down *to worſhip*. And whoſo taketh God, and

[w] *Whoever of you apoſtatizeth from his religion*, God *will certainly bring others to ſupply his place*, &c.] This is one of thoſe accidents, which, it is pretended, were foretold by the *Korân*, long before they came to paſs. For, in the latter days of *Mohammed*, and after his death, conſiderable numbers of the *Arabs* quitted his religion, and returned to Paganiſm, Judaiſm, or Chriſtianity. *Al Beidâwi* reckons them up in the following order. 1. Three companies of *Banu Modlaj*, ſeduced by *Dhu'lhamâr al Aſwad al Anſi*, who ſet up for a prophet in *Yaman*, and grew very powerful there (1). 2. *Banu Honeifa*, who followed the famous falſe prophet *Moſeilama* (2). 3. *Banu Aſad*, who acknowledged *Toleiba Ebn Khowailed*, another pretender to divine revelation (3), for their prophet. All theſe fell off in *Mohammed*'s life time. The following, except only the laſt, apoſtatized in the reign of *Abu Becr*. 4. Certain of the tribe of *Fezârah*, headed by *Oyeyna Ebn Hoſein*. 5. Some of the tribe of *Ghatfân*, whoſe leader was *Korrah Ebn Salma*. 6. *Banu Soleim*, who followed *al Fajâah Ebn Abd Yalil*. 7. *Banu Yarbu*, whoſe captain was *Malec Ebn Noweirah Ebn Kais*. 8. Part of the tribe of *Tamîm*, the proſelytes of *Sajâj* the daughter of *al Mondhar*, who gave herſelf out for a propheteſs (4). 9. The tribe of *Kendah*, led by *al Aſhâth Ebn Kais*. 10. *Banu Becr Ebn al Wayel* in the provence of *Bahrein*, headed by *al Horam Ebn Zeid*. And, 11. Some of the tribe of *Ghaſſân*, who, with their prince *Jabalah Ebn al Ayham*, renounced *Mohammediſm* in the time of *Omar*, and returned to their former profeſſion of *Chriſtianity* (5).

But, as to the perſons who fulfilled the other part of this prophecy, by ſupplying the loſs of ſo many renegates, the commentators are not agreed. Some will have them to be the inhabitants of *Yaman*, and others, the *Perſians*; the authority of *Mohammed* himſelf being vouched for both opinions. Others, however, ſuppoſe them to be 2,000 of the tribe of *al Nakhâ* (who dwelt in *Yaman*) 5,000 of thoſe of *Kenda* and *Bajîlah*, and 3,000 of unknown deſcent, who were preſent at the famous battle of *Kadeſia* (6), fought in the *Khalifat* of *Omar*, and which put an end to the *Perſian* empire (7).

(1) *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. VIII. (2) *See ib.* (3) *See ib.* (4) *See ib.* (5) *See ib.* §. I. p. 14. (6) *V.* D'Herbel. *Bibl. Orient. p.* 226, (7) *Al* Beidawi.

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his apoſtle, and the believers for his friends, *they are* the party of GOD, *and* they *ſhall be* victorious. O true believers! take not ſuch of thoſe to whom the ſcriptures were delivered before you, or of the infidels, for your friends, who make a laughing-ſtock, and a jeſt of your religion [x]; but fear GOD, if ye be true believers; *nor thoſe, who,* when ye call to prayer, make a laughing-ſtock and a jeſt of it [y], this *they do,* becauſe they are people who do not underſtand. Say, O ye who have received the ſcriptures! do ye reject us *for any other reaſon* than becauſe we believe in GOD, and that *revelation* which hath been ſent down unto us, and that which was formerly ſent down, and for that the greater part of you are tranſgreſſors? Say, Shall I denounce unto you a worſe *thing* than this, *as to* the reward *which ye are to expect* with GOD? He whom GOD hath curſed, and with whom he hath been angry, having changed *ſome* of them into apes and ſwine [z], and *who* worſhip TAGHUT [a], they *are* in the worſe condition, and err more *widely* from the ſtraitneſs of the path. When they came unto you, they ſaid, We believe: yet they entered *into your company* with infidelity, and went

[x] *Take not thoſe for your friends, who make a laughing ſtock at your religion.*] This paſſage was primarily intended to forbid the *Moſlems* entering into a friendſhip with two hypocrites, named, *Rafaa Ebn Zeid*, and *Soweid Ebn al Hareth*, who, though they had embraced *Mohammediſm*, yet ridiculed it on all occaſions, and were, notwithſtanding, greatly beloved among the prophet's followers.

[y] *Nor thoſe, who, when ye call to prayer, make a jeſt of it;*] Theſe words were added on occaſion of a certain *Chriſtian*, who hearing the *Muadhdhin*, or cryer, in calling to prayers, repeat this part of the uſual form, *I profeſs that* Mohammed *is the apoſtle of* GOD, ſaid aloud, *May* GOD *burn the liar*: but, a few nights after, his own houſe was accidentally ſet on fire by a ſervant, and himſelf and his family periſhed in the flames (1).

[z] *Having changed ſome of them into apes and ſwine;*] The former, were the *Jews* and *Ailah*, who broke the ſabbath (2); and, the latter, thoſe who believed not in the miracle of the *Table*, which was let down from heaven to JESUS (3). Some, however, imagine, that the *Jews* of *Ailah*, only are meant in this place, pretending, that the young men, among them, were metamorphoſed into apes, and the old men into ſwine (4).

[a] See chap. ii. p. 48.

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI. (2) *See chap.* ii. *p.* 13. (3) *See towards the end of this chapter.* (4) *Al* BEIDAWI.

forth

forth *from you* with the same; but God well knew what they concealed. Thou shalt see many of them hastening unto iniquity and malice, and to eat things forbidden [b]; and woe *unto them for* what they have done. Unless *their* doctors and priests forbid them uttering wickedness, and eating things forbidden; woe *unto them for* what they shall have committed. The Jews say, The hand of God is tied up [c]. Their hands shall be tied up [d], and they shall be cursed for that which they have said. Nay, his hands are both stretched forth: he bestoweth as he pleaseth: that which hath been sent down unto thee from thy Lord [e] shall increase the transgression and infidelity of many of them; and we have put enmity and hatred between them, until the day of resurrection. So often as they shall kindle a fire for war, God shall extinguish it [f]; and they shall set their minds to act corruptly in the earth, but God loveth not the corrupt doers. Moreover, if they, who have received the scriptures, believe, and fear *GOD*, we will surely expiate their sins from them, and will lead them in-

[b] See before, p. 128.

[c] God's *hand is tied up*;] That is, he is become niggardly and close-fisted. These were the words of *Phineas Ebn Azura*, another indecent expression, of whom, almost to the same purpose, is mentioned elsewhere (1), when the *Jews* were much impoverished by a dearth, which the commentators will have to be a judgment on them for their rejecting of *Mohammed*; and, the other *Jews*, who heard him, instead of reproving him, expressed their approbation of what he said (2).

[d] *Their hands shall be tied up*;] i. e. They shall be punished with want and avarice. The words may also allude to the manner wherein the reprobates shall appear at the last day, having their right hands tied up to their necks (3); which is the proper signification of the *Arabic* word.

[e] Viz. The *Korân*.

[f] *So often as they kindle fire for war*, God *shall extinguish it*;] Either, by raising feuds and quarrels among themselves, or by granting the victory to the *Moslems*. *Al Beidâwi* adds, that, on the *Jews* neglecting the true observance of their law, and corrupting their religion, God has successively delivered them into the hands, first, of *Bakht Nasr*, or *Nebuchadnezzar*, then of *Titus*, the *Roman*, and afterwards of the *Persians*, and has now, at last, subjected them to the *Mohammedans*.

(1) *Chap.* iii. *p.* 88. (2) *Al* Beidawi. (3) *See the Prelim. Disc.* § IV. *p.* 117.

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to gardens of pleasure; and if they observe the law, and the gospel, and *the other scriptures*, which have been sent down unto them from their LORD, they shall surely eat *of goods things* both from above them, and from under their feet [g]. Among them there are people who act uprightly; but how evil is that which many of them do work! O apostle! publish *the whole of* that which hath been sent down unto thee from thy LORD: for, if thou do not, thou dost not, *in effect*, publish any part thereof [h]; and GOD will defend thee against *wicked* men [i]; for GOD directeth not the unbelieving people. Say, O ye who have received the scriptures! ye are not *grounded* on any thing, until ye observe the law and the gospel, and that which hath been sent down unto you from your LORD. That which hath been sent down unto thee from thy LORD shall surely increase the transgression and infidelity of many of them: but, be not thou solicitous for the unbelieving people. Verily, they who believe, and those who judaize, and the Sabians, and the Christians, whoever *of them* believeth in GOD and the last day, and doth that which is right, *there shall come* no fear on them, neither shall they be grieved [k]. We formerly accepted the covenant of the children of ISRAEL, and sent apostles unto them. So often as an apostle came unto them with that which their souls desired not, they accused some of

[g] *They shall eat of the good things, both from above them, and from under their feet*;] That is, they shall enjoy the blessings, both of heaven and earth.

[h] *If thou publish not the whole, thou dost not, in effect, publish any part thereof*;] That is, if thou do not complete the publication of all thy revelations, without exception, thou dost not answer the end for which they were revealed; because, the concealing of any part, renders the system of religion, which GOD has thought fit to publish to mankind by thy ministry, lame and imperfect (1).

[i] GOD *will defend thee*, &c.] Until this verse was revealed, *Mohammed* entertained a guard of armed men for his security; but, on his receiving this assurance of GOD's protection, he immediately dismissed them (2).

[k] See chap. ii. p. 13.

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. (2) *Idem*.

them of impoſture, and ſome of them they killed: and they imagined that there ſhould be no puniſhment *for thoſe crimes*, and they became blind, and deaf[l]. Then was GOD turned unto them[m]; afterwards many of them *again* became blind and deaf; but GOD ſaw what they did. They are ſurely infidels, who ſay, Verily, GOD is CHRIST, the ſon of MARY; ſince CHRIST ſaid, O children of ISRAEL! ſerve GOD, my LORD and your LORD; whoever ſhall give a companion unto GOD, GOD ſhall exclude him from paradiſe, and his habitation ſhall be *hell* fire; and the ungodly ſhall have none to help them. They are certainly infidels, who ſay, GOD is the third of three[n]: for there is no GOD, beſide one GOD; and if they refrain not from what they ſay, a painful torment ſhall ſurely be inflicted on ſuch of them as are unbelievers. Will they not, therefore, be turned unto GOD, and aſk pardon of him? ſince GOD is gracious *and* merciful. CHRIST, the ſon of MARY, is no more than an apoſtle; *other* apoſtles have preceded him; and his mother was a woman of veracity[o]: they *both* ate food[p]. Behold, how we declare them the ſigns *of GOD's unity*; and then, behold, how they turn aſide *from the truth*. Say *unto them*, Will ye worſhip, beſides GOD, that which can cauſe you neither harm nor profit? GOD *is* he who heareth *and* ſeeth. Say, O ye who have received the ſcriptures! exceed not *the juſt bounds* in your religion[q], *by ſpeaking* beſide the truth; neither follow

l *And they became blind and deaf*;] Shutting their eyes and ears againſt conviction, and the remonſtrances of the law; as when they worſhiped the calf.

m *Then was* GOD *turned unto them*;] i. e. Upon their repentance.

n See chap. iv. p. 126.

o *His mother was a woman of veracity*;] Never pretending to partake of the divine nature, or to be the mother of GOD (1).

p *They both ate food*;] Being obliged to ſupport their lives by the ſame means, and being ſubject to the ſame neceſſities and infirmities as the reſt of mankind, and, therefore, no GODS (2).

q See chap. iv. p. 126. But, here the words are principally directed to the *Chriſtians*.

(1) JALLALO'DDIN. (2) *Idem*, *Al* BEIDAWI.

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the desires of people who have heretofore erred, and who have seduced many, and have gone astray from the strait path [r]. Those among the children of ISRAEL who believe not, were cursed by the tongue of DAVID, and of JESUS, the son of MARY [s]. This *befel them* because they were rebellious and transgressed: they forbade not one another the wickedness which they committed; and woe *unto them for* what they committed. Thou shalt see many of them take for their friends, those who believe not. Woe *unto them* for what their souls have sent before them [t], for that GOD is incensed against them, and they shall remain in torment *for ever*. But, if they had believed in GOD, and the prophet, and that which hath been revealed unto him, they had not taken them for *their* friends; but many of them are evil doers. Thou shalt surely find the most violent of *all* men in enmity against the true believers, *to be* the Jews, and the idolaters: and thou shalt surely find those among them *to be* the most inclinable to *entertain* friendship for the true believers; who say, We are Christians. This *cometh to pass*, because, there are priests and monks among them; and, because, they are not elated with pride [u]: * And, when they hear that which hath VII.
been sent down to the apostle *read unto them*, thou shalt see their eyes overflow with tears, because of the truth which they perceive *therein* [w]; saying, O LORD!

[r] *Neither follow the desires of people who have heretofore erred*, &c.] That is, of their prelates and predecessors, who erred in ascribing divinity to *Christ*, before the mission of *Mohammed* (1).

[s] See before, p. 144. not. *z*.

[t] See chap. ii. p. 18. not. *p*.

[u] *And are not elated with pride*;] Having not that high conceit of themselves, as the *Jews* have; but being humble and well disposed to receive the truth; qualities, says *al Beidâwi*, which are to be commended even in infidels.

[w] *And, when they hear that which hath been sent down to the apostle, read unto them, their eyes overflow with tears*, &c.] The persons directly intended, in this passage, were, either *Ashama*, king of *Ethiopia*, and several bishops and priests; who, being assembled for that purpose, heard *Jaafar Ebn Abi Taleb*, who

(1) JALLALO'DDIN, *Al* BEIDAWI.

LORD! we believe; write us down, therefore, with those who bear witness *to the truth:* and, what *should hinder* us from believing in GOD, and the truth which hath come unto us, and from earnestly desiring that our LORD would introduce us *into paradise* with the righteous people? Therefore, hath GOD rewarded them, for what they have said, with gardens through which rivers flow; they shall continue therein *for ever*; and this is the reward of the righteous. But, they who believe not, and accuse our signs of falsehood, they *shall be* the companions of hell. O true believers! forbid not the good things which GOD hath allowed you [x]; but, transgress not, for GOD loveth not the transgressors. And eat of what GOD hath given you for food, *that which is* lawful *and* good: and fear GOD, in whom ye believe. GOD will not punish you for an inconsiderate word in your oaths [y]; but, he will punish you for what ye solemnly swear *with deliberation*. And the expiation of such *an inconsiderate oath shall be* the feeding of ten poor men with such moderate *food* as ye feed your

fled to that country in the first flight (1), read the 29th and 30th, and, afterwards, the 18th, and 19th chapters of the *Korân*; on hearing of which the king, and the rest of the company, burst into tears, and confessed what was delivered therein to be conformable to truth; that prince himself, in particular, becoming a proselyte to *Mohammedism* (2): or else, thirty, or, as others say, seventy persons, sent ambassadors to *Mohammed*, by the same king of *Ethiopia*, to whom the prophet himself read the thirty sixth chapter, intitled Y. S. Whereupon, they began to weep; saying, *How like is this to that which was revealed unto* Jesus! and, immediately, professed themselves *Moslems* (3).

x *Forbid not the good things which* GOD *hath allowed you*;] These words were revealed, when certain of *Mohammed*'s companions agreed to oblige themselves to continual fasting and watching, and to abstain from women, eating flesh, sleeping on beds, and other lawful enjoyments of life, in imitation of some self-denying *Christians*; but this the prophet disapproved, declaring, that he would have no *monks* in his religion (4).

y See chap. ii. p. 40.

(1) *See the Prelim. Disc. p.* 58, 59. (2) *Al* BEIDAWI, *Al* THALABI. *V.* ABULFED, *vit. Moh. p.* 25, &c. MARRACC. *Prodr. ad refut. Alcor. part.* 1. *p.* 45. (3) *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. *V.* MARRACC. *ubi sup.* (4) JALLALO'DDIN, *Al* BEIDAWI,

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own families withal; or, to cloath them [z]; or, to free the neck *of a true believer from captivity:* but he who ſhall not find *wherewith to perform one of theſe three things*, ſhall faſt three days [a]. This is the expiation of your oaths, when ye ſwear *inadvertently*. Therefore, keep your oaths. Thus GOD declareth unto you his ſigns, that ye may give thanks. O true believers! ſurely wine and lots [b], and images [c] and divining arrows [d] *are* an abomination, of the work of SATAN; therefore, avoid them, that ye may proſper. SATAN ſeeketh to ſow diſſenſion and hatred among you, by means of wine and lots, and to divert you from remembering GOD, and from prayer: will ye not, therefore, abſtain *from them?* Obey GOD, and obey the apoſtle, and take heed *to yourſelves*: but, if ye turn back, know that the duty of our apoſtle is only to preach publicly [e]. In thoſe who believe and do good works, it is no ſin that they have taſted *wine or gaming before they were forbidden*; if they fear *GOD*, and believe, and do good works, and *ſhall, for the future, fear GOD*, and believe, and *ſhall perſevere to* fear *him*, and *to* do good [f], for GOD loveth thoſe who

[z] The commentators give us the different opinions of the doctors, as to the quantity of food and cloaths to be given in this caſe; which I think ſcarce worth tranſcribing.

[a] *Shall faſt three days*;] That is three days together, ſays *Abu Hanîfa*. But this is not obſerved in practice, being neither explicitly commanded in the *Korân*, nor ordered in the *Sonna* (1).

[b] *Wine and lots*;] That is, all inebriating liquors, and games of chance. See the Prelim. Diſc. §. V. and chap. ii. p. 39.

[c] *Images*;] *Al Beidâwi*, and ſome other commentators, expound this of idols; but others, with more probability, of the carved pieces, or men, with which the pagan *Arabs* played at cheſs, being little figures of men, elephants, horſes and dromedaries; and this is ſuppoſed to be the only thing which *Mohammed* diſliked in that game: for which reaſon, the *Sonnites* play with plain pieces of wood, or ivory; but the *Perſians* and *Indians*, who are not ſo ſcrupulous, ſtill make uſe of the carved ones (2).

[d] See the Prelim. Diſc. §. V.

[e] See ibid. §. II. p. 64, &c.

[f] The commentators endeavour to excuſe the tautology of this paſſage, by ſuppoſing the threefold repetition of *fearing* and *believing*, refer either to the three parts of time, paſt, preſent and future, or to the threefold duty of man, towards GOD, himſelf, and his neighbour, &c. (3).

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI. (2.) *V. Prelim. Diſc.* §. V. (3) *Al* BEIDAWI.

do good. O true believers! GOD will ſurely prove you in *offering you plenty of* game, which ye may take with your hands or your lances [g], that GOD may know who feareth him in ſecret; but, whoever tranſgreſſeth after this, ſhall ſuffer a grievous puniſhment. O true believers! kill no game while ye are on pilgrimage [h]; whoſoever among you ſhall kill any deſignedly, ſhall reſtore the like of what he ſhall have killed, in domeſtic animals [i], according to the determination of two juſt perſons among you, to be brought as an offering to the CAABA; or, in atonement thereof, ſhall feed the poor; or, inſtead thereof, ſhall faſt, that he may taſte the heinouſneſs of his deed. GOD hath forgiven what is paſt, but, whoever returneth *to tranſgreſs*, GOD will take vengeance on him; for GOD is mighty *and* able to avenge. It is lawful for you to fiſh in the ſea [k], and to eat *what ye ſhall catch*, as a proviſion for you and for thoſe

[g] GOD *will prove you, in offering you plenty of game*, &c.] This temptation, or trial, was at *al Hodeibiya*, where *Mohammed*'s men, who had attended him thither, with an intent to perform a pilgrimage to the *Caaba*, and had initiated themſelves with the uſual rites, were ſurrounded by ſo great a number of birds and beaſts, that they impeded their march; from which unuſual accident, ſome of them concluded, that, GOD had allowed them to be taken; but this paſſage was to convince them of the contrary (1).

[h] *While ye are on pilgrimage*;] Literally, *while ye are* Mohrims, or have actually initiated yourſelves as pilgrims, by putting on the garment worn at that ſolemnity. Hunting and fowling are hereby abſolutely forbidden to perſons in this ſtate; though they are allowed to kill certain kinds of noxious animals (2).

[i] *Shall reſtore the like in domeſtic animals*,] That is, he ſhall bring an offering to the temple of *Mecca*, to be ſlain there and diſtributed among the poor, of ſome domeſtic, or tame animal, equal in value to what he ſhall have killed: as a ſheep, for example, in lieu of an antelope, a pidgeon for a partridge, &c. And of this value two prudent perſons were to be judges. If the offender was not able to do this, he was to give a certain quantity of food to one or more poor men; or, if he could not afford that, to faſt a proportionable number of days (3).

[k] This, ſays *Jallalo'ddin*, is to be underſtood of fiſh that live altogether in the ſea, and not of thoſe that live in the ſea and on land both, as crabs, &c. The *Turks*, who are *Hanifites*, never eat this ſort of fiſh; but the ſect of *Ans Ebn Malec*, and, perhaps, ſome others, make no ſcruple of it.

(1) *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN. (2) *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. V. (3) JALLALO'DDIN, *Al* BEIDAWI.

who

who travel; but, it is unlawful for you to hunt by land, while ye are performing the rites of pilgrimage [l]; therefore, fear GOD, before whom ye shall be assembled *at the last day*. GOD hath appointed the CAABA, the holy house, an establishment [m] for mankind; and *hath ordained* the sacred month [n], and the offering, and the ornaments hung *thereon* [o]. This *hath he done*, that ye might know that GOD knoweth, whatsoever *is* in heaven and on earth, and that GOD is omniscient. Know that GOD is severe in punishing, and that GOD *is also* ready to forgive *and* merciful. The duty of our apostle is to preach only [p]; and GOD knoweth that which ye discover, and that which ye conceal. Say, Evil and good shall not be equally esteemed of, though the abundance of evil pleaseth thee [q]; therefore, fear GOD, O ye of understanding! that ye may be happy. O true believers! inquire not concerning things, which, if they be declared unto you, may give you pain [r];

[l] See above note *h*.

[m] *An establishment*;] That is, the place where the practice of their religious ceremonies is chiefly established; where those who are under any apprehension of danger may find a sure *asylum*, and the merchant certain gain, &c. (1).

[n] *The sacred month*;] *Al Beidâwi* understands this of the month of *Dhu'lhajja*, wherein the ceremonies of the pilgrimage are performed; but, *Jallalo'ddin* supposes all the four sacred months are here intended (2).

[o] See before, p. 128.

[p] See the Prelim. Discourse §. II. p. 64.

[q] *Evil and good shall not be equally esteemed, though the abundance of evil pleaseth thee*;] For judgment is to be made of things not from their plenty or scarcity, but from their intrinsic good or bad qualities (3).

[r] *Inquire not concerning things which if they be declared unto you may give you pain*, &c.] The *Arabs*, continually teazing their prophet with questions, which, probably, he was not always prepared to answer, they are here ordered to wait, till GOD should think fit to declare his pleasure, by some farther revelation: and, to abate their curiosity, they are told, at the same time, that, very likely, the answers would not be agreeable to their inclinations. *Al Beidâwi* says, that, when the pilgrimage was first commanded, *Sorâka Ebn Malec* asked *Mohammed*, Whether they were obliged to perform it every year? To this question, the prophet, at first, turned a deaf ear; but, being asked it a second, and a third time, he, at last, said, *No: but, if I had said, yes, it would have become a duty, and if it were a duty, ye would not be able to perform it; therefore, give me no trouble as to things wherein I give you none*: whereupon this passage was revealed.

(1) JALLALO'DDIN, *Al* BEIDAWI. (2) *See the Prelim. Disc.* §. VII. (3) *Al* BEIDAWI.

but, if ye ask concerning them, when the KORAN is sent down, they will be declared unto you: GOD pardoneth *you as to* these matters; for GOD is ready to forgive, *and* gracious. People, who have been before you, formerly inquired concerning them; and afterwards disbelieved therein. GOD hath not ordained *any thing* concerning BAHIRA, nor SAIBA, nor WASILA, nor HAMI [s]; but the unbelievers have invented a lie against GOD: and the greater part of them do not understand. And when it was said unto them, Come unto that which GOD hath revealed, and to the apostle; they answered, That *religion* which we found our fathers *to follow* is sufficient for us. What though their fathers knew nothing, and were not *rightly* directed? O true believers! take care of your souls. He who erreth shall not hurt you, while ye are *rightly* directed [t]: unto God shall ye all return, and he will tell you that which ye have done. O true believers! let witnesses be taken between you, when death approaches any of you, at the time of *making* the testament; *let there be* two *witnesses*, just men, from among you [u], or two others of *a* different *tribe or faith* from yourselves [w], if ye be journeying in the earth, and the accident of death befal you. Ye shall shut them both up,

[s] GOD *hath not ordained any thing concerning* Bahîra, *nor* Sâbïâ, *nor* Wasîla, *nor* Hâmi, &c.] These were the names given by the pagan *Arabs* to certain camels or sheep, which were turned loose to feed, and exempted from common services, in some particular cases; having their ears slit, or some other mark, that they might be known; and this they did in honour of their gods (1). Which superstitions are here declared to be no ordinances of GOD, but the inventions of foolish men.

[t] *He who erreth shall not hurt you*, &c.] This was revealed when the infidels reproached those who embraced *Mohammedism*, and renounced their old idolatry, that, by so doing, they arraigned the wisdom of their forefathers (2).

[u] *Two just men from among you*;] That is, of your kindred, or religion.

[w] *Or two others of a different tribe or faith*;] They who interpret these words of persons of another religion, say, they are abrogated, and that the testimony of such ought not to be received against a *Moslem* (3).

(1) *See the Prelim. Disc.* §. V. (2) *Al* BEIDAWI. (3) *Idem.*

after

after the *afternoon* prayer [x], and they ſhall ſwear by GOD, if ye doubt *them, and they ſhall ſay*, We will not ſell *our evidence* for a bribe, although *the perſon concerned* be one, who is related *to us*, neither will we conceal the teſtimony of GOD, for then ſhould we certainly be *of the number* of the wicked. But if it appear that both have been guilty of iniquity, two others ſhall ſtand up in their place, of thoſe who have convicted them *of falſhood*, the two neareſt *in blood*, and they ſhall ſwear by GOD, *ſaying*, Verily our teſtimony is more true than the teſtimony of theſe two, neither have we prevaricated; for *then* ſhould we become *of the number* of the unjuſt. This will be eaſier, that *men* may give teſtimony according to the plain intention thereof, or fear leſt a *different* oath be given, after their oath. Therefore fear GOD, and hearken; for GOD directeth not the unjuſt people [y]. On *a certain* day

[x] *Ye ſhall ſhut them both up after the afternoon prayer*, &c.] In caſe there was any doubt, the witneſſes were to be kept apart from company, leſt they ſhould be corrupted, till they gave their evidence, which they generally did when the afternoon prayer was over; becauſe that was the time of people's aſſembling in public; or, ſay ſome, becauſe the guardian angels then relieve each other; ſo that there would be four angels to witneſs againſt them, if they gave falſe evidence. But others ſuppoſe they might be examined after the hour of any other prayer, when there was a ſufficient aſſembly (1).

[y] The occaſion of the preceding paſſage is ſaid to have been this: *Tamim al Dâri* and *Adi Ebn Yazid*, both *Chriſtians*, took a journey into *Syria* to trade, in company with *Bodeil*, the freed-man of *Amru Ebn al As*, who was a *Moſlem*. When they came to *Damaſcus*, *Bodeil* fell ſick, and died; having firſt wrote down a liſt of his effects on a piece of paper, which he hid in his baggage, without acquainting his companions with it, and deſired them only to deliver what he had to his friends of the tribe of *Sahm*. The ſurvivors, however, ſearching among his goods, found a veſſel of ſilver of conſiderable weight, and inlaid with gold, which they concealed; and, on their return, delivered the reſt to the deceaſed's relations; who, finding the liſt of *Bodeil*'s writing, demanded the veſſel of ſilver of them, but they denied it; and the affair being brought before *Mohammed*, theſe words, *viz. O true believers! take witneſſes*, &c. were revealed; and he ordered them to be ſworn at the pulpit in the moſque, juſt as afternoon prayer was over; and, on their making oath, that they knew nothing of the plate demanded, diſ-

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI.

miſſed

day [z] shall God assemble the apostles, and shall say unto them, What answer was returned you, *when ye preached unto the people to whom ye were sent?* They shall answer, We have no knowledge, but thou art the knower of secrets [a]. When God shall say, O Jesus, son of Mary! remember my favour towards thee, and towards thy mother; when I strengthened thee with the Holy Spirit [b], that thou shouldest speak unto men in the cradle, and when thou wast grown up [c]! and when I taught thee the scripture, and wisdom, and the law, and the gospel; and when thou didst create of clay, as it were, the figure of a bird, by my permission, and didst breathe thereon, and it became a bird by my permission, and thou didst heal one blind from his birth, and the leper, by my permission; and when thou didst bring forth the dead *from their graves*, by my permission [d]; and when I with-held the children of Israel, from *killing* thee [e], when thou hadst come unto them with evident *miracles*, and such of them as believed not, said, This is nothing but manifest sorcery. And when I commanded the apostles of *JESUS saying*, Believe in me, and in my messenger; they answered, We do believe; and do thou bear witness that we are resigned *unto thee*. *Remember*, when the apostles said,

missed them. But, afterwards, the vessel, being found in their hands, the *Sahmites*, suspecting it was *Bodeil's*, charged them with it; and they confessed it was his, but, insisted that they had bought it of him; and that they had not produced it, because they had no proof of the bargain. Upon this they went again before *Mohammed*, to whom these words, *And if it appear*, &c. were revealed; and thereupon *Amru Ebn al As* and *al Motalleb Ebn Abi Refáa*, both of the tribe of *Sahm*, stood up, and were sworn against them; and judgment was given accordingly (1).

[z] *On a certain day*;] That is, on the day of judgment.

[a] *We have no knowledge*, &c.] That is, We are ignorant whether our proselytes were sincere, or whether they apostatized after our deaths; but thou well knowest, not only what answer they gave us, but the secrets of their hearts; and, whether they have since continued firm in their religion, or not.

[b] See chap. ii. p. 17.

[c] See chap. iii. p. 63.

[d] See ibid.

[e] See ibid. p. 65.

(1) *Al* Beidawi.

O Jesus

O JESUS, ſon of MARY! is thy LORD able to cauſe a table to deſcend unto us from heaven [f]? He anſwered, Fear GOD, if ye be true believers. They ſaid, We deſire to eat thereof, and that our hearts may reſt at eaſe; and that we may know that thou haſt told us the truth; and that we may be witneſſes thereof. JESUS, the ſon of MARY, ſaid, O GOD, our LORD! cauſe a table to deſcend upon us from heaven, that *the day of it's deſcent* may become

[f] *Is thy* LORD *able to cauſe a table to deſcend unto us from heaven*, &c.] This miracle is thus related by the commentators: *Jeſus* having, at the requeſt of his followers, aſked it of GOD, a red table immediately deſcended, in their ſight, between two clouds, and was ſet before them; whereupon he roſe up, and, having made the ablution, prayed, and then took off the cloth which covered the table, ſaying, *In the name of* GOD, *the beſt provider of food*. What the proviſions were, with which this table was furniſhed, is a matter wherein the expoſitors are not agreed. One will have them to be nine cakes of bread, and nine fiſhes; another, bread and fleſh; another, all ſorts of food except fleſh; another, all ſorts of food except bread and fleſh; another, all except bread and fiſh; another, one fiſh, which had the taſte of all manner of food; and another, fruits of paradiſe: but the moſt received tradition is, that, when the table was uncovered, there appeared a fiſh ready dreſſed, without ſcales or prickly fins, dropping with fat, having ſalt placed at it's head, and vinegar at it's tail, and round it all ſorts of herbs, except leeks, and five loaves of bread, on one of which there were olives; on the ſecond, honey; on the third, butter; on the fourth, cheeſe; and on the fifth, dried fleſh. They add, that *Jeſus*, at the requeſt of the apoſtles, ſhewed them another miracle, by reſtoring the fiſh to life, and cauſing it's ſcales and fins to return to it; at which the ſtanders-by being affrighted, he cauſed it to become as it was before: that one thouſand three hundred men and women, all afflicted with bodily infirmities, or poverty, ate of theſe proviſions, and were ſatisfied; the fiſh remaining whole as it was at firſt: that then the table flew up to heaven in the ſight of all; and every one who had partaken of this food, were delivered from their infirmities and misfortunes: and, that it continued to deſcend for forty years together, at dinner time, and ſtood on the ground till the ſun declined, and was then taken up into the clouds. Some of the *Mohammedan* writers are of opinion, that this table did not really deſcend, but that it was only a parable; but moſt think the words of the *Korân* are plain to the contrary. A further tradition is, that ſeveral men were changed into ſwine, for diſbelieving this miracle, and attributing it to magic art; or, as others pretend, for ſtealing ſome of the victuals from off it (1). Several other fabulous circumſtances are alſo told, which are ſcarce worth tranſcribing (2).

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI. *Al* THALABI, *p.* 238, *&c.*

(2) *V.* MARRACC. *in Alc.*

a feſtival

a festival day [g] unto us, unto the first of us, and unto the last of us; and a sign from thee; and do thou provide food for us, for thou art the best provider. GOD said, Verily I will cause it to descend unto you; but, whoever among you shall disbelieve hereafter, I will surely punish him with a punishment, wherewith I will not punish any other creature. And, when GOD shall say *unto JESUS, at the last day*, O JESUS, son of MARY! hast thou said unto men, Take me, and my mother, for two gods, beside GOD? He shall answer, Praise be unto thee! it is not for me to say that which I ought not; if I had said so, thou wouldest surely have known it: thou knowest what is in me, but I know not what is in thee; for thou art the knower of secrets. I have not spoken to them *any other* than what thou didst command me; *namely*, Worship GOD, my LORD and your LORD: and I was a witness *of their actions* while I stayed among them; but, since thou hast taken me to thyself [h], thou hast been the watcher over them; for thou art witness of all things. If thou punish them, they are surely thy servants; and, if thou forgive them, thou art mighty *and* wise. GOD will say, This day shall their veracity be of advantage unto those who speak truth; they shall have gardens wherein rivers flow; they shall remain therein for ever: GOD hath been well-pleased in them, and they have been well-pleased in him. This *shall be*

[g] *A festival day*;] Some say, the table descended on a Sunday, which was the reason of the *Christians* observing that day as sacred. Others pretend, this day is still kept among them as a very great festival; and, it seems as if the story had it's rise from an imperfect notion of *Christ*'s last supper, and the institution of the Eucharist.

[h] *Since thou hast taken me to thyself*;] Or, *since thou hast caused me to die*: but, as it is a dispute, among the *Mohammedans*, whether *Christ* actually died, or not, before his assumption (1), and the original may be translated either way, I have chosen the former expression, which leaves the matter undecided.

(1) *See chap.* iii. *p.* 66.

great

great felicity. Unto GOD *belongeth* the kingdom of heaven and of earth, and of whatever therein is; and he is almighty.

CHAP. VI.

Intitled, Cattle[a]; *revealed at* MECCA[b].

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

PRAISE be unto GOD, who hath created the heavens and the earth, and hath ordained the darkneſs and the light; nevertheleſs, they who believe not in the LORD, equalize *other gods with him.* It is he who hath created you of clay; and then decreed the term *of your lives*; and the prefixed term is with him[c]: yet do ye doubt *thereof.* He is GOD in heaven and in earth; he knoweth what ye keep ſecret, and what ye publiſh; and knoweth what ye deſerve. There came not unto them any ſign, of the ſigns of their LORD, but they retired from the ſame; and they have gainſaid the truth, after that it hath come unto them: but a meſſage ſhall come unto them, concerning that which they have mocked at[d]. Do they not conſider how many generations we have deſtroyed before them? We had eſtabliſhed them in the earth in a manner wherein we have not eſtabliſhed you[e]; we ſent the heaven to rain abundantly upon

[a] This chapter is ſo intitled, becauſe ſome ſuperſtitious cuſtoms of the *Meccans*, as to certain cattle, are therein incidentally mentioned.

[b] Except only ſix verſes; or, ſay others, three verſes, which are taken notice of in the notes.

[c] *And then decreed the term of their lives; and the prefixed term is with him.*] By the laſt term, ſome underſtand the time of the reſurrection. Others think, that, by the firſt term is intended, the ſpace between creation and death; and, by the latter, that, between death and the reſurrection.

[d] *A meſſage ſhall come unto them,* &c.] That is, they ſhall be convinced of the truth which they have made a jeſt of, when they ſee the puniſhment which they ſhall ſuffer for ſo doing, both in this world, and the next; or, when they ſhall ſee the glorious ſucceſs of *Mohammediſm.*

[e] *We had eſtabliſhed them in the earth, as we have not eſtabliſhed you,*

on them, and we gave *them* rivers which flowed under *their feet:* yet we deſtroyed them in their ſins, and raiſed up other generations after them. Although we had cauſed to deſcend unto thee a book *written* on paper, and they had handled it with their hands, the unbelievers had ſurely ſaid, This *is* no other than manifeſt ſorcery. They ſaid, Unleſs an angel be ſent down unto him, *we will not believe.* But if we had ſent down an angel, verily the matter had been decreed[f], and they ſhould not have been borne with, *by having time granted them to repent.* And if we had appointed an angel *for our meſſenger*, we ſhould have ſent him *in the form of* a man[g], and have cloathed *him* before them, as they are cloathed. *Other* apoſtles have been laughed to ſcorn, before thee, but *the judgment* which they made a jeſt of, encompaſſed thoſe who laughed them to ſcorn. Say, Go through the earth, and behold what hath been the end of thoſe, who accuſed *our prophets* of impoſture. Say, Unto whom *belongeth* whatſoever is in heaven and earth? Say unto God, He hath preſcribed unto himſelf mercy. He will ſurely gather you together on the day of reſurrection; there is no doubt of it. They who deſtroy their own ſouls *are thoſe who* will not believe. Unto him *is owing* whatſoever happeneth by night, or by day; *it is* he who heareth and knoweth. Say, Shall I take any other protector than God, the creator of heaven and earth, who feedeth

you, &c.] i. e. We had bleſſed them with greater power, and length of proſperity than we have granted you, O men of *Mecca* (1). *Mohammed* ſeems here to mean the ancient and potent tribes of *Ad*, and *Thamud*, &c. (2).

[f] *Verily the matter hath been decreed*, &c.] That is to ſay, as they would not have believed, even if an angel had deſcended to them from heaven, God has ſhewn his mercy in not complying with their demands; for, if he had, they would have ſuffered immediate condemnation, and would have been allowed no time for repentance.

[g] *We ſhould have ſent him in the form of a man*;] As *Gabriel* generally appeared to *Mohammed*, who, though a prophet, was not able to bear the ſight of him, when he appeared in his proper form, much leſs would others be able to ſupport it.

(1) *Al* Beidawi. (2) See the Prelim. Diſc. Sect. I. p. 7, &c.

all

all, and is not fed *by any?* Say, Verily I am commanded to be the firſt who profeſſeth ISLAM [h], and *it was ſaid unto me*, Thou ſhalt by no means be *one* of the idolaters. Say, Verily I fear, if I ſhould rebel againſt my LORD, the puniſhment of the great day: from whomſoever it ſhall be averted on that day, *GOD* will have been merciful unto him; this *will be* manifeſt ſalvation. If GOD afflict thee with any hurt, there is none who can take it off *from thee*, except himſelf; but, if he cauſe good to befal thee, he is almighty; he is the ſupreme *LORD* over his ſervants; and he *is* wiſe *and* knowing. Say, What thing is the ſtrongeſt in bearing teſtimony [i]? Say, GOD! *he is* witneſs between me and you. And this KORAN was revealed unto me, that I ſhould admoniſh you thereby; and *alſo* thoſe whom unto it ſhall reach. Do ye really profeſs, that there are other gods together with GOD? Say, I do not profeſs *this*. Say, Verily he is one GOD; and I am guiltleſs of what ye aſſociate *with him*. They unto whom we have given the ſcripture know *our apoſtle*, even as they know their own children [k]; *but* they who deſtroy their own ſouls, will not believe. Who is more unjuſt than he who inventeth a lye againſt GOD [l], or chargeth his ſigns with impoſture? Surely the unjuſt ſhall not proſper. And, on the day *of reſurrection*, we will aſſemble them all; then will we ſay unto thoſe who aſſociated *others with GOD*, Where are your companions [m], whom ye imagined *to be thoſe of GOD?* But, they ſhall have no other excuſe than

[h] *The firſt who profeſſeth* Iſlâm;] That is, the firſt of my nation (1).

[i] *What thing is the ſtrongeſt in bearing teſtimony*, &c.] This paſſage was revealed when the *Koreiſh* told *Mohammed*, that they had aſked the *Jews* and *Chriſtians* concerning him, who aſſured them, they found no mention or deſcription of him in their books of ſcripture, *Therefore* ſaid they, *who bears witneſs to thee, that thou art the apoſtle of* GOD (2)?

[k] See chap. ii. p. 27.

[l] *Who inventeth a lye againſt* GOD;] Saying the angels are the daughters of GOD, and interceſſors for us with him, *&c* (3).

[m] *Your companions*;] i. e. Your idols and falſe gods.

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI. (2) *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN. (3) *Al* BEIDAWI.

that

that they shall say, By God our Lord, we have not been idolaters. Behold, how they lye against themselves, and, what they have *blasphemously* imagined *to be the companion of GOD*, flieth from them[n]. There is of them who hearkeneth unto thee *when thou readest the KORAN*[o]; but we have cast veils over their hearts, that they should not understand it, and a deafness in their ears: and though they should see all *kinds of* signs, they will not believe therein; *and their infidelity will arrive to that height* that they will even come unto thee, to dispute with thee. The unbelievers will say, This is nothing but silly fables of ancient *times*. And they will forbid *others* from *believing therein*, and will retire afar off from it; but they will destroy their own souls only; and they are not sensible *thereof*. If thou didst see, when they shall be set over the fire *of hell!* and they shall say, Would to God we might be sent back *into the world*; we would not charge the signs of our Lord with imposture, and we would become true believers: nay, but that is become manifest unto them, which they formerly concealed[p]; and, though they should be sent back *into the world*, they would surely return to that which was forbidden them; and they are surely lyars. And they said, There is no *other life* than our present life; neither shall we be raised again. But, if thou couldest see, when they shall be

[n] *And what they have blasphemously imagined flieth from them*;] That is, their imaginary deities prove to be nothing, and disappear like vain phantoms and chimæras.

[o] The persons here meant were *Abu Sofiân, al Walid, al Nodar, Otba, Abu Jahl*, and their comrades, who went to hear *Mohammed* repeat some of the *Korân*; and *Nodar*, being asked what he said, answered, with an oath, that he knew not, only that he moved his tongue, and told a parcel of foolish stories, as he had done to them (1).

[p] *That is become manifest unto them which they formerly concealed*;] viz. Their hypocrisy and vile actions: nor does their promise proceed from any sincere intention of amendment, but from the anguish and misery of their condition (2).

(1) *Al* Beidawi. (2) *Idem.*

set

set before their LORD[q]! He shall say *unto them*, Is not this in truth *come to pass?* They shall answer, Yea, by our LORD. *GOD* shall say, Taste therefore the punishment *due unto you*, for that ye have disbelieved. They are lost, who reject, as a falsehood, the meeting of GOD *in the next life*, until the hour[r] cometh suddenly upon them. *Then will* they say, Alas! for that we have behaved ourselves negligently in *our life-time*; and they shall carry their burdens on their backs[s]; will it not be evil which they shall be loaden with? This present life is no other than a play, and a vain amusement[t]; but surely the future mansion *shall be* better for those who fear *GOD*: will they not therefore understand? Now we know, that what they speak grieveth thee: yet they do not accuse thee of falsehood; but the ungodly contradict the signs of GOD[u]. And apostles, before thee, have been accounted lyars: but they patiently bore their being accounted lyars, and their being vexed, until

[q] *When they shall be set before their* LORD, &c.] *viz.* In order for judgment.

[r] *The hour*,] The last day is here called *the Hour*, as it is in scripture (1); and the preceding expression of *meeting* GOD on that day is also agreeable to the same (2).

[s] *They shall carry their burdens on their backs*, &c.] When an infidel comes forth from his grave, says *Jalalo'ddin*, his works shall be represented to him under the ugliest form that ever he beheld, having a most deformed countenance, a filthy smell, and a disagreeable voice; so that he shall cry out, GOD *defend me from thee, what art thou? I never saw any thing more detestable.* To which the figure will answer, *Why dost thou wonder at my ugliness? I am thy evil works* (3); *thou didst ride upon me, while thou wast in the world, but now will I ride upon thee, and thou shalt carry me.* And immediately it shall get upon him; and whatever he shall meet shall terrify him, and say, *Hail, thou enemy of* GOD, *thou art he who was meant by* (these words of the *Korân*) *and they shall carry their burdens*, &c (4).

[t] *They do not accuse thee of falsehood, but the ungodly contradict the signs of* GOD;] That is, it is not thou, but GOD, whom they injure by their impious gainsaying of what has been revealed to thee. It is said, that *Abu Jahl* once told *Mohammed*, that they did not accuse him of falsehood, because he was known to be a man of veracity, but only they did not believe the revelations which he brought them; which occasioned this passage (5).

(1) 1 *John* v. 25, &c. (2) 1 *Thes.* iv. 17. (3) *See* MILTON'S *Paradise lost, book* II. *v.* 737, *&c.* (4) *See also ch.* iii. *p.* 84. (5) *Al* BEIDAWI.

our help came unto them; for there is none who can change the words of God: and thou hast received some information concerning those who have been *formerly* sent *from him* [u]. If their aversion *to thy admonitions* be grievous unto thee, if thou canst seek out a den *whereby thou mayest penetrate* into *the inward parts of* the earth, or a ladder *by which thou mayest ascend* into heaven, that thou mayest shew them a sign, *do so, but thy search will be fruitless*; for, if God pleased, he would bring them all to the *true* direction: be not therefore *one* of the ignorant [w]. He will give a favourable answer unto those only who shall hearken *with attention*: and God will raise the dead; then unto him shall they return. The *infidels* say, Unless some sign be sent down unto him from his Lord, *we will not believe*: answer, Verily God is able to send down a sign: but the greater part of them know *it* not [x]. There is no *kind of* beast on earth, nor fowl which flieth with it's wings, but *the same is* a people like unto you [y]; we have not omitted any thing in the book [z] *of our decrees*:

[u] *And thou hast received some information concerning those who have been formerly sent from him*;] i. e. Thou hast been acquainted with the stories of several of the preceding prophets; what persecutions they suffered from those to whom they were sent, and in what manner God supported them, and punished their enemies, according to his unalterable promise (1).

[w] In this passage *Mohammed* is reproved for his impatience, in not bearing the obstinacy of his countrymen, and for his indiscrete desire of effecting what God hath not decreed, namely, the conversion and salvation of all men (2).

[x] *The greater part of them know it not*;] Being both ignorant of God's almighty power, and of the consequence of what they ask, which might prove their utter destruction.

[y] *A people like unto you*;] Being created and preserved by the same omnipotence and providence as ye are.

[z] *We have not omitted any thing in the book*, &c.] That is, in the *preserved table*; wherein God's decrees are written, and all things which come to pass in the world, as well the most minute as the more momentous, are exactly registered (3).

(1) *Al* Beidawi. (2) *Idem.* (3) *See the Prelim. Disc.* §. IV. *p.* 137.

then

then unto their LORD shall they return[a]. They who accuse our signs of falshood, *are* deaf and dumb, *walking* in darkness: GOD will lead into error whom he pleaseth, and whom he pleaseth he will put in the right way. Say, What think ye? if the punishment of GOD come upon you, or the hour *of the resurrection* come upon you, will ye call upon any other than GOD, if ye speak truth? yea, him shall ye call upon, and he shall free *you* from that which ye shall ask him *to deliver you from*, if he pleaseth; and ye shall forget that which ye associated *with him*[b]. We have already sent *messengers* unto *sundry* nations before thee, and we afflicted them with trouble and adversity, that they might humble themselves: yet, when the affliction *which we sent*, came upon them, they did not humble themselves; but their hearts became hardened, and SATAN prepared for them that which they committed. And, when they had forgotten that concerning which they had been admonished, we opened unto them the gates of all things[c]; until, while they were rejoicing for that which had been given them, we suddenly laid hold on them; and, behold, they *were* seized with despair; and the utmost part of the people which had acted wickedly, was cut off: praise be unto GOD, the LORD of all creatures! Say, What think ye? if GOD should take away your hearing, and your sight, and should

[a] *Then unto their* LORD *shall they return*;] For, according to the *Mohammedan* belief, the irrational animals will also be restored to life at the resurrection, that they may be brought to judgment, and have vengeance taken on them for the injuries they did one another while in this world (1).

[b] *Ye shall forget that which ye associated with him.*] That is, Ye shall then forsake your false gods, when ye shall be effectually convinced that GOD alone is able to deliver you from eternal punishment. But others rather think, that this forgetting will be the effect of the distress and terror which they will then be in (2).

[c] *We opened unto them the gates of all things*;] That is, we gave them all manner of plenty; that since they took no warning by their afflictions, their posterity might become a snare to them, and they might bring down upon themselves swifter destruction.

(1) *See the Prelim. Disc. p.* 114. (2) *Al* BEIDAWI.

seal up your hearts; What god, besides GOD, will restore them unto you? See how variously we shew forth the signs *of GOD's unity* [d]; yet do they turn aside *from them.* Say *unto them,* What think ye? if the punishment of GOD come upon you suddenly, or in open view [e]; will *any* perish, except the ungodly people? We send not *our* messengers otherwise than bearing good tidings, and denouncing threats. Whoso, therefore, shall believe, and amend, on them shall no fear come, neither shall they be grieved: but, whoso shall accuse our signs of falsehood, a punishment shall fall on them, because they have done wickedly. Say, I say not unto you, The treasures of GOD are in my power: neither *do I say,* I know the secrets *of GOD:* neither do I say unto you, Verily I am an angel: I follow only that which is revealed unto me. Say, Shall the blind, and the seeing, be held equal? do ye not therefore consider? Preach it unto those who fear, that they shall be assembled before their LORD: they shall have no patron nor intercessor, except him; that, peradventure, they may take heed to themselves. Drive not away those who call upon their LORD morning and evening, desiring *to see* his face [f]; it belongeth not

[d] *How variously we shew forth the signs,* &c.] Laying them before you in different views, and making use of arguments and motives drawn from various considerations.

[e] *Suddenly, or in open view;*] That is, says *al Beidâwi,* either without any previous notice, or after some warning given.

[f] *Drive not away those who call upon their* LORD, *&c.*] These words were occasioned when the *Koreish* desired *Mohammed* not to admit the poor, or more inferior people, such as *Ammâr, Soheib, Khobbâb,* and *Salmân,* into his company, pretending that then they would come and discourse with him; but he refusing to turn away any believers, they insisted, at least, that he should order them to rise up, and withdraw when they came, which he agreed to do. Others say, that the chief men of *Mecca* expelled all the poor out of their city, bidding them go to *Mohammed;* which they did, and offered to embrace his religion; but he made some difficulty to receive them, suspecting their motive to be necessity, and not real conviction (1); whereupon this passage was revealed.

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN.

unto

unto thee to pass any judgment on them [g], nor doth it belong unto them to pass any judgment on thee: therefore, *if* thou drive them away, thou wilt become *one* of the unjust. Thus have we proved some part of them by other part, that they may say, Are these *the people* among us unto whom GOD hath been gracious [h]? Doth not GOD most truly know *those who are* thankful? And when they, who believe in our signs, shall come unto thee, say, Peace *be* upon you. Your LORD hath prescribed unto himself mercy; so that whoever among you worketh evil through ignorance, and, afterwards, repenteth, and amendeth; *unto him will* he surely *be* gracious *and* merciful. Thus have we distinctly propounded *our* signs, that the path of the wicked might be made known. Say, Verily I am forbidden to worship *the false deities* which ye invoke, besides GOD. Say, I will not follow your desires; for then should I err; neither should I be *one* of *those who are rightly* directed. Say, I *behave* according to the plain declaration *which I have received* from my LORD; but ye have forged lyes concerning him. That which ye desire should be hastened, is not in my power [i]: judgment *belongeth* only unto GOD; he will determine the truth; and he is the best discerner. Say, if what ye desire should be hastened were in my power, the matter had been determined between me and you [k]: but GOD well

[g] *It belongeth not unto thee to pass any judgment on them*, &c.] i. e. Rashly to decide whether their intentions be sincere or not; since thou canst not know their heart, and their faith may possibly be more firm than that of those who would persuade thee to discard them.

[h] *Thus have we proved some part of them by other part*, &c.] That is to say, the noble by those of mean extraction, and the rich by the poor; in that GOD chose to call the latter to the faith before the former (1).

[i] *That which ye desire should be hastened, is not in my power*, &c.] This passage is an answer to the audacious defiances of the infidels, who bade *Mohammed*, if he were a true prophet, to call for a shower of stones from heaven, or some other sudden and miraculous punishment, to destroy them (2).

[k] *The matter had been determined*;] For I should ere now have destroyed you, out of zeal for GOD's honour, had it been in my power (3).

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. (2) *Al* BEIDAWI. (3) *Idem.*

knoweth the unjuſt. With him are the keys of the ſecret *things*; none knoweth them beſides himſelf: he knoweth that which is on the dry land, and in the ſea; there faileth no leaf, but he knoweth it; neither *is there* a ſingle grain in the dark parts of the earth, neither a green thing, nor a dry thing, but it is *written* in the perſpicuous book [l]. It is he who cauſeth you to ſleep by night, and knoweth what ye merit by day; he alſo awakeneth you therein, that the prefixed term *of your lives* may be fulfilled; then unto him ſhall ye return, and he ſhall declare unto you that which ye have wrought. He is ſupreme over his ſervants, and ſendeth the guardian *angels to watch* over you [m], until, when death overtaketh one of you, our meſſengers [n] cauſe him to die; and they will not neglect *our commands*. Afterwards ſhall they return unto God, their true Lord: doth not judgment *belong* unto him? he is the moſt quick in taking an account [o]. Say, Who delivereth you from the darkneſs [p] of the land, and of the ſea, *when* ye call upon him humbly, and in private; *ſaying*, Verily if thou deliver us [q] from theſe *dangers*, we will ſurely be thankful? Say, God delivereth you from them, and from every grief of mind; *yet*, afterwards, ye give *him* companions [r]. Say, He is able to ſend on you a puniſhment from above you [s], or from under your feet [t], or to ingage you in diſſenſion, and

[l] *In the perſpicuous book*;] i. e. The preſerved table, or regiſter of God's decrees.

[m] See the Prelim. Diſc. §. IV. p. 94.

[n] *Our meſſengers*;] That is, the angel of death, and his aſſiſtants (1).

[o] See the Prelim. Diſc. §. IV. p. 117.

[p] *The darkneſs*;] That is, the dangers and diſtreſſes.

[q] *If thou deliver us*;] The *Cufic* copies read it in the third perſon, *if he deliver us*, &c.

[r] *Yet, afterwards, ye give him companions*;] Returning to your old idolatry.

[s] *A puniſhment from above you*;] That is, by ſtorms from heaven, as he deſtroyed the unbelieving people of *Noah*, and of *Lot*, and the army of *Abraha*, the lord of the elephant (2).

[t] *Or from under your feet*;] Either by drowning you, as he did *Pharaoh* and his hoſt; or cauſing the earth to open, and ſwallow you up, as happened to *Korah*, or (as the *Mohammedans* name him) *Karun* (3).

(1) *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. IV. *p.* 94. (2) *Al* Beidawi. (3) *Idem.*

to

to make some of you taste the violence of others. Observe how variously we shew forth *our* signs, that, peradventure, they may understand. This people hath accused the *revelation which thou hast brought* of falsehood, although it be the truth. Say, I am not a guardian over you: every prophecy hath it's fixed time *of accomplishment*; and ye will hereafter know *it*. When thou seest those who are ingaged in *cavilling at, or ridiculing* our signs; depart from them, until they be ingaged in some other discourse: and, if SATAN cause thee to forget *this precept*, do not sit with the ungodly people, after recollection. They who fear *GOD* are not at all accountable for them, but *their duty is* to remember, that they may take heed to themselves [u]. Abandon those who make their religion a sport, and a jest; and whom the present life hath deceived: and admonish *them* by *the KORAN*, that a soul becometh liable to destruction for that which it committeth: it shall have no patron nor intercessor besides GOD; and if it could pay the utmost price of redemption, it would not be accepted from it. They who are delivered over to perdition, for that which they have committed, shall have boiling water to drink, and shall suffer a grievous punishment, because they have disbelieved. Say, Shall we call upon that, besides GOD! which can neither profit us, nor hurt us? and shall we turn back on our heels, after that GOD hath directed us; like him whom the devils have infatuated, wandering, amazedly, in the earth, *and yet*, having companions, who call him to the *true* direction,

[u] *Those who fear* GOD *are not accountable for them*, &c.] And therefore need not be troubled at the indecent and impious talk of the infidels; provided they take care not to be infected by them. When the preceding passage was revealed, the *Moslems* told their prophet, that if they were obliged to rise up whenever the idolaters spoke irreverently of the *Korân*, they could never sit quietly in the temple, nor perform their devotions there; whereupon these words were added (1).

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN.

saying,

saying, Come unto us: Say, The direction of GOD is the *true* direction: we are commanded to resign ourselves unto the LORD of all creatures; and *it is also commanded us, saying*, Observe the stated times of prayer, and fear him; for it is he before whom ye shall be assembled. It is he who hath created the heavens, and the earth, in truth; and, whenever he saith *unto a thing*, Be, it is. His word is the truth; and his will be the kingdom on the day whereon the trumpet shall be sounded [w]: he knoweth whatever is secret, and whatever is public; he is the wise, the knowing. *Call to mind* when ABRAHAM said unto his father AZER [x], Dost thou take images for gods [y]? Verily I perceive, that thou, and thy people,

[w] See the Prelim. Disc. §. IV. p. 95 and 108, *&c.*

[x] *Azer.*] This is the name which the *Mohammedans* give to *Abraham*'s father, named in scripture *Terah*. However, some of their writers pretend, that *Azer* was the son of *Terah* (1); and *D'Herbelot* says, that the *Arabs* always distinguish them in their genealogies as different persons; but, that, because *Abraham* was the son of *Terah*, according to *Moses*, it is therefore supposed [by *European* writers] that *Terah* is the same with the *Azer* of the *Arabs* (2). How true this observation may be in relation to some authors, I cannot say, but I am sure it cannot be true of all; for several *Arab* and *Turkish* writers expressly make *Azer* and *Terah* the same person (3). *Azer*, in ancient times, was the name of the planet *Mars*; and the month of *March* was so called by the most ancient *Persians*; for the word, originally signifying *fire* (as it still does) it was therefore given by them and the *Chaldeans*, to that planet (4), which partaking, as was supposed, of a fiery nature, was acknowledged by the *Chaldeans* and *Assyrians* as a god, or planetary deity, whom, in old times, they worshiped under the form of a pillar: whence *Azer* became a name among the nobility, who esteemed it honourable to be denominated from their gods (5), and is found in the composition of several *Babylonish* names. For these reasons, a learned author supposes *Azer* to have been the heathen name of *Terah*; and that the other was given him on his conversion (6). *Al Beidâwi* confirms this conjecture, saying, that *Azer* was the name of the idol which he worshiped. It may be observed, that *Abraham*'s father is also called *Zarah* in the *Talmud*, and *Athar* by *Eusebius*.

[y] *Do ye take images for gods?*] That *Azer*, or *Terah*, was an idol-

(1) *Tarîkh Montakhab, apud* D'HERBEL. *Bibl. Orient. p.* 12. (2) D'HERBEL. *ibid.* (3) *Al* BEIDAWI, JALÂLO'DDIN, YAHYA, EBN SHOHNAH, MIRAT KAINAT, *&c. V. etiam Pharhang Jehanghiri, apud* HYDE *de rel. vet. Persar. p.* 68. (4) HYDE, *ibid. p.* 63. (5) *Idem, ibid. p.* 64. (6) *Idem, ibid. p.* 62.

later,

people, *are* in a manifeſt error. And thus did we ſhew unto ABRAHAM the kingdom of heaven and earth, that he might become *one* of thoſe who firmly believe [z]. And when the night over-ſhadowed him, he ſaw a ſtar, *and* he ſaid, This is my LORD [a]; but

later, is allowed on all hands; nor can it be denied, ſince he is expreſſly ſaid in ſcripture to have ſerved ſtrange gods (1). The eaſtern authors unanimouſly agree, that he was a ſtatuary, or carver of idols; and he is repreſented as the firſt who made images of clay, pictures only having been in uſe before (2), and taught that they were to be adored as gods (3). However, we are told his employment was a very honourable one (4), and that he was a great lord, and in high favour with *Nimrod*, whoſe ſon-in-law he was (5), becauſe he made his idols for him, and was excellent in his art. Some of the *Rabbins* ſay, *Terah* was a prieſt, and chief of the order (6).

[z] *And thus we ſhewed* Abraham *the kingdom of heaven and earth, &c.*] That is, we gave him a right apprehenſion of the government of the world, and of the heavenly bodies, that he might know them all to be ruled by GOD, by putting him on making the following reflections.

[a] *He ſaw a ſtar, and he ſaid, This is my* LORD, *&c.*] Since *Abraham*'s parents were idolaters, it ſeems to be a neceſſary conſequence that himſelf was one alſo in his younger years; the ſcripture, not obſcurely, intimates as much (7); and the *Jews* themſelves acknowledge it (8). At what age he came to the knowledge of the true GOD, and left idolatry, opinions are various. Some *Jewiſh* writers tell us, he was then but three years old (9); and the *Mohammedans* likewiſe ſuppoſe him very young, and that he aſked his father and mother ſeveral ſhrewd queſtions when a child (10). Others, however, allow him to have been a middle-aged man at that time (11). *Maimonides*, in particular, and *R. Abraham Zacuth*, think him to have been forty years old; which age is alſo mentioned in the *Korân*. But the general opinion of the *Mohammedans* is, that he was about fifteen or ſixteen (12). As the religion wherein *Abraham* was educated, was the *Sabian*, which conſiſted chiefly in the worſhip of the heavenly bodies (13), he is introduced examining their nature and properties, to ſee whether they had a right to the worſhip which was paid them, or not; and the firſt which he obſerved was the planet *Venus*, or, as others will have it, *Jupiter* (14). This method of *Abraham*'s attaining to the knowledge of the ſupreme Creator of all things, is conformable to what *Joſephus* writes, *viz.* That he drew his notions from the changes which he had obſerved in the earth

(1) *Joſh.* xxiv. 2, 14. (2) EPIPHAN. *adv. Hær. l.* 1. *p.* 7, 8.
(3) SUIDAS *in Lexico, voce* Σεμέχ. (4) *V.* HYDE, *ubi ſupra, p.* 63.
(5) D'HERBEL. *ubi ſup.* (6) *Shalſhel. hakkab. p.* 94. (7) *V. Joſh.* xxiv. 2, 14. *and* HYDE, *ubi ſup. p.* 59. (8) JOSEPH. *Ant. l.* 1. *c.* 7. MAIMON. *More Nev. part* 3. *c.* 29. *& Yad Hazzak. de Id. c.* 1, &c. (9) TANCHUMA, *Talmud, Nedarim*, 32, 1. *& apud* MAIMON. *Yad Hazz. ubi ſup.* (10) *V.* D'HERBEL. *Bibl. Orient. Art. Abraham.* (11) MAIMON. *ubi ſup.* R. ABR. ZACUTH. *in Sefer Juchaſin, Shalſhel. hakkab, &c.* (12) *V.* HYDE, *ubi ſup. p.* 60, 61. *&* HOTTING. *Smegma Orient. p.* 290, *&c.* GENEBR. *in Chron.* (13) *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. I. *p.* 18. (14) *Al* BEIDAWI.

and

but when it set, he said, I like not *gods* which set. And when he saw the moon rising, he said, This is my Lord; but when he saw it set, he said, Verily if my Lord direct me not, I shall become *one* of the people who go astray. And when he saw the sun rising, he said, This is my Lord, this is the greatest; but when it set, he said, O my people! verily I am clear of that which ye associate *with GOD:* I direct my face unto him who hath created the heavens and the earth; *I am* orthodox, and am not *one* of the idolaters. And his people disputed with him: *and* he said, Will ye dispute with me concerning God? since he hath now directed me; and I fear not that which ye associate *with him*, unless that my Lord willeth a thing; *for* my Lord comprehendeth all things by *his* knowledge [b]: will ye not therefore consider? And how should I fear that which ye associate *with GOD*, since ye fear not to have associated with God that concerning which he hath sent down unto you no authority? which, therefore, of the two parties is the more safe, if ye understand *aright?* They who believe, and clothe not their faith with injustice [c], they shall enjoy security, and they *are rightly* directed. And this is our argument wherewith we furnished Abraham, *that he might make use of it* against his people: we exalt unto degrees *of wisdom and knowledge* whom we please; for

and the sea, and in the sun and the moon, and the rest of the celestial bodies; concluding that they were subject to the command of a superior power, to whom alone all honour and thanks are due (1). The story itself is certainly taken from the *Talmud* (2). Some of the commentators, however, suppose this reasoning of *Abraham* with himself was not the first means of his conversion; but that he used it only by way of argument, to convince the idolaters among whom he then lived.

[b] *I fear not what ye associate with him; unless that my* Lord *willeth a thing*, &c.] That is, I am not afraid of your false gods, which cannot hurt me, except God permitteth it, or is pleased to afflict me himself.

[c] *Injustice*;] By injustice, in this place, the commentators understand idolatry, or open rebellion against God.

(1) Joseph. *Ant. l.* 1. *c.* 7. (2) R. Bechai, *in Midrash. V.* Bartolocc. *Bibl. Rabb. part.* 1. *p.* 640.

thy

thy Lord is wise *and* knowing. And we gave unto him Isaac and Jacob; we directed *them* both: and Noah had we before directed, and of his posterity [d] David and Solomon; and Job [e], and Joseph, and Moses, and Aaron: thus do we reward the righteous: and Zacharias, and John, and Jesus, and Elias [f]; all *of them were* upright men: and Ismael, and Elisha [g], and Jonas [h], and Lot [i]; all *these* have we favoured above *the rest of* the world; and *also divers* of their fathers, and their issue, and their brethren; and we chose them, and directed them into the right way. This is the direction of God; he directeth thereby such of his servants as he pleaseth; but, if they had been guilty of idolatry, that which they wrought would have become utterly fruitless unto them. Those *were the persons* unto whom we gave the scripture, and wisdom, and prophecy; but if these [k] believe not therein, we will commit the care of them to a people who shall not disbelieve the same. Those *were the persons* whom God hath directed, therefore follow their direction. Say *unto the inhabitants of MECCA*, I ask of you no recompense for *preaching the KORAN*; it is no other than an admonition unto *all* creatures. They make not a due estimation of God [l], when they say,

[d] *Of his posterity*;] Some refer the relative *his*, to *Abraham*, the person chiefly spoken of in this passage; some to *Noah*, the next antecedent, because *Jonas* and *Lot* were not (say they) of *Abraham*'s seed: and others suppose the persons named in this and the next verse are to be understood as the descendants of *Abraham*, and those in the following verse, as those of *Noah* (1).

[e] *Job*.] The *Mohammedans* say he was of the race of *Esau*. See chap. xxi. and xxxviii.

[f] *Elias*.] See chap. xxxvii.

[g] *Elisha*.] This prophet was the successor of *Elias*, and, as the commentators will have it, the son of *Okhtúb*; though the scripture makes him the son of *Shaphat*.

[h] *Jonas*.] See chap. x, xxi, and xxxvii.

[i] *Lot*.] See chap. vii, *&c.*

[k] *These*;] That is, the *Koreish* (2).

[l] *They make not a due estimation of* God, *&c.*] That is, they know him not truly, nor have just notions of his goodness and mercy towards man. The persons here meant, according

(1) *Al* Beidawi. (2) *Idem.*

say, God hath not sent down unto man any thing at all[m]: Say, Who sent down the book which Moses brought, a light and a direction unto men; which ye transcribe on papers, whereof ye publish *some part*, and great part *whereof* ye conceal? and ye have been taught *by MOHAMMED* what ye knew not, neither your fathers. Say, God *sent it down*: then leave them to amuse themselves with their vain discourse. This book, which we have sent down, *is* blessed; confirming that which was *revealed* before it; and *is delivered unto thee*, that thou mayest preach *it* unto the metropolis *of MECCA*, and to those who are round about it. And they who believe in the next life, will believe therein, and they will diligently observe their *times of* prayer. Who is more wicked than he who forgeth a lye concerning God[n]? or saith, *This* was revealed unto me; when nothing hath been revealed unto him[o]? and who saith,

cording to some commentators, are the *Jews*; and, according to others, the idolaters (1).

This verse, and the two next, as *Jallalo'ddin* thinks, were revealed at *Medina*.

[m] God *hath not sent down unto man any thing*, &c.] By these words, the *Jews* (if they were the persons meant) chiefly intended to deny the *Korân* to be of divine revelation: though they might, in strictness, insist that God never revealed, or *sent down*, as the *Korân* expresses it, any real composition, or material writing from heaven, in the manner that *Mohammed* pretended his revelations were delivered (2), if we except only the decalogue; God having left to the inspired pen-men, not only the labour of writing, but the liberty, in a great measure, at least, of putting the truths into their own words, and manner of expression.

[n] *Who is more unjust than he who forgeth a lye concerning* God, &c.] Falsly pretending to have received revelations from him; as did *Moseilama*, *al Aswad*, *al Ansi*, and others.

[o] *Or saith, This was revealed unto me; when nothing hath been revealed unto him*;] As did *Abda'llah Ebn Saad Ebn Abi Sarah*, who, for some time, was the prophet's amanuensis; and when these words were dictated to him as revealed, *viz. We created man of a purer kind of clay*, &c. (3), cried out, by way of admiration, *Blessed be* God, *the best Creator!* and, being ordered by *Mohammed* to write these words down also, as part of the inspired passage, began to think himself as great a

(1) *Al* Beidawi. (2) *See the Prelim. Disc.* §. III. *p.* 34, &c.
(3) *Korân, cap.* xxiii.

prophet

faith, I will produce a revelation like unto that which GOD hath sent down [p]? If thou didst see when the ungodly *are* in the pangs of death, and the angels [q] reach out their hands, *saying*, Cast forth your souls; this day shall ye receive an ignominious punishment for that which ye have falsly spoken concerning GOD; and because ye have proudly rejected his signs. And now are ye come unto us alone [r], as we created you at first [s], and ye have left that which we had bestowed on you, behind your backs; neither do we see with you your intercessors [t], whom ye thought to have been partners *with GOD* among you: now is *the relation* between you cut off; and what ye imagined hath deceived you [u]. GOD causeth the grain, and the date-stone, to put forth: he bringeth forth the living from the dead, and he bringeth forth the dead from the living [w]. This *is* GOD. Why, therefore, are ye turned away *from him?* He causeth the morning to appear; and hath ordained the night for rest, and the sun and the moon for the computing *of time*. This is the disposition of the mighty, the wise *GOD*. It is he who hath ordained the stars for you, that ye may be directed thereby in the darkness of the land, and of the sea. We

gopher as his master (1). Whereupon he took upon himself to corrupt and alter the *Korân*, according to his own fancy, and, at length, apostatizing, was one of the ten who were proscribed at the taking of *Mecca* (2), and narrowly escaped with life on his recantation, by the interposition of *Othmân Ebn Affân*, whose foster-brother he was (3).

p *And who saith, I will produce a revelation*, &c.] For some *Arabs*, it seems, had the vanity to imagine, and gave out, that, if they pleased, they could write a book nothing inferior to the *Korân*.

q See before, p. 166. not. *n*.

r *Alone*;] That is, without your wealth, your children, or your friends, which ye so much depended on in your life-time.

s *As we created you at first*;] i. e. Naked and helpless.

t *Your intercessors*;] Or false gods.

u *What ye imagined*, &c.] Concerning the intercession of your idols, or the disbelief of future rewards and punishments.

w See chap. iii. p. 59.

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI. (2) *See the Prelim. Disc. p.* 72. (3) *V.* ABU'LFED. *Vit. Moh. p.* 109.

have

have clearly shewn forth *our* signs unto people who understand. It is he who hath produced you from one soul; and *hath provided for you* a sure receptacle, and a repository [x]. We have clearly shewn forth *our* signs, unto people who are wise. It is he who sendeth down water from heaven; and we have thereby produced the springing buds of all things, and have thereout produced the green thing, from which we produce the grain growing in rows, and palm-trees, from whose branches proceed clusters of dates *hanging* close together; and gardens of grapes, and olives, and pomegranates, *both* like and unlike to one another. Look on their fruits, when they bear fruit, and their growing to maturity. Verily herein are signs, unto people who believe. *Yet* they have set up the genii [y] as partners with God, although he created them: and they have falsly attributed unto him sons and daughters [z], without knowledge. Praise be unto him; and far be that from him which they attribute *unto him!* *He is* the maker of heaven and earth: how should he have issue since he hath no consort? he hath created all things, and he is omniscient. This is God your Lord; there is no God but he, the creator of all things: therefore serve him; for he taketh care of all things. The sight comprehendeth him not, but he comprehendeth the sight; he *is* the gracious [a], the wise.

x *A sure receptacle, and a repository*;] Namely, in the loins of your fathers, and the wombs of your mothers (1).

y *Genii*;] This word signifies properly the *genus* of rational, *invisible* beings, whether angels, devils, or that intermediate species usually called *genii*. Some of the commentators, therefore, in this place, understand the angels, whom the pagan *Arabs* worshiped; and others the devils, either because they became their servants, by adoring idols at their instigation, or else because, according to the *Magian* system, they looked on the devil as a sort of creator, making him the author and principle of all evil, and God the author of good only (2).

z See the Prelim. Disc. p. 23 and 51.

a *The gracious*;] Or, as the word may be translated, *the incomprehensible* (3).

(1) *Al* Beidawi. (2) *Idem.* (3) *Idem.*

Now

Now have evident demonſtrations come unto you from your LORD; whoſo ſeeth *them, the advantage thereof will redound* to his own ſoul: and whoſo is *wilfully* blind, *the conſequence will be* to himſelf. I am not a keeper over you. Thus do we variouſly explain *our* ſigns; that they may ſay, Thou haſt ſtudied diligently [b]: and that we may declare them unto people of underſtanding. Follow that which hath been revealed unto thee from thy LORD; there is no GOD but he: retire, therefore, from the idolaters. If GOD had *ſo* pleaſed, they had not been guilty of idolatry. We have not appointed thee a keeper over them; neither art thou a guardian over them. Revile not the *idols* which they invoke beſides GOD, leſt they maliciouſly revile GOD, without knowledge. Thus have we prepared for every nation their works: hereafter unto GOD ſhall they return, and he ſhall declare unto them that which they have done. They have ſworn by GOD, by the moſt ſolemn oath, that if a ſign came unto them, they would certainly believe therein: Say, Verily ſigns are in the power of GOD alone; and he permitteth you not to underſtand that when they come, they will not believe [c]. And we will turn aſide their hearts, and their ſight, *from the truth*, as they believed not therein [d] the firſt time; and we will leave them to wander in their error. * And though we had ſent down angels unto VIII.

[b] *That they may ſay, Thou haſt ſtudied diligently*;] That is, Thou haſt been inſtructed by the *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, in theſe matters, and only retaileſt unto us what thou haſt learned of them. For this the infidels objected to *Mohammed*, thinking it impoſſible for him to diſcourſe on ſubjects of ſo high a nature, and in ſo clear and pertinent a manner, without being well verſed in the doctrines and ſacred writings of thoſe people.

[c] In this paſſage *Mohammed* endeavours to excuſe his inability of working a miracle, as had been demanded of him; declaring that GOD did not think fit to comply with their deſires; and that, if he had ſo thought fit, yet it had been in vain, becauſe, if they were not convinced by the *Korân*, they would not be convinced by the greateſt miracle (1).

[d] *Therein*;] i. e. In the *Korân*.

(1) *Conſer Luke* xvi. 31.

them,

them, and the dead had spoken unto them, and we had gathered together before them all things in one view [e]; they would not have believed, unless GOD had so pleased: but the greater part of them know *it* not. Thus have we appointed unto every prophet an enemy; the devils of men, and of genii: who privately suggest the one to the other specious discourses to deceive; but if thy LORD pleased, they would not have done it. Therefore leave them, and that which they have falsly imagined; and let the hearts of those be inclined thereto, who believe not in the life to come; and let them please themselves therein, and let them gain that which they are gaining. Shall I seek after any *other* judge besides GOD *to judge between us?* It is he who hath sent down unto you the book *of the KORAN*, distinguishing *between good and evil*; and they to whom we gave the scripture, know that it is sent down from thy LORD, with truth. Be not therefore *one* of those who doubt *thereof*. The words of thy LORD are perfect, in truth and justice; there is none who can change his words [f]: he *both* heareth *and* knoweth. But if thou obey the greater part of them who are in the earth, they will lead thee aside from the path of GOD: they follow an *uncertain* opinion only [g], and speak nothing but lyes; verily thy LORD well knoweth those who go astray from his path, and well

[e] *And though we had sent down angels unto them*, &c.] For the *Meccans* required that *Mohammed* should either shew them an angel descending from heaven in their sight, or raise their dead fathers, that they might discourse with them, or prevail on GOD, and his angels, to appear to them in a body.

[f] *There is none who can change his words.*] Some interpret this of the immutability of GOD's decree, and the certainty of his threats and promises; others, of his particular promise to preserve the *Korân* from any such alterations, or corruptions, as they imagine to have happened to the *Pentateuch* and the *Gospel* (1); and others, of the unalterable duration of the *Mohammedan* law, which they hold is to last till the end of the world, there being no other prophet, law, or dispensation to be expected after it.

[g] *They follow an uncertain opinion only*;] Imagining that the true religion was that which their idolatrous ancestors professed.

(1) *See the Prelim. Disc. p.* 98. *and Kor. c.* XV.

knoweth

knoweth those who are *rightly* directed. Eat of that whereon the name of GOD hath been commemorated[h], if ye believe in his signs: and why do ye not eat of that whereon the name of GOD hath been commemorated? since he hath plainly declared unto you what he hath forbidden you; except that which ye be compelled to by necessity, *eat of*: many lead *others* into error, because of their appetites, being void of knowledge; but thy LORD well knoweth *who are* the transgressors. Leave both the outside of iniquity, and the inside thereof[i]: for they who commit iniquity shall receive the reward of that which they shall have gained. Eat not, therefore, of that whereon the name of GOD hath not been commemorated; for this is certainly wickedness: but the devils will suggest unto their friends, that they dispute with you *concerning this precept*; but if ye obey them, ye *are* surely idolaters. Shall he who hath been dead, and whom ye have restored unto life, and unto whom we have ordained a light, whereby he may walk among men, *be* as he whose similitude is in darkness, from whence he shall not come forth[k]? Thus was that which the infidels are doing, prepared for them. And thus have we placed in every city chief leaders of the wicked *men* thereof, that they may act deceitfully therein; but they shall act deceitfully against their own souls only; and they know *it* not. And when a sign[m] cometh unto them, they say, We will, by no means, believe, until *a revelation* be brought unto us, like unto that which hath been delivered unto the messengers of

[h] See chap. ii. p. 31. and chap. v. p. 129.

[i] *Leave the outside of iniquity, and the inside thereof*;] That is, Both open and secret sins.

[k] The persons primarily intended in this passage, were *Hamza*, *Mohammed*'s uncle, and *Abu Jahl*; others, instead of *Hamza* name *Omar*, or *Ammâr*.

[l] *And thus have we placed in every city, chief leaders of the wicked men thereof*;] In the same manner as we have done in *Mecca*.

[m] *A sign*;] i. e. Any verse or passage of the *Korân*.

GOD [n]. GOD beſt knoweth whom he will appoint for his meſſenger [o]. Vileneſs, in the ſight of GOD, ſhall fall upon thoſe who deal wickedly, and a grievous puniſhment, for that they have dealt deceitfully. And whomſoever GOD ſhall pleaſe to direct, he will open his breaſt to *receive the faith of* ISLAM: but, whomſoever he ſhall pleaſe to lead into error, he will render his breaſt ſtrait *and* narrow, as though he were climbing up to heaven [p]. Thus doth GOD inflict a terrible puniſhment on thoſe who believe not. This is the right way of thy LORD. Now have we plainly declared *our* ſigns unto thoſe people who will conſider. They ſhall have a dwelling of peace with their LORD, and he ſhall be their patron, becauſe of that which they have wrought. *Think on* the day *whereon GOD* ſhall gather them all together, *and ſhall ſay*, O company of genii [q]! ye have been much concerned with mankind [r]; and their friends from among mankind *ſhall* ſay, O LORD! the one of us hath received advantage from the other [s], and we are arrived at our limited term [t] which thou haſt appointed us. *GOD* will

[n] *We will not believe until a revelation be brought unto us*, &c.] Theſe were the words of the *Koreiſh*, who thought there were perſons among themſelves more worthy of the honour of being GOD's meſſenger than *Mohammed*.

[o] GOD *beſt knoweth whom he will appoint for his meſſenger*;] Literally, *Where he will place his commiſſion*. GOD, ſays *al Beidâwi*, beſtows not the gift of prophecy on any one on account of his nobility or riches, but for their ſpiritual qualifications; making choice of ſuch of his ſervants as he pleaſes, and who, he knows, will execute their commiſſions faithfully.

[p] *As though he were climbing up to heaven*;] Or had undertaken the moſt impoſſible thing in the world. In like manner ſhall the heart of ſuch a man be incapable of receiving the truth.

[q] *O company of genii!*] That is, of devils (1).

[r] *Ye have been much concerned with mankind*;] In tempting and ſeducing them to ſin.

[s] *The one of us hath received advantage from the other*;] The advantage which men received from the evil ſpirits, was, their raiſing and ſatisfying their luſts and appetites; and that which the latter received in return, was the obedience paid them by the former, *&c* (2).

[t] *Our limited term*, &c.] *viz.* The day of reſurrection, which we believed not in the other world.

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI. (2) *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN.

ſay,

say, *Hell* fire *shall be* your habitation, therein shall ye remain *for ever*; unless, as GOD shall please *to mitigate your pains* [u], for thy LORD *is* wise *and* knowing. Thus do we set some of the unjust over others of them, because of that which they have deserved. O company of genii and men! did not messengers from among yourselves come unto you [w], rehearsing my signs unto you, and forewarning you of the meeting of this your day? They shall answer, We bear witness against ourselves: the present life deceived them: and they shall bear witness against themselves that they were unbelievers. This *hath been the method of GOD's dealing with his creatures*, because thy LORD would not destroy the cities in *their* iniquity, while their inhabitants were careless [x]. Every one shall *have* degrees *of recompense* of that which they shall do; for thy LORD is not regardless of that which they do, and thy LORD is self-sufficient *and* indued with mercy. If he pleaseth he can destroy you, and cause such as he pleaseth to succeed you, in like manner as he produced you from the posterity of other people. Verily that which is threatened you, shall surely come to pass; nei-

[u] *Unless as* GOD *shall please to mitigate your pains*;] The commentators tell us, that this alleviation of the pains of the damned, will be when they shall be taken out of the fire to drink the boiling water (1), or to suffer the extreme cold, called *al Zamharîr*, which is to be one part of their punishment; but others think, the respite which GOD will grant to some before they are thrown into hell, is here intended (2). According to the exposition of *Ebn Abbas*, these words may be rendered, *Unless him whom* GOD *shall please* to deliver thence (3).

[w] *Did not messengers from among yourselves come unto you*, &c.] It is the *Mohammedan* belief that apostles were sent by GOD for the conversion both of *genii* and of men; being generally of human race (as *Mohammed*, in particular, who pretended to have a commission to preach to both kinds); according to this passage, it seems, there must have been prophets of the race of *genii* also, though their mission be a secret to us.

[x] *While their inhabitants were careless*;] Or considered not their danger; but GOD first sent some prophet to them, to warn them of it, and to invite them to repentance.

(1) JALLALO'DDIN. (2) *Al* BEIDAWI. (3) *See the Prelim. Disc.* §. IV. *p.* 121, 122.

ther shall ye cause *it* to fail. Say *unto those of MECCA*, O my people! act according to your power; verily I will act *according to my duty*[y]: and hereafter shall ye know whose will be the reward of paradise. The ungodly shall not prosper. *Those of MECCA* set apart unto God a portion of that which he hath produced of the fruits of the earth, and of cattle; and say, This *belongeth* unto God, (according to their imagination,) and this unto our companions[z]. And that which is *destined* for their companions cometh not unto God; yet that which *is set apart* unto God cometh unto their companions[a]. How ill do they judge! In like manner have their companions induced many of the idolaters to slay their children[b], that they might bring them to perdition, and that they might render their religion obscure and confused unto them[c]. But if God had pleased, they had not done this: therefore leave them, and that which they falsely imagine. They also say, These cattle and fruits of the earth are sacred; none shall eat thereof but who we please[d], (according to their

[y] *Act according to your power; and I will act according to my duty;*] That is, Ye may proceed in your rebellion against God, and your malice towards me, and be confirmed in your infidelity; but I will persevere to bear your insults with patience, and to publish those revelations which God has commanded me (1).

[z] *Our companions;*] i. e. Our idols. In which sense this word is to be taken through the whole passage.

[a] As to this custom of the pagan *Arabs*, see the Prelim. Disc. § I. p. 21. To what is there said we may add, that the share set apart for God was employed chiefly in relieving the poor, and strangers; and the share of the idols, for paying their priests, and providing sacrifices for them (2).

[b] *To slay their children;*] Either by that inhuman custom, which prevailed among those of *Kendah* and some other tribes, of burying their daughters alive, so soon as they were born, if they apprehended they could not maintain them (3); or else by offering them to their idols, at the instigation of those who had the custody of their temples (4).

[c] *And render their religion obscure and confused, &c.*] By corrupting, with horrid superstitions, that religion which *Ismael* had left to his posterity (5).

[d] *But who we please;*] That is, Those who serve our idols, and are of the male sex; for the women were not allowed to eat of them (6).

(1) *Al* Beidawi. (2) *Idem*, Jallalo'ddin. (3) *See chap.* xviii. (4) *Al* Beidawi. (5) *Idem*. (6) *Idem*.

imagination

imagination ;) and *there are* cattle whose backs are forbidden *to be rode on, or loaden with burdens* [e] ; and *there are* cattle on which they commemorate not the name of GOD *when they slay them* [f], devising a lie against him : *GOD* shall reward them for that which they falsely devise. And they say, That which is in the bellies of these cattle [g], *is* allowed our males *to eat*, and *is* forbidden to our wives : but if it prove abortive, then they are *both* partakers thereof [h]. *GOD* shall give them the reward of their attributing *these things to him :* he *is* knowing *and* wise. They are utterly lost who have slain their children foolishly [i], without knowledge [k] ; and have forbidden that which GOD hath given them for food, devising a lie against GOD. They have erred, and were not *rightly* directed. He it is who produceth gardens of *vines, both those which are* supported on trails *of wood*, and *those which* are not supported [l], and palm-trees, and the corn affording various food, and olives, and pomegranates, alike and unlike unto one another. Eat of their fruit, when they bear fruit, and pay the due thereof on the day whereon ye shall gather it [m] ; but be not profuse [n], for *GOD* loveth not those who

[e] *And there are cattle whose backs are forbidden to be rode on*, &c.] Which they superstitiously exempted from such services, in some particular cases ; as they did the *Bahîra*, the *Sâiba*, and the *Hâmi* (1).

[f] See chap. v. p. 128.

[g] *That which is in the bellies of these cattle* ;] That is, the *fœtus*, or embryos of the *Bahîra* and the *Sâïba*, which shall be brought forth alive.

[h] *But if it prove abortive, they both partake thereof* ;] For if those cattle cast their young, the women might eat thereof as well as the men.

[i] See above, note *b*.

[k] *Without knowledge* ;] Not having a due sense of GOD's providence.

[l] *Supported on trails of wood, and not supported* ;] Or, as some choose to interpret the words, *trees of plants which are planted by the labour of man, and those which grow naturally in the deserts and in mountains.*

[m] *And pay the due thereof*, &c.] That is, give alms thereof to the poor. And these alms, as *al Beidâwi* observes, were what they used to give before the *Zacât*, or legal alms, was instituted ; which was done after *Mohammed* had retired from *Mecca*, where this verse was revealed. Yet some are of another opinion, and, for this very reason, will have the verse to have been revealed at *Medina*.

[n] *Be not profuse* ;] i. e. Give not so much thereof in alms, as to leave your own families in want ; for charity begins at home.

(1) *See chap.* v. *p.* 152, *and Prelim. Disc.* §. V.

are too profuse. And *GOD hath given you* some cattle fit for bearing of burdens, and *some* fit for slaughter only. Eat of what God hath given you for food; and follow not the steps of Satan, for he is your declared enemy. Four pair [o] *of cattle hath GOD given you*; of sheep one pair, and of goats one pair. Say *unto them*, Hath *GOD* forbidden the two males, *of sheep and of goats*, or the two females; or that which the wombs of the two females contain? Tell me with certainty, if ye speak truth. And of camels *hath GOD given you* one pair, and of oxen one pair. Say, Hath he forbidden the two males *of these*, or the two females; or that which the wombs of the two females contain [p]? Were ye present when God commanded you this? And who is more unjust than he who deviseth a lie against God [q], that he may seduce men without understanding? Verily God directeth not unjust people. Say, I find not in that which hath been revealed unto me, any thing forbidden unto the eater, that he eat it not, except it be that which dieth of itself, or blood poured forth [r], or swine's flesh: for this is an abomination: or *that which is* prophane, having been slain in the name of some other than God. But whoso shall be compelled by necessity *to eat of these things*, nor lusting, nor *wilfully* transgressing, verily thy Lord *will be* gracious *unto him* and merciful. Unto the Jews did we for-

[o] *Four pair*;] Or, literally, eight males and females paired together; that is, four of each sex, and two of every distinct kind.

[p] In this passage *Mohammed* endeavours to convince the *Arabs* of their superstitious folly, in making it unlawful, one while, to eat the males of these four kinds of cattle; another while, the females; and at another time, their young (1).

[q] *Who is more unjust than he who deviseth a lie against* God, &c.] The person particularly intended here, some say, was *Amru Ebn Lohai*, king of *Hajâz*, a great introducer of idolatry and superstition among the *Arabs* (2).

[r] *Blood poured forth*:] That is, fluid blood; in opposition to what the *Arabs* suppose to be also blood, but not fluid; as the liver and the spleen (3).

(1) *Al* Beidawi. (2) *Idem*. *See Prelim. Disc. p.* 26, *and* Pococke. *Spec. p.* 80. (3) *Al* Beidawi, Jallalo'ddin.

bid

bid every *beaſt* having an *undivided* hoof; and of bullocks and ſheep, we forbade them the fat of both; except that which ſhould be on their backs, or their inwards [s], or which ſhould be intermixed with the bone [t]. This have we rewarded them with, becauſe of their iniquity; and we are ſurely ſpeakers of truth. If they accuſe thee of impoſture, ſay, Your LORD is indued with extenſive mercy; but his ſeverity ſhall not be averted from wicked people. The idolaters will ſay, If GOD had pleaſed, we had not been guilty of idolatry, neither our fathers; and *pretend that* we have not forbidden *them* any thing. Thus did they who were before them accuſe *the prophets* of impoſture, until they taſted our ſevere puniſhment. Say, Is there with you any *certain* knowledge *of what ye alledge*, that ye may produce it unto us? Ye follow only a *falſe* imagination; and ye only utter lies. Say, Therefore, unto GOD *belongeth* the moſt evident demonſtration; for if he had pleaſed, he had directed you all. Say, produce your witneſſes, who can bear teſtimony that GOD hath forbidden this. But if they bear teſtimony *of this*, do not thou bear teſtimony with them, nor do thou follow the deſires of thoſe who accuſe our ſigns of falſhood, and who believe not in the life to come, and equalize *idols* with their LORD. Say, Come [u]; I will rehearſe that which your LORD hath forbidden you; *that is to ſay*, that ye be not guilty of idolatry, and *that ye ſhew* kindneſs to *your* parents, and that ye murder not your children *for fear* leſt ye be reduced to poverty: we will provide for you and them; and draw not near unto heinous crimes [w], neither openly

[s] *We forbade them the fat*, &c.] See Levit. vii. 23, and iii. 16.

[t] *Or that which is intermixed with the bone*;] *viz.* The fat of the rumps or tails of ſheep, which are very large in the eaſt; a ſmall one weighing ten or twelve pounds, and ſome no leſs than threeſcore.

[u] This and the two following verſes *Jallalo'ddin* ſuppoſes to have been revealed at *Medina*.

[w] *Heinous crimes*;] The original word ſignifies peculiarly fornication, and avarice.

nor in secret; and slay not the soul which God hath forbidden *you to slay*, unless for a just cause [x]. This hath he injoined you that ye may understand. And meddle not with the substance of the orphan, otherwise than for the improving *thereof*, until he attain his age of strength; and use a full measure, and a just balance. We will not impose *a task* on *any* soul, beyond it's ability. And when ye pronounce *judgment* observe justice, although it be *for or against* one who is near of kin, and fulfil the covenant of God. This hath *GOD* commanded you, that ye may be admonished; and *that ye may know* that this is my right way: therefore follow it, and follow not the paths *of others*, lest ye be scattered from the path *of GOD*. This hath he commanded you that ye may take heed. We gave also unto Moses the book *of the Law*; a perfect rule unto him who should do right, and a determination concerning all things *needful*, and a direction, and mercy; that *the children of ISRAEL* might believe the meeting of their Lord. And this book which we have *now* sent down, is blessed; therefore follow it and fear *GOD*, that ye may obtain mercy: lest ye should say, The scriptures were only sent down unto two people [y] before us; and we neglected to peruse them with attention [z]: or lest ye should say, If a book *of divine revelations* had been sent down unto us, we would surely have been better directed than they [a]. And now hath a manifest declaration come unto you from your Lord, and a direction and mercy: and who is more unjust than he who deviseth lies against the signs of God, and

x *Unless for a just cause*;] As for murder, apostasy, or adultery (1).

y *Unto two people*;] That is, the *Jews* and the *Christians*.

z *And we neglected to peruse them*, &c.] Either because we knew nothing of them, or did not understand the language wherein they were written.

a *We would surely have been better directed than they*;] Because of the acuteness of our wit, the clearness of our understanding, and our facility of learning sciences; as appears from our excelling in history, poetry, and oratory, notwithstanding we are an illiterate people (2).

(1) *Al* Beidawi. (2) *Idem.*

turneth

turneth aſide from them? We will reward thoſe who turn aſide from our ſigns with a grievous puniſhment, becauſe they have turned aſide. Do they wait for *any other* than that the angels ſhould come unto them, *to part their ſouls from their bodies*; or that thy LORD ſhould come *to puniſh them*; or that ſome of the ſigns of thy LORD ſhould come to paſs, *ſhewing the day of judgment to be at hand* [b]? On the day whereon ſome of thy LORD's ſigns ſhall come to paſs, it's faith ſhall not profit a ſoul which believed not before, or wrought not good in it's faith [c]. Say, Wait ye *for this day*; we ſurely do wait *for it*. They who make a diviſion in their religion [d], and become ſectaries, have thou nothing to do with them; their affair *belongeth* only unto GOD. Hereafter ſhall he declare unto them that which they have done. He who ſhall appear with good works, ſhall receive a tenfold recompenſe for the ſame; but he who ſhall appear with evil works, ſhall receive only an equal *puniſhment* for the ſame; and they ſhall not be treated unjuſtly. Say, Verily my LORD hath directed me into a right way, a true religion, the ſect of ABRAHAM the orthodox; and he was no idolater. Say, Verily my prayers, and my worſhip, and my life, and my death, *are dedicated* unto GOD, the LORD of all creatures:

[b] *Al Beidâwi*, from a tradition of *Mohammed*, ſays that ten ſigns will precede the laſt day; *viz.* the ſmoke, the beaſt of the earth, an eclipſe in the eaſt, another in the weſt, and a third in the peninſula of *Arabia*, the appearance of *Antichriſt*, the ſun's riſing in the weſt, the eruption of *Gog* and *Magog*, the deſcent of *Jeſus* on earth, and fire which ſhall break forth from *Aden* (1).

[c] *It's faith ſhall not profit a ſoul which believed not*, &c.] For faith in the next life will be of no advantage to thoſe who have not believed in this; nor yet faith in this life, without good works.

[d] *They who make a diviſion in their religion*;] That is, who believe in part of it, and diſbelieve other part of it; or who form ſchiſms therein. *Mohammed* is reported to have declared, that the *Jews* were divided into ſeventy one ſects, and the *Chriſtians* into ſeventy two: and that his own followers would be ſplit into ſeventy three ſects; and that all of them would be damned, except only one of each (2).

(1) *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. V. *p.* 105, 106, 107. (2) *Al* BEIDAWI.

he

he hath no companion. This have I been commanded: I am the firſt Moſlem [e]. Say, Shall I deſire any other LORD beſides GOD? ſince he is the LORD of all things; and no ſoul ſhall acquire *any merits or demerits* but for itſelf; and no burdened *ſoul* ſhall bear the burden of another [f]. Moreover unto your LORD ſhall ye return; and he ſhall declare unto you that concerning which ye *now* diſpute. It is he who hath appointed you to ſucceed *your predeceſſors* in the earth, and hath raiſed ſome of you above others by *various* degrees *of wordly advantages* that he might prove you by that which he hath beſtowed on you. Thy LORD is ſwift in puniſhing: and he *is alſo* gracious *and* merciful.

[e] See before, p. 158, 159.

[f] *No burdened ſoul ſhall bear the burden of another*;] This was revealed in anſwer to the preſſing inſtances of the idolaters, who offered to take the crime upon themſelves, if *Mohammed* would conform to their worſhip (1).

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI.

CHAP. VII.

Intitled, Al ARAF [a]; *revealed at* MECCA [b].

In the name of the moſt merciful GOD.

AL. M. S. [c] A book hath been ſent down unto thee: and therefore let there be no doubt in thy breaſt concerning it; that thou mayeſt preach the ſame, and *that it may be* an admonition unto the faithful. Follow that which hath been ſent down unto you from your LORD; and follow no guides

[a] *Al Aráf* ſignifies the partition between paradiſe and hell, which is mentioned in this chapter (1).

[b] Some, however, except five or eight verſes, begin at theſe words, *And aſk them concerning the city*, &c.

[c] The ſignification of theſe letters, the more ſober *Mohammedans* confeſs, GOD alone knows. Some, however, imagine they ſtand for, *Allah, Gabriel, Mohammed, on whom be peace.*

(1) *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. IV. *p.* 125.

beſide

beſide him: how little will ye be warned! How many cities have we deſtroyed; which our vengeance overtook by night [d], or while they were repoſing themſelves at noon-day [e]! And their ſupplication, when our puniſhment came upon them, was no other than that they ſaid, Verily we have been unjuſt. We will ſurely call thoſe to an account, unto whom *a prophet* hath been ſent; and we will *alſo* call thoſe to account who have been ſent *unto them*. And we will declare *their actions* unto them with knowledge; for we are not abſent *from them*. The weighing *of mens actions* on that day *ſhall be* juſt [f]; and they whoſe balances, *laden with their good works*, ſhall be heavy, are thoſe who *ſhall be* happy; but they whoſe balances ſhall be light, are thoſe who have loſt their ſouls, becauſe they injured our ſigns. And now have we placed you on the earth, and have provided you food thereon: *but* how little are ye thankful! We created you, and afterwards formed you; and then ſaid unto the angels, Worſhip ADAM, and they *all* worſhiped *him*, except EBLIS, *who* was not one of thoſe who worſhiped [g]. *GOD* ſaid *unto him*, What hindered thee from worſhiping *ADAM*, ſince I had commanded thee? He anſwered, I am more excellent than he: thou haſt created me of fire, and haſt created him of clay. *GOD* ſaid, Get thee down therefore from *paradiſe*; for it is not *fit* that thou behave thyſelf proudly therein: get thee *hence*; thou ſhalt *be* one of the contemptible. He anſwered, Give me reſpite until the day of reſurrection. *GOD* ſaid, Verily thou ſhalt be *one* of thoſe *who are* reſpited [h]. *The devil*

[d] *Which our puniſhment overtook by night*;] As did the inhabitants of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, to whom *Lot* was ſent.

[e] *Or while they were repoſing themſelves at noon*;] As happened to the *Midianites*, to whom *Shoaib* preached.

[f] See the Prelim. Diſc. §. IV. p. 117, 118.

[g] See chap. ii. p. 6, &c.

[h] *Verily thou ſhalt be one of thoſe who are reſpited*;] As the time till which the devil is reprieved, is not particularly expreſſed, the commentators ſuppoſe his requeſt was not wholly granted; but agree that he ſhall die, as well as other creatures, at the ſecond ſound of the trumpet (1).

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI. *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. IV. *p.* 109. *and* D'HERBELOT, *Bibl. Orient. Art. Eblis.*

ſaid,

said, Because thou hast depraved me, I will lay wait for *men* in thy strait way; then will I come upon them from before, and from behind, and from their right hands, and from their left [i]; and thou shalt not find the greater part of them thankful. GOD said *unto him*, Get thee hence, despised, and driven *far away*: verily whoever of them shall follow thee, I will surely fill hell with you all: but *as for thee*, O ADAM! dwell thou and thy wife in paradise; and eat *of the fruit thereof* wherever ye will; but approach not this tree, lest ye become *of the number* of the unjust. And SATAN suggested unto them both, that he would discover unto them their nakedness, which was hidden from them; and he said, Your LORD hath not forbidden you this tree, *for any other reason* but lest ye should become angels, or lest ye become immortal. And he sware unto them, *saying*, Verily I am *one* of those who counsel you aright. And he caused them to fall through deceit [k]. And when they had tasted of the tree, their nakedness appeared unto them [l]; and they began to join together the leaves

[i] *I will come upon them from before, and from behind, and from their right hands, and from their left*, &c.] i. e. I will attack them on every side that I shall be able. The other two ways, *viz.* from above, and from under their feet, are omitted, say the commentators, to shew that the devil's power is limited (1).

[k] The *Mohammedan* gospel of *Barnabas* tells us, that the sentence which GOD pronounced on the serpent for introducing the devil into paradise (2), was, that he should not only be turned out of paradise, but that he should have his legs cut off by the angel *Michael*, with the sword of GOD; and that the devil himself, since he had rendered our first parents unclean, was condemned to eat the excrements of them, and all their posterity; which two last circumstances I do not remember to have read elsewhere. The words of the manuscript are these: *Y llamó* [*Dios*] *a la serpiente, y a* Michael, *aquel que tiene la espada de Dios, y le dixo; Aquesta serpe es acelerada, echala la primera del parayso, y cortale las piernas, y si quisiere caminar, arrastrara la vida por tierra. Y llamó à* Satanas, *el qual vino riendo, y dixole; Porque tu reprobo has engañado a aquestos, y los has hecho immundos? Yo quiero que tota immundicia suya, y de todos sus hijos, en saliendo de sus cuerpos entre por tu boca, porque en verdad ellos haran penitencia, y tu quedaras harta de immundicia.*

[l] *Their nakedness appeared unto them*,] Which they had not perceived before; being cloathed, as some say, with light, or garments of pa-

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI. (2) *See the notes to chap.* ii. *p.* 8.

radise,

leaves of paradiſe [m], to cover themſelves. And their LORD called to them, *ſaying*, Did I not forbid you this tree, and *did I not* ſay unto you, Verily SATAN is your declared enemy? They anſwered, O LORD! we have dealt unjuſtly with our own ſouls; and if thou forgive us not, and be not merciful unto us, we ſhall *ſurely* be of thoſe who periſh. *GOD* ſaid, Get ye down, the one of you an enemy unto the other; and ye ſhall have a dwelling-place upon earth, and a proviſion for a ſeaſon. He ſaid, Therein ſhall ye live, and therein ſhall ye die, and from thence ſhall ye be taken forth *at the reſurrection*. O children of ADAM, we have ſent down unto you apparel [n], to conceal your nakedneſs, and fair garments; but the cloathing of piety is better. This *is one* of the ſigns of GOD; that, peradventure, ye may conſider. O children of ADAM! let not SATAN ſeduce you, as he expelled your parents out of paradiſe, by ſtripping them of their cloathing, that he might ſhew them their nakedneſs: verily he ſeeth you, *both* he and his companions, whereas ye ſee not them [o]. We have appointed the devils *to be* the patrons of thoſe who believe not: and when they commit a filthy action, they ſay, We found our fathers *practiſing* the ſame; and GOD hath commanded us *to do* it. Say, Verily GOD commandeth not filthy actions. Do ye ſpeak concerning GOD that which ye know not? Say, My LORD hath commanded me *to obſerve* juſtice; therefore ſet your faces *to pray* at every place of worſhip, and call upon him, approving unto him the ſincerity of *your* religion. As he

radiſe, which fell from them on their diſobedience. *Yahya* imagines their nakedneſs was hidden by their hair.

[m] *The leaves of paradiſe*;] Which it is ſaid were fig-leaves (1).

[n] *We have ſent down unto you apparel*;] Not only proper materials, but alſo ingenuity of mind, and dexterity of hand, to make uſe of them (2).

[o] *Whereas ye ſee not them*;] Becauſe of the ſubtilty of their bodies, and their being void of all colour (3).

(1) *See the notes to chap.* ii. *p.* 8. (2) *Idem.* (3) JALLALO'DDIN.

produced

produced you at firſt, *ſo unto him* ſhall ye return. A part *of mankind* hath he directed; and a part hath been juſtly led into error, becauſe they have taken the devils for *their* patrons beſides GOD, and imagine that they are *rightly* directed. O children of ADAM! take your decent apparel at every place of worſhip[p], and eat and drink[q], but be not guilty of exceſs; for he loveth not thoſe who are guilty of exceſs. Say, Who hath forbidden the decent apparel of GOD, which he hath produced for his ſervants, and the good things *which he hath provided* for food? Say, Theſe things *are* for thoſe who believe, in this preſent life, *but* peculiarly on the day of reſurrection[r]. Thus do we diſtinctly explain *our* ſigns unto people who underſtand. Say, Verily my LORD hath forbidden filthy actions, both that which is diſcovered thereof, and that which is concealed, and alſo iniquity, and unjuſt violence; and *hath forbidden you* to aſſociate with GOD that concerning which he hath ſent you down no authority, or to ſpeak of GOD that which ye know not. Unto every nation *there is* a prefixed term; therefore when their term is expired, they ſhall not have reſpite for an hour, neither ſhall they be anticipated. O children of ADAM!

[p] *Take your decent apparel at every place of worſhip*, &c.] This paſſage was revealed to reprove an immodeſt cuſtom of the pagan *Arabs*, who uſed to encompaſs the *Caaba* naked, becauſe cloaths, they ſaid, were the ſigns of their diſobedience to GOD (1). The *Sonna* orders that when a man goes to prayers, he ſhould put on his better apparel, out of reſpect to the divine majeſty before whom he is to appear. But as the *Mohammedans* think it indecent, on the one hand, to come into GOD's preſence in a ſlovenly manner; ſo they imagine, on the other, that they ought not to appear before him in habits too rich or ſumptuous, and particularly in cloaths adorned with gold or ſilver, leſt they ſhould ſeem proud.

[q] *And eat and drink*;] The ſons of *Amer*, it is ſaid, when they performed the pilgrimage to *Mecca*, uſed to eat no more than was abſolutely neceſſary, and that not of the more delicious ſort of food neither; which abſtinence they looked upon as a piece of merit, but they are here told the contrary (2).

[r] *But peculiarly on the day of reſurrection*;] Becauſe then the wicked, who alſo partook of the bleſſings of this life, will have no ſhare in the injoyments of the next.

(1) JALLALO'DDIN, *Al* BEIDAWI. (2) *Idem.*

verily

verily apoſtles from among you ſhall come unto you, who ſhall expound my ſigns unto you: whoſoever, therefore, ſhall fear *GOD*, and amend, there ſhall come no fear on them, neither ſhall they be grieved. But they who ſhall accuſe our ſigns of falſhood, and ſhall proudly reject them, they ſhall be the companions of *hell* fire; they ſhall remain therein for ever. And who is more unjuſt than he who deviſeth a lye concerning GOD, or accuſeth his ſigns of impoſture? Unto theſe ſhall be given their portion *of worldly happineſs*, according to *what is written in* the book *of GOD's decrees*, until our meſſengers [s] come unto them, *and* ſhall cauſe them to die; ſaying, Where *are the idols* which ye called upon, beſides GOD? They ſhall anſwer, They have diſappeared from us. And they ſhall bear witneſs againſt themſelves, that they were unbelievers. *GOD* ſhall ſay *unto them at the reſurrection*, Enter ye with the nations which have preceded you, of genii and of men, into *hell* fire: ſo often as one nation ſhall enter, it ſhall curſe it's ſiſter [t], until they ſhall all have ſucceſſively entered therein. The latter of them ſhall ſay of the former of them, O LORD! theſe have ſeduced us; therefore inflict on them a double puniſhment of the fire *of hell*. *GOD* ſhall anſwer, *It ſhall be* doubled unto all [u]; but ye know *it* not. And the former of them ſhall ſay unto the latter of them, Ye have not therefore any favour above us; taſte the puniſhment for that which ye have gained. Verily they who ſhall charge our ſigns with falſhood, and ſhall proudly reject them, the gates of heaven ſhall not be opened

[s] *Our meſſengers*;] *viz.* The angel of death, and his aſſiſtants.

[t] *It ſhall curſe it's ſiſter*;] That is, the nation whoſe example betrayed them into their idolatry, and other wickedneſs.

[u] *It is doubled unto you all*;] Unto thoſe who ſet the example, becauſe they not only tranſgreſſed themſelves, but were alſo the occaſion of the others tranſgreſſion; and unto thoſe who followed them, becauſe of their own infidelity, and their imitating an ill example (1).

(1) JALLALO'DDIN, *Al* BEIDAWI.

unto

unto them [w], neither shall they enter into paradise, until a camel pass through the eye of a needle [x]; and thus will we reward the wicked doers. Their couch shall be in hell, and over them shall be coverings *of fire*; and thus will we reward the unjust. But they who believe, and do that which is right, (we will not load any soul but according to it's ability,) they shall be the companions of paradise; they shall remain therein for ever. And we will remove all grudges from their minds [y]; rivers shall run at their feet, and they shall say, Praised be GOD, who hath directed us unto this *felicity!* for we should not have been *rightly* directed, if GOD had not directed us: now *are we convinced by demonstration that* the apostles of our LORD came *unto us* with truth. And it shall be proclaimed unto them, This is paradise, whereof ye are made heirs, *as a reward* for that which ye have wrought. And the inhabitants [z] of paradise shall call out to the inhabitants of *hell* fire, *saying*, Now have we found that which our LORD promised us, *to be* true: have ye *also* found that which your LORD promised you, *to be* true? They shall answer, Yea. And a crier [a] shall proclaim between them, The curse of GOD *shall be* on the wicked; who turn *men* aside from the way of GOD, and seek *to render* it crooked, and who deny the life to come. And between the *blessed and the damned* there shall be a

[w] *The gates of heaven shall not be opened unto them*;] That is, when their souls shall, after death, ascend to heaven, they shall not be admitted, but shall be thrown down into the dungeon under the seventh earth (1).

[x] This expression was probably taken from our Saviour's words in the gospel (2); though it be proverbial in the east.

[y] *And we will remove all grudges from their minds*;] So that whatever differences, or animosities, there had been between them in their life-time, they shall now be forgotten, and give place to sincere love and amity. This *Ali* is said to have hoped would prove true to himself and his inveterate enemies, *Othmân*, *Telha*, and *al Zobeir* (3).

[z] *The inhabitants*;] Literally, *the companions*.

[a] This crier, some say, will be the angel *Israfil*.

(1) JALLALO'DDIN. See the *Prelim. Disc. ubi sup. p.* 103. (2) *Matth.* xix. 24. (3) *Al* BEIDAWI.

veil;

veil; and men *ſhall ſtand* on Al ARAF [b], who ſhall know every one *of them* by their marks [c], and ſhall call unto the inhabitants of paradiſe, *ſaying*, Peace be upon you: *yet* they ſhall not enter therein, although they earneſtly deſire *it* [d]. And, when they ſhall turn their eyes towards the companions of *hell* fire, they ſhall ſay, O LORD, place us not with the ungodly people! And thoſe who ſtand on Al ARAF ſhall call unto *certain* men [e]. whom they ſhall know by their marks, *and* ſhall ſay, What hath your gathering *of riches* availed you, and that ye were puffed up with pride? Are theſe the men on whom ye ſware that GOD would not beſtow mercy [f]? Enter ye into paradiſe; *there ſhall come* no fear on you, neither ſhall ye be grieved [g]. And the inhabitants of *hell* fire ſhall call unto the inhabitants of paradiſe, *ſaying*, Pour upon us ſome water, or of thoſe *refreſh-*

[b] *And men ſhall ſtand on* al Arâf;] *Al Arâf* is the name of the wall, or partition, which, as *Mohammed* taught, will ſeparate paradiſe from hell (1). But, as to the perſons who are to be placed thereon, the commentators differ, as has been elſewhere obſerved (2).

[c] *Who ſhall know every one of them by their marks*;] i. e. Who ſhall diſtinguiſh the bleſſed from the damned, by their proper characteriſtics; ſuch as the whiteneſs and ſplendor of the faces of the former, and the blackneſs of thoſe of the latter (3).

[d] *Yet they ſhall not enter therein, although they earneſtly deſire it*;] From this circumſtance it ſeems, that their opinion is the moſt probable, who make this intermediate partition a ſort of purgatory for thoſe, who, though they deſerve not to be ſent to hell, yet have not merits ſufficient to gain them immediate admittance into paradiſe, and will be tantalized here for a certain time, with a bare view of the felicity of that place.

[e] *Certain men*;] That is, the chiefs and ring-leaders of the infidels (4).

[f] *On whom ye ſware that* GOD *would not beſtow mercy*;] Theſe were the inferior and poorer among the believers, whom they deſpiſed in their life-times, as unworthy of GOD's favour.

[g] *Enter ye into paradiſe*, &c.] Theſe words are directed, by an apoſtrophe, to the poor and deſpiſed believers above mentioned. Some commentators, however, imagine theſe, and the next preceding words, are to be underſtood of thoſe who will be confined in *al Arâf*; and that the damned will, in return for their reproachful ſpeech, ſwear that they ſhall never enter paradiſe themſelves; whereupon GOD, of his mercy, ſhall order them to be admitted by theſe words (5).

(1) *See the Prelim. Diſc.* § IV. *p.* 125. (2) *See ibid.* (3) *Al* BEIDAWI. (4) *Idem.* (5) *Idem.*

ments which GOD hath bestowed on you[h]. They shall answer, Verily GOD hath forbidden them unto the unbelievers; who made a laughing-stock, and a sport, of their religion, and whom the life of the world hath deceived: therefore this day will we forget them, as they did forget the meeting of this day, and for that they denied our signs *to be from GOD*. And now have we brought unto those *of MECCA* a book *of divine revelations:* we have explained it with knowledge; a direction and mercy unto people who shall believe. Do they wait *for any other* than the interpretation thereof[i]? On the day whereon the interpretation thereof shall come, they, who had forgotten the same before, shall say, Now *are we convinced, by demonstration, that* the messengers of our LORD came *unto us* with truth: shall we, therefore, have any intercessors, who will intercede for us? or shall we be sent back *into the world*, that we may do other *works* than what we did *in our lifetime? But* now have they lost their souls; and that which they impiously imagined, hath fled from them[k]. Verily your LORD is GOD, who created the heavens and the earth in six days; and then ascended *his* throne: he causeth the night to cover the day; it succeedeth the same swiftly: *he* also *created* the sun, and the moon, and the stars, *which are* absolutely subject unto his command. Is not the whole creation, and the empire *thereof*, his? Blessed be GOD, the LORD of all creatures! Call upon your LORD humbly, and in secret; for he loveth not those who transgress[l]. And act not corruptly in the earth,

[h] *Or of that which* GOD *hath bestowed on you*;] i. e. Of the other liquors or fruits of paradise. Compare this passage with the parable of *Dives* and *Lazarus*.

[i] *The interpretation thereof*;] That is, the event of the promises and menaces therein.

[k] See chap. vi. p. 160. not. *n*.

[l] *Who transgress*;] Behaving themselves arrogantly while they pray; or praying with an obstreperous voice, or a multitude of words, and vain repetitions(1).

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI.

after

after it's reformation [m]; and call upon him with fear and desire: for the mercy of GOD is near unto the righteous. It is he who sendeth the winds, spread abroad [n] before his mercy [o], until they bring a cloud heavy *with rain*, which we drive into a dead country [p]; and we cause water to descend thereon, by which we cause all *sorts of* fruits to spring forth. Thus will we bring forth the dead *from their graves* [q]; that, peradventure, ye may consider. From a good country shall it's fruit spring forth *abundantly*, by the permission of it's LORD; but from the *land* which is bad, it shall not spring forth otherwise than scarcely. Thus do we explain the signs *of divine providence* unto people who are thankful. We formerly sent NOAH [r] unto his people: and he said, O my people,

[m] *After it's reformation*;] i. e. After that GOD hath sent his prophets, and revealed his laws, for the reformation and amendment of mankind.

[n] *Spread abroad*;] Or ranging over a large extent of land. Some copies, instead of *noshran*, which is the reading I have here followed, have *boshran*, which signifies *good tidings*; the rising of the wind in such a manner being the forerunner of rain.

[o] *Before his mercy*;] That is, rain. For the east wind, says *al Beidâwi*, raises the clouds, the north wind drives them together, the south wind agitates them, so as to make the rain fall, and the south wind disperses them again (1).

[p] *A dead country*;] Or, a dry and parched land.

[q] See the Prelim. Disc. §. IV. p. 104, 110, &c.

[r] *Noah* the son of *Lâmech*, according to the *Mohammedan* writers, was one of the six principal prophets (2), though he had no written revelations delivered to him (3), and the first who appeared after his great grandfather *Edrîs*, or *Enoch*. They also say, he was by trade a carpenter, which they infer from his building the ark; and that the year of his mission was the fiftieth, or, as others say, the fortieth of his age (4).

That *Noah* was a preacher of righteousness unto the wicked antediluvians, is testified by scripture (5). The eastern *Christians* say, that when GOD ordered *Noah* to build the ark, he also directed him to make an instrument of wood, such as they make use of, at this day, in the east, instead of bells, to call the people to church, and named in *Arabic Nâkûs*, and in modern *Greek Semandra*; on which he was to strike three times every day, not only to call together the workmen who were building the ark, but to give him an opportunity of daily admonishing his people of the impending danger of the deluge; which would certainly destroy them if they did not repent (6).

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI. (2) *See the Prelim. Disc. p.* 99. (3) *V.* RELAND. *de relig. Moh. p.* 34. (4) *Al* ZAMAKHSHARI. (5) 2 *Pet.* ii. 5. (6) EUTYCH. *Annal. p.* 37.

people! worſhip GOD: ye have no other GOD than him [s]. Verily I fear for you the puniſhment of the great day [t]. The chiefs of his people anſwered *him*, We ſurely perceive thee *to be* in a manifeſt error. He replied, O my people! there is no error in me; but I am a meſſenger from the LORD of all creatures. I bring unto you the meſſages of my LORD; and I counſel you aright: for I know from GOD, that which ye know not. Do ye wonder that an admonition hath come unto you from your LORD by a man [u] from among you, to warn you, that ye may take heed to yourſelves, and that, peradventure, ye may obtain mercy? And they accuſed him of impoſture: but we delivered him, and thoſe who *were* with him in the ark [w], and we drowned thoſe who charged our ſigns with falſhood; for they were a blind people. And unto *the tribe of* AD [x] *we ſent* their

Some *Mohammedan* authors pretend, *Noah* was ſent to convert *Zohâk*, one of the *Perſian* kings of the firſt race, who refuſed to hearken to him; and that he afterwards preached GOD's unity publicly (1).

[s] *Serve* GOD, *ye have no other* GOD *but him*;] From theſe words, and other paſſages of the *Korân*, where *Noah*'s preaching is mentioned, it appears, that, according to *Mohammed*'s opinion, a principal crime of the antediluvians was idolatry (2).

[t] *The great day*;] *viz.* Either the day of reſurrection, or that whereon the flood was to begin.

[u] *By a man*;] For, ſaid they, if GOD had pleaſed, he would have ſent an angel, and not a man; ſince we never heard of ſuch an inſtance in the times of our fathers (3).

[w] *And thoſe who were with him in the ark*;] That is, thoſe who believed on him, and entered into that veſſel with him. Though there be a tradition among the *Mohammedans*, ſaid to have been received from the prophet himſelf, and conformable to the ſcripture, that eight perſons, and no more, were ſaved in the ark; yet ſome of them report the number variouſly. One ſays they were but ſix, another ten, another twelve, another ſeventy-eight, and another fourſcore, half men and half women (4); and that one of them was the elder *Jorham* (5), the preſerver, as ſome pretend, of the *Arabian* language (6).

[x] *Ad* was an ancient and potent tribe of *Arabs*, (7), and zealous idolaters (8). They chiefly worſhiped four deities, *Sâkia*, *Hâfedha*, *Râze-*

(1) *V.* D'HERBEL. *Bibl. Orient. p.* 675. (2) *See chap.* lxxi. *and the Prelim. Diſc.* §. I. *p.* 24. (3) *Al* BEIDAWI. (4) *Al* ZAMAKHSHARI, JALLALO'DDIN, EBN SHOHNAH. (5) *Idem. See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. I. *p.* 10. (6) *V.* POCOCK. *Orat. præfix. Carm. Tograi.* (7) *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. I. *p.* 7, 8, 9. (8 ABULFEDA.

ka,

their brother HUD [y]. He said, O my people! worship GOD: ye have no other GOD than him; will ye not fear *him?* The chiefs of those among his people who believed not [z], answered, Verily we perceive that thou *art guided* by folly; and we certainly esteem thee *to be one* of the lyars. He replied, O my people! *I am* not *guided by* folly; but I am a messenger unto you from the LORD of all creatures: I bring unto you the messages of my LORD; and I am a faithful counsellor unto you. Do ye wonder that an admonition hath come unto you from your LORD, by a man from among you, that he may warn you? Call to mind how he hath appointed you successors unto the people of NOAH [a], and hath added unto you in stature largely [b]. Remember the benefits of GOD, that ye may prosper. They said, Art thou come unto us, that we should worship GOD alone, and leave *the deities* which our fathers worshiped? Now bring down that *judgment* upon us, with which thou threatenest us, if thou speakest truth. *HUD* answered, Now shall there suddenly fall upon you, from your LORD, vengeance and indignation. Will ye dispute with me concerning the names which

in, and *Sâlema*; the first, as they imagined, supplying them with rain, the second preserving them from all dangers abroad, the third providing food for their sustenance, and the fourth restoring them to health when afflicted with sickness (1); according to the signification of the several names.

[y] *Hûd,*] Generally supposed to be the same person with *Heber* (2); but others say, he was the son of *Abdallah*, the son of *Ribâh*, the son of *Khûd*, the son of *Ad*, the son of *Aous* or *Uz*, the son of *Aram*, the son of *Sem* (3).

[z] *Who believed not;*] These words were added, because some of the principal men among them believed on *Hûd*, one of whom was *Morthed Ebn Saad* (4).

[a] *The successors of the people of* Noah;] Dwelling in the habitations of the antediluvians, who preceded them not many centuries; or having the chief sway in the earth after them. For the kingdom of *Shedâd* the son of *Ad* is said to have extended from the sands of *Alaj*, to the trees of *Omân* (5).

[b] See the Prelim. Disc. p. 9.

(1) *V.* D'HERBEL. *Bibl. Orient. Art. Houd.* p. 8. (2) *See the Prelim. Disc.* (3) *Al* BEIDAWI. (4) *Idem.* (5) *Idem.*

ye have named [c], and your fathers; as to which God hath not revealed unto you any authority? Do ye wait, therefore, and I will be *one* of those who wait with you. And we delivered him, and them who *believed* with him, by our mercy; and we cut off the uttermost part of those who charged our signs with falshood, and were not believers [d]. And unto *the tribe of* Thamud [e] *we sent* their brother Saleh [f]. He said, O my people! worship God: ye have no God besides him. Now hath a manifest proof come unto you from your Lord. This she-camel of God *is* a

[c] *Concerning the names which ye have named*, &c.] That is, concerning the idols, and imaginary objects of your worship, to which ye wickedly give the names, attributes, and honour, due to the only true God.

[d] The dreadful destruction of the *Adites* we have mentioned in another place (1), and shall only add here some further circumstances of that calamity, and which differ a little from what is there said; for the *Arab* writers acknowledge many inconsistencies in the histories of these ancient tribes (2).

The tribe of *Ad* having been, for their incredulity, previously chastised with a three years drought, sent *Kail Ebn Ithar* and *Morthed Ebn Saad*, with seventy other principal men, to the temple of *Mecca* to obtain rain. *Mecca* was then in the hands of the tribe of *Amalek*, whose prince was *Moâwiyah Ebn Becr*; and he being without the city when the ambassadors arrived, entertained them there for a month in so hospitable a manner, that they had forgotten the business they came about, had not the king reminded them of it, not as from himself, lest they should think he wanted to be rid of them; but by some verses which he put into the mouth of a singing woman. At which, being roused from their lethargy, *Morthed* told them the only way they had to obtain what they wanted, would be to repent and obey their prophet: but this displeasing the rest, they desired *Moawiyah* to imprison him, lest he should go with them; which being done, *Kail*, with the rest, entering *Mecca*, begged of God that he would send rain to the people of *Ad*. Whereupon three clouds appeared, a white one, a red one, and a black one; and a voice from heaven ordered *Kail* to chuse which he would. *Kail* failed not to make choice of the last, thinking it to be loaden with the most rain; but when this cloud came over them, it proved to be fraught with the divine vengeance, and a tempest broke forth from it which destroyed them all (3).

[e] *Thamûd* was another tribe of the ancient *Arabs* who fell into idolatry. See the *Prelim. Disc.* §. I. p. 9.

[f] *Sâleh.*] *Al Beidâwi* deduces his genealogy thus. *Sâleh*, the son of *Obeid*, the son of *Asaf*, the son of *Masekh*, the son of *Obeid*, the son of *Hâdher*, the son of *Thamûd* (4).

(1) *Prelim. Disc. p.* 8. (2) *Al* Beidawi, *V.* D'Herbelot. *Bibl. Orient. Art. Houd.* (3) See the *Prelim. Disc. p.* 8, 9. (4) Abulfeda, *Al* Zamakhshari. *V.* D'Herbel. *Bibl. Orient. Art. Saleh.*

sign

sign unto you [g]: therefore dismiss her freely, that she may feed in GOD's earth; and do her no hurt, lest a painful punishment seize you. And call to mind how he hath appointed you successors unto *the tribe of* AD, and hath given you a habitation on earth; ye build *yourselves* castles on the plains thereof, and cut out the mountains into houses [h]. Remember therefore the benefits of GOD, and commit not violence in the earth, acting corruptly. The chiefs among his people, who were puffed up with pride, said unto those who were esteemed weak, *namely*, unto those who believed among them, Do ye know that SALEH hath been sent from his LORD? They answered, We do surely believe in that wherewith he hath been sent. Those who were elated with pride, replied, Verily we believe not in that wherein ye believe. And they cut off the feet of the camel [i], and insolently transgressed

[g] *This she camel of* GOD *is a sign unto you.*] The *Thamudites* insisting on a miracle, proposed to *Sâleh*, that he should go with them to their festival, and that they should call on their gods, and he on his, promising to follow that deity which should answer. But after they had called on their idols a long time, to no purpose, *Jonda Ebn Amru*, their prince, pointed to a rock, standing by itself, and bid *Sâleh* cause a she-camel, big with young, to come forth from it, solemnly ingaging, that, if he did, he would believe; and his people promised the same. Whereupon *Sâleh* asked it of GOD, and presently the rock, after several throes, as if in labour, was delivered of a she-camel, answering the description of *Jonda*, which immediately brought forth a young one ready weaned, and, as some say, as big as herself. *Jonda*, seeing this miracle, believed on the prophet, and some few with him; but the greater part of the *Thamudites* remained, notwithstanding, incredulous. Of this camel the commentators tell several very absurd stories; as that when she went to drink she never raised her head from the well, or river, till she drank up all the water in it, and then she offered herself to be milked, the people drawing from her as much milk as they pleased; and, some say, that she went about the town crying aloud, *If any wants milk let him come forth* (1).

[h] The tribe of *Thamûd* dwelt first in the country of the *Adites*, but their numbers increasing, they removed to the territory of *Hejr* for the sake of the mountains, where they cut themselves habitations in the rocks, to be seen at this day.

[i] *And they cut off the feet of the camel.*] This extraordinary camel frightening the other cattle from their pasture, a certain rich woman named, *Oneiza Omm Ganem*, having four daughters, dressed them out and of-

(1) *See the Prelim. Disc. p.* 9.

transgreſſed the command of their LORD [k], and ſaid, O SALEH, cauſe that to come upon us, with which thou haſt threatened us, if thou art *one* of thoſe who have been ſent *by GOD*. Whereupon a terrible noiſe from heaven [l] aſſailed them; and, in the morning, they were found in their dwellings proſtrate on their breaſts *and dead* [m]. And *SALEH* departed from them, and ſaid [n], O my people! now have I delivered unto you the meſſage of my LORD: and I

fered one *Kedâr* his choice of them, if he would kill the camel. Whereupon he choſe one, and with the aſſiſtance of eight other men, hamſtrung and killed the dam, and purſuing the young one, which fled to the mountain, killed that alſo, and divided his fleſh among them (1). Others tell the ſtory ſomewhat differently, adding *Sadaka Bint al Mokhtâr* as a joint conſpiratreſs with *Oneiza*, and pretending that the young one was not killed; for, they ſay, that having fled to a certain mountain, named *Kâra*, he there cried three times, and *Saleh* bade them catch him if they could, for then their might be hopes of their avoiding the divine vengeance; but this they were not able to do, the rock opening after he had cried, and receiving him within it (2).

[k] *And inſolently tranſgreſſed the command of their* LORD, &c.] Defying the vengeance with which they were threatened; becauſe they truſted in their ſtrong dwellings, hewn in the rocks; ſaying, that the tribe of *Ad* periſhed only becauſe their houſes were not built with ſufficient ſtrength (3).

[l] *A terrible noiſe from heaven*;] Like violent and repeated claps of thunder; which, ſome ſay, was no other than the voice of the angel *Gabriel* (4), and which rent their hearts (5). It is ſaid, that after they had killed the camel, *Saleh* told them, that on the morrow their faces ſhould become yellow, the next day red, and the third day black, and that on the fourth GOD's vengeance ſhould light on them; and that the firſt three ſigns happening accordingly, they ſought to put him to death, but GOD delivered him, by ſending him into *Paleſtine* (6).

[m] *Mohammed* in the expedition of *Tabûc*, which he undertook againſt the *Greeks* in the ninth year of the *Hejra*, paſſing by *Hejr*, where this ancient tribe had dwelt, forbade his army, though much diſtreſſed with heat and thirſt, to draw any water there, but ordered them if they had drank of that water to bring it up again, or if they had kneaded any meal with it, to give it their camels (7); and, wrapping up his face in his garment, he ſet ſpurs to his mule, crying out, *Enter not the houſes of thoſe wicked men, but rather weep, leſt that happen unto you, which befel them*, and, having ſo ſaid, he continued galloping full ſpeed with his face muffled up, till he had paſſed the valley (8).

[n] Whether this ſpeech was made by *Saleh* to them at parting, as ſeems moſt probable, or after the judgment had fallen on them, the commentators are not agreed.

(1) ABULFEDA. (2) *Al* BEIDAWI. *V.* D'HERBEL. *ubi ſupra.* (3) *Al* KESSAIA. (4) *See the Prelim. Diſc. p.* 9. (5) ABULFEDA, *Al* BEIDAWI. (6) *Al* BEIDAWI. (7) ABULFEEDA, *Vit. Mob. p.* 124. (8) *Al* BOKHARI.

adviſed

adviſed you well, but ye love not thoſe who adviſe you well. And *remember* LOT [o], when he ſaid unto his people, Do ye commit a wickedneſs, wherein no creature hath ſet you an example? Do ye approach luſtfully unto men, leaving the women? Certainly ye are people who trangréſs *all modeſty*. But the anſwer of his people was no other than that they ſaid, *the one to the other*, Expel them [p] your city; for they are men who preſerve themſelves pure *from the crimes which ye commit*. Therefore we delivered him and his family, except his wife; ſhe was *one* of thoſe who ſtaid *behind* [q]: and we rained a ſhower *of ſtones* upon them [r]. Behold, therefore, what was the end of the wicked. And unto MADIAN [s] *we ſent* their brother SHOAIB [t]. He ſaid *unto them*, O my people! worſhip

[o] *Lot.*] The commentators ſay, conformably to the ſcripture, that *Lot* was the ſon of *Haran*, the ſon of *Azer* or *Terah*, and, conſequently, *Abraham*'s nephew, who brought him with him from *Chaldea* into *Paleſtine*, where, they ſay, he was ſent by GOD to reclaim the inhabitant of *Sodom*, and the other neighbouring cities, which were overthrown with it, from the unnatural vice to which they were addicted (1). And this *Mohammedan* tradition ſeems to be countenanced by the words of the apoſtle, that this *righteous man dwelling among them, in ſeeing and hearing vexed his righteous ſoul from day to day with their unlawful deeds* (2); whence it is probable that he omitted no opportunity of endeavouring their reformation. The ſtory of *Lot* is told with further circumſtances in the eleventh chapter.

[p] *Expel them*, &c.] viz. *Lot*, and thoſe who believe on him.

[q] See chap. xi.

[r] See ibid.

[s] *Madian,*] or *Midian*, was a city of *Hejáz*, and the habitation of a tribe of the ſame name, the deſcendants of *Midian*, the ſon of *Abraham* by *Keturah* (3), who afterwards coaleſced with the *Iſmaelites*, as it ſeems; *Moſes* naming the ſame merchants who ſold *Joſeph* to *Potiphar*, in one place *Iſmaelites* (4), and in another *Midianites* (5).

This city was ſituated on the red ſea, ſouth eaſt of mount *Sinai*, and is doubtleſs the ſame with the *Modiana* of *Ptolemy*; what was remaining of it in *Mohammed*'s time, was ſoon after demoliſhed in the ſucceeding wars (6), and it remains deſolate to this day. The people of the country pretend to ſhew the well whence *Moſes* watered *Jethro*'s flocks (7).

[t] *Shoaib.*] Some *Mohammedan* writers make him the ſon of *Mikáil*, the ſon of *Yaſhjar*, the ſon of *Madian* (8); and they generally ſuppoſe him to be the ſame perſon with the father-in-law of *Moſes*, who is named,

(1) *V.* D'HERBELOT. *Bibl. Orient. Art. Loth.* (2) 2 *Pet.* ii 8. (3) *Gen.* xxv. 2. (4) *Gen.* xxxix. 1. (5) *Gen.* xxxvii. 36. (6) *V.* GOLII *not. in Alfrag. p.* 143. (7) ABULFEDA *Deſcr. Arab. p.* 42. GLOGR. Nub. *p.* 109. (8) *Al* BEIDAWI, TARIKH MONTAKHAB.

in

worſhip GOD; ye have no GOD beſides him. Now hath an evident demonſtration [u] come unto you from your LORD. Therefore, give full meaſure and juſt weight, and diminiſh not unto men *ought of* their matters [w]; neither act corruptly in the earth, after it's reformation [x]. This will be better for you, if ye believe. And beſet not every way, threatening *the paſſenger* [y]; and turning aſide from the path of GOD him who believeth in him, and ſeeking to make it crooked. And remember, when ye were few, and *GOD* multiplied you: and behold, what hath been the end of thoſe who acted corruptly. And if part of you believe in that wherewith I am ſent, and part believe not, wait patiently until GOD judge between
IX. us; for he is the beſt judge. * The chiefs of his people, who were elated with pride, anſwered, We will ſurely caſt thee, O SHOAIB! and thoſe who believe with thee, out of our city; or elſe thou ſhalt certainly return unto our religion, He ſaid, What,

in ſcripture, *Reuel* or *Raguel*, and *Jethro* (1). But *Ahmed Ebn Abd'alhalim* charges thoſe who entertain this opinion with ignorance. *Al Keſſâi* ſays, that his father's name was *Samûn*, and that he was firſt called *Boyûn*, and afterwards *Shoaib*; and adds, that he was a comely perſon, but ſpare and lean, very thoughtful and of few words. Dr. *Prideaux* writes this name, after the *French* tranſlation, *Chaib* (2).

[u] *An evident demonſtration*;] This demonſtration the commentators ſuppoſe to have been a power of working miracles, though the *Korân* mentions none in particular. However, they ſay, (after the *Jews*) that he gave his ſon-in-law that wonder-working rod (3), with which he performed all thoſe miracles in *Egypt* and the deſart, and alſo excellent advice and inſtructions (4); whence he had the ſirname of *Khatîb al anbiyâ*, or the *preacher to the prophets* (5).

[w] *Give full meaſure and juſt weight*, &c.] For one of the great crimes which the *Midianites* were guilty of, was the uſing of divers meaſures and weight, a great and a ſmall, buying by one and ſelling by another (6).

[x] See before, p. 182, not. *l*.

[y] *Beſet not every way, threatening the paſſenger*;] Robbing on the highway, it ſeems, was another crying ſin, frequent among theſe people. But ſome of the commentators interpret this paſſage figuratively, of their beſetting the way of truth, and threatening thoſe who gave ear to the remonſtrances of *Shoaib* (7).

(1) *Exod.* ii. 18, iii. 1. (2) *Life of Mah. p.* 24. (3) *Al* BEIDAWI. *V. Shulſhel. hakkab. p.* 12. (4) *Exod.* xviii. 13, *&c.* (5) *V.* D'HERBELOT. *Bibl. Orient. Art. Schoaib.* (6) *V. ib. Al* BEIDAWI. *See Deut.* xxv. 13, 14. (7) *Idem.*

though

though we be averſe *thereto*? We ſhall ſurely imagine a lie againſt GOD, if we return unto your religion, after that GOD hath delivered us from the ſame: and we have no *reaſon* to return unto it, unleſs GOD our LORD ſhall pleaſe *to abandon us*. Our LORD comprehendeth every thing by *his* knowledge. In GOD do we put our truſt. O LORD! do thou judge between us and our nation with truth; for thou art the beſt judge. And the chiefs of his people, who believe not, ſaid, If ye follow SHOAIB, ye ſhall ſurely periſh. Therefore a ſtorm from heaven [z] aſſailed them, and in the morning they were found in their dwellings *dead and* proſtrate. They who accuſed SHOAIB of impoſture *became* as though they had never dwelt therein; they who accuſed SHOAIB of impoſture periſhed themſelves. And he departed from them, and ſaid, O my people! now have I performed unto you the meſſages of my LORD; and I adviſed you aright: but why ſhould I be grieved for an unbelieving people? We have never ſent any prophet unto a city, but we afflicted the inhabitants thereof with calamity and adverſity, that they might humble themſelves. Then we gave *them* in exchange good in lieu of evil, until they abounded, and ſaid, Adverſity and proſperity formerly happened unto our fathers, *as unto us*. Therefore we took vengeance on them ſuddenly, and they perceived it not *before-hand*. But if the inhabitants of *thoſe* cities had believed and feared *GOD*, we would ſurely have opened to them bleſſings both from heaven and earth. But they charged *our apoſtles* with falſhood; wherefore we took vengeance on them, for that which they had been guilty of. Were the inhabitants, therefore, of *thoſe* cities ſecure, that our puniſhment ſhould not fall on them by night, while

[z] *A ſtorm from heaven*;] Like that which deſtroyed the *Thamudites*. Some ſuppoſe it to have been an earthquake, for the original word ſignifies either, or both; and both theſe dreadful calamities may well be ſuppoſed to have jointly executed the divine vengeance.

they

they slept? Or, were the inhabitants of *those* cities secure that our punishment should not fall on them by day, while they sported? Were they, therefore, secure from the stratagem of GOD [a]? But none will think himself secure from the stratagem of GOD, except the people who perish. And hath it not manifestly appeared unto those who have inherited the earth after the *former* inhabitants thereof, that, if we please, we can afflict them for their sins? But we will seal up their hearts; and they shall not hearken. We will relate unto thee some stories of these cities. Their apostles had come unto them with evident miracles, but they were not *disposed* to believe in that which they had before gainsaid. Thus will GOD seal up the hearts of the unbelievers. And we found not in the greater part of them any *observance* of *their* covenant; but we found the greater part of them wicked doers. Then we sent the *above named apostles*, MOSES with our signs unto PHARAOH [b] and his

[a] *The stratagem of* GOD;] Hereby is figuratively expressed the manner of GOD's dealing with proud and ungrateful men, by suffering them to fill up the measure of their iniquity, without vouchsafing to bring them to a sense of their condition by chastisements and afflictions, till they find themselves utterly lost, when they least expect it (1).

[b] *Pharaoh.*] This was the common title, or name of the kings of *Egypt*, (signifying *king* in the *Coptic* tongue) as *Ptolemy* was in after times; and as *Cæsar* was that of the *Roman* emperors, and *Khosrú* that of the kings of *Persia*. But which of the kings of *Egypt*, this *Pharaoh* of *Moses* was, is uncertain. Not to mention the opinions of the *European* writers, those of the east generally suppose him to have been *al Walíd*, who, according to some, was an *Arab* of the tribe of *Ad*, or, according to others, the son of *Masáb*, the son of *Riyán*, the son of *Walíd* (2) the *Amalekites* (3). There are historians, however, who suppose *Kabús*, the brother and predecessor of *al Walíd*, was the prince we are speaking of; and pretend he lived six hundred and twenty years, and reigned four hundred. Which is more reasonable, at least, than the opinion of those who imagine it was his father *Masáb*, or grandfather *Riyán* (4). *Abulfeda* says, that *Masáb* being one hundred and seventy years old, and having no child, while he kept the herds saw a cow calve, and heard her say, at the same time, O Masáb! *be not grieved, for thou shalt have a wicked son, who will be at length cast into hell.* And he accordingly had this *Walíd*, who afterwards coming to be king of *Egypt*, proved an impious tyrant.

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI. (2) *See the Prelim. Disc. p.* 11. (3) ABULFEDA, &c. (4) *Kitáb tafsír lebáb, & al Kefsáf.*

princes;

princes; who treated them unjuſtly [c]: but behold what was the end of the corrupt doers. And MOSES ſaid, O PHARAOH! verily I am an apoſtle *ſent* from the LORD of all creatures. It is juſt that I ſhould not ſpeak of GOD other than the truth. Now am I come unto you with an *evident* ſign from your LORD: ſend, therefore, the children of ISRAEL away with me. *PHARAOH* anſwered, If thou comeſt with a ſign, produce it, if thou ſpeakeſt truth. Wherefore he caſt down his rod; and behold, it *became* a viſible ſerpent [d]. And he drew forth his hand *out of his boſom*; and behold it *appeared* white unto the ſpectators [e]. The chiefs of the people of PHARAOH ſaid, This *man* is certainly an expert magician: he ſeeketh to diſpoſſeſs you of your land; what, therefore, do ye direct? They anſwered, Put off him and his brother *by fair promiſes for ſome time*, and, *in the mean while*, ſend unto the cities, and aſſemble *the inhabitants*, that they may bring unto thee every expert magician. So

[c] *Who treated them unjuſtly*;] By not believing therein.

[d] *A viſible ſerpent*;] the *Arab* writers tell enormous fables of this ſerpent, or dragon. For, they ſay, that he was hairy, and of ſo prodigious a ſize, that, when he opened his mouth, his jaws were fourſcore cubits aſunder, and, when he laid his lower jaw on the ground, his upper reached to the top of the palace; that *Pharaoh*, ſeeing this monſter make towards him, fled from it, and was ſo terribly frightened, that he befouled himſelf; and that the whole aſſembly alſo betaking themſelves to their heels, no leſs than twenty five thouſand of them loſt their lives in the preſs. They add, that *Pharaoh* upon this adjured *Moſes* by GOD, who had ſent him, to take away the ſerpent, and promiſed he would believe on him, and let the *Iſraelites* go; but, when *Moſes* had done what he requeſted, he relapſed, and grew as hardened as before (1).

[e] *He drew forth his hand and it became white*;] There is a tradition, that *Moſes* was a very ſwarthy man; and that, when he put his hand into his boſom, and drew it out again, it became extremely white and ſplendid, ſurpaſſing the brightneſs of the ſun (2). *Marracci* (3) ſays, we do not read in ſcripture, that *Moſes* ſhewed this ſign before *Pharaoh*. It is true, the ſcripture does not expreſſly ſay ſo, but it ſeems to be no more than a neceſſary inference from that paſſage, where GOD tells *Moſes*, that if they will not hearken to the firſt ſign, they will believe the latter ſign, and if they will not believe theſe two ſigns, then directs him to turn the water into blood (4).

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI. (2) *Idem.* (3) *In Alc. p.* 284. (4) *Exod.* iv. 8, 9.

the

the magicians [f] came unto PHARAOH; *and* they said, Shall we surely receive a reward, if we do overcome? He answered, Yea; and ye shall certainly be of those who approach near *unto my throne*. They said, O MOSES! either do thou cast down *thy rod first*, or we will cast down *ours*. *MOSES* answered, Do ye cast down *your rods first*. And when they had cast *them* down, they inchanted the eyes of the men *who were present*, and terrified them; and they performed a great inchantment [g]. And we spake by revelation unto MOSES, *saying*, Throw down thy rod. And behold, it swallowed up *the rods* which they had *caused falsly to appear* changed *into serpents* [h]. Wherefore the truth was confirmed, and that which they had wrought, vanished. And *PHARAOH and his magicians* were overcome there, and were rendered contemptible. And the magicians prostrated themselves, worshiping; *and they said*, We believe in the LORD of all creatures, the LORD of MOSES and AARON [i]. PHARAOH said, Have ye believed on him,

[f] *The magicians*;] The *Arabian* writers name several of these magicians, beside their chief priest *Simeon*, viz. *Sadûr*, and *Ghadûr*, *Jaath*, and *Mosfa*, *Warân* and *Zamân*, each of whom came attended with their disciples, amounting in all to several thousands (1).

[g] *And they performed a great inchantment.*] They provided themselves with a great number of thick ropes and long pieces of wood which they contrived, by some means, to move, and make them twist themselves one over the other; and so imposed on the beholders, who at a distance took them to be true serpents (2).

[h] *Behold, it swallowed up the rods*, &c.] The expositors add, that when this serpent had swallowed up all the rods and cords, he made directly towards the assembly, and put them into so great a terror, that they fled, and a considerable number were killed in the croud: then *Moses* took it up, and it became a rod in his hand as before. Whereupon the magicians declared, that it could be no inchantment, because, in such case, their rods and cords would not have disappeared (3).

[i] *And the magicians prostrated themselves worshiping*, &c.] It seems probable that all the magicians were not converted by this miracle, for some writers introduce *Sadûr* and *Ghadûr* only, acknowledging *Moses*'s miracle to be wrought by the power of GOD. These two, they say, were brothers, and the sons of a famous magician, then dead; but on their

(1) *V.* D'HERBELOT. *Bibl. Orient. art. Mousa, p.* 643, *&c. Al* KESSAI. (2) *Al* BEIDAWI. *V.* D'HERBELOT, *ubi sup. and Koran, c.* 20. (3) *Al* BEIDAWI,

being

him, before I have given you permiſſion? Verily this is a plot which ye have contrived in the city, that ye might caſt forth from thence the inhabitants thereof [k]. But ye ſhall ſurely know *that I am your maſter*; *for* I will cauſe your hands and your feet to be cut off on the oppoſite ſides [l], then will I cauſe you all to be crucified [m]. The *magicians* anſwered, We ſhall certainly return unto our LORD, *in the next life*; for thou takeſt vengeance on us only becauſe we have believed in the ſigns of our LORD, when they have come unto us. O LORD! pour on us patience; and cauſe us to die Moſlems [n]. And the chiefs of PHARAOH's people ſaid, Wilt thou let MOSES and his people go, that they may act corruptly in the earth, and leave thee and thy gods [o]? *PHARAOH* anſwered, We will cauſe their male children to be ſlain,

being ſent for to court on this occaſion, their mother perſuaded them to go to their father's tomb, to aſk his advice. Being come to the tomb, the father anſwered their call, and, when they had acquainted him with the affair, he told them, that they ſhould inform themſelves, whether the rod, of which they ſpoke, became a ſerpent while it's maſters ſlept, or only when they were awake; for, ſaid he, inchantments have no effect while the inchanter is aſleep, and, therefore, if it be otherwiſe in this caſe, you may be aſſured that they act by a divine power. Theſe two magicians then, arriving at the capital of *Egypt*, on inquiry found, to their great aſtoniſhment, that, when *Moſes* and *Aaron* went to reſt, their rod became a ſerpent, and guarded them while they ſlept (1). And this was the firſt ſtep towards their converſion.

[k] *This is a plot which ye have contrived*, &c.] i. e. This is a confederacy between you and *Moſes*, entered into before ye left the city to go to the place of appointment, to turn out the *Copts*, or native *Egyptians*, and eſtabliſh the *Iſraelites* in their ſtead (2).

[l] *On the oppoſite ſide*;] That is, your right hands and your left feet.

[m] *And I will cauſe you all to be crucified.*] Some ſay *Pharaoh* was the firſt inventer of this ignominious and painful puniſhment.

[n] Some think theſe converted magicians were executed accordingly: but others deny it, and ſay that the king was not able to put them to death; inſiſting on theſe words of the *Korân* (3), *You two, and they who follow you, ſhall overcome.*

[o] *Thy gods*;] Which were the ſtars, or other idols. But ſome of the commentators, from certain impious expreſſions of this prince, recorded in the *Korân* (4), whereby he ſets up himſelf as the only god of his ſubjects, ſuppoſe that he was the object of their worſhip, and, therefore, inſtead of *alihataca*, *thy gods*, read, *ilahataca*, *thy worſhip* (5).

(1) *V.* D'HERBEL. *ubi ſup.* (2) *Al* BEIDAWI. (3) *Chap.* xxviii. (4) *Ibid. and chap.* xxvi. &c. (5) *Al* BEIDAWI.

and

and we will suffer their females to live [p]; and *by that means* we shall prevail over them. MOSES said unto his people, Ask assistance of GOD, and suffer patiently: for the earth is GOD's, he giveth it for an inheritance unto such of his servants as he pleaseth; and the *prosperous* end *shall be* unto those who fear *him*. They answered, We have been afflicted *by having our male children slain*, before thou camest unto us, and also since thou hast come unto us. *MOSES* said, Peradventure it may happen that your LORD will destroy your enemy, and will cause you to succeed *him* in the earth, that he may see how ye will act *therein*. And we formerly punished the people of PHARAOH with dearth and scarcity of fruits, that they might be warned. Yet, when good happened unto them, they said, This *is owing* unto us: but if evil befel them, they attributed *the same* to the ill luck of MOSES, and those who *were* with him [q]. Was not their ill luck with GOD [r]? but most of them knew *it* not. And they said *unto MOSES*, Whatever sign thou shew unto us, to inchant us therewith, we will not believe on thee. Wherefore we sent upon them a flood [s], and locusts, and

[p] *We will cause their male children to be slain*, &c.] That is, We will continue to make use of the same cruel policy to keep the *Israelites* in subjection, as we have hitherto done. The commentators say, that *Pharaoh* came to this resolution, because he had either been admonished in a dream, or by the astrologers, or diviners, that one of that nation should subvert his kingdom (1).

[q] *To the ill luck of* Moses, &c.] Looking on him and his followers as the occasion of those calamities. The original word properly signifies to *take an ominous and sinister presage* of any future event, from the flight of birds, or the like.

[r] *Was not their ill luck with* GOD?] By whose will and decree they were so afflicted, as a punishment for their wickedness.

[s] *A flood*;] This inundation, they say, was occasioned by unusual rains which continued eight days together, and the overflowing of the *Nile*; and not only covered their lands, but came into their houses, and rose as high as their backs and necks; but the children of *Israel* had no rain in their quarters (2). As there is no mention of any such miraculous inundation in the *Mosaic* writings, some have imagined this plague to have been either a pestilence, or the small-pox, or some other epidemical distemper (3). For the word *tufân*, which is used in this place, and is generally rendered a *deluge*, may also signify any other universal destruction or mortality.

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. (2) *Idem*, ABULFED. (3) *Al* BEIDAWI.

lice

flice [t], and frogs, and blood; distinct miracles: but they behaved proudly, and became a wicked people. And when the plague [u] fell on them, they said, O MOSES! intreat thy LORD for us, according to that which he hath covenanted with thee: verily if thou take the plague from off us, we will surely believe thee, and we will let the children of ISRAEL go with thee. But when we had taken the plague from off them, until the term *which GOD had granted them* was expired, behold, they broke their promise. Wherefore we took vengeance on them, and drowned them in the *red* sea [w]; because they charged our signs with falsehood, and neglected them. And we caused the people, who had been rendered weak, to inherit the eastern parts of the earth and the western parts thereof [x], which we blessed *with fertility*; and the gracious word of thy LORD was fulfilled on the children of ISRAEL, for that they had endured with patience: and we destroyed the *structures* which PHARAOH and his people had made, and that which they had erected [y]. And we caused the children of ISRAEL to pass through the sea, and they came unto a people who gave themselves up to *the worship of* their idols [z], *and* they said, O MOSES! make us a god, in like

[t] *Lice*;] Some will have these insects to have been a larger sort of tick; others, the young locusts before they have wings (1).

[u] *The plague*;] *viz.* Any of the calamities already mentioned, or the pestilence which GOD sent upon them afterwards.

[w] See this wonderful event more particularly described in the tenth and twentieth chapters.

[x] *The eastern parts of the earth and the western parts thereof*;] That is, the land of *Syria*, of which the eastern geographers reckon *Palestine* a part, and wherein the commentators say, the children of *Israel* succeeded the kings of *Egypt* and the *Amalekites* (2).

[y] *And we destroyed the structures which* Pharaoh *and his people had made*, &c.] Particularly the lofty tower which *Pharaoh* caused to be built, that he might attack the GOD of *Moses* (3).

[z] *And they came unto people who worshiped idols.*] These people some will have to be of the tribe of *Amalek*, whom *Moses* was commanded to destroy, and others of the tribe of *Lakhm*. Their idols, it is said, were images of oxen, which gave the first hint to the making of the golden calf (4).

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI. (2) *Idem.* (3) *V. Kor. chap.* xxviii *and* xl. (4) *Al* BEIDAWI.

manner as these *people* have gods. *MOSES* answered, Verily ye are an ignorant people: for *the religion* which these follow *will be* destroyed, and that which they do is vain. He said, Shall I seek for you any other god than GOD; since he hath preferred you to the *rest of the* world? And *remember* when we delivered you from the people of PHARAOH, who grievously oppressed you; they slew your male children, and let your females live: therein was a great trial from your LORD. And we appointed unto MOSES *a fast of* thirty nights *before we gave him the law* [a], and we completed them by *adding of* ten *more*; and the stated time of his LORD was fulfilled in forty nights. And MOSES said unto his brother AARON, Be thou my deputy among my people *during my absence*; and behave uprightly, and follow not the way of the corrupt doers. And when MOSES came at our appointed time, and his LORD spake unto him [b], he said, O LORD! Shew me *thy glory*, that I may behold thee. *GOD* answered, Thou shalt in no wise behold me; but look towards the mountain [c], and if it stand firm in it's place, then shalt thou see me. But when his LORD appeared with glory in the mount [d], he,

[a] *We appointed unto* Moses *a fast of thirty nights, and we completed them by adding of ten more*, &c.] The commentators say, that GOD, having promised *Moses* to give him the law, directed him to prepare himself for the high favour of speaking with GOD in person, by a fast of thirty days: and that *Moses* accordingly fasted the whole month of *Dhu'lkaada*; but, not liking the savour of his breath, he rubbed his teeth with a dentifrice, upon which the angels told him, that his breath before had the odour of musk (1), but that his rubbing his teeth had taken it away. Wherefore, GOD ordered him to fast ten days more, which he did; and these were the first ten days of the succeeding month *Dhu'lhaija*. Others, however, suppose that *Moses* was commanded to fast and pray thirty days only, and that during the other ten GOD discoursed with him (2).

[b] *And his* LORD *spake unto him*;] Without the mediation of any other, and face to face, as he speaks unto the angels (3).

[c] *The mountain*;] This mountain the *Mohammedans* name, *al Zabir*.

[d] *When his* LORD *appeared with glory in the mount*;] Or, as it is literally,

(1) *See the Prelim. Disc.* §. IV. *p.* 148, 149. (2) *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. (3) *Al* BEIDAWI, *V.* D'HERBELOT. *Bibl. Orient*, *p.* 650.

he reduced it to dust. And MOSES fell down in a swoon. And when he came to himself, he said, Praise be unto thee! I turn unto thee with repentance, and I *am* the first of true believers [e]. *GOD, said unto him,* O MOSES! I have chosen thee above *all* men, *by honouring thee* with my commissions, and by my speaking *unto thee:* receive, therefore, that which I have brought thee, and be *one* of those who give thanks [f]. And we wrote for him on the tables [g] an admonition concerning every matter, and a decision in every case [h], *and said,* Receive this with reverence; and command thy people that they live according to the most excellent *precepts* thereof. I will shew you the dwelling of the wicked [i]. I will turn aside from my signs those who behave themselves proudly in the earth, without justice: and although they see every sign, yet they shall not believe therein; and, although they see the way of righteousness, yet they shall not take that way; but if they see the way of error, they shall take that way. This *shall come to*

terally, *unto the mount.* For some of the expositors pretend, that GOD endued the mountain with life and the sense of seeing.

[e] *I am the first of true believers.*] This is not to be taken strictly. See the like expression in chap. vi. p. 138.

[f] The *Mohammedans* have a tradition, that *Moses* asked to see GOD on the day of *Arafat,* and that he received the law on the day they slay the victims at the pilgrimage of *Mecca,* which days are the ninth and tenth of *Dhu'lhajja.*

[g] *The Tables;*] These tables, according to some, were seven in number, and, according to others, ten. Nor are the commentators agreed, whether they were cut out of a kind of lote-tree, in paradise, called *al Sidra;* or, whether they were chrysolites, emeralds, rubies, or common stone (1). But, they say, that they were each ten, or twelve cubits long; for, they suppose, that, not only the ten commandments, but the whole law was written thereon: and, some add, that the letters were cut quite through the tables, so that they might be read on both sides (2); which is a fable of the *Jews.*

[h] *An admonition concerning every matter, and a decision in every case;*] That is, a perfect law, comprehending all necessary instructions, as well, in regard to religious and moral duties, as the administration of justice.

[i] *I will shew you the dwelling of the wicked;*] *Viz.* the desolate habitations of the *Egyptians,* or those of the impious tribes of *Ad* and *Thamûd,* or, perhaps, hell, the dwelling of the ungodly in the other world.

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI. (2) *V.* D'HERBEL. *ubi supra.*

paſs, becauſe they accuſe our ſigns of impoſture, and neglect the ſame. But as for them who deny the truth of our ſigns, and the meeting of the life to come, their works ſhall be vain: ſhall they be rewarded otherwiſe than *according to* what they ſhall have wrought? And the people of MOSES, after his *departure*, took a corporeal calf [k], *made* of their ornaments [l], which lowed [m]. Did they not ſee that it ſpake not unto them, neither directed them in the way? *yet* they took it *for their god*, and acted wickedly. But when they repented with ſorrow [n], and ſaw that they had gone aſtray, they ſaid, Verily if our LORD have not mercy upon us, and forgive us not, we ſhall certainly become *of the number* of thoſe who periſh. And when MOSES returned unto his people, full of wrath and indignation, he ſaid, An evil thing is it that ye have committed after my *departure*; have ye haſtened the command of your LORD [o]? And he threw down the tables [p], and took his brother by the *hair of the* head, and dragged him unto him. *And AARON* ſaid unto him, Son of my mother, verily the people prevailed againſt me [q], and it wanted little but they had ſlain me: make not *my* enemies, therefore, to rejoice over me, neither place me with the wicked people. *MOSES* ſaid, O LORD! for-

[k] *A corporeal calf*;] That is, as ſome underſtand it, conſiſting of fleſh and blood; or, as others, being a mere body, or maſs of metal, without a ſoul (1).

[l] *Of their ornaments*;] Such as their rings and bracelets of gold and ſilver (2).

[m] *Which lowed*;] See chap. xx. and the notes to chap. ii. p. 10.

[n] Father *Marracci* ſeems not to have underſtood the meaning of this phraſe, having literally tranſlated the *Arabic* words, *wa lamma ſokita fi eidihim*, without any manner of ſenſe, *Et cum cadere factus fuiſſet in manibus eorum.*

[o] *Have ye haſtened the command of your* LORD?] By neglecting his precepts, and bringing down his ſwift vengeance on you.

[p] *And he threw down the tables*;] Which were all broken and taken up to heaven, except one only; and this, they ſay, contained the threats and judicial ordinances, and was afterwards put into the ark (3).

[q] *Prevailed againſt me*;] Literally, *rendered me weak.*

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI. *See chap.* xx. *and the notes to chap.* ii. *p.* 10. (2) *V. ibid.* (3) *Al* BEIDAWI. *V.* D'HERBEL. *ubi ſup. p.* 649.

give

give me and my brother, and receive us into thy mercy; for thou art the most merciful of those who exercise mercy. Verily as for them who took the calf *for their god*, indignation shall overtake them from their LORD [r], and ignominy in this life: thus will we reward those who imagine falshood. But unto them who do evil, and afterwards repent, and believe *in GOD*, verily thy LORD *will* thereafter *be* clement *and* merciful. And when the anger of MOSES was appeased, he took the tables [s]; and in what was written thereon was a direction and mercy, unto those who feared their LORD. And MOSES chose out of his people seventy men, *to go up with him to the mountain* at the time appointed by us: and when a storm of thunder and lightening had taken them away [t], he said, O LORD! if thou hadst pleased, thou hadst destroyed them before, and me *also*; wilt thou destroy us for that which the foolish *men* among us have committed? This is only thy trial; thou wilt thereby lead into error whom thou pleasest, and thou wilt direct whom thou pleasest. Thou art our protector, therefore forgive us, and be merciful unto us; for thou art the best of those who forgive. And write down for us good in this world, and in the life to come; for unto thee are we directed. *GOD* answered, I will inflict my punishment on whom I please; and my mercy extendeth over all things: and I will write down *good* unto those who shall fear *me*, and give alms, and who shall believe in our signs; who shall follow the apostle, the illiterate prophet [u], whom they shall find written down [w] with them in the law and the gospel: he will command them that which is just, and will forbid them that which is evil; and will allow unto them as lawful the

[r] See chap. ii. p. 10.

[s] *The tables*;] Or, the fragments of that which was left.

[t] See chap. ii. p. 11. and chap. iv. p. 123.

[u] *The illiterate prophet*;] That is, *Mohammed*. See the Prelim. Disc. §. II. p. 55.

[w] *Written down*;] i. e. Both foretold by the name and certain description.

good things *which were before forbidden* [x], and will prohibit those which are bad [y]; and he will ease them of their heavy burden, and of the yokes which were upon them [z]. And those who believe on him, and honour him, and assist him, and follow the light, which hath been sent down with him, *shall be* happy. Say, O men! verily I am the messenger of GOD unto you all [a]: unto him *belongeth* the kingdom of heaven and earth; there is no GOD but he; he giveth life, and he causeth to die. Believe, therefore, in GOD and his apostle, the illiterate prophet, who believeth in GOD and his word; and follow him, that ye may be *rightly* directed. Of the people of MOSES *there is* a party [b] who direct *others* with truth, and act justly according to the same. And we divided them into twelve tribes, *as into so many* nations. And we spake by revelation unto MOSES, when his people asked drink of him, *and we said*, Strike the rock with thy rod; and there gushed thereout twelve fountains [c], and men knew their *respective* drinking place. And we caused clouds to overshadow them, and manna and quails [d] to descend upon them, *say-*

[x] See chap. iii. p. 64.

[y] *And will prohibit those which are bad*;] As the eating of blood and swines flesh, and the taking of usury, *&c.*

[z] See chap. ii. p. 54.

[a] *Unto you all*;] That is, to all mankind in general, and not to one particular nation, as the former prophets were sent.

[b] *Of the people of* Moses *there is a party who direct others with truth*, &c.] Viz. those *Jews* who seemed better disposed than the rest of their brethren to receive *Mohammed*'s law; or, perhaps, such of them as had actually received it. Some imagine they were a *Jewish* nation dwelling somewhere beyond *China*, which *Mohammed* saw the night he made his journey to heaven, and who believed on him (1).

[c] *And there gushed thereout twelve fountains*, &c.] See chap. ii. p. 11, 12.

To what is said in the notes there we may add, that, according to a certain tradition, the stone, on which this miracle was wrought, was thrown down from paradise by *Adam*, and came into the possession of *Shoaib*, who gave it with the rod to *Moses*; and, that, according to another, the water issued thence by three orifices on each of the four sides of the stone, making twelve in all, and that it ran, in so many rivulets, to the quarter of each tribe in the camp (2).

[d] See chap. ii. p. 11.

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI. (2) *Idem*.

ing,

ing, Eat of the good things which we have given you for food: and they injured not us, but they injured their own ſouls. And *call to mind* when it was ſaid unto them, Dwell in this city [e], and eat *of the proviſions* thereof wherever ye will, and ſay, Forgiveneſs! and enter the gate worſhiping: we will pardon you your ſins, *and* will give increaſe unto the well-doers. But they who were ungodly among them changed the expreſſion into another [f], which had not been ſpoken unto them. Wherefore we ſent down upon them indignation from heaven, becauſe they had tranſgreſſed. And aſk them concerning the city [g], which was ſituate on the ſea, when they tranſgreſſed on the ſabbath-day: when their fiſh came unto them on their ſabbath-day, *appearing* openly *on the water*; but on the day, whereon they celebrated no ſabbath, they came not unto them. Thus did we prove them, becauſe they were wicked doers. And when a party of them [h] ſaid *unto the others*, Why do ye warn a people whom GOD will deſtroy, or will puniſh with a grievous puniſhment? They anſwered, *This is* an excuſe *for us* unto your LORD [i]; and peradventure they will beware. But when they had forgotten the admonitions which had been given

[e] See this paſſage explained, chap. ii. p. 11.

[f] *Changed the expreſſion into another*, &c.] Profeſſor *Sike* ſays, that, being prone to leave ſpiritual for worldly matters, inſtead of *Hittaton*, they ſaid *Hintaton*, which ſignifies *wheat* (1), and comes much nearer the true word than the expreſſion I have in the place laſt quoted, ſet down from *Jallalo'ddin*. Whether he took this from the ſame commentator or not, does not certainly appear, though he mentions him juſt before; but if he did, his copy muſt differ from that which I have followed.

[g] *And aſk them concerning the city*, &c.] This city was *Ailah*, or *Elath*, on the red ſea; though ſome pretend it was *Midian*, and others *Tiberias*. The whole ſtory is already given in the notes to chap. ii. p. 19. Some ſuppoſe the following five, or eight verſes, to have been revealed at *Medina*.

[h] *A party of them*;] *viz.* The religious perſons among them, who ſtrictly obſerved the ſabbath, and endeavoured to reclaim the others, till they deſpaired of ſucceſs. But ſome think theſe words were ſpoken by the offenders, in anſwer to the admonitions of the others.

[i] *An excuſe for us*, &c.] That we have done our duty in diſſuading them from their wickedneſs.

(1) SIKE, *in not. ad Evang. Infant. p.* 71.

them, we delivered those who forbade *them* to do evil; and we inflicted on those who had transgressed, a severe punishment, because they had acted wickedly. And when they proudly refused *to desist* from what had been forbidden them, we said unto them, Be ye *transformed into* apes, driven away *from the society* of men. And *remember* when thy LORD declared that he would surely send against *the Jews*, until the day of resurrection, *some nation* who should afflict them with a grievous oppression [k]: for thy LORD is swift in punishing, and he *is* also ready to forgive *and* merciful: and we dispersed them among the nations in the earth. *Some* of them are upright persons, and *some* of them are otherwise. And we proved them with prosperity and with adversity, that they might return *from their disobedience*; and a succession *of their posterity* hath succeeded after them, who have inherited the book *of the law*, who receive the temporal *goods* of this world [l], and say, It will surely be forgiven us: and if a temporal *advantage*, like the former, be offered them, they accept it *also*. Is not the covenant of the book *of the law* established with them, that they should not speak of GOD *ought* but the truth [m]? Yet they diligently read that which is therein. But the injoyment of the next life *will be* better for those who fear *GOD than the wicked gains of these people*; (Do ye not, therefore, understand?) and for those who hold fast the book *of the law*, and are constant at prayer: for we will, by no means, suffer the reward of the righteous to perish. And when we shook the mountain, *of SINAI*, over them [n], as though it had been a covering, and they imagined that it was falling upon them; *and we said*, Re-

[k] See chap. v. p. 144, not. *f*.

[l] *And received the temporal goods of this world*;] By accepting of bribes for wresting judgment, and for corrupting the copies of the *Pentateuch*; and by extorting of usury, *&c.* (1).

[m] *That they should not speak of* GOD *ought but the truth*;] Particularly by giving out, that GOD will forgive their corruption without sincere repentance and amendment.

[n] See chap. ii. p. 13, not. *x*.

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI.

ceive

ceive the *law* which we have brought you, with reverence; and remember that which is *contained* therein, that ye may take heed. And when thy LORD drew forth their posterity from the loins of the sons of ADAM [o], and took them to witness against themselves, *saying*, Am not I your LORD? They answered, Yea: we do bear witness. *This was done* lest ye should say, at the day of resurrection, Verily we were negligent as to this *matter*, *because we were not apprized thereof:* or lest ye should say, Verily our fathers were formerly guilty of idolatry, and we are *their* posterity who have succeeded them; wilt thou, therefore, destroy us for that which vain men have committed? Thus do we explain *our* signs, that they may return *from their vanities.* And relate unto *the Jews* the history of him unto whom we brought our signs [p], and

[o] *And when thy* LORD *drew forth their posterity from the loins of the sons of* Adam, *&c.*] This was done in the plain of *Dahia*, in *India*, or, as others imagine, in a valley near *Mecca*. The commentators tell us, that GOD stroked *Adam*'s back, and extracted from his loins his whole posterity, which should come into the world until the resurrection, one generation after another; that these men were actually assembled all together in the shape of small ants, which were endued with understanding; and that after they had, in the presence of the angels, confessed their dependance on GOD, they were again caused to return into the loins of their great ancestor (1). From this fiction it appears, that the doctrine of pre-existence is not unknown to the *Mohammedans*; and there is some little conformity between it and the modern theory of generation *ex animalculis in semine marium*.

[p] *And relate unto the* Jews *the history of him unto whom we brought our signs*, &c.] Some suppose the person, here intended, to be a *Jewish rabbi*, or one *Ommeya Ebn Abi'lsalt*, who read the scriptures, and found, thereby, that GOD would send a prophet about that time, and was, in hopes, that he might be the man; but when *Mohammed* declared his mission, believed not on him through envy. But, according to the more general opinion, it was *Balaam*, the son of *Beor*, of the *Canaanitish* race, well acquainted with part, at least, of the scripture, having even been favoured with some revelations from GOD; who being requested by his nation to curse *Moses* and the children of *Israel*, refused it at first, saying, *How can I curse those who are protected by the angels?* But afterwards he was prevailed on by gifts; and he had no sooner done it, than he began to put out his tongue like a dog, and it hung down upon his breast (2).

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, YAHYA. *V.* D'HERBELOT, *Bibl. Orient. p.* 54. (2) *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, *Al* ZAMAKSHARI. *V.* D'HERBEL. *Bibl. Orient. Art. Balaam.*

he

he departed from them; wherefore SATAN followed him, and he became *one* of those who were seduced. And if we had pleased, we had surely raised him thereby *unto wisdom*; but he inclined unto the earth, and followed his own desire [q]. Wherefore his likeness is as the likeness of a dog, which, if thou drive him away, putteth forth his tongue; or, if thou let him alone, putteth forth his tongue *also*. This is the likeness of the people, who accuse our signs of falshood. Rehearse, therefore, *this* history *unto them*, that they may consider. Evil is the similitude of those people who accuse our signs of falshood and injure their own souls. Whomsoever GOD shall direct, he *will be rightly* directed; and whomsoever he shall lead astray, they shall perish. Moreover we have created for hell many of the genii and of men; they have hearts by which they understand not, and they have eyes by which they see not, and they have ears by which they hear not. These are like the brute beasts; yea, they go more astray: these are the negligent. GOD hath most excellent names [r]: therefore, call on him by the same; and withdraw from those who use his names perversely [s]: they shall be rewarded for that which they shall have wrought. And of those, whom we have created there, are a people who direct

[q] *But he inclined unto the earth, and followed his own desire*;] Loving the wages of unrighteousness, and running greedily after error for reward (1).

[r] GOD *hath most excellent names*;] Expressing his glorious attributes. Of these the *Mohammedan Arabs* have no less than ninety-nine, which are reckoned up by *Marracci* (2).

[s] *Who use his names perversely*;] As did *Walid Ebn al Mogheira*; who hearing *Mohammed* give GOD the title of *al Rahmân*, or *the merciful*, laughed aloud, saying, that he knew none of that name, except a certain man who dwelt in *Yamama* (3): or, as the idolatrous *Meccans* did, who deduced the names of their idols from those of the true GOD; deriving, for example, *Allât* from *Allah*; *al Uzza* from *al Azîz*, *the mighty*, and *Manât* from *al Mannân*, *the bountiful* (4).

(1) 2 *Pet.* ii. v. *Jude* 11. (2) *In Alc. p.* 414. (3) MARRACC. *vit. Mah. p.* 19. (4) *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. *See the Preliminary Discourse, p.* 24.

others

others with truth, and act justly according thereto [t]. But those who devise lies against our signs, we will suffer them to fall gradually into ruin, by *a method* which they know not [u]: and I will grant them to enjoy a long and prosperous life; for my stratagem is effectual. Do they not consider that there is no devil in their companion [w]? He is no other than a public preacher. Or do they not contemplate the kingdom of heaven and earth, and the things which GOD hath created; and *consider* that peradventure it may be that their end draweth nigh? And in what new declaration will they believe, after this [x]? He whom GOD shall cause to err, shall have no director; and he shall leave them in their impiety, wandering in confusion. They will ask thee concerning the *last* hour; at what time it's coming is fixed? Answer, Verily the knowledge thereof is with my LORD; none shall declare the fixed time thereof, except he. *The expectation thereof* is grievous in heaven and on earth [y]: it shall come upon you no otherwise than suddenly. They will ask thee, as though thou wast well acquainted therewith. Answer, Verily the knowledge thereof is with GOD alone: but the greater part of men know it not. Say, I am able neither to procure advantage unto myself, nor to avert mischief *from me*, but as GOD pleaseth. If I knew

[t] *Of those whom we have created there are a people who direct others with truth*, &c.] As it is said a little above, that GOD hath created many to eternal misery, so here he is said to have created others to eternal happiness (1).

[u] *We will suffer them to fall gradually into ruin*, &c.] By flattering them with prosperity in this life, and permitting them to sin in an uninterrupted security; till they find themselves unexpectedly ruined (2).

[w] *Do they not consider that there is no devil in their companion?*] Viz. in *Mohammed*; whom they gave out to be possessed when he went up to mount *Safâ*, and from thence called to the several families, of each respective tribe, in order to warn them of GOD's vengeance, if they continued in their idolatry (3).

[x] *After this*;] i. e. After they have rejected the *Korân*. For what more evident revelation can they hereafter expect (4)?

[y] *The expectation thereof, is grievous, in heaven and on earth*;] Not only to men and genii, but to the angels also.

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI. (2) *Idem.* (3) *Idem.* (4) *Idem.*

the

the ſecrets *of GOD*, I ſhould ſurely enjoy abundance of good, neither ſhould evil befal me. Verily, I am no other than a denouncer of threats, and a meſſenger of good tidings unto people who believe. It is he who hath created you from one perſon, and out of him produced his wife, that he might dwell with her; and when he had known her, ſhe carried a light burden *for a time*, wherefore, ſhe walked *eaſily* therewith. But when it became more heavy [z], they called upon GOD, their LORD, *ſaying*, If thou give us *a child*, rightly ſhaped, we will ſurely be thankful. Yet when he had given them *a child*, rightly ſhaped, they attributed companions unto him, for that which he had given them [a]. But far be that from GOD, which they aſſociated *with him!* Will they aſſociate *with him*

[z] *But when it became more heavy*, &c.] That is, when the child grew bigger in her womb.

[a] *They attributed companions unto him*, &c.] For the explaining of this whole paſſage, the commentators tell the following ſtory.

They ſay, that when *Eve* was big with her firſt child, the devil came to her and aſked her, whether ſhe knew what ſhe carried within her, and which way ſhe ſhould be delivered of it; ſuggeſting that poſſibly it might be a beaſt. She, being unable to give an anſwer to this queſtion, went in a fright to *Adam*, and acquainted him with the matter, who, not knowing what to think of it, grew ſad and penſive. Whereupon the devil appeared to her again, (or, as others ſay, to *Adam*,) and pretended that he by his prayers would obtain of GOD that ſhe might be ſafely delivered of a ſon in *Adam*'s likeneſs, provided they would promiſe to name him *Abdo'lhareth*, or, the *ſervant of al Hareth*, (which was the devil's name among the angels) inſtead of *Abd'allah*, or, *the ſervant of* GOD, as *Adam* had deſigned. This propoſal was agreed to, and accordingly, when the child was born, they gave it that name; upon which it immediately died (1). And with this *Adam* and *Eve* are here taxed, as an act of idolatry. The ſtory looks like a *rabbinical* fiction, and ſeems to have no other foundation than *Cain*'s being called, by *Moſes Obed adâmah*, that is, *a tiller of the ground*, which might be tranſlated into *Arabic* by *Abd'alhareth*.

But *al Beidâwi*, thinking it unlikely, that a prophet, (as *Adam* is by the *Mohammedans* ſuppoſed to have been,) ſhould be guilty of ſuch an action, imagines the *Korân* in this place means *Koſai*, one of *Mohammed*'s anceſtors, and his wife, who begged iſſue of GOD, and having four ſons granted them, called their names *Abd Menâf*, *Abd Shams*, *Abd'al Uzza*, and *Abd'al Dâr*, after the names of four principal idols of the *Koreiſh*. And the following words alſo he ſuppoſes to relate to their idolatrous poſterity.

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI, YAHYA. *V.* D'HERBELOT, *Bibl. Orient. p.* 438. & SELDEN. *de jure nat. ſec. Hebr. lib.* v. *c.* 8.

falſe

false gods which create nothing, but are themselves created; and can neither give them assistance, nor help themselves? And if ye invite them to the *true* direction, they will not follow you: it will be equal unto you, whether ye invite them, or whether ye hold your peace. Verily, the *false deities*, whom ye invoke besides GOD, are servants like unto you [b]. Call, therefore, upon them, and let them give you an answer, if ye speak truth. Have they feet, to walk with? Or have they hands, to lay hold with? Or have they eyes, to see with? Or have they ears, to hear with? Say, call upon your companions, and then lay a snare for me, and defer *it* not; for GOD *is* my protector, who sent down the book *of the KORAN*; and he protecteth the righteous. But they, whom ye invoke besides him, cannot assist you, neither do they help themselves; and if ye call on them to direct you, they will not hear. Thou seest them look towards thee, but they see not. Use indulgence [c], and command that which is just, and withdraw far from the ignorant. And if an evil suggestion from SATAN be suggested unto thee, *to divert thee from thy duty*, have recourse unto GOD; for he heareth *and* knoweth. Verily, they who fear *GOD*, when a temptation from SATAN assaileth them, remember *the divine commands*, and behold, they clearly see *the danger of sin, and the wiles of the devil.* But as for the brethren *of the devils*, they shall continue them in error; and afterwards they shall not preserve themselves *therefrom*. And when thou bringest not a verse *of the KORAN* unto them they

[b] *Are servants like unto you*;] Being subject to the absolute command of GOD. For the chief idols of the *Arabs* were the sun, moon, and stars (1).

[c] *Use indulgence.*] Or, as the words may also be translated, *Take the superabundant overplus*; meaning that *Mohammed* should accept such voluntary alms from the people as they could spare. But the passage, if taken in this sense, was abrogated by the precept of legal alms, which was given at *Medina*.

(1) *See the Prelim. Disc. p.* 20.

say,

say, Hast thou not put it together [d]? Answer, I follow that only which is revealed unto me from my LORD. This book containeth evident proofs from your LORD, and *is* a direction and mercy unto people who believe. And when the KORAN is read, attend thereto, and keep silence; that ye may obtain mercy. And meditate on thy LORD in thine own mind, with humility and fear, and without loud speaking, evening and morning; and be not *one* of the negligent. Moreover *the angels* who are with my LORD, do not proudly disdain his service, but they celebrate his praise and worship him.

[d] *Hast thou not put it together?*] i. e. Hast thou not yet contrived what to say; or canst thou obtain no revelation from GOD?

CHAP. VIII.

Intitled, The Spoils [a]; *revealed at* MEDINA [b],

In the name of the most merciful GOD.

THEY will ask thee concerning the spoils: Answer, The *division of the* spoils *belongeth* unto GOD and the apostle [c]. Therefore fear GOD, and compose

[a] This chapter was occasioned by the high disputes which happened about the division of the spoils taken at the battle of *Bedr* (1), between the young men, who had fought, and the old men who had staid under the ensigns; the former insisting they ought to have the whole, and the latter, that they deserved a share (2). To end the contention, *Mohammed* pretended to have received orders from heaven to divide the booty among them equally, having first taken thereout a fifth part for the purposes which will be mentioned hereafter.

[b] Except seven verses, beginning at these words, *And call to mind when the unbelievers plotted against thee*, &c. Which some think were revealed at *Mecca*.

[c] *The division of the spoils belongeth unto* GOD *and the apostle*;] It is related, that *Saad Ebn Abi Wakkâs*, one of the companions, whose brother *Omair* was slain in this battle, having killed *Said Ebn al As*, took his sword, and carrying it to *Mohammed*, desired that he might be permitted to keep it; but the prophet told him, that it was not his to give away, and ordered him to lay it with the other

(1) *See chap.* iii. *p.* 56. (2) *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN.

spoils,

compoſe the matter amicably among you; and obey GOD and his apoſtle, if ye are true believers. Verily the true believers *are thoſe* whoſe hearts fear when GOD is mentioned, and whoſe faith increaſeth when his ſigns are rehearſed unto them, and *who* truſt in their LORD; who obſerve the ſtated times of prayer, and give alms out of that which we have beſtowed on them. Theſe are really believers: they ſhall have *ſuperior* degrees *of felicity* with their LORD, and forgiveneſs, and an honourable proviſion. As thy LORD brought thee forth from thy houſe [d], with truth; and part of the believers were averſe *to thy directions* [e]: they diſputed with thee concerning the truth,

ſpoils. At this repulſe, and the loſs of his brother, *Saad* was greatly diſturbed; but in a very little while this chapter was revealed, and thereupon *Mohammed* gave him the ſword, ſaying, You aſked this ſword of me when I had no power to diſpoſe of it, but now I have received authority from GOD to diſtribute the ſpoils, you may take it (1).

[d] *As thy* LORD *brought thee forth from thy houſe*;] i. e. From *Medina*. The particle *as* having nothing in the following words to anſwer it, *Al Beidâwi* ſuppoſes the connexion to be, that the diviſion of the ſpoils belonged to the prophet, notwithſtanding his followers were averſe to it, as they had been averſe to the expedition itſelf.

[e] *And part of the believers were averſe to thy directions*;] For the better underſtanding of this paſſage, it will be neceſſary to mention ſome farther particulars relating to the expedition of *Bedr*.

Mohammed having received private information (for which he pretended he was obliged to the angel *Gabriel*) of the approach of a caravan, belonging to the *Korreiſh*, which was on it's return from *Syria*, with a large quantity of valuable merchandize, and was guarded by no more than thirty, or, as others ſay, forty men, ſet out with a party to intercept it. *Abu Sofiân*, who commanded the little convoy, having notice of *Mohammed*'s motions, ſent to *Mecca* for ſuccours; upon which *Abu Jahl*, and all the principal men of the city, except only *Abu Laheb*, marched to his aſſiſtance, with a body of nine hundred and fifty men. *Mohammed* had no ſooner received advice of this, than *Gabriel* deſcended with a promiſe that he ſhould either take the caravan, or beat the ſuccours; whereupon he conſulted with his companions which of the two he ſhould attack. Some of them were for ſetting upon the caravan, ſaying, that they were not prepared to fight ſuch a body of troops as were coming with *Abu Jahl*: but this propoſal *Mohammed* rejected, telling them, that the caravan was at a conſiderable diſtance by the ſeaſide, whereas *Abu Jahl* was juſt upon them. The others, however, inſiſted ſo obſtinately on purſuing the firſt deſign of falling on the caravan, that the prophet grew angry, but by the interpoſition of *Abu Becr*, *Omar*,

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI.

Saad

truth, after it had been made known unto them [f]; no otherwise than as if they had been led forth to death, and had seen *it with their eyes* [g]. And *call to mind* when GOD promised you one of the two parties, that it should be *delivered* unto you [h]; and ye desired that the *party* which was not furnished with arms [i] should be *delivered* unto you: but GOD purposed to make known the truth in his words, and to cut off the uttermost part of the unbelievers [k]; that he might verify the truth, and destroy falshood, although

Saad Ebn Obadah, and *Mokdâ Ebn Amru*, they, at length, acquiesced to his opinion. *Mokdad*, in particular, assured him they were all ready to obey his orders, and would not say to him, as the children of *Israel* did to *Moses*, *Go thou and thy* LORD *to fight, for we will sit here* (1); but, *Go thou and thy* LORD *to fight, and we will fight with you.* At this *Mohammed* smiled, and again sat down to consult with them, applying himself chiefly to the *Ansârs*, or *helpers*; because they were the greater part of his forces, and he had some apprehension lest they should not think themselves obliged by the oath they had taken to him at *al Akaba* (2), to assist him against any other than such as should attack him in *Medina*. But *Saad Ebn Moâdh*, in the name, of the rest, told him that they had received him as the apostle of GOD, and had promised him obedience, and were, therefore, all to a man, ready to follow him where he pleased, though it were into the sea. Upon which the prophet ordered them, in GOD's name, to attack the succours, assuring them of the victory (3).

[f] *They disputed with thee concerning the truth*, &c.] That is concerning their success against *Abu Jahl* and the *Koreish*; notwithstanding they had GOD's promise to encourage them.

[g] *As if they had been led forth to death*, &c.] The reason of this great backwardness was the smallness of their number, in comparison of the enemy, and their being unprepared; for they were all foot, having but two horses among them, whereas the *Koreish* had no less than a hundred horse (4).

[h] *When* GOD *promised you one of the two parties*;] That is, either the caravan, or the succours from *Mecca*. Father *Marracci* mistaking *al ir* and *al Nafir*, which are appellatives, and signify *the caravan* and *the troop*, or body of succours, for proper names, has thence coined two families of the *Koreish* never heard of before, which he calls *Airenses* and *Naphirenses* (5).

[i] *The party which was not furnished with arms*;] viz. The caravan, which was guarded by no more than forty horse; whereas the other party was strong and well appointed.

[k] *But* GOD *would make known the truth*, &c.] As if he had said, Your view was only to gain the spoils of the caravan, and to avoid danger; but GOD designed to exalt his true religion by extirpating it's adversaries (6).

(1) *Korân, chap.* v. *p.* 134. (2) *See the Prelim. Disc. p.* 63. (3) *Al* BEIDAWI. (4) *Idem. V.* ABULFEDA. *vit. Moh. p.* 56. (5) MARRACC. *in Alc. p.* 297. (6) *Al* BEIDAWI.

the

the wicked were averſe *thereto*. When ye aſked aſſiſtance of your LORD [l], and he anſwered you, Verily I will aſſiſt you with a thouſand [m] angels, following one another *in order*. And this GOD deſigned only as good tidings [n] for you, and that your hearts might thereby reſt ſecure: for victory *is* from GOD alone; and GOD is mighty *and* wiſe. When a ſleep fell on you as a ſecurity from him, and he ſent down upon you water from heaven, that he might thereby purify you, and take from you the abomination of SATAN [o], and that he might confirm your hearts, and eſtabliſh *your* feet thereby. *Alſo* when thy LORD ſpake unto the angels, *ſaying*, Verily I am with you; wherefore confirm thoſe who believe. I will caſt a dread into the hearts of the unbelievers. Therefore ſtrike off *their* heads, and ſtrike off all the ends of their *fingers* [p]. This *ſhall they ſuffer*, becauſe they have

[l] *When ye aſked aſſiſtance of your* LORD, &c.] When *Mohammed*'s men ſaw they could not avoid fighting, they recommended themſelves to GOD's protection; and their prophet prayed with great earneſtneſs, crying out, O GOD! *fulfil that which thou haſt promiſed me: O* GOD! *if this party be cut off, thou wilt be no more worſhiped on earth.* And he continued to repeat theſe words till his cloak fell from off his back (1).

[m] *A thouſand angels*;] Which were afterwards reinforced with three thouſand more (2) Wherefore ſome copies inſtead of a *thouſand*, read *thouſands*, in the plural.

[n] See chap. iii. p. 78.

[o] *When a ſleep fell on you*, &c.] It is related, that the ſpot where *Mohammed*'s little army lay, was a dry and deep ſand, into which their feet ſunk as they walked, the enemy having the command of the water; and that having fallen aſleep, the greater part of them were diſturbed with dreams, wherein the devil ſuggeſted to them, that they could never expect GOD's aſſiſtance in the battle, ſince they were cut off from the water, and, beſides ſuffering the inconveniency of thirſt, muſt be obliged to pray without waſhing, though they imagined themſelves to be the favourites of GOD, and that they had his apoſtle among them. But in the night rain fell ſo plentifully, that it formed a little brook, and not only ſupplied them with water for all their uſes, but made the ſand between them and the infidel army firm enough to bear them; whereupon the diabolical ſuggeſtions ceaſed (3).

[p] *Therefore ſtrike off their heads*, &c.] This is the puniſhment expreſſly aſſigned the enemies of the *Mohammedan* religion; though the *Moſlems* did not inflict it on the priſoners they took at *Bedr*, for which they are reprehended in this chapter.

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI, *V.* ABULFED. *vit. Moh. p.* 58. (2) *See chap.* iii. *p.* 56 *and* 78. (3) *Al* BEIDAWI.

resisted God and his apostle: and whosoever shall oppose God and his apostle, verily God *will be* severe in punishing *him*. This *shall be your punishment*; taste it therefore: and the infidels shall *also* suffer the torment of *hell* fire. O true believers! when ye meet the unbelievers marching *in great numbers against you*, turn not *your* backs unto them: for whoso shall turn his back unto them on that day, unless he turneth aside to fight, or retreateth to *another* party *of the faithful* [q], shall draw on himself the indignation of God, and his abode shall be hell; an ill journey *shall it be thither!* And ye slew not those *who were slain at BEDR yourselves*, but God slew them [r]. Neither didst thou, *O Mohammed!* cast *the gravel into their eyes*, when thou didst *seem to* cast *it*; but God cast *it* [s], that he might prove the true believers by a gracious trial from himself; for God heareth *and* knoweth. This *was done* that God might also weaken the crafty devices of the unbelievers. If ye desire a decision *of the matter between us*, now hath a decision come unto you [t]: and if ye desist *from opposing the apostle*, it *will be* better for you. But if ye return *to attack him*, we will also return *to his assistance*; and your forces shall not be of advantage unto you at all, although they be numerous; for God is with the faithful. O true believers! obey God and his apostle, and turn not back from him, since ye hear *the admonitions of the KORAN*. And be not as those who say, We hear, when they do not hear. Verily the worst *sort of* beasts in the sight of God, are the deaf

[q] *Unless he turneth aside to fight, or retreateth to another party*, &c.] That is, if it be not downright running away, but done either with design to rally and attack the enemy again, or by way of feint or stratagem, or to succour a party which is hard pressed, &c. (1)

[r] See chap. iii. p. 56, note *d*.

[s] See ibid.

[t] *If ye desire a decision*, &c.] These words are directed to the people of *Mecca*; whom *Mohammed* derides, because the *Koreish*, when they were ready to set out from *Mecca*, took hold of the curtains of the *Cauba*, saying, *O* God! *grant the victory to the superior army, the party that is most rightly directed, and the most honourable* (2).

(1) *Al* Beidawi. (2) *Idem*.

and

and the dumb, who understand not. If GOD had known any good in them, he would certainly have caused them to hear [u]: And if he had caused them to hear, they would surely have turned back, and have retired afar off. O true believers! answer GOD and *his* apostle, when he inviteth you unto that which giveth you life; and know that GOD goeth between a man and his heart [w], and that before him ye shall be assembled. Beware of sedition [x]; it will not affect those who are ungodly among you, particularly, *but all of you in general*; and know that GOD is severe in punishing. And remember when ye were few, *and* reputed weak in the land [y]: ye feared lest men should snatch you away: but *GOD* provided you a place of refuge, and he strengthened you with his assistance, and bestowed on you good things, that ye might give thanks. O true believers! deceive not GOD and *his* apostle [z]; neither violate your faith, against

[u] *To hear*;] That is, to hearken to the remonstrances of the *Korân*. Some say, that the infidels demanded of *Mohammed* that he should raise *Asjai*, one of his ancestors, to life, to bear witness to the truth of his mission, saying, he was a man of honour and veracity, and they would believe his testimony: but they are here told that it would have been in vain (1).

[w] GOD *goeth between a man and his heart*;] Not only knowing the innermost secrets of his heart, but over-ruling a man's designs, and disposing him either to belief or infidelity.

[x] *Sedition*;] The original word signifies any epidemical crime, which involves a number of people in it's guilt; and the commentators are divided as to it's particular meaning in this place.

[y] *In the land*;] Viz. at *Mecca*. The persons here spoken to are the *Mohâjerîn*, or *refugees* who fled from thence to *Medina*.

[z] *Deceive not* GOD *and his apostle*, &c.] *Al Beidâwi* mentions an instance of such treacherous dealing in *Abu Lobâba*, who was sent by *Mohammed* to the tribe of *Koreidha*, then besieged by that prophet for having broken their league with him and perfidiously gone over to the enemies at the war of the ditch (2), to persuade them to surrender at the discretion of *Saad Ebn Moadh*, prince of the tribe of *Aws*, their confederates, which proposal they had refused. But *Abu Lobâba*'s family and effects being in the hands of those of *Koreidha*, he acted directly contrary to his commission, and, instead of persuading them to accept *Saad* as their judge, when they asked his advice about it, drew his hand cross his throat, signifying that

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI. *See chap.* vi. *p.* 175. (2) *See* PRID. *life of Mah.* *p.* 85 ABULF. *vit. Moh. p.* 76. *and the notes to chap.* xxxiii.

againſt your own knowledge. And know that your wealth, and your children *are* a temptation *unto you* [a]; and that with GOD is a great reward. O true believers! if ye fear GOD, he will grant you a diſtinction [b], and will expiate your ſins from you, and will forgive you; for GOD is indued with great liberality. And *call to mind* when the unbelievers plotted againſt thee, that they might either detain thee *in bonds*, or put thee to death, or expel thee *the city* [c]; and they plotted *againſt thee:* but GOD laid a plot *againſt them* [d]; and GOD is the beſt layer of plots. And when our ſigns are repeated unto them, they ſay, We have heard; if we pleaſed we could certainly pronounce *a compoſition* like unto this: this is nothing but fables of the ancients [e]. And when they ſaid, O GOD! if this be the truth from thee, rain down ſtones upon us from heaven, or inflict on us ſome *other* grievous puniſhment [f]. But GOD was not *diſpoſed* to puniſh them whilſt thou

he would put them all to death. However he had no ſooner done this than he was ſenſible of his crime, and going into a moſque tied himſelf to a pillar, and remained there ſeven days without meat or drink, till *Mohammed* forgave him.

[a] *Your wealth and your children are a temptation unto you;*] As they were to *Abu Lobâba*.

[b] *Diſtinction;*] i. e. A direction that you may diſtinguiſh between truth and falſhood, or ſucceſs in battle; to diſtinguiſh the believers from the infidels; or the like.

[c] *And call to mind when the unbelievers plotted againſt thee,* &c.] When the *Meccans* heard of the league entered into by *Mohammed* with thoſe of *Medina*, being apprehenſive of the conſequence, they held a council, whereat, they ſay, the devil aſſiſted in the likeneſs of an old man of *Najd*. The point under conſideration being what they ſhould do with *Mohammed*, *Abu'lbakhtari* was of opinion that he ſhould be impriſoned, and the room walled up, except a little hole, through which he ſhould have neceſſaries given him, till he died. This the devil oppoſed, ſaying, that he might probably be releaſed by ſome of his own party. *Heſhâm Ebn Amru* was for baniſhing him: but his advice alſo the devil rejected, inſiſting that *Mohammed* might engage ſome other tribes in his intereſt, and make war on them. At length *Abu Jahl* gave his opinion for putting him to death; and propoſed the manner; which was unanimouſly approved (1).

[d] *But* GOD *laid a plot againſt them;*] Revealing their conſpiracy to *Mohammed*, and miraculouſly aſſiſting him to deceive them and make his eſcape (2); and afterwards drawing them to the battle of *Bedr*.

[e] See chap. vi. p. 160.

[f] This was the ſpeech of *Al Nodar Ebn al Hareth* (3).

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI. *See the Prelim Diſc. p.* 65, 66. (2) *See ibid* (3) *Al* BEIDAWI.

waſt

waſt with them, nor was GOD diſpoſed to puniſh them when they aſked pardon [g]. But they have nothing *to offer in excuſe* why GOD ſhould not puniſh them, ſince they hindered *the believers* from *viſiting* the holy temple [h], although they are not the guardians thereof [i]. The guardians thereof are thoſe only who fear *GOD*; but the greater part of them know it not. And their prayer at the houſe *of GOD* is no other than whiſtling and clapping of the hands [k]. Taſte, therefore, the puniſhment, for that ye have been unbelievers. They who believe not, expend their wealth to obſtruct the way of GOD [l]: they ſhall expend it, but afterwards it ſhall become *matter of* ſighing *and regret* unto them, and at length they ſhall be overcome; and the unbelievers ſhall be gathered together into hell; that GOD may diſtinguiſh the wicked from the good, and may throw the wicked one upon the other, and may gather them all in a heap, and caſt them into hell. Theſe are they who

[g] *When they aſked pardon*;] Saying, GOD *forgive us!* Some of the commentators, however, ſuppoſe the perſons who aſked pardon were certain believers, who ſtayed among the infidels; and others think the meaning to be, that GOD would not puniſh them, *provided they aſked pardon.*

[h] *Since they hindered the believers from viſiting the holy temple*;] Obliging them to fly from *Mecca*, and not permitting them ſo much as to approach the temple, in the expedition of *al Hodeibiya* (1).

[i] *Although they were not the guardians thereof*;] Becauſe of their idolatry, and indecent deportment there. For otherwiſe the *Koreiſh* had a right to the guardianſhip of the *Caaba*, and it was continued in their tribe and in the ſame family, even after the taking of *Mecca* (2).

[k] *Their prayer at the houſe of* GOD *is no other than whiſtling and clapping of the hands.*] It is ſaid that they uſed to go round the *Caaba* naked (3), both men and women, whiſtling at the ſame time through their fingers, and clapping their hands. Or, as others ſay, they made this noiſe on purpoſe to diſturb *Mohammed* when at his prayers, pretending to be at prayers alſo themſelves (4).

[l] *They who believe not, expend their wealth to obſtruct the way of* GOD, &c.] The perſons particularly meant in this paſſage were twelve of the *Koreiſh*, who gave each of them ten camels every day to be killed for proviſions for their army in the expedition of *Bedr*; or, according to others, the owners of the effects brought by the caravan, who gave great part of them to the ſupport of the ſuccours from *Mecca*. It is alſo ſaid, that *Abu Sofián*, in the expedition of *Ohod*, hired two thouſand *Arabs*, who coſt him a conſiderable ſum, beſides the auxiliaries which he had obtained *gratis* (5).

(1) *See the Prelim. Diſc. p.* 69. (2) *See ch.* iv. *p.* 105, *not. d.* (3) *See ch.* vii. *p.* 109. (4) *Al* BEIDAWI. (5) *Idem.*

shall perish. Say unto the believers, that if they desist *from opposing thee*, what is already past shall be forgiven them; but if they return *to attack thee*, the exemplary punishment of the former *opposers of the prophets* is already past, *and the like shall be inflicted on them.* Therefore fight against them until there be no opposition *in favour of idolatry*, and the religion be wholly God's. If they desist, verily God seeth that which they do: but if they turn back, know that God is your patron; *he is* the best patron, and the
X. best helper. * And know that whenever ye gain any *spoils*, a fifth part thereof belongeth unto God, and to the apostle, and *his* kindred, and the orphans, and the poor, and the traveller [m]: if ye believe in God, and that which we have sent down unto our servant on the day of distinction [n], on the day whereon the two armies met: and God is almighty. When ye were *incamped* on the hithermost side of the valley [o], and they were *incamped* on the further side, and the caravan *was* below you [p]; and if ye had mutually appointed *to come to a battle*, ye would certainly have declined the appointment [q]; but *ye were brought to an engagement without any previous appointment*, that God might accomplish the thing which was *de-*

[m] *A fifth part of the spoils belongeth unto* God, *and his apostle*, &c.] According to this law, a fifth part of the spoils is appropriated to the particular uses here mentioned, and the other four fifths are to be equally divided among those who were present at the action; but in what manner, or to whom the first fifth is to be distributed, the *Mohammedan* doctors differ, as we have elsewhere observed (1). Though it be the general opinion that this verse was revealed at *Bedr*, yet there are some who suppose it was revealed in the expedition against the *Jewish* tribe of *Kainokâ*, which happened a little above a month after (2).

[n] *The day of distinction*;] i. e. Of the battle of *Bedr*; which is so called because it *distinguished* the true believers from the infidels.

[o] *On the hithermost side*;] Which was much more inconvenient than the other, because of the deep sand and want of water.

[p] *And the caravan was below you*;] *viz.* By the sea side, making the best of their way to *Mecca*.

[q] *Ye would have declined the appointment*;] Because of the great superiority of the enemy, and the disadvantages ye lay under.

(1) *See the Prelim. Disc.* §. VI. (2) *Al* Beidawi.

creed

reed to be done [r], that he who periſheth *hereafter* may periſh after demonſtrative evidence; and that he who liveth may live by *the ſame* evidence. GOD *both* heareth *and* knoweth. When thy LORD cauſed *the enemy* to appear unto thee in thy ſleep, few *in number* [s]; and if he had cauſed them to appear numerous unto thee, ye would have been diſheartened, and would have diſputed concerning the matter [t]: but GOD preſerved *you from this*; for he knoweth the innermoſt parts of the breaſts *of men*. And when he cauſed them to appear unto you, when ye met, *to be* few in your eyes [u]; and diminiſhed your *numbers* in their eyes [w]; that GOD might accompliſh the thing which *was decreed to be* done: and unto GOD ſhall *all* things return. O true believers! when ye meet a party *of the infidels*, ſtand firm, and remember GOD frequently, that ye may proſper: and obey GOD and his apoſtle, and be not refractory, leſt ye be diſcouraged, and your ſucceſs depart from you; but perſevere with patience, for GOD *is* with thoſe who perſevere. And be not as thoſe who went out of their houſes in an inſolent manner, and to appear with oſtentation

[r] *That* GOD *might fulfil the thing which was decreed*, &c.] By granting a miraculous victory to the faithful, and overthrowing their enemies; for the conviction of the latter, and the confirmation of the former (1).

[s] With which viſion *Mohammed* acquainted his companions for their encouragement.

[t] *And would have diſputed*,] Whether ye ſhould attack the enemy, or fly.

[u] *And when he cauſed them to appear few in your eyes*;] It is ſaid, that *Ebn Maſud* aſked the man who was next him, whether he did not ſee them to be about ſeventy; to which he replied, that he took them to be an hundred (2).

[w] *And diminiſhed your numbers in their eyes*;] This ſeeming contradictory to a paſſage in the third chapter (3), where it is ſaid, that the *Moſlems* appeared to the infidels to be twice their own number, the commentators reconcile the matter, by telling us that, juſt before the battle began, the prophet's party ſeemed fewer than they really were, to draw the enemy to an engagement; but that ſo ſoon as the armies were fully engaged, they appeared ſuperior, to terrify and diſmay their adverſaries. It is related, that *Abu Jahl*, at firſt, thought them ſo inconſiderable a handful, that he ſaid one camel would be as much as they could all eat (4).

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI. (2) *Idem.* (3) *Pag.* 56. (4) *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO DDIN, YAHYA.

ostentation unto men [x], and turned aside from the way of GOD; for GOD comprehendeth that which they do. And *remember* when SATAN prepared their works for them [y], and said, No man shall prevail against you to-day; and I will surely be near *to assist* you. But when the two armies appeared in sight of each other, he turned back on his heels, and said, Verily I am clear of you: I certainly see that which ye see not; I fear GOD, for GOD is severe in punishing [z]. When the hypocrites, and those in whose hearts *there was* an infirmity, said, Their religion hath deceived these *men* [a]; but whosoever confideth

[x] *Who went out of their houses with insolence and ostentation*, &c.] These were the *Meccans*, who, marching to the assistance of the caravan, and being come as far as *Johfa*, were there met by a messenger from *Abu Sofián*, to acquaint them, that he thought himself out of danger, and therefore they might return home; upon which *Abu Jahl*, to give the greater opinion of the courage of himself and his comrades, and of their readiness to assist their friends, swore that they would not return till they had been at *Bedr*, and had there drank wine, and entertained those who should be present, and diverted themselves with singing-women (1). The event of which bravado was very fatal, several of the principal *Koreish*, and *Abu Jahl*, in particular, losing their lives in the expedition.

[y] *When* Satan *prepared their works for them*;] By inciting them to oppose the prophet.

[z] Some understand this passage figuratively, of the private instigation of the devil, and of the defeating of his designs, and the hopes with which he had inspired the idolaters. But others take the whole literally, and tell us, that when the *Koreish*, on their march, bethought themselves of the enmity between them and the tribe of *Kenâna*, who were masters of the country about *Bedr*, that consideration would have prevailed on them to return, had not the devil appeared in the likeness of *Soráka Ebn Malec*, a principal person of that tribe, and promised them that they should not be molested; and that himself would go with them. But when they came to join battle, and the devil saw the angels descending to the assistance of the *Moslems*, he retired; and *al Hareth Ebn Hesham*, who had him then by the hand, asking him whither he was going, and if he intended to betray them at such a juncture, he answered, in the words of this passage, *I am clear of you, for I see that which ye see not*; meaning the celestial succours. They say further, that when the *Koreish*, on their return, laid the blame of their overthrow on *Soráka*, he swore that he did not so much as know of their march till he heard they were routed; and, afterwards, when they embraced *Mohammedism*, they were satisfied it was the devil (2).

[a] *Their religion hath deceived these men*;] In tempting them to so great a piece of folly, as to attack so large a body of men with such a handful,

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI. (2) *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN.

in

in GOD *cannot be deceived*; for GOD *is* mighty *and* wise. And if thou didst behold when the angels cause the unbelievers to die: they strike their faces and their backs [b], and *say unto them*, Taste ye the pain of burning: this *shall ye suffer* for that which your hands have sent before you [c]; and because GOD is not unjust towards *his* servants. *These have acted* according to the wont of the people of PHARAOH, and of those before them, who disbelieved in the signs of GOD; therefore GOD took them away in their iniquity; for GOD *is* mighty, *and* severe in punishing. This *hath come to pass* because GOD changeth not *his* grace, wherewith he hath favoured any people, until they change that which is in their souls; and for that GOD *both* heareth *and* seeth. According to the wont of the people of PHARAOH, and of those before them, who charged the signs of their LORD with imposture, *have they acted*: wherefore we destroyed them in their sins, and we drowned the people of PHARAOH; for they were all unjust persons. Verily the worst cattle in the sight of GOD are those who are *obstinate* infidels, and will not believe. As to those who enter into a league with thee, and afterwards violate their league at every *convenient* opportunity [d], and fear not *GOD*; if thou take them in war, disperse, by *making* them *an example*, those *who shall come* after them, that they may be warned; or, if thou apprehend treachery from any people, throw back *their league* unto them,

[b] *When the angels caused the unbelievers to die*, &c.] This passage is generally understood of the angels who slew the infidels at *Bedr*, and who fought (as the commentators pretend) with iron maces, which shot forth flames of fire at every stroke (1). Some, however, imagine that the words hint, at least, at the examination of the sepulchre, which the *Mohammedans* believe every man must undergo after death, and will be very terrible to the unbelievers (2).

[c] See chap. ii. p. 19. not. *p*.

[d] *Who enter into a league with thee, and afterwards violate their league*, &c.] As did the tribe of *Koreidha* (3).

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. (2) *See the* Prelim. Disc. §. IV. *p*. 100, &c. (3) *See before*, *p*. 227, *and chap*. XXXIII.

with

with like treatment; for GOD loveth not the treacherous. And think not [e] that the unbelievers have escaped *GOD's vengeance* [f], for they shall not weaken *the power of GOD*. Therefore prepare against them what force ye are able, and troops of horse, whereby ye may strike a terror into the enemy of GOD, and your enemy, and into other *infidels* besides them, whom ye know not, *but* GOD knoweth them. And whatsoever ye shall expend in the defence of the religion of GOD, it shall be repaid unto you, and ye shall not be treated unjustly. And if they incline unto peace, do thou *also* incline thereto; and put thy confidence in GOD, for it is he who heareth *and* knoweth. But if they seek to deceive thee, verily GOD *will be* thy support. It is he who hath strengthened thee with his help, and with *that of* the faithful; and hath united their hearts. If thou hadst expended whatever *riches are* in the earth, thou couldest not have united their hearts [g], but GOD united them; for he *is* mighty *and* wise. O prophet! GOD is thy support, and such of the true believers who follow thee [h]. O prophet! stir up the faithful to war: if twenty of you persevere *with constancy*, they shall overcome two hundred; and if there be one hundred of you, they shall overcome a thousand of those who believe not; because they are a people who do not understand. Now hath GOD eased you, for he knew that ye were weak. If there be an hundred of you who persevere *with constancy*, they shall overcome two hundred; and if there be

[e] *Think not*, &c.] Some copies read it in the third person, *Let not the unbelievers think*, &c.

[f] *That the unbelievers have escaped* GOD's *vengeance*;] *viz.* Those who made their escape from *Bedr*.

[g] *Thou couldest not have united their hearts*;] Because of the inveterate enmity which reigned among many of the *Arab* tribes; and therefore this reconciliation is reckoned by the commentators as no inconsiderable miracle, and a strong proof of their prophet's mission.

[h] This passage, as some say, was revealed in a plain called *al Beidá*, between *Mecca* and *Medina*, during the expedition of *Bedr*; and, as others say, in the sixth year of the prophet's mission, on the occasion of *Omar*'s embracing *Mohammedism*.

a thousand

a thousand of you, they shall overcome two thousand [i], by the permission of GOD; for GOD is with those who persevere. It hath not been *granted* unto any prophet, that he should possess captives, until he had made a great slaughter *of the infidels* in the earth [k]. Ye seek the accidental *goods* of this world, but GOD regardeth the life to come; and GOD *is* mighty *and* wise. Unless a revelation had been previously delivered from GOD, verily a severe punishment had been inflicted on you, for *the ransom* which ye took *from the captives at BEDR* [l],

i See Levit. xxvi. 8. Josh. xxiii. 10.

k *Until he had made a great slaughter of infidels*, &c.] Because severity ought to be used where circumstances require it, though clemency be more preferable where it may be exercised with safety. While the *Mohammedans*, therefore, were weak, and their religion in it's infancy, GOD's pleasure was, that the opposers of it should be cut off, as is particularly directed in this chapter. For which reason they are here upbraided with their preferring the lucre of the ransom to their duty.

l *Unless a revelation had previously been delivered, a great punishment had been inflicted on you for the ransom which ye took*, &c.] That is, had not the ransom been, in strictness, lawful for you to accept, by GOD's having, in general terms, allowed you the spoil, and the captives, ye had been severely punished.

Among the seventy prisoners which the *Moslems* took in this battle, were *al Abbâs*, one of *Mohammed*'s uncles, and *Okail* the son of *Abu Tâleb* and brother of *Ali*: when they were brought before *Mohammed*, he asking the advice of his companions what should be done with them, *Abu Becr* was for releasing them, on their paying ransom, saying, that they were near relations to the prophet, and GOD might possibly forgive them on their repentance; but *Omar* was for striking off their heads, as professed patrons of infidelity. *Mohammed* did not approve of the latter advice, but observed that *Abu Becr* resembled *Abraham*, who interceded for offenders, and that *Omar* was like *Noah*, who prayed for the utter extirpation of the wicked antediluvians; and thereupon it was agreed to accept a ransom from them, and their fellow captives. Soon after which, *Omar*, going into the prophet's tent, found him and *Abu Becr* weeping, and asking them the reason of their tears, *Mohammed* acquainted him, that this verse had been revealed, condemning their ill-timed lenity towards their prisoners, and that they had narrowly escaped the divine vengeance for it, adding, that if GOD had not passed the matter over, they had certainly been destroyed to a man, excepting only *Omar*, and *Saad Ebn Moadh*, a person of as great severity, and who was also for putting the prisoners to death (1). Yet did not this crime go absolutely unpunished neither; for, in the battle of *Ohod*, the *Moslems* lost seventy men, equal to the number of prisoners taken at *Bedr* (2); which was so ordered by GOD, as a retaliation or atonement for the same.

(1) *See before*, p. 227, *and chap.* xxxiii. (2) *See chap.* iii. *p.* 80.

Eat,

Eat, therefore, of what ye have acquired [m], *that which is* lawful, *and* good; for GOD *is* gracious *and* merciful. O prophet! say unto the captives who are in your hands, If GOD shall know any good *to be* in your hearts, he will give you better than what hath been taken from you [n]; and he will forgive you, for GOD *is* gracious *and* merciful. But if they seek to deceive thee [o], verily they have deceived GOD before; wherefore he hath given *thee* power over them: and GOD *is* knowing *and* wise. Moreover, they who have believed, and have fled their country, and employed their substance, and their persons, in fighting for the religion of GOD, and they who have given *the prophet* a refuge *among them*, and have assisted *him*, these *shall be deemed* the one nearest of kin to the other [p]. But they who have

[m] *Of what ye have acquired*;] I. e. Of the ransom which ye have received of your prisoners. For, it seems, on this rebuke, they had some scruple of conscience whether they might convert it to their own use or not (1).

[n] *If* GOD *shall know any good to be in your hearts, he will give you better than what hath been taken from you*;] That is, If ye repent and believe, GOD will make you abundant retribution for the ransom ye have now paid. It is said that this passage was revealed on the particular account of *al Abbâs*, who, being obliged by *Mohammed*, though his uncle, to ransom both himself and his two nephews, *Okail*, and *Nawfal Ebn al Hareth*, complained that he should be reduced to beg alms of the *Korrish* as long as he lived. Whereupon *Mohammed* asked him what was become of the gold which he delivered to *Omm al Fadl* when he left *Mecca*, telling her, that he knew not what might befal him in the expedition; and therefore if he lost his life, she might keep it herself for the use of her and her children? *Al Abbâs* demanded who told him this; to which *Mohammed* replied, that GOD had revealed it to him. And upon this *al Abbâs* immediately professed *Islamism*, declaring that none could know of that affair except GOD, because he gave her the money at midnight. Some years after, *al Abbâs*, reflecting on this passage, confessed it to be fulfilled; for he was then not only possessed of a large substance, but had the custody of the well *Zemzem*, which, he said, he preferred to all the riches of *Mecca* (2).

[o] *To deceive thee*;] By not paying the ransom agreed on.

[p] *They shall be deemed the nearest of kin to each other*;] And shall consequently inherit one another's substance, preferably to their relations by blood. And this, they say, was practised for some time, the *Mohâ-*

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI. (2) *Idem. V.* D'HERBEL. *Bibl. Orient. Art. Abbas.*

jerâ-

have believed, but have not fled their country, shall have no *right of* kindred at all with you, until they *also* fly. Yet, if they ask assistance of you on account of religion, *it belongeth* unto you *to give them* assistance; except against a people between whom and yourselves *there shall be* a league *subsisting:* and GOD seeth that which ye do. And as to the infidels, let them be *deemed* of kin the one to the other. Unless ye do this, there will be a sedition in the earth, and grievous corruption. But as for them who have believed, and left their country, and have fought for GOD's true religion, and who have allowed *the prophet* a retreat *among* them, and have assisted *him*, these are really believers; they shall receive mercy, and an honourable provision. And they who have believed since, and have fled their country, and have fought with you, these *also* are of you. And those who are related by consanguinity *shall be deemed* the nearest of kin to each other, *preferably to strangers*, according to the book of GOD; GOD knoweth all things.

jerûn and *Ansârs* being judged heirs to one another, exclusive of the deceased's other kindred, till this passage was abrogated by the following; *Those who are related by blood shall be deemed the nearest of kin to each other.*

CHAP. IX.

Intitled, The Declaration of immunity[a]; *revealed at* MEDINA.

A Declaration of immunity from GOD and his apostle, unto the idolaters with whom ye have

[a] The reason why the chapter had this title appears from the first verse. Some, however, give it other titles; and particularly that of *Repentance*, which is mentioned immediately after.

It is observable, that this chapter alone has not the auspicatory form, *In the name of the most merciful* GOD, prefixed to it; the reason of which omission, as some think, was, because these words imply a concession of

have entered into league [b]. Go to and fro in the earth *securely* four months [c]; and know that ye shall not weaken GOD, and that GOD will disgrace the unbelievers. And a declaration from GOD, and his apostle, unto the people, on the day of the greater pilgrimage [d], that GOD is clear of the idolaters, and his

of security, which is utterly taken away by this chapter, after a fixed time; wherefore some have called it the chapter of *Punishment*: others say, that *Mohammed* (who died soon after he had received this chapter) having given no direction where it should be placed, nor for the prefixing the *Bismillah* to it, as had been done to the other chapters; and the argument of this chapter bearing a near resemblance to that of the preceding, his companions differed about it; some saying, that both chapters were but one, and, together, made the seventh of the seven long ones; and others, that they were two distinct chapters; whereupon, to accommodate the dispute, they left a space between them, but did not interpose the distinction of the *Bismillah* (1).

It is agreed, that this chapter was the last which was revealed; and the only one, as *Mohammed* declared, which was revealed intire, and at once, except the hundred and tenth.

Some will have the two last verses to have been revealed at *Mecca*.

[b] *A declaration of immunity from* GOD, *and his apostle*, &c.] Some understand this sentence of the *immunity* or *security* therein granted to the infidels, for the space of four months; but others think, that the words properly signify, that *Mohammed* is here declared by GOD, to be absolutely *free* and *discharged* from all truce or league with them, after the expiration of that time (2): and this last seems to be the truest interpretation.

Mohammed's thus renouncing all league with those who would not receive him as the apostle of GOD, or submit to become tributary, was the consequence of the great power to which he was now arrived. But the pretext he made use of, was the treachery he had met with among the *Jewish* and idolatrous *Arabs*; scarce any keeping faith with him, except *Banu Damra*, *Banu Kenâna*, and a few others (3).

[c] *Go to and fro in the earth securely four months*;] These months were *Shawâl*, *Dhu'lkaada*, *Dhu'lhajja*, and *Moharram*; the chapter being revealed in *Shawâl*. Yet others compute them from the tenth of *Dhu'lhajja*, when the chapter was published at *Mecca*, and consequently make them expire on the tenth of the former *Rabî* (4).

[d] *On the day of the greater pilgrimage*;] *viz.* The tenth of *Dhu'lhajja*, when they slay the victims at *Mina*; which day is their great feast, and completes the ceremonies of the pilgrimage. Some suppose the adjective *greater* is added here, to distinguish the pilgrimage made at the appointed time, from *lesser pilgrimages*, as they may be called, or *visitations* of the *Caaba*, which may be performed at any time of the year; or else, because the concourse at the pilgrimage this year was greater than ordinary, both *Moslems* and *Idolaters* being present at it.

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, YAHYA, *&c.* (2) *Al* BEIDAWI. (3) *Idem*. (4) *Idem*, *Al* ZAMAKSH. JALLALO'DDIN.

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his apoſtle *alſo*. Wherefore, if ye repent, this will be better for you; but if ye turn back, know that ye ſhall not weaken GOD: and denounce unto thoſe who believe not, a painful puniſhment. Except ſuch of the idolaters with whom ye ſhall have entered into a league, and who, afterwards, ſhall not fail you in any inſtance, nor aſſiſt any *other* againſt you [e]. Wherefore, perform the covenant *which ye ſhall have made* with them, until their time *ſhall be elapſed*; for GOD loveth thoſe who fear *him*. And when the months *wherein ye are* not allowed *to attack them* ſhall be paſſed, kill the idolaters whereſoever ye ſhall find them [f], and take them *priſoners*, and beſiege them, and lay wait for them in every convenient place. But if they ſhall repent, and obſerve the appointed times of prayer, and pay the legal alms, diſmiſs them freely; for GOD *is* gracious *and* merciful. And if any of the idolaters ſhall demand protection of thee, grant him protection, that he may hear the word of GOD; and afterwards let him reach the place of his ſecurity [g]. This *ſhalt thou do*, becauſe they are people who know not *the excellency*

The promulgation of this chapter was committed by *Mohammed* to *Ali*, who rode for that purpoſe on the prophet's ſlit-eared camel from *Medina* to *Mecca*, and, on the day above-mentioned, ſtanding up before the whole aſſembly at *al Akaba*, told them, that he was the meſſenger of the apoſtle of GOD unto them; whereupon, they aſking him what was his errand, he read twenty or thirty verſes of the chapter to them, and then ſaid, *I am commanded to acquaint you with four things*, 1. *That no idolater is to come near the temple of* Mecca *after this year*; 2. *That no man preſume to compaſs the* Caaba *naked for the future* (1); 3. *That none but true believers ſhall enter paradiſe*; *and*, 4. *That public faith is to be kept* (2).

[e] *Except ſuch of the idolaters who ſhall not fail you*, &c.] So that notwithſtanding *Mohammed* renounces all league with thoſe who had deceived him, he declares himſelf ready to perform his engagements to ſuch as had been true to him.

[f] *Wherever ye find them*;] Either within or without the ſacred territory.

[g] *And afterwards let him reach the place of his ſecurity*;] That is, you ſhall give him a ſafe conduct, that he may return home again ſecurely, in caſe he ſhall not think fit to embrace *Mohammediſm*.

(1) *See before, chap.* vii. *p.* 190. FED. *vit. Moh. p.* 127, &c.

(2) *Al* BEIDAWI. *V.* ABUL-

of

of the religion thou preacheſt. How ſhall the idolaters be admitted into a league with GOD, and with his apoſtle; except thoſe with whom ye entered into a league at the holy temple [h]? So long as they behave with fidelity towards you, do ye *alſo* behave with fidelity towards them; for GOD loveth thoſe who fear *him.* How *can they be admitted into a league with you,* ſince, if they prevail againſt you, they will not regard in you *either* conſanguinity or faith? They will pleaſe you with their mouths, but their hearts will be averſe *from you*; for the greater part of them are wicked doers. They ſell the ſigns of GOD for a ſmall price, and obſtruct his way; it is certainly evil which they do. They regard not in a believer *either* conſanguinity or faith; and theſe are the tranſgreſſors. Yet, if they repent, and obſerve the appointed times of prayer, and give alms, *they ſhall be deemed* your brethren in religion. We diſtinctly propound *our* ſigns unto people who underſtand. But if they violate their oaths, after their league, and revile your religion, oppoſe the leaders of infidelity, (for there is no truſt in them,) that they may deſiſt *from their treachery.* Will ye not fight againſt people who have violated their oaths, and conſpired to expel the apoſtle *of GOD*; and who, of their own accord, aſſaulted you the firſt time [i]? Will ye fear them? But it is more juſt that ye ſhould fear GOD, if ye are true believers. Attack them, *therefore*; GOD ſhall puniſh them by your hands, and will cover them with ſhame, and will give you the victory over them; and he will heal the breaſts of the people

h *Except thoſe with whom ye entered into a league,* &c.] Theſe are the perſons before excepted.

i *Will ye not fight againſt people who have violated their oaths,* &c.] As did the *Koreiſh* in aſſiſting the tribe of *Becr* againſt thoſe of *Khozaah* (1), and laying a deſign to ruin *Mohammed,* without any juſt provocation; and as ſeveral of the *Jewiſh* tribes did, by aiding the enemy, and endeavouring to oblige the prophet to leave *Medina,* as he had been obliged to leave *Mecca* (2).

(1) *See the Prelim. Diſc. p.* 72. (2) *Al* BEIDAWI.

who

who believe [k], and will take away the indignation of their hearts: for GOD will be turned unto whom he pleaſeth; and GOD *is* knowing *and* wiſe. Did ye imagine that ye ſhould be abandoned, whereas GOD did not yet know thoſe among you who fought *for his religion*, and took not *any* beſides GOD, and his apoſtle, and the faithful *for their* friends? GOD is well acquainted with that which ye do. It is not *fitting* that the idolaters ſhould viſit the temples of GOD, being witneſſes againſt their own ſouls of *their* infidelity. The works of theſe *men* are vain; and they ſhall remain in *hell* fire for ever. But he only ſhall viſit the temples of GOD, who believeth in GOD and the laſt day, and is conſtant at prayer, and payeth the legal alms, and feareth GOD alone. Theſe, perhaps, may become of *the number of* thoſe who are rightly directed [l]. Do ye reckon the giving drink to the pilgrims, and the viſiting the holy temple *to be actions as meritorious* as *thoſe performed by* him who believeth in GOD and the laſt day, and fighteth for the religion of GOD [m]? They ſhall not be held equal with GOD: for GOD directeth not the unrighteous people. They who have believed, and fled their country, and employed their ſubſtance,

[k] *And he will heal the breaſts of the people who believe*, &c.] *viz.* Thoſe of *Khozâah*; or, as others ſay, certain families of *Yaman* and *Saba*, who went to *Mecca*, and there profeſſed *Mohammediſm*, but were very injuriouſly treated by the inhabitants; whereupon they complained to *Mohammed*, who bade them take comfort, for that joy was approaching (1).

[l] *Theſe, perhaps, may become of the number of thoſe who are rightly directed.*] Theſe words are to warn the believers from having too great a confidence in their own merits, and likewiſe to deter the unbelievers; for if the faithful will but *perhaps* be ſaved, what can the others hope for (2)?

[m] *Do ye reckon the giving drink to the pilgrims*, &c.] This paſſage was revealed on occaſion of ſome words of *al Abbâs*, *Mohammed*'s uncle; who, when he was taken priſoner, being bitterly reproached by the *Moſlems*, and particularly by his nephew *Ali*, anſwered, *You rip up our ill actions, but take no notice of our good ones; we viſit the temple of* Mecca, *and adorn the* Caaba *with hangings, and give drink to the pilgrims* (of *Zemzem* water, I ſuppoſe) *and free captives* (3).

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI. (2) *Idem.* (3) *Idem.*

and their persons, in the defence of GOD's true religion, shall be in the highest degree *of honour* with GOD; and these are they who shall be happy. Their LORD sendeth them good tidings of mercy from him, and good will, and of gardens wherein they shall enjoy lasting pleasure; they shall continue therein for ever: for with GOD is a great reward. O true believers! take not your fathers, or your brethren, for friends, if they love infidelity above faith; and whosoever among you shall take them for *his* friends, they will be unjust doers. Say, If your fathers, and your sons, and your brethren, and your wives, and your relations, and *your* substance which ye have acquired, and *your* merchandize which ye apprehend may not be sold off, and *your* dwellings wherein ye delight, be more dear unto you than GOD, and his apostle, and the advancement of his religion; wait, until GOD shall send his command[n]: for GOD directeth not the ungodly people. Now hath GOD assisted you in many engagements, and *particularly* at the battle of HONEIN[o]; when ye pleas-

[n] *Till* GOD *shall send his command*;] Or shall punish you. Some suppose the taking of *Mecca* to be here intended (1).

[o] *The battle of* Honein.] This battle was fought in the eighth year of the *Hejra*, in the valley of *Honein*, which lies about three miles from *Mecca* towards *Tayef*, between *Mohammed*, who had an army of twelve thousand men, and the tribes of *Hawâzen* and *Thakîf*, whose forces did not exceed four thousand. The *Mohammedans*, seeing themselves so greatly superior to their enemies, made sure of the victory; a certain person, whom some suppose to have been the prophet himself, crying out, *These can never be overcome by so few.* But GOD was so highly displeased with this confidence, that, in the first encounter, the *Moslems* were put to flight (2), some of them running away quite to *Mecca*, so that none stood their ground except *Mohammed* himself, and some few of his family; and they say the prophet's courage was so great, that his uncle *al Abbâs*, and his cousin *Abu Sofiân Ebn al Hareth*, had much ado to prevent his spurring his mule into the midst of the enemy, by laying hold of the bridle and stirrup. Then he ordered *al Abbâs*, who had the voice of a *Stentor*, to recal his flying troops; upon which they rallied, and the prophet throwing a handful of dust against the enemy, they attacked them a second time, and, by the divine assistance, gained the victory (3).

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI. (2) *See* PRID. *Life of Mah.* p. 96, &c. HOTTING. *Hist. Orient.* p. 271, &c. D'HERBEL. *Bibl. Orient.* p. 601.
(3) *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, ABULFED. *vit. Moh.* p. 112, &c.

ed

ed yourſelves in your multitude, but it was no manner of advantage unto you, and the earth became too ſtrait for you [p], notwithſtanding it was ſpacious; then did ye retreat, and turn your backs. Afterwards GOD ſent down his ſecurity [q] upon his apoſtle, and upon the faithful, and ſent down troops *of angels* [r] which ye ſaw not; and he puniſhed thoſe who diſbelieved: and this was the reward of the unbelievers. Nevertheleſs, GOD will hereafter be turned unto whom he pleaſeth [s]; for GOD *is* gracious *and* merciful. O true believers! verily the idolaters are unclean; let them not, therefore, come near unto the holy temple after this year [t]. And if ye fear want, *by the cutting off trade and communication with them*, GOD will inrich you of his abundance [u], if he pleaſeth; for GOD *is* knowing *and* wiſe. Fight againſt them who believe not in GOD, nor in the laſt day [w], and

[p] *And the earth became too ſtrait for you*;] For the valley being very deep, and encompaſſed by craggy mountains, the enemy placed themſelves in ambuſh on every ſide, attacking them in the ſtraits and narrow paſſages, and from behind the rocks, with great advantage (1).

[q] *His ſecurity.*] The original word is *Sakinat*, which the commentators interpret in this ſenſe; but it ſeems rather to ſignify the *divine preſence*, or *Shechinah*, appearing to aid the *Moſlems* (2).

[r] *Troops of angels*;] As to the number of theſe celeſtial auxiliaries, the commentators differ: ſome ſay they were five thouſand; ſome, eight thouſand; and others, ſixteen thouſand (3).

[s] *Nevertheleſs* GOD *will hereafter turn unto whom he pleaſeth*;] Beſides a great number of proſelytes, who were gained by this battle, *Mohammed*, on their requeſt, was ſo generous as to reſtore the captives (which were no leſs than ſix thouſand) to their friends, and offered to make amends himſelf to any of his men who ſhould not be willing to part with his priſoners; but they all conſented to it (4).

[t] *After this year*;] Which was the ninth year of the *Hejra*. In conſequence of this prohibition, neither *Jews*, nor *Chriſtians*, nor thoſe of any other religion, are ſuffered to come near *Mecca* to this day.

[u] GOD *will enrich you of his abundance*;] This promiſe, ſays *al Beidâwi*, was fulfilled by GOD's ſending plenty of rain, and diſpoſing the inhabitants of *Tebâla* and *Joraſh*, two towns in *Yaman*, to embrace *Iſlâm*, who thereupon brought ſufficient proviſions to *Mohammed*'s men; and alſo by the ſubſequent coming in of the *Arabs*, from all quarters, to him.

[w] *Who believe not in* GOD, *nor*

(1) EBN ISHAK. (2) *See chap.* ii. *p.* 46. *note* e. (3) *Al* BEIDAWI. (4) *Idem.*

and forbid not that which GOD, and his apoſtle, have forbidden, and profeſs not the true religion, of thoſe unto whom the ſcriptures have been delivered, until they pay tribute by right of ſubjection [x], and they be reduced low. The Jews ſay, EZRA is the ſon of GOD [y]: and the Chriſtians ſay, CHRIST is the ſon of GOD.

in the laſt day;] That is, who have not a juſt and true faith in theſe matters; but either believe a plurality of gods, or deny the eternity of hell torments (1), or the delights of paradiſe, as deſcribed in the *Korân*. For, as it appears by the following words, the *Jews* and *Chriſtians* are the perſons here chiefly meant.

[x] *By right of ſubjection*;] This I think the true meaning of the words *an yadin*, which literally ſignify *by* or *out of hand*, and are variouſly interpreted; ſome ſuppoſing they mean that the tribute is to be paid *readily*, or by their *own hands*, and not by another; or that tribute is to be exacted of the *rich* only, or thoſe who are able to pay it, and not of the poor; or elſe, that it is to be taken as a *favour*, that the *Mohammedans* are ſatisfied with ſo ſmall an impoſition, *&c* (2).

That the *Jews* and *Chriſtians* are, according to this law, to be admitted to protection, on payment of tribute, there is no doubt; though the *Mohammedan* doctors differ as to thoſe of other religions. It is ſaid, that *Omar*, at firſt, refuſed to accept tribute from a *Magian*, till *Abd'alrahmân Ebn Awf* aſſured him, that *Mohammed* himſelf had granted protection to a *Magian*, and ordered that the profeſſors of that religion ſhould be included among *the people of the book*, or thoſe who found their religion on ſome book which they ſuppoſe to be of divine original. And it is the more received opinion, that theſe three religions only ought to be tolerated on the condition of paying tribute: others, however, admit the *Sabians* alſo. *Abu Hânifa* ſuppoſed people of any religion might be ſuffered, except the idolatrous *Arabs*; and *Malec* excepted only apoſtates from *Mohammediſm*.

The leaſt tribute that can be taken from every ſuch perſon, is generally agreed to be a *dinâr*, or about ten ſhillings, a year; nor can he be obliged to pay more, unleſs he conſent to it: and this, they ſay, ought to be laid as well on the poor as on the rich (3). But *Abu Hanifa* decided that the rich ſhould pay forty-eight *dirhems* (twenty, and ſometimes twenty-five, of which made a *dinâr)* a year; one in middling circumſtances half that ſum; and a poor man, who was able to get his living, a quarter of it: but that he who was not able to ſupport himſelf ſhould pay nothing (4).

[y] *The* Jews *ſay*, Ezra *is the ſon of* GOD;] This grievous charge againſt the *Jews*, the commentators endeavour to ſupport by telling us, that it is meant of ſome ancient heterodox *Jews*, or elſe of ſome *Jews* of *Medina*; who ſaid ſo for no other reaſon, than for that the law being utterly loſt, and forgotten, during the *Babyloniſh* captivity, *Ezra*, having been raiſed to life, after he had been dead one hundred years (5), dictated the whole anew to the ſcribes, out of his own memory;

(1) *See ch.* ii. *p.* 16. *and ch.* iii. *p.* 58. (2) *V. Al* BEIDAWI. (3) *V.* RELAND. *de jure militari Mohammedanor. p.* 17 *&* 50. (4) *Al* BEIDAWI. (5) *See ch.* ii. *p.* 49.

GOD. This is their saying in their mouths: they imitate the saying of those who were unbelievers in former times. May GOD resist them. How are they infatuated? They take their priests, and their monks, for *their* lords, besides GOD [z], and CHRIST the son of MARY; although they are commanded to worship one GOD only: there is no GOD but he; far be that from him, which they associate *with him!* They seek to extinguish the light of GOD with their mouths; but GOD willeth no other than to perfect his light, although the infidels be averse *thereto*. It is he who hath sent his apostle with the direction, and true religion: that he may cause it to appear superior to every *other* religion; although the idolaters be averse *thereto*. O true believers! verily

at which they greatly marvelled, and declared that he could not have done it, unless he were the son of GOD (1). *Al Beidâwi* adds, that the imputation must be true, because this verse was read to the *Jews*, and they did not contradict it; which they were ready enough to do in other instances.

That *Ezra* did thus restore, not only the *Pentateuch*, but also the other books of the *Old Testament*, by divine revelation, was the opinion of several of the *Christian* fathers, who are quoted by Dr. *Prideaux* (2), and of some other writers (3); which they seem to have first borrowed from a passage in that very ancient apocryphal book, called (in our *English* bible) the *second book of* Esdras (4). Dr. *Prideaux* (5) tells us, that herein the fathers attributed more to *Ezra*, than the *Jews* themselves, who suppose that he only collected, and set forth a correct edition of the scriptures, which he laboured much in, and went a great way in the perfecting of it. It is not improbable, however, that the fiction came originally from the *Jews*, though they be now of another opinion; and I cannot fix it upon them by any direct proof. For, not to insist on the testimony of the *Mohammedans*, (which, yet, I cannot but think of some little weight in a point of this nature,) it is allowed by the most sagacious critics, that the second book of *Ezra* was written by a *Christian* indeed (6); but yet one who had been bred a *Jew*, and was intimately acquainted with the fables of the *Rabbins* (7); and the story itself is perfectly in the taste and way of thinking of those men.

[z] See chap. iii. p. 68. note *t*.

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI, *Al* ZAMAKHSHARI, *&c.* (2) *Connect. part* i. *l.* v. *p.* 329. (3) ATHANASIUS *junior*, in *Synopsi S. Script. t.* ii. *p.* 86. LEONTIUS *Byzantin. de sectis, p.* 428. (4) *Ch.* xiv. 20, *&c.* (5) *Loco citat.* (6) *See* 2 *Esdras* ii. 43—47. *and* vii. 28, *&c.* (7) *V.* DODWELLI *Dissert. Cyprian. Dissert.* iv. §. 2. WHISTON's *Essay on the Apostolical Constit. p.* 34, 76, *and* 304, *&c. and* FABRICII *Codic. Apocryph. Novi Test. part* ii. *p.* 936, *&c.*

many of the prieſts, and monks, devour the ſubſtance of men in vanity [a], and obſtruct the way of GOD. But unto thoſe who treaſure up gold and ſilver, and employ it not for the advancement of GOD's true religion, denounce a grievous puniſhment. On the day *of judgment their treaſures* ſhall be intenſely heated in the fire of hell, and their foreheads, and their ſides, and their backs, ſhall be ſtigmatized therewith; *and their tormentors ſhall ſay*, This is what ye have treaſured up for your ſouls; taſte, therefore, that which ye have treaſured up. Moreover, the *complete* number of months with GOD, is twelve months [b], *which were ordained* in the book of GOD [c], on the day whereon he created the heavens and the earth: of theſe, four are ſacred [d]. This is the right religion: therefore deal not unjuſtly with yourſelves therein. But attack the idolaters in all *the months*, as they attack you in all [e]; and know that GOD is with thoſe who fear *him*. Verily the transferring *of a ſacred month to another month*, is an additional infidelity [f]. The unbelievers are led into an error thereby:

[a] *The prieſts and monks devour the ſubſtance of men vainly*;] By taking of bribes, ſays *al Beidâwi*; meaning, probably, the money they took for diſpenſing with the commands of GOD, and by way of commutation.

[b] *The number of months with* GOD *is twelve months*;] According to this paſſage, the intercalation of a month every third or ſecond year, which the *Arabs* had learned of the *Jews*, in order to reduce their lunar years to ſolar years, is abſolutely unlawful. For, by this means, they fixed the time of the pilgrimage, and of the faſt of *Ramadân*, to certain ſeaſons of the year, which ought to be ambulatory (1).

[c] *In the book of* GOD:] viz. The preſerved table.

[d] See the *Prelim. Diſc.* §. VII.

[e] *Attack the idolaters in all the months, as they attack you in all*;] For it is not reaſonable that you ſhould obſerve the ſacred months with regard to thoſe who do not acknowledge them to be ſacred, but make war againſt you therein (2).

[f] *Verily the transferring of a ſacred month to another month is an additional infidelity*;] This was an invention, or innovation, of the idolatrous *Arabs*, whereby they avoided keeping a ſacred month, when it ſuited not their conveniency, by keeping a prophane month in it's ſtead; transferring, for example, the obſervance of *Moharram* to the ſucceeding month *Safar*. The firſt man who put this in practice, they

(1) *See* PRID. *life of Mah. p.* 65, *&c. and the Preliminary Diſcourſe*, §. IV. *and* VII. (2) *See ch.* ii. *p.* 34.

ſay,

by: they allow a *month* to be violated one year, and declare it sacred *another* year [g], that they may agree in the number of *months* which GOD hath commanded to be kept sacred; and they allow that which GOD hath forbidden. The evil of their actions hath been prepared for them: for GOD directeth not the unbelieving people. O true believers! what ailed you, that, when it was said unto you, Go forth *to fight* for the religion of GOD, ye inclined heavily towards the earth [h]? Do ye prefer the present life to that which is to come? But the provision of this life, in *respect of* that which is to come, is but slender. Unless ye go forth *when ye are summoned to war*, *GOD* will punish you with a grievous punishment; and he will place another people in your stead [i], and ye shall not hurt him at all; for GOD is almighty. If ye assist not *the prophet*, verily GOD *will assist him*, *as he* assisted him formerly, when the unbelievers drove him out *of MECCA*, the second of two [k]: when they *were* both in the cave; when he said unto

say, was *Jonâda Ebn Awf*, of the tribe of *Kenâna* (1).

These ordinances relating to the months were promulgated by *Mohammed* himself, at the pilgrimage of *valediction* (2).

g *They allow a month to be violated one year, and declare it sacred another year*;] As did *Jonâda*, who made public proclamation at the assembly of pilgrims, that their gods had allowed *Moharram* to be prophane; whereupon they observed it not; but the next year he told them, that the gods had ordered it to be kept sacred (3).

h *When it was said unto you, Go forth to fight for the religion of* GOD, *ye inclined heavily towards the earth*, &c.] *viz.* In the expedition of *Tabûc*, a town situate about half way between *Medina* and *Damascus*, which *Mohammed* undertook against the *Greeks*, with an army of thirty thousand men, in the ninth year of the *Hejra*. On this expedition the *Moslems* set out with great unwillingness, because it was undertaken in the midst of the summer heats, and at a time of great drought and scarcity; whereby the soldiers suffered so much, that this army was called the *distressed army*: besides, their fruits were just ripe, and they had much rather have staid to have gathered them (4).

i See chap. v. p. 142.

k *The second of two*;] That is, having only *Abu Becr* with him.

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. *V.* POC. *Spec. p.* 323, *and the Prelim. Disc.* §. VII. (2) ABULF. *vit. Moh. p.* 132. (3) *Al* BEIDAWI. (4) *Idem*, JALLALO'DDIN. *V.* ABULFED. *vit. Moh. p.* 123.

his companion, Be not grieved, for GOD is with us[l]. And GOD ſent down his ſecurity[m] upon him, and ſtrengthened him with armies *of angels*, whom ye ſaw not[n]. And he made the word of thoſe who believed not, to be abaſed, and the word of GOD was exalted; for GOD *is* mighty *and* wiſe. Go forth *to battle*, both light, and heavy[o], and employ your ſubſtance, and your perſons, for the advancement of GOD's religion. This will be better for you; if ye know it. If it had been a near advantage, and a moderate journey, they had ſurely followed thee[p]; but the way ſeemed tedious unto them: and yet they will ſwear by GOD, *ſaying*, If we had been able, we had ſurely gone forth with you. They deſtroy their own ſouls; for GOD knoweth that they are lyars. GOD forgive thee! why didſt thou give them leave *to ſtay at home*[q], until they who ſpeak the truth, *when they excuſe themſelves*, had become manifeſted unto thee, and thou hadſt known the lyars? They who believe in GOD, and the laſt day, will not aſk leave of thee, to be excuſed from employing their ſubſtance, and their perſons, for the advancement of GOD's true religion; and GOD knoweth thoſe who fear *him*. Verily they only will aſk leave of thee *to ſtay behind*, who believe not in GOD, and the laſt

[l] See the *Prelim. Diſc.* §. II. p. 67.

[m] See before, p. 243. note *q*.

[n] *And he ſtrengthened him with armies of angels*, &c.] Who, as ſome imagine, guarded him in the cave. Or the words may relate to the ſuccours from heaven which *Mohammed* pretended to have received in ſeveral incounters; as at *Bedr*, the war of the ditch, and the battle of *Honein*.

[o] *Both light and heavy*;] i. e. Whether the expedition be agreeable or not; or whether ye have ſufficient arms and proviſions, or not; or whether ye be on horſeback, or on foot, &c.

[p] *If it had been a near advantage and a moderate journey*, &c.] That is, had there been no difficulties to ſurmount in the expedition to *Tabûc*, and the march thither had been ſhort and eaſy, ſo that the plunder might have coſt them little or no trouble, they would not have been ſo backward.

[q] *Why didſt thou give them leave to ſtay at home*, &c.] For *Mohammed* excuſed ſeveral of his men, on their requeſt, from going on this expedition; as *Abda'llah Ebn Obba*, and his hypocritical adherents, and alſo three of the *Anſârs*; for which he is here reprehended.

day,

day, and whose hearts doubt *concerning the faith:* wherefore they are tossed to and fro in their doubting. If they had been willing to go forth *with thee*, they had certainly prepared for that *purpose* a provision *of arms and necessaries:* but GOD was averse to their going forth; wherefore he rendered them slothful, and it was said *unto them*, Sit ye still with those who sit still [r]. If they had gone forth with you, they had only been a burden unto you, and had run to and fro between you, stirring you up to sedition; and *there would have been some* among you, who would have given ear unto them: and GOD knoweth the wicked. They formerly sought to raise a sedition [s], and they disturbed thy affairs, until the truth came, and the decree of GOD was made manifest; although they were averse thereto. There is of them who saith *unto thee*, Give me leave *to stay behind*, and expose me not to temptation [t]. Have they not fallen into temptation *at home* [u]? But hell will surely encompass the unbelievers. If good happen unto thee, it grieveth them; but if a misfortune befal thee, they say, We ordered our business before [w]; and they turn their backs, and rejoice *at thy mishap*. Say, Nothing shall befal us, but what GOD hath decreed for us: he is our patron; and on GOD let the faithful trust. Say, Do ye expect *any other should befal* us, than one of the two most excellent

[r] *With those who sit still*;] i. e. With the women and children, and other impotent people.

[s] *They formerly sought to raise a sedition*, &c.] As they did at the battle of *Ohod* (1).

[t] *Expose me not to temptation*;] By obliging me to go, against my will, on an expedition, the hardships of which may tempt me to rebel, or to desert. It is related, that one *Jadd Ebn Kais* said, that the *Ansârs* well knew he was much given to women, and he dared not trust himself with the *Greek* girls; wherefore he desired he might be left behind, and he would assist them with his purse (2).

[u] *Have they not fallen into temptation at home?*] Discovering their hypocrisy by their backwardness to go to war for the promotion of the true religion.

[w] *We ordered our business before*;] That is, we took care to keep out of harm's way, by staying at home.

(1) *See ch.* iii. *p.* 78, 79, &c.

(2) *Al* BEIDAWI.

things;

things; *either victory or martyrdom?* But we expect concerning you, that GOD inflict a punishment on you, *either* from himself, or by our hands [x]. Wait therefore *to see what will be the end of both*; for we will wait with you. Say, Expend *your money in pious uses*, *either* voluntarily, or by constraint, it shall not be accepted of you; because ye are wicked people. And nothing hindereth their contributions from being accepted of them, but that they believe not in GOD, and his apostle, and perform not the *duty of* prayer, otherwise than sluggishly; and expend not *their money for GOD's service*, otherwise than unwillingly. Let not, therefore, their riches, or their children cause thee to marvel. Verily GOD intendeth only to punish them by these things in this world; and that their souls may depart while they are unbelievers. They swear by GOD that they are of you [y]; yet they are not of you, but are people who stand in fear [z]. If they find a place of refuge, or caves, or a retreating hole, they surely turn towards the same, and, in a headstrong manner, haste *thereto*. There is of them also who spreadeth ill reports of thee, in relation to *thy distribution of* the alms: yet, if they receive *part* thereof, they are well pleased; but if they receive not *a part* thereof, behold, they are angry [a]. But if they had been pleas-

[x] *Either from himself, or by our hands*;] i. e. Either by some signal judgment from heaven, or by remitting their punishment to the true believers.

[y] *That they are of you*;] viz. Staunch *Moslems*.

[z] *Who stand in fear*;] Hypocritically concealing their infidelity, lest ye should chastise them, as ye have done the professed infidels and apostates; and yet ready to avow their infidelity, when they think they may do it with safety.

[a] *There is also of them who spreadeth ill reports of thee in relation to the distribution of the alms*, &c.] This person was *Abu'l Jowâdh* the hypocrite, who said *Mohammed* gave them away among the keepers of sheep only; or, as others suppose, *Ebn Dhi'ikhowaisara*, who found fault with the prophet's distribution of the spoils taken at *Honein*, because he gave them all among the *Meccans*, to reconcile and gain them over to his religion and interest (1).

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI. *V.* ABULFED. *vit. Mah. p.* 118, 119.

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ed with that which GOD and his apoſtle, had given them, and had ſaid, GOD is our ſupport; GOD will give unto us of his abundance, and his prophet *alſo*; verily unto GOD do we make our ſupplications: *it would have been more decent.* Alms *are to be diſtributed* [b] only unto the poor, and the needy [c], and thoſe who are employed in *collecting and diſtributing* the ſame, and unto thoſe whoſe hearts *are* reconciled [d], and for *the redemption of* captives, and unto thoſe who are in debt, *and inſolvent*, and for the advancement of GOD's religion, and unto the traveller. *This is* an ordinance from GOD: and GOD *is* knowing *and* wiſe. There are ſome of them who injure the prophet, and ſay, He is an ear [e]: Anſwer, He is an ear of good unto you [f]; he believeth in GOD, and giveth credit to the faithful, and *is* a mercy unto ſuch of you who believe. But they who injure the apoſtle of GOD, ſhall ſuffer a painful puniſhment. They ſwear unto you by GOD, that they may pleaſe you; but it is more juſt that they ſhould pleaſe GOD, and his apoſtle, if they are true believers. Do they not know that he who oppoſeth GOD, and his apoſtle, ſhall, without doubt, *be puniſhed with* the fire of hell; *and* ſhall remain therein for ever? This will be great ignominy. The hypocrites are apprehen-

[b] See what is ſaid as to this point in the *Prelim. Diſc.* §. IV.

[c] *The poor and the needy*;] The commentators make a diſtinction between theſe two words in the original, *fakîr* and *meſkîn*; one, they ſay, ſignifies him who is utterly deſtitute both of money and means of livelihood; the other, one who is in want indeed, but is able to get ſomething towards his own ſupport. But to which of the two words either of theſe different ſignifications properly belongs, the critics differ.

[d] *Whoſe hearts are reconciled*;] That is, who were lately enemies to the faithful, but have now embraced *Mohammediſm*, and entered into amity with them. For *Mohammed*, to gain their hearts, and confirm them in his religion, made large preſents to the chief of the *Koreiſh*, out of the ſpoils at *Honein*, as has been juſt now mentioned (1). But this law, they ſay, became of no obligation when the *Mohammedan* faith was eſtabliſhed, and ſtood not in need of ſuch methods for it's ſupport.

[e] *He is an ear*;] i. e. He hears every thing that we ſay; and gives credit to all the ſtories that are carried to him.

[f] *He is an ear of good unto you*;] Giving credit to nothing that may do you hurt.

(1) ABULFED. *ibid.*

five

five leſt a SURA [g] ſhould be revealed concerning them, to declare unto them that which *is* in their hearts. Say *unto them*, Scoff ye; *but* GOD will ſurely bring to light that which ye fear *ſhould be diſcovered*. And if thou aſk them *the reaſon of this ſcoffing*, they ſay, Verily we were only engaged in diſcourſe, and jeſting *among ourſelves* [h]. Say, Do ye ſcoff at GOD and his ſigns, and at his apoſtle? offer not an excuſe: now are ye become infidels, after your faith. If we forgive a part of you, we will puniſh a part, for that they have been wicked doers. Hypocritical men and women are the one of them or the other: they command that which is evil, and forbid that which is juſt, and ſhut their hands *from giving alms*. They have forgotten GOD; wherefore he hath forgotten them: verily the hypocrites are thoſe who act wickedly. GOD denounceth unto the hypocrites, both men and women, and to the unbelievers, the fire of hell; they ſhall remain therein *for ever*: this will be their ſufficient *reward*; GOD hath curſed them, and they ſhall endure a laſting torment. As they who have been before you, *ſo are ye*. They were ſuperior to you in ſtrength, and had more abundance of wealth, and of children; and they enjoyed their portion *in this world*; *and* ye alſo enjoy your portion *here*, as they who have preceded you, enjoyed their portion. And ye engaged yourſelves in vain diſcourſes, like unto thoſe wherein they engaged themſelves. The works of theſe are vain *both* in this world, and in that which is to come; and theſe are they who periſh. Have they not been acquainted with the hiſtory of thoſe who have been before them?

[g] *A Sura,*] So the *Mohammedans* call a chapter of the *Korân* (1).

[h] *They ſay, We were only engaged in diſcourſe,* &c.] It is related that, in the expedition of *Tabûc*, a company of hypocrites, paſſing near *Mohammed*, ſaid to one another, *Behold that man; he would take the ſtrong holds of* Syria: *away! away!* which being told the prophet, he called them to him, and aſked them why they had ſaid ſo? whereto they replied, with an oath, that they were not talking of what related to him, or his companions, but were only diverting themſelves with indifferent diſcourſe, to beguile the tedioufneſs of the way (2).

(1) *See the Prelim. Diſc.* §. III. *p.* 75.

(2) *Al* BEIDAWI.

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of the people of NOAH, and of AD, and of THAMUD, and of the people of ABRAHAM, and of the inhabitants of MADIAN, and of the *cities which were* overthrown [i]? Their apoſtles came unto them with evident demonſtrations: and GOD was not diſpoſed to treat them unjuſtly; but they dealt unjuſtly with their own ſouls. And the faithful men, and the faithful women are friends one to another: they command that which is juſt, and they forbid that which is evil; and they are conſtant at prayer, and pay their appointed alms; and they obey GOD, and his apoſtle: unto theſe will GOD be merciful; for he *is* mighty *and* wiſe. GOD promiſeth unto the true believers, both men and women, gardens through which rivers flow, wherein they ſhall remain for ever; and delicious dwellings in gardens of perpetual abode [k]: but good will from GOD *ſhall be their* moſt excellent *reward.* This *will be* great felicity. O prophet! wage war againſt the unbelievers and the hypocrites, and be ſevere unto them: for their dwelling ſhall be hell; an unhappy journey *ſhall it be thither!* They ſwear by GOD that they ſaid not *what they are charged with:* yet they ſpake the word of infidelity, and became unbelievers, after they had embraced ISLAM [l]. And they deſigned that which they could not effect [m]; and

[i] *The cities which were overthrown*;] Namely, *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, and the other cities which ſhared their fate, and are thence called *al Motakifât*, or *the ſubverted* (1).

[k] *Gardens of perpetual abode*;] Literally, *gardens of Eden*; but the commentators do not take the word *Eden* in the ſenſe which it bears in *Hebrew*; as has been elſewhere obſerved (2).

[l] *They ſwear by* GOD *that they ſaid not what they are charged with*, &c.] It is related, that *al Jaſlâs Ebn Soweid*, hearing ſome paſſages of this chapter, which ſharply reprehend thoſe who refuſed to go on the abovementioned expedition of *Tabûc*, declared, that if what *Mohammed* ſaid of his brethren was true, they were worſe than aſſes. Which coming to the prophet's ear, he ſent for him; and he denied the words upon oath. But, on the immediate revelation of this paſſage, he confeſſed his fault, and his repentance was accepted (3).

[m] *They deſigned what they could not effect*, &c.] The commentators tell us, that fifteen men conſpired to kill *Mohammed* in his return from *Tabûc*,

(1) *See ch.* xi. (2) *See the Prelim. Diſc. p.* 128. (3) *Al* BEIDAWI.

by

and they did not disapprove *the design for any other reason*, than because God, and his apostle, had inriched them, of his bounty [n]. If they repent, it will be better for them; but, if they relapse, God will punish them with a grievous torment, in this world and in the next; and they shall have no patron on earth, nor any protector. There are some of them who made a covenant with God, *saying*, Verily if he give us of his abundance, we will give alms, and become righteous people [o]. Yet, when he had given unto them of his abundance, they became covetous thereof, and turned back, and retired afar off. Wherefore he hath caused hypocrisy to succeed in their

by pushing him from his camel into a precipice, as he rode by night over the highest part of *al Akaba*. But when they were going to execute their design, *Hodheifa*, who followed, and drove the prophet's camel, which was led by *Ammár Ebn Yáser*, hearing the tread of camels, and the clashing of arms, gave the alarm, upon which they fled. Some, however, suppose the design here meant, was a plot to expel *Mohammed* from *Medina* (1).

[n] *Because* God, *and his apostle, had inriched them*;] For *Mohammed*'s residing at *Medina* was of great advantage to the place, the inhabitants being generally poor, and in want of most conveniencies of life; but, on the prophet's coming among them, they became possessed of large herds of cattle, and money also. *Al Beidáwi* says, that the above named *al Jallás*, in particular, having a servant killed, received, by *Mohammed*'s order, no less than ten thousand *dirhems*, or about three hundred pounds, as a fine for the redemption of his blood.

[o] *There are some of them who made a covenant with* God, *&c.*] An instance of this is given in *Thalaba Ebn Hateb*, who came to *Mohammed*, and desired him to beg of God, that he would bestow riches on him. The prophet, at first, advised him rather to be thankful for the little he had, than to covet more, which might become a temptation to him; but on *Thalaba*'s repeated request, and solemn promise, that he would make a good use of his riches, he was, at length, prevailed on, and preferred the petition to God. *Thalaba*, in a short time, grew vastly rich, which *Mohammed* being acquainted with, sent two collectors to gather the alms; other people readily paid them; but when they came to *Thalaba*, and read the injunction to him out of the *Korán*, he told them, that it was not alms, but tribute, or next kin to tribute; and bade them go back till he had better considered of it. Upon which this passage was revealed; and when *Thalaba* came afterwards, and brought his alms, *Mohammed* told him, that God had commanded him not to accept it, and threw dust upon his head, saying, *This is what thou hast deserved*. He then offered his alms to *Abu Becr*, who refused to accept them; as did *Omar* some years after, when he was *Khalif* (2).

(1) *Al* Beidawi. (2) *Idem.*

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hearts, until the day whereon they ſhall meet him; for that they failed to perform unto GOD that which they had promiſed him, and for that they prevaricated. Do they not know that GOD knoweth whatever they conceal, and their private diſcourſes; and that GOD is the knower of ſecrets? They who traduce ſuch of the believers as are liberal in *giving* alms *beyond what they are obliged*, and thoſe who find nothing *to give*, but *what they gain by* their induſtry [p]; and therefore ſcoff at them: GOD ſhall ſcoff at them, and they ſhall ſuffer a grievous puniſhment. Aſk forgiveneſs for them, or do not aſk forgiveneſs for them; *it will be equal.* If thou aſk forgiveneſs for them ſeventy times, GOD will by no means forgive them [q]. This *is the divine pleaſure*, for that they believe not in GOD, and his apoſtle; and GOD directeth not the ungodly people. They who were left

[p] *Who traduce ſuch of the believers as are liberal*, &c.] *Al Beidâwi* relates, that *Mohammed*, exhorting his followers to voluntary alms, among others, *Abda'lrahmân Ebn Awf* gave four thouſand *dirhems*, which was one half of what he had; *Aſem Ebn Adda* gave an hundred beaſt's loads of dates; and *Abu Okail* a *Saá*, which is no more than a ſixtieth part of a load, of the ſame fruit, but was the half of what he had earned by a night's hard work. This *Mohammed* accepted: whereupon the hypocrites ſaid, that *Abda'lrahmân* and *Aſem* gave what they did out of oſtentation, and that GOD and his apoſtle might well have excuſed *Abu Okail*'s mite; which occaſioned this paſſage.

I ſuppoſe this collection was made to defray the charge of the expedition of *Tabúc*; towards which, as another writer tells us, *Abu Becr* contributed all that he had, and *Othmân* very largely, *viz.* as it is ſaid, three hundred camels for ſlaughter, and a thouſand *dinârs* of gold (1).

[q] *Aſk forgiveneſs for them*, &c.] In the laſt ſickneſs of *Abda'llah Ebn Obba* the hypocrite, (who died in the ninth year of the *Hejra*) his ſon, named alſo *Abda'llah*, came and aſked *Mohammed* to beg pardon of GOD for him; which he did, and thereupon the former part of this verſe was revealed. But the prophet, not taking that for a repulſe, ſaid, he would *pray ſeventy times* for him; upon which the latter part of the verſe was revealed, declaring it would be abſolutely in vain. It may be obſerved, that the numbers *ſeven* and *ſeventy*, and *ſeven hundred*, are frequently uſed by the eaſtern writers to ſignify, not ſo many preciſely, but only an indefinite number, either greater or leſſer (2); ſeveral examples of which are to be met with in the ſcripture (3).

(1) ABULFED. *vit. Mob. p.* 123. (2) *Al* BEIDAWI. (3) *Matth.* xviii. 22.

at

at home *in the expedition of TABUC*, were glad of their ſtaying behind the apoſtle of GOD, and were unwilling to employ their ſubſtance, and their perſons, for the advancement of GOD's true religion; and they ſaid, Go not forth in the heat[r]. Say, The fire of hell will be hotter; if they underſtood *this*. Wherefore let them laugh little, and weep much, as a reward for that which they have done. If GOD bring thee back unto ſome of them[s], and they aſk thee leave to go forth *to war with thee*, ſay, Ye ſhall not go forth with me for the future, neither ſhall ye fight an enemy with me; ye were pleaſed with ſitting *at home* the firſt time; ſit ye *at home*, therefore, with thoſe who ſtay behind. Neither do thou ever pray over any of them who ſhall die[t], neither ſtand at his grave[u]; for that they believed not in GOD, and his apoſtle, and die in their wickedneſs. Let not their riches, or their children, cauſe thee to marvel: for GOD intendeth only to puniſh them therewith in this world; and that their ſouls may depart, while they are infidels. When a SURA[w] is ſent down, *wherein it is ſaid*, Believe in GOD, and go forth to war with his apoſtle; thoſe who are in plentiful circum-

r *Go not forth in the heat*;] This they ſpoke in a ſcoffing manner to one another; becauſe, as has been obſerved, the expedition of *Tabûc* was undertaken in a very hot and dry ſeaſon.

s *If* GOD *bring thee back unto ſome of them*, &c.] That is, if thou return in ſafety to *Medina*, to the hypocrites, who are here called *ſome of them* who ſtaid behind, becauſe they were not all hypocrites. The whole number is ſaid to have been twelve (1).

t *Neither do thou ever pray over any of them who ſhall die.*] This paſſage was alſo revealed on account of *Abdallah Ebn Obba*. In his laſt illneſs he deſired to ſee *Mohammed*, and when he was come, aſked him to beg forgiveneſs of GOD for him, and requeſted that his corps might be wrapped up in the garment that was next his body, (which might have the ſame efficacy with the habit of a *Franciſcan*,) and that he would pray over him when dead. Accordingly, when he was dead, the prophet ſent his ſhirt, or inner veſtment, to ſhroud the corps, and was going to pray over it, but was forbidden by theſe words. Some ſay they were not revealed till he had actually prayed for him (2).

u *Neither ſtand at his grave*;] Either by aſſiſting at his funeral, or viſiting his ſepulchre.

w See before, p. 252. note *g*.

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI. (2) *Idem*.

ſtances

ſtances among them aſk leave of thee *to ſtay behind*, and ſay, Suffer us to be *of the number* of thoſe who ſit *at home*. They are well pleaſed to be with thoſe who ſtay behind, and their hearts are ſealed up; wherefore they do not underſtand. But the apoſtle, and thoſe who have believed with him, expoſe their fortunes, and their lives, *for GOD's ſervice*; they ſhall enjoy the good things *of either life*, and they ſhall be happy. GOD hath prepared for them gardens through which rivers flow; they ſhall remain therein *for ever*. This will be great felicity. And certain ARABS of the deſart came to excuſe themſelves [x]; *praying* that they might be permitted *to ſtay behind*; and they ſat *at home* who had renounced GOD, and his apoſtle. But a painful puniſhment ſhall be inflicted on ſuch of them as believe not. In thoſe who are weak, or are afflicted with ſickneſs, or in thoſe who find not wherewith to contribute *to the war* [y], it ſhall be no crime *if they ſtay at home*; provided they behave themſelves faithfully towards GOD, and his apoſtle. There is no room *to lay blame* on the righteous; for GOD *is* gracious *and* merciful: nor on thoſe, unto whom, when they came unto thee, *requeſting* that thou wouldeſt ſupply them with neceſſaries for travelling, thou didſt anſwer, I find not wherewith to ſupply you, returned, their eyes ſhedding tears for grief, that they found not wherewith to contribute *to the expedition* [z]. But there is reaſon *to*

[x] *Certain* Arabs *of the deſart came to excuſe themſelves*, &c.] Theſe were the tribes of *Aſad* and *Ghatfan*, who excuſed themſelves on account of the neceſſities of their families, which their induſtry only maintained. But ſome write, they were the family of *Amer Ebn al Tofail*, who ſaid, that if they went with the army, the tribe of *Tay* would take advantage of their abſence, and fall upon their wives and children, and their cattle (1).

[y] *Who find not wherewith to contribute*;] By reaſon of their extreme poverty; as thoſe of *Joheina*, *Mozeina*, and *Banu Odhra* (2).

[z] *Who requeſted thee to ſupply them with neceſſaries for travelling*, &c.] The perſons here intended were ſeven men of the *Anſars*, who came to *Mohammed*, and begged he would

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI. (2) *Idem.*

to blame those who ask leave of thee *to sit at home*, when they are rich. They are pleased to be with those who stay behind, and GOD hath sealed up their
XI. hearts; wherefore they do not understand. * They will excuse themselves unto you, when ye are returned unto them. Say, Excuse not yourselves; we will by no means believe you: GOD hath acquainted us with your behaviour; and GOD will observe your actions, and his apostle *also:* and hereafter shall ye be brought before him who knoweth that which is hidden, and that which is manifest; and he will declare unto you that which ye have done. They will swear unto you by GOD, when ye are returned unto them, that ye may let them alone [a]. Let them alone, therefore, for they are an abomination; and their dwelling *shall be* hell; a reward for that which they have deserved. They will swear unto you, that ye may be well pleased with them; but if ye be well pleased with them, verily GOD will not be well pleased with people who prevaricate. The ARABS of the desart are more obstinate in *their* unbelief and hypocrisy; and it is easier for them to be ignorant of the ordinances of that which GOD hath sent down unto his apostle [b]: and GOD *is* knowing *and* wise. Of the ARABS of the desart there is who reckoneth that which he expendeth *for the service of GOD, to be as* tribute [c]; and waiteth that some change *of fortune* [d]

give them some patched boots and soled shoes, it being impossible for them to march so far barefoot, in such a season; but he told them he could not supply them; whereupon they went away weeping. Some, however, say, these were the *Banu Mokren*, and others, *Abu Musa*, and his companions (1).

[a] *That ye may let them alone,*] And not chastise them.

[b] *The* Arabs *of the desart are more obstinate,* &c.] Because of their wild way of life, the hardness of their hearts, their not frequenting people of knowledge, and the few opportunities they have of being instructed (2).

[c] *As tribute;*] Or a contribution exacted by force, the payment of which he can in no wise avoid.

[d] *And waiteth that some change of fortune may befal you;*] Hoping that some reverse may afford a convenient opportunity of throwing off the burden.

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI. (2) *Idem.* *See the Prelim. Disc. p.* 32 *and* 40.

may

may befal you. A change for evil *shall happen* unto them; for GOD *both* heareth *and* knoweth. And of the ARABS of the desart there is who believeth in GOD, and in the last day; and esteemeth that which he layeth out *for the service of GOD* to be the *means of* bringing him near unto GOD, and the prayer of the apostle. Is it not unto them the *means of* a near approach? GOD shall lead them into his mercy; for GOD *is* gracious *and* merciful [e]. *As for* the leaders, *and* the first of the MOHAJERIN, and the ANSARS [f], and those who have followed them in well doing; GOD is well pleased with them, and they are well pleased in him: and he hath prepared for them gardens watered by rivers; they shall remain therein for ever. This shall be great felicity. And of the ARABS of the desart who *dwell* round about you, *there are* hypocritical persons [g]: and of the inhabitants of MEDINA *there are some* who are obstinate in hypocrisy. Thou knowest them not, *O prophet! but* we know them: we will surely punish them twice [h]; afterwards shall they be sent to a grievous torment. And others have acknowledged their crimes [i]. They have mixed a good action with another

[e] The *Arabs* meant in the former of these two passages, are said to have been the tribe of *Asad*, *Ghatfán*, and *Banu Tamim*; and those intended in the latter, *Abdallah*, firnamed *Dhú'lbajádín*, and his people (1).

[f] *The leaders, and the first of the* Mohâjerîn *and the* Ansârs;] The *Mohâjerîn*, or *refugees*, were those of *Mecca*, who fled thence on account of their religion; and the *Ansârs*, or *helpers*, were those of *Medina*, who received *Mohammed*, and his followers, into their protection, and assisted them against their enemies. By the leaders of the *Mohâjerîn* are meant, those who believed on *Mohammed* before the *Hejra*, or early enough to pray towards *Jerusalem*, from which the *Kebla* was changed to the temple of *Mecca*, in the second year of the *Hejra*; or else, such of them as were present at the battle of *Bedr*. The leaders of the *Ansârs* were those who took the oath of fidelity to him at *al Akaba*, either the first or the second time (2).

[g] *Of the* Arabs *of the desart who dwell round about you*, &c.] i. e. In the neighbourhood of *Medina*. These were the tribes of *Joheina*, *Mozeina*, *Aslam*, *Ashjá*, and *Ghifár* (3).

[h] *We will punish them twice*;] Either by exposing them to public shame, and putting them to death; or by either of those punishments and the torment of the sepulchre; or else by exacting alms of them by way of fine, and giving them corporal punishment (4).

[i] *Others have acknowledged their crimes*;]

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI. (2) *Idem*, (3) *Idem*. (4) *Idem*.

other *which is* bad [k]: peradventure GOD will be turned unto them; for GOD *is* gracious *and* merciful. Take alms of their ſubſtance, that thou mayeſt cleanſe them, and purify them thereby [l]; and pray for them: for thy prayers ſhall be a ſecurity *of mind* unto them; and GOD *both* heareth *and* knoweth. Do they not know that GOD accepteth repentance from his ſervants, and accepteth alms; and that GOD is eaſy to be reconciled, *and* merciful? Say *unto them*, Work *as ye will*; but GOD will behold your work, and his apoſtle *alſo*, and the true believers: and ye ſhall be brought before him who knoweth that which is kept ſecret, and that which is made public; and he will declare unto you whatever ye have done. And *there are* others *who* wait with ſuſpenſe the decree of GOD; whether he will puniſh them, or whether he will be turned unto them [m]: but GOD *is* knowing *and* wiſe. *There are ſome* who have built a temple to hurt *the faithful*, and to *propagate* infidelity, and to *foment* diviſion among the true believers [n], and for a lurking place for him who

crime;] Making no hypocritical excuſes for them. Theſe were certain men, who having ſtaid at home inſtead of accompanying *Mohammed* to *Tabûc*, as ſoon as they heard the ſevere reprehenſions and threats of this chapter, againſt thoſe who had ſtaid behind, bound themſelves to the pillars of the moſque, and ſwore that they would not looſe themſelves, till they were looſed by the prophet. But when he entered the moſque to pray, and was informed of the matter, he alſo ſwore that he would not looſe them without a particular command from GOD; whereupon this paſſage was revealed, and they were accordingly diſmiſſed (1).

[k] *They have mixed a good action with a bad*;] Though they were backward in going to war, and held with the hypocrites, yet they confeſſed their crime, and repented.

[l] *Take alms of their ſubſtance*, &c.] When theſe perſons were looſed, they prayed *Mohammed* to take their ſubſtance, for the ſake of which they had ſtaid at home, as alms, to cleanſe them from their tranſgreſſion; but he told them he had no orders to accept any thing from them: upon which this verſe was ſent down, allowing him to take their alms (2).

[m] *There are others who wait*, &c.] The perſons here intended, were the three *Anſârs*, whoſe pardon is granted a little below.

[n] *There are ſome who have built a temple to hurt the faithful*, &c.]

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI. (2) *Idem*.

When

who hath fought againſt GOD, and his apoſtle, in time paſt [o]; and they ſwear, *ſaying*, Verily we intended no other than *to do* for the beſt: but GOD is witneſs that they do certainly lye. Stand not *up to pray* therein for ever. *There is a* temple founded on piety [p], from the firſt day *of it's building*. *It is* more juſt that thou ſtand *up to pray* therein: therein *are* men who love to be purified [q], for GOD loveth the clean.

When *Banu Amru Ebn Awf* had built the temple or moſque of *Kobâ*, which will be mentioned by and by, they aſked *Mohammed* to come and pray in it, and he complied with their requeſt. This exciting the envy of their brethren, *Banu Ganem Ebn Awf*, they alſo built a moſque, intending that the *Imâm*, or prieſt, who ſhould officiate there, ſhould be *Abu Amer*, a *Chriſtian* monk; but he dying in *Syria*, they came to *Mohammed*, and deſired he would conſecrate, as it were, their moſque, by praying in it. The prophet, accordingly, prepared himſelf to go with them, but was forbidden by the immediate revelation of this paſſage, diſcovering their hypocriſy and ill deſign: whereupon he ſent *Malec Ebn al Dokhſhom*, *Maan Ebn Addi*, *Amer Ebn al Socan*, and *al Wahſha*, the *Ethiopian*, to demoliſh and burn it; which they performed, and made it a dunghil. According to another account, this moſque was built a little before the expedition of *Tabûc*, with a deſign to hinder *Mohammed*'s men from ingaging therein; and when he was aſked to pray there, he anſwered, that he was juſt ſetting out on a journey; but that when he came back, with GOD's leave, he would do what they deſired; but when they applied to him again, on his return, this paſſage was revealed (1).

[o] *For a lurking place for him who hath fought againſt* GOD, *and his apoſtle, in time paſt*;] That is, *Abu Amer*, the monk, who was a declared enemy to *Mohammed*, having threatened him at *Obod*, that no party ſhould appear in the field againſt him, but he would make one of them; and, to be as good as his word, he continued to oppoſe him till the battle of *Honein*, at which he was preſent; and being put to flight with thoſe of *Hawâzen*, he retreated into *Syria*, deſigning to obtain a ſupply of troops from the *Grecian* emperor, to renew the war; but he died at *Kinniſrîn*. Others ſay, that this monk was a confederate at the war of the ditch, and that he fled thence into *Syria* (2).

[p] *There is a temple founded on piety*, &c.] *viz.* That of *Kobâ*, a place about two miles from *Medina*, where *Mohammed* reſted four days before he entered that city, in his flight from *Mecca*, and where he laid the foundation of a moſque (3), which was afterwards built by *Banu Amru Ebn Awf*. But, according to a different tradition, the moſque here meant, was that which *Mohammed* built at *Medina*.

[q] *Therein are men who deſire to be purified*;] *Al Beidâwi* ſays, that *Mohammed*, walking once with the *Mohajerîn* to *Kobâ*, found the *Anſârs* ſitting at the moſque door, and aſked

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN. EBN SHOHNAH. (2) *Idem.* (3) *Idem*, *V.* ABULFED. *vit. Moh. p.* 52. *Where the tranſlator, taking this paſſage of the* Koran, *which is there cited, for the words of his author, has miſſed the true ſenſe.*

clean. Whether, therefore, is he better, who hath founded his building on the fear of GOD, and *his* good will; or he who hath founded his building on the brink of a bank of earth, which is washed away by waters, so that it falleth with him into the fire of hell? GOD directeth not the ungodly people. Their building which they have built, will not cease *to be an occasion of* doubting in their hearts, until their hearts be cut in pieces[r], and GOD *is* knowing *and* wise. Verily GOD hath purchased of the true believers their souls, and their substance, *promising* them the enjoyment of paradise; *on condition that* they fight for the cause of GOD: whether they slay, or be slain, the promise for the same is assuredly due by the law, and the gospel, and the KORAN. And who performeth his contract more faithfully than GOD? Rejoice, therefore, in the contract which ye have made. This shall be great happiness. The penitent, *and* those who serve *GOD*, and praise *him*, *and* who fast, and bow down, and worship; *and* who command that which is just, and forbid that which is evil, and keep the ordinances of GOD, *shall likewise be rewarded with paradise:* wherefore bear good tidings unto the faithful. It is not *allowed* unto the prophet, nor those who are true believers, that they pray for idolaters[s], although they be of kin, after it is become known

them, whether they were believers; and, on their being silent, repeated the question: whereupon *Omar* answered, that they were believers; and *Mohammed* demanding, whether they acquiesced in the judgment *Omar* had made of them they said, Yes. He then asked them, whether they would be patient in adversity, and thankful in prosperity; to which they answering in the affirmative, he swore by the LORD of the *Caaba*, that they were true believers. Afterwards he examined them as to their manner of performing the legal washings, and particularly, what they did after easing themselves; they told him, that in such a case they used three stones, and after that washed with water: upon which he repeated these words of the *Korân* to them.

[r] *Until their hearts be cut in pieces*;] Some interpret these words of their being deprived of their judgment and understanding; and others of the punishment they are to expect, either of death in this world, or of the rack of the sepulchre, or the pains of hell.

[s] *It is not allowed the prophet—to pray for idolaters*, &c.] This passage was

known unto them, that they are inhabitants of hell [t]. Neither did ABRAHAM ask forgiveness for his father, otherwise than in pursuance of a promise which he had promised unto him [u]: but when it became known unto him, that he was an enemy unto GOD, he declared himself clear of him [w]. Verily ABRAHAM was pitiful and compassionate. Nor is GOD *disposed* to lead people into error [x], after that he hath directed them, until that which they ought to avoid is become known unto them; for GOD knoweth all things. Verily unto GOD *belongeth* the kingdom of heaven, and of earth; he giveth life, and he causeth to die; and ye have no patron or helper besides GOD. GOD is reconciled unto the prophet, and unto the MOHAJERIN, and the ANSARS [y], who followed him in the

was revealed, as some think, on account of *Abu Taleb*, *Mohammed*'s uncle and great benefactor; who, on his death-ded, being pressed by his nephew to speak a word, which might enable him to plead his cause before GOD, that is, to profess *Islâm*, absolutely refused. *Mohammed*, however, told him, that he would not cease to pray for him, till he should be forbidden by GOD; which he was by these words. Others suppose the occasion to have been *Mohammed*'s visiting his mother *Amena*'s sepulchre at *al Abwâ*, soon after the taking of *Mecca*; for they say, that while he stood at the tomb he burst into tears, and said, *I asked leave of* GOD *to visit my mother's tomb, and he granted it me; but when I asked leave to pray for her, it was denied me* (1).

t *After it is become known unto them, that they are inhabitants of hell*;] By their dying infidels. For otherwise it is not only lawful, but commendable, to pray for unbelievers, while there are hopes of their conversion.

u *In pursuance of a promise which he had promised him*;] viz. To pray that GOD would dispose his heart to repentance. Some suppose this was a promise made to *Abraham*, by his father, that he would believe in GOD. For the words may be taken either way.

w *When he knew that he was an enemy of* GOD, *he declared himself clear of him.*] Desisting to pray for him, when he was assured by inspiration that he was not to be converted; or after he actually died an infidel. See chap. vi. p. 168, 169.

x *To lead people into error*;] i. e. To consider or punish them as transgressors. This passage was revealed to excuse those who had prayed for such of their friends as had died idolaters, before it was forbidden; or else, to excuse certain people who had ignorantly prayed towards the first *Kebla*, and drank wine, *&c.*

y GOD *is reconciled unto the prophet*, &c.] Having forgiven the crime they committed, in giving the hypocrites leave to be absent from the expedition to *Tabúc*; or, for the

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI.

the hour of distress [z], after that it had wanted little but that the hearts of a part of them had swerved *from their duty:* afterwards was he turned unto them; for he *was* compassionate *and* merciful towards them. And *he is* also *reconciled* unto the three who were left behind [a], so that the earth became too strait for them, notwithstanding it's spaciousness, and their souls became straitened within them, and they considered that there was no refuge from GOD, otherwise than *by having recourse* unto him. Then was he turned unto them, that they might repent; for GOD *is* easy to be reconciled, *and* merciful. O true believers! fear GOD, and be with the sincere. There was no *reason* why the inhabitants of MEDINA, and the ARABS of the desart, who dwell around them, should stay behind the apostle of GOD, or should prefer themselves before him [b]. This *is unreason-*

other sins which they might, through inadvertence, have been guilty of. For the best men have need of repentance (1).

[z] *In the hour of distress;*] *viz.* In the expedition of *Tabûc*; wherein *Mohammed*'s men were driven to such extremities, that (besides what they endured, by reason of the excessive heat) ten men were obliged to ride by turns on one camel, and provisions and water were so scarce, that two men divided a date between them, and they were obliged to drink the water out of the camels stomachs (2).

[a] *The three who were left behind;*] Or, as it may be translated, *who were left in suspense*, whether they should be pardoned, or not (3). These were three *Ansârs*, named *Caab Ebn Malec*, *Helâl Ebn Omeyya* and *Merâra Ebn Rabî*, who went not with *Mohammed* to *Tabûc*, and were, therefore, on his return, secluded from the fellowship of the other *Moslems*; the prophet forbidding any to salute them, or to hold discourse with them. Under which interdiction they continued fifty days, till, on their sincere repentance, they were, at length, discharged from it, by the revelation of this passage (4).

[b] *Or should prefer themselves before him;*] By not caring to share with him the dangers and fatigues of war. *Al Beidâwi* tells us, that after *Mohammed* had set out for *Tabûc*, one *Abu Khaithama* sitting in his garden, where his wife, a very beautiful woman, had spread a mat for him in the shade, and had set new dates, and fresh water, before him, after a little reflexion, cried out, *This is not well, that I should thus take my ease and pleasure, while the apostle of* GOD *is exposed to the scorching of the sunbeams, and the inclemencies of the air*; and immediately mounting his camel, took his sword and lance, and went to join the army.

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI. (2) *Idem.* (3) *See before, p.* 260. *not. m.*
(4) *Al* BEIDAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, ABULF. *Vit. Mob. p.* 133, 126.

able;

able: because they are not distressed either by thirst, or labour, or hunger, for the defence of GOD's true religion; neither do they stir a step, which may irritate the unbelievers; neither do they receive from the enemy any damage, but a good work is written down unto them for the same; for GOD suffereth not the reward of the righteous to perish. And they contribute not any sum, either small or great, nor do they pass a valley, but it is written down unto them, that GOD may reward them with a recompense exceeding that which they have wrought. The believers are not *obliged* to go forth *to war* all together: if a part of every band of them go not forth, *it is* that they may diligently instruct themselves in *their* religion [c]; and may admonish their people, when they return unto them, that they may take heed to themselves. O true believers! wage war against such of the infidels as are near you [d]; and let them find severity [e] in you: and know that GOD is with those who fear *him*. Whenever a SURA is sent down, there are some of them who say, Which of you hath this caused to increase in faith? It will increase the faith of those who believe, and they shall rejoice:

[c] *If a part of every band of them go not forth*, &c.] That is, if some of every tribe, or town, be left behind, the end of their being so left, is, that they may apply themselves to study, and attain a more exact knowledge of the several points of their religion, so as to be able to instruct such as by reason of their continual employment in the wars, have no other means of information. They say, that after the preceding passages were revealed, reprehending those who had staid at home during the expedition of *Tabûc*, every man went to war; so that the study of religion, which is rather more necessary for the defence and propagation of the faith, than even arms themselves, became wholly laid aside and neglected; to prevent which, for the future, a convenient number are hereby directed to be left behind, that they may have leisure to prosecute their studies.

[d] *Such of the infidels as are near you*;] Either of your kindred or neighbours; for these claim your pity and care in the first place, and their conversion ought first to be endeavoured. The persons particularly meant in this passage, are supposed to have been the *Jews* of the tribes of *Koreidha* and *Nadhîr*, and those of *Khaibar*; or else the *Greeks* of *Syria* (1).

[e] *Severity*;] Or, fierceness in war.

(1) *Al* BEIDAWI.

but

but unto thoſe in whoſe hearts there is an infirmity, it will add *farther* doubt unto their *preſent* doubt; and they ſhall die in their infidelity. Do they not ſee that they are tried every year once or twice[f]? yet they repent not, neither are they warned. And whenever a Sura is ſent down, they look at one another, *ſaying*, Doth any one ſee you[g]? then do they turn aſide. God ſhall turn aſide their hearts *from the truth*; becauſe they are a people who do not underſtand. Now hath an apoſtle come unto you of our own nation[h], an excellent *perſon:* it is *grievous* unto him that ye commit wickedneſs; *he is* careful over you, *and* compaſſionate and merciful towards the believers. If they turn back, ſay, God is my ſupport: there is no God but he. On him do I truſt; and he is the Lord of the magnificent throne.

[f] *They are tried every year once or twice;*] i. e. By various kinds of trials; or by being called forth to war, and by being made witneſſes of God's miraculous protection of the faithful.

[g] *They look at one another*, &c.] They wink at one another to riſe and leave the prophet's preſence, if they think they can do it without being obſerved; to avoid hearing the ſevere and deſerved reproofs which they apprehend in every new revelation. The perſons intended are the hypocritical *Moſlems*.

[h] See chap. iii. p. 84. note x.

END of VOL. I.

A TABLE OF THE PRINCIPAL MATTERS CONTAINED IN THE FIRST VOLUME OF THE KORAN, AND THE NOTES THEREON.

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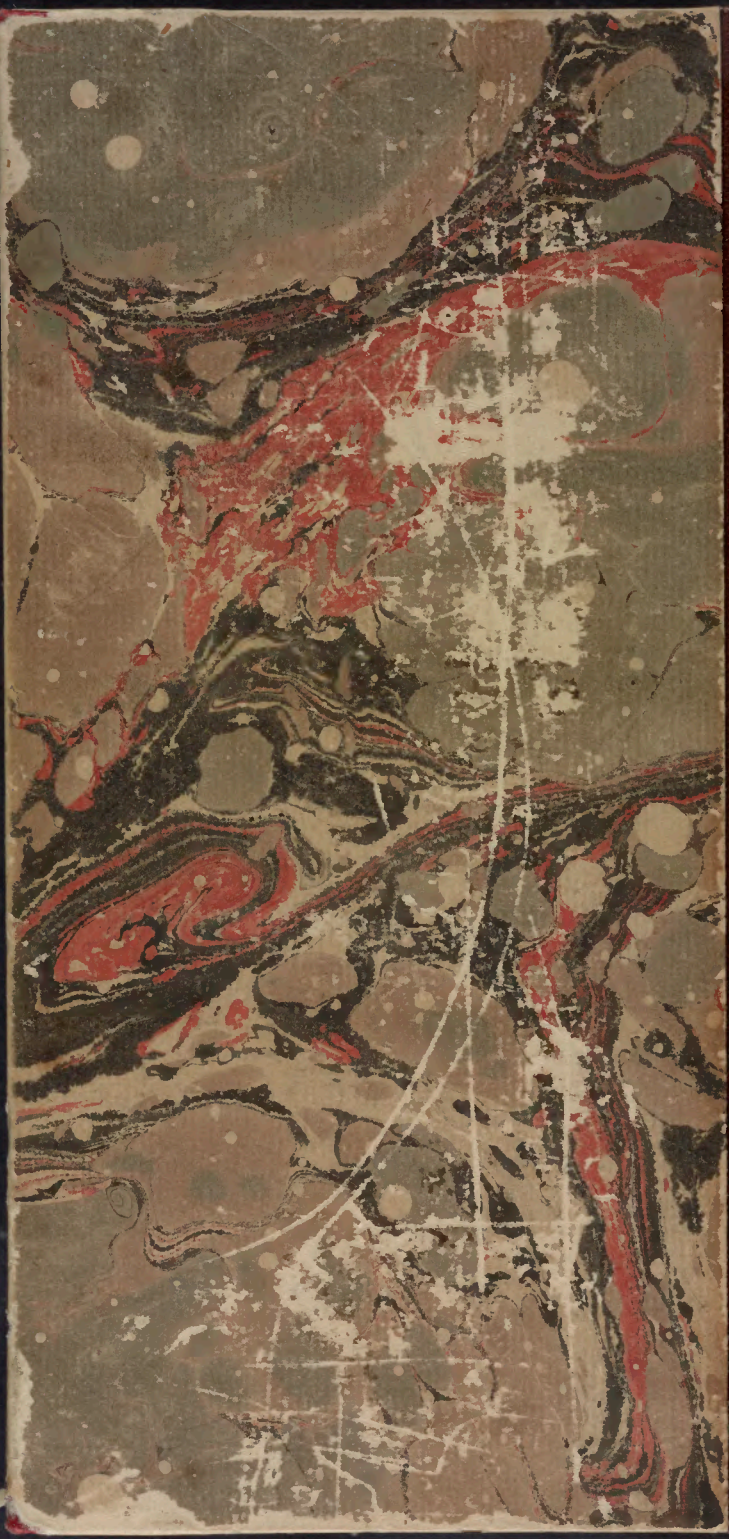

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