THE KORAN
SALE I
LONDON 1784
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, qua non aliquid veri permiscat.

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.
Right Honourable
and most Honorable
House of Commons

Mr. Lord

behind the
people of the
people who have
voters. The
influence of
the most
effective in
the country.
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,
DEDICATION.

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
DEDICATION.

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,
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 Arabs, 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 Arabs of their conquests, and put an end to the sovereignty and very being of their Khalifs: 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 imposition; 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 its overthrow. In the mean time, if I might presume to lay down rules to be observed by those who attempt the conversion of the Mohammedans, they should be the same which the learned and 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 worship of images, and the doctrine of transubstantiation are great stumbling blocks to the Mohamme-

* In his Demonstr. of the Messiah, part III. chap. ii.
To the READER.

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
To the Reader.

not, in speaking of Mohammed or his Korân, allowed myself to use those opprobrious appellations, and unwarrantedly 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

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 Matta, at the request of Peter, abbot of Clagny, 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 havevò à commune utilità di molti fatto dal proprio testo Arabo tradurre nella nostra volgar lingua Italiana, &c. And afterwards; Questo è l’Alcorano di Macometto, il quale, come ho gia detto, ho fatto dal suo idioma tradurre, &c. † V. Jof. Scalig. Epist. 361 & 362, & Selden. de succefl. ad leges Ebraeor. p. 9. ‡ J. Andreas, in Instr. ad Tractat. suum de Confusione Sectae Mahometanæ.
To the Reader.

resutation 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 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 Rois, 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 professor 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 the

* V. Windet. de vita functorum statu, sect. 9.
To the Reader.

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 its 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 confuse, I am not answerable; my province being only fairly to represent their expositions, and the little I have added of my own, or from European writers, being
easily 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 Historiarum 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. Bolton, one of the ministers of that church: the other was very obligingly lent me by the reverend Dr. Holme, rector of Hedley, in Hampshire; and I take this opportunity of returning both those gentlemen my thanks for their favours. The merit of al Beidâwi's commentary will appear from the frequent quotations I have made thence; but of the gospel of S. Barnabas, (which I had not seen when the little I have said of it in the Preliminary Discourse *, and the extract I had borrowed from Mr. de la Monnoye and Mr. To-

* §. IV. p. 74.
To the Reader.

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 Moor, named Moftafa 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, alleging, 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. ed cap. iii. p. 43.
To the READER.

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 Masih, i.e. Christ, is appropriated to Jesus in the Koran, and is constantly applied by the Mohammedans to him, and never to their own prophet. The passage produced from the Italian MS. by Mr. de la Monnaye 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 Koran, I would not, therefore, be suspected of design to make my own pass as free from faults: I am very sensible it is not; and I make no doubt 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, as 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 leisure times only, and amidst the necessary avocations of a troublesome profession.
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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.

Arabia, and the country they inhabit, which themselves call Jezârat al Arab, or the Peninsula of the Arabians, but we Arabia, were so named from Arabia, a small territory in the province of Tekâma; to which Yarab the son of Kâblân, 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 shârk, the east, where the descendants of Jôdâlan, the Kâblân of the Arabs, are placed by Môses, and in which quarter they dwelt in respect to the Jews.

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 Ædian seas, and part of the

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a Pocock, Specim. Hist. Arab. 77. b Genef. x. 30. c See Pocock, Specim. 539 34.

Vol. I. b Mediterranean.
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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 Arabiflān, 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 gulf, and the borders of the territory of Cāfa; which tract of land the Greeks nearly comprehended under the name of Arabia the Happy. The eastern geographers make Arabia Petraea to belong partly to Egypt, and partly to Shām or Syria, and the desert Arabia they call the deserts of Syria.

Proper Arabia is by the oriental writers generally divided into five provinces; viz. Yaman, Hejāz, Tébāma, Najd, and Yamāma; to which some add Babrein, as a sixth, but this province the more exact make part of Irāk: others reduce them all to two, Yaman and Hejāz, the last including the three other provinces of Tébāma, Najd, and Yamāma.

The province of Yaman, so called either from situation to the right hand, or south of the temple Mecca, or else from the happiness and verdure of the soil, extends itself along the Indian ocean from A to cape Raljagat; part of the Red sea bounds it on the west and south sides, and the province of Hejāz on the north. It is subdivided into several lesser provinces, as Hadramaut, Shibr, Omān, Najrán, of which Shibr alone produces the frankincense. The metropolis of Yaman is Sanaa, a very ancient city, former times called Ozaal, and much celebrated for its delightful situation; but the prince at present resides about five leagues northward from thence.

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\[d\] Golius ad Alfragan. 78. 79. 
\[e\] Strabo says Arabia Felix when his time divided into five kingdoms, l. 16. p. 1128. 
\[f\] Gol. ad Alfragan. 79. 
\[g\] La Roque, Voyage de l'Aраб. heur. 127. 
\[h\] Gol. ad Alfragan. 79. 87.
Sect. I. The Preliminary Discourse.

place no less pleasant, called Hifn almacawheeb, or the 
Cafe of delights. This country has been famous from all antiquity 
for the happiness of its climate, its fertility and riches, 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. 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 con 
celed 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 de 
fants, 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 Yam 
an are owing to its mountains; for all that part which lies along the Red sea, is a dry, barren desert, 
in some places 10 or 12 leagues over, but in return 
bounded by those mountains, which being well wa 
tered, 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 moun 
tains, seldom reach the sea, being for the most part 
drunk up and lost in the burning sands of that 
coast.

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

1 Voyage de l'Arab. heur. 232. 3 V. Dionys. Perieget. v. 927, &c.
30 223. 153.
into rocks, interpersed here and there with some fruitful spots, which receive their greatest advantage from their water and palm-trees.

The province of Hejáz, so named because it 

Najd from Tekâma, is bounded on the south by Yamû
d and Tekâma, on the west by the Red sea, on the north by the desarts of Syria, and on the east by the province of Najd\\textsuperscript{3}. This province is famous for its two chief cities Mecca and Medina, one of which is celebrated for a 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, 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 thought to be the Meca of scripture \textsuperscript{4}, 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. 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 Koaikûn, about a mile. In the midst of this space stands the city, built of stone cut from the neighbouring mountains. There being only springs at Mecca \textsuperscript{5}, at least none but what are bitter and unfit to drink, except only the well Zemzam, the water of which, though far the best, yet cannot be drank for any continuance, being brackish, causing eruptions in those who drink plentifully of it, the inhabitants are obliged to use rain water which they catch in cisterns. 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

\textsuperscript{3}V. Gol. ad Alfrag. 98. Abulsféda Dérfr. Arab. p. 5. \textsuperscript{4}R. Seat in version. Arab. Pentat. Sefer Juchafîn. 135. b. \textsuperscript{5}Gen. x. 30. \textsuperscript{6}Gol. Alfrag. 82. See Gen. xxv. 15. \textsuperscript{7}Gol. ib. 98. See Pitts's Account of religion and manners of the Mohammedans, p. 96. \textsuperscript{8}Sharif al Ednist Poc. Specim. 122. \textsuperscript{9}Ibid. \textsuperscript{10}Gol. ad Alfragan. 99. \textsuperscript{11}al Ednin ubi supra. 124. \textsuperscript{12}Ibid. & Pitts ubi supra. p. 107. \textsuperscript{13}ad Alfrag. 99.
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principal men of the tribe of Kordish, endeavoured at a great expense to supply the city, with water from mount Arafat, but without success; yet this was effected not many years ago, being begun at the charge of a wife of Solimân the Turkish Emperor. 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 Mokrader.

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; and Hafsam, 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: these caravans of purveyors are mentioned in the Korân. The provisions brought by them were distributed also twice a year, viz. in the month of Rajeb, and at the arrival of the pilgrims. They are supplied with dates in great plenty from the adjacent country, and with grapes from Tayef, about sixty miles distant, very few growing at Mecca. The inhabitants of this city are generally very rich, being considerable gainers by the prodigious concourse of people of almost all nations at the yearly pilgrimage, at which time there is a great fair or mart for all kinds of 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 necessity 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 springs.

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The Preliminary Discourse.

Sect. I.

spings and streams of running water, with a great many gardens and cultivated lands.

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

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

The province of Tekama was so named from the vehemence 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 Hejaz and man, extending almost from Mecca to Aden.

The province of Najd, which word signifies a rich country, lies between those of Yamama, Yaman, a Hejaz, and is bounded on the east by Jirak.

4 Sharif al-Edifi ubi supra, 125. 5 Id. Vulgo Geogr. Nubieniae.
6 Though the notion of Mohammed's being buried at Mecca has been long exploded, yet several modern writers, whether through ignorance or 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 Turkestan, seems to be inexcusable; that gentleman in his Epistles de moribus ac religiosis Turcarum, no less than three times mentions the Mohammedans visiting the tomb of their prophet at Mecca, and once his being born at Medina, reverie of which is true (See Ep. 2, pag. 22. Ep. 2, pag. 63 and 64.).
7 Other is the publisher of the last edition of Sir J. Montgomery's travels, who, under the author's laying very truly (p. 50.) that the said tomb was at Mecca (i.e. Medina), undertakes to correct the name of the town, which is a thing corrupted, by putting, at the bottom of the page, Mecca. This is a error de Pervot in his history of the order of Malta (vol. 1, p. 40). ed. I seems only to have confused these two cities together, though he before mentioned Mohammed's sepulchre at Medina. However he is certainly mistaken, when he says that one point of the religion, both of Christians and Mohammedans, was to visit, at least once in their lives, the tomb of the author of their respective faith. Whatever may be the opinion of some Christians, I am well assured the Mohammedans think them under no manner of obligation in that respect.
8 Gol. ad Alfe 97. Abulfeda Defer. Arab. p. 40. 9 Gol. ubi sup. 95.
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The province of Yamāma, also called Arūd from its oblique situation, in respect of Yaman, is surrounded by the provinces of Najd, Tebāma, Bahrein, Oman, Skibr, Hadramaut, and Saba. The chief city is Yamāma, which gives name to the province: it was anciently called Ḥaw, and is particularly famous for being the residence of Muhammad’s competitor, the false prophet Moṣeilama.

The Arabs, 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 Arabsians, and the present. 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; 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 Korān.

The most famous tribes amongst these ancient Arabsians were Ad, Thamūd, Taṣm, Ḥadis, the former Ḥorakim, and Amalek.

The tribe of Ad were descended from Ad, the son of Āvé, the son of Aram, the son of Šem, the son of Noāb, who after the confusion of tongues settled in Ḥabbāṣ, or the winding sands in the province of Hadramaut, where his posterity greatly multiplied. Their first king was Ṣhedād 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. This garden or paradise was called the garden of Ḥram, and is

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k Gol. ad Alfrag. 95. 1 Abulfarag. p. 159. m Or U7, Gen. x. 22, 23. n V. Kor. cap. 89. Some make Ad the son of Amalek, the son of Ħem; but the other is the received opinion. See D’Herbel. 51. o V. Eund. 498.
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mentioned in the Korân, and often alluded to by the oriental writers. The city, they tell us, is still standing in the deserts 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 Moâwiya, 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.

The descendants of Al in process of time falling from the worship of the true God into idolatry, God sent the prophet Hud (who is generally agreed to be Heber) 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, and destroyed them all, a very few only excepted, who had believed in Hud, and retired with him to another place. That prophet afterwards returned into Hadramaut, and was buried near Hafec, where there is a small town now standing called Kabr Hud, or the sepulchre of Hud. Before the Aâtes 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 Lokman (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, Lokman with some of his company staid at Mecca, and thereby escaped destruction, giving rise to a tribe.

1 Cap. 89. 2 D'Herbel. 51. 3 The Jews acknowledge Heber to have been a great prophet, Sefer Olam, p. 2. 4 Al Beidâwi. 5 Pec. spec. 35, &c.
called the latter Ad, who were afterward changed into monkeys.

Some commentators on the Korán 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 Korán.

The tribe of Thamúd were the posterity of Thamúd the son of Gather the son of Aram, who falling into idolatry, the prophet Sáleb 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. The learned Bochart with more probability takes him to the Phaleg. A small number of the people of Thamúd hearkened to the remonstrances of Sáleb, but the rest requiring, as a proof of his mission, that he should cause a the-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 say, was the voice of Gabriel the archangel crying aloud, Die all of you. Sáleb with those who were reformed by him, were saved from this destruction; the prophet going into Palestine, and from thence to Mecca, where he ended his days.

This tribe first dwelt in Zaman, but being expelled thence by Hamyr the son of Saba, they settled in the territory of Hejir in the province of Hejáz, where their habitations cut out of the rocks, mentioned in the Korán, are still to be seen, and also the crack of

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u Poc. Spec. 56. w Jallálo'ddin and Zamakhshari. x Kor. c. 7.
The Preliminary Discourse.

The tribes of Tasm were the posterity of Lût the son of Sem, and and Jadis of the descendants of Jethber. 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 defoured by him; 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 Habshan Ebn Akrân, assaulted Jadis and utterly destroyed them, there being scarce any mention made from that time of either of those tribes.

The former tribe of Jorbam (whose ancestor fompretend was one of the 80 persons saved in the ark with Noah, according to a Mohammedan tradition) was contemporary with Ad, and utterly perished. The tribe of Amalek were descended from Amalek the son of Eliphas the son of Esau, though some of the oriental authors say Amalek was the son of Ham the son of Noah, and others the son of Azd the son of Sem. The posterity of this person rendered themselves

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1 Abn Mufa al Afsari. 2 V. Poc. Spec. 67. 3 Abulfeda. 4 Like custom is said to have been in some manners in England, and also in Scotland, where it was called Culliage or Cullage, having been establisht by K. Erwen and abolished by Malcolm III. See Boyle's Dict. Art. Sand. IV. Rem. H. 5 Poc. Spec. 60. 6 Ib. 37, &c. 7 Ib. p. 62. 8 Ebn Shohmah. 9 Gen. xxxvi. 12. 10 V. D'Herbelot, p. 743. 11 Ebn Shohmah.
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very powerful †, and before the time of Joseph conquered the lower Egypt under their king Wash, the first who took the name of Pharaoh, as the eastern writers tell us ‡; seeming by these Amalekites to mean the same people which the Egyptian histories call Phoenician shepherds §. 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.

The present Arabians, according to their own historians, are sprung from two stocks, Kabián, the fame with Jotham the son of Eber ‖, and Adnán descended in a direct line from Ismael the son of Abraham and Hagar; the posterity of the former they call al Arab al Ariba, i.e. the genuine or pure Arabs, and those of the latter al Arab al mostáreba, i.e. naturalized or institious Arabs, though some reckon the ancient loftiest tribes to have been the only pure Arabians, and therefore call the posterity of Kabián also Mostareba, which word likewise signifies institious Arabs, though in a nearer degree than Mostareba; the descendants of Ismael being the more distant graft.

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 descendents became blended with them into one nation. The uncertainty of the descents between Ismael and Adnán, 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.'

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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 gulf, whether they came from Cutha or Susha, the original settlement of their father. 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 Arabian were for some centuries under the government of the descendants of Kabstan; Yareh, one of his sons, founding the kingdom of Yaman, and Jorban, another of them, that of Hejaz.

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 Cablan his brother, who yet retained the title of king of Hamyar, and had all of them the general title of Tobba, which signifies successor, as was affected to this race of princes, as that of Cefo was to the Roman emperors, and Khalif to the successors of Mohammed. There were several lesser princes who reigned in other parts of Yaman, and were solely, if not altogether, subject to the king of Hamyar, whom they called the great king, but of these histories has recorded nothing remarkable or that may be depended upon.

The inundation of Yaman.

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

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 Gheßen and Hire. And this was probably the time of the migration of those tribes or colonies which were led into Mesopotamia by three chiefs, Beer, Modar, and Rabia, from whom the three provinces of that country are still named Diyar Beer, Diyar Modar, and Diyar Rabia. Abisheems, surnamed Saba, having built the city from him called Saba, and afterwards Mêreb, made a vast mound or dam to serve as a cistern 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 subdued 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 fathoms, 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 dipt their notice, sent a mighty flood which broke down the mound by night while the inhabitants were asleep, and carried away the whole city with the neighbouring towns and people.

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 Towas, a bigotted Jew, whom they drove to that extremity, that he forced his horse into the sea, and so lost his

\[\text{V. Geô. ad Alf. frag. p. 232.} \quad \text{P. Soc. Spec. p. 57.} \quad \text{Geogr. Nubianf. p. 52.}\]
The Preliminary Discourse.

life and crown; after which the country was governed by four Ethiopian princes successively, till Saj, the son of Dhu Tazan of the tribe of Hamyar obtaining succours from Kbofrî Anusbirwan 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 Badban, the last of them submitted, and embraced his new religion.

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

It has been already observed that two kingdoms were founded by those who left their country occasion of the inundation of Aram: they were both out of the proper limits of Arabia. One of these 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, there took their name, and drove out the Dajaamis Arabs of the tribe of Salib, who before possessed the country; where they maintained their kingdom 400 years, as others say 600, or as Abulfeda more exactly computes 616. Five of these princes were named Harefî, which the Greeks write Arefas: and one of them it was whose governor ordered the gates of Damascus to be watched to take St. Paul. 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 Khalif Omar; but receiving a disgust from him, returned to his former faith, and retired to Constantinople.

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e See Prideaux’s life of Mahomet, p. 61.


g Abulfeda.

h Abul Feda, Al Jamaﬁ & Ahmed Ibn Yusef.

i Soc. Spec. p. 76.

j 2 Cor. xi. 32. Acts ix. 24.

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The other kingdom was that of Hira which was founded by Malec of the descendants of Cablân \(^m\) in Chaldea or Irak; but after three descents the throne came by marriage to the Lakhmians, called also the Mondars (the general name of those princes) who preferred their dominion, notwithstanding some small interruption by the Persians, till the Khilifat of Abubeer, when al Mondar al Maghrûr the last of them lost his life and crown by the arms of Khaleed 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 Irak, as the kings of Ghassân were for the Roman emperors over those of Syria \(^o\).

Horam the son of Kabiân reigned in Hejáz, 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 Jorkamites \(^p\), though others say the descendants of Ismael expelled that tribe, who retiring to Jobainab, were, after various fortune, at last all destroyed by an inundation \(^q\).

Of the kings of Hamyar, Hira, Ghassân, and Horam, Dr. Pocock has given us catalogues tolerably exact, to which I refer the curious \(^r\).

After the expulsion of the Jorkamites, the government of Hejáz 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 desert are governed at this day. At Mecca an aristocracy prevailed, where the chief management of affairs till the time of Mohammad was in the tribe of Koraish; especially after they had gotten the custody of the Caaba from the tribe of Kbozâab \(^s\).

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\(^m\) 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. 85, seq. \(^s\) V. Ib. p. 41. and Frideuix's life of Mahomet, p. 2.
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Besides the kingdoms which have been taken notice of, there were some other tribes, which in latter times had princes of their own, and formed states of less note; particularly the tribe of Kenda: but I am not writing a just history of the Arabs, and an account of them would be of no great use to my present purpose, I shall not mention them.

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

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

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which signifies noble, as they reckon themselves to be on account of their descent. These are Banu Kider, Banu Misfa Ibani, Banu Hashem, and Banu Kitada; 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 Kitada.

The kings of Yaman, as well as the princes of Mecca and Medina, are absolutely independent and not at all subject to the Turk, as some late authors have imagined. These princes often making cruel wars among themselves, gave an opportunity to Selim I. and his son Soliman, 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 Bosba whose authority is very small, they possess nothing considerable in Arabia.

Thus have the Arabs preferred 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. The Persian monarchs, though they were their friends, and so far respected by them as to have an annual present of frankincense, yet could never make them tributary; 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; and when Alexander had subdued that mighty empire, yet the Arabians had so little apprehension of him, that they alone, of all the neighbouring nations, sent no ambassadors to him, either first or last; which, with a desire of possessing so rich

The freedom of the Arabs.

*Voyage de l'Arab. heur. p. 143.*


*Diod. Sic. l. 2. p. 131.*

*Herodot. l. 3. c. 97.*

*Idem, ib. c. 97. Diodor. ubi sup.*

*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. 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 Samceramus or Sham'salkeram who reigned at Hems or Emesæa; but none of the Romans, or any other nations that we know of, ever penetrated so far into Arabia as Aelius Gallus under Augustus Caesar; yet he was so far from subduing it, as some authors pretend, 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. 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 Petraea, or the very skirts of the country. And we are told by one author, 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.

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 grovés idolatry; the Sabian religion having almost over-run the whole nation, though there were also great numbers of Christians, Jews, and Magians, among them.

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4. Dion Cassius, l. 53. p. m. 7.
6. Xiphilin, epit.
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I shall not here transcribe what Dr. Prideaux⁴ 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 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: 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. 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, another the south, a third Mecca, and a fourth the star to which they pay their devotions; and perhaps there may be some variety in their practice in this respect. They go on pilgrimage to a place near the city of Haran 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; fancying these last to be the sepulchres of Seth, and of Enoch and Sabi his two sons, whom they look on as the

⁶ Idem, ib. 
⁷ Hyde, ubi supra, p. 124, &c. 
⁸ D’Herbel. ubi supra.
first propagators of their religion; at these structures they sacrifice a cock and a black calf; and offer up incense. Besides the book of Psalms, the only true scripture they read, they have other books which they esteem equally sacred, particularly one in the Chaldaic tongue which they call the book of Sabih, and is full of moral discourses. This sect say, they took the name of Sabians from the above mentioned Sabi, thought to be of heaven, which they worship. Travellers commonly call them Christians of St. John the Baptist, while their disciples also 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 possessors of it are often included in that expression of the Koran, 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 Taala, the most high God, and their other deities, who were subordinate to him, they called simply Alhabat, 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 others, they pretend the Arabs worshipped only two deities, Orothai and Allat, 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

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See Green's Pyramids, p. 6, 7.  
Thabet Bha 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 of their own gods, and educated in Arabia; and on the other, because of the veneration shewn by the Arabs to the stars.

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 whatsoever is his. 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 damned it up again; but if the contrary, they let it run on, saying, they wanted what was God's, but he wanted nothing.

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.

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

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b V. Herodot. i. 3, c. 8. Arrian. p. 161, 162. & Strab. i. 16.
Al Shahrettani.
Nodhm al-dorr.
Al. Beidawi.
The Preliminary Discourse.

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... to happen at the rising or setting of certain of them, 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 safety, a very great benefit and refreshment to their parched country; this superstition the Korân particularly takes notice of.

The ancient Arabians and Indians, between which two nations was a great conformity of religions, had seven celebrated temples, dedicated to the seven planets; one of which in particular, called Gbomdân, was built in Sanaa the metropolis of Yemen by Dabair, to the honour of al Zabbarab or the planet Venus, and was demolished by the Khalif Othman by whose murder was fulfilled the prophetical inscription set, as is reported, over this temple, viz. Gbomdân, be who destroyeth thee, shall be slain. The temple of Mecca is also said to have been consecrated to Zobal, or Saturn.

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

Thus as to the stars and planets, the tribe of Hamyer chiefly worshipped the sun; Misam, al Dabairân or the bull's eye; Lakhm and Jodâm, al Moštari, Jupiter; Tey, Sobail or Canopus; Kais, Sirius or the dog-star; and Asad, Otared or Mercury. Among the worshippers of Sirius, one Abu Cabşe was very famous; some will have him to be the same with W bâb, Mohammed's grandfather by the mother, but others say he was of the tribe of Kbozâb. This man ufed his utmost endeavours to persuade the Korââfe to leave their images and worship this star; for which reason Mohammed, who endeavoured also to make them leave their images, was by them nicknamed the son of Abu Cabše. The worship of this star is particularly hinted at in the Korân.

f V. Post.  g Poc. Spec. p. 163.  h Shahreftani.  i Al Jannâh.  k Shahreftani.  1 This name seems to be corrupted, there being no such among the Arab tribes.  Poc. Spec. p. 130.  m Abulfarag, p. 167.  n Poc. Spec. p. 132.  o Cap. 55.
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Of the angels or intelligences which they worshipped, the Korân makes mention only of three, which were worshipped under female names; 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 the interceded for them with God.

Allat was the idol of the tribe of Thakif who dwelt at Tayef, and had a temple consecrated to her in a place called Naklah. This idol al Mogheirab destroyed by Mohammed's order, who sent him and Abu Sofian on that commission in the ninth year of the Hejra. 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. There are several derivations of this word which the curious may learn from Dr. Pocock: it seems most probably to be derived from the same root with Allab, 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 Korej and Kenâmah, and part of the tribe of Salim: others tell us it was a tree called the Egyptian thorn, or Acacia, worshipped by the tribe of Ghafân, first consecrated by one Dhâlem, who built

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Footnotes:

3 Poc. Spec. Cap. 53. 4 Ibid. 5 The word Naklah signifying also a Palm-tree, Dr. Pocock translates a passage of Abu Shumayl, which mentions this temple, thus: Thakif worshipped a chapel on the top of a palmy tree, called Allat. And he may possibly be in the right. V. Abulfarag. p. 160. 6 Dr. Prideaux mentions this expedition, but names only Abu Sofian, and, mistaking the name of the idol for an appellative, supposes he went only to disarm the Tayyfan of their abractions and instruments of war. See his life of Mohammed. p. 98. 7 Abu Alifed a Vit. Moham. p. 127. 8 Spec. p. 90. 9 Al Jauhari, apud end. p. 91. 10 Al Shahreftani, ib. 11 Al Firaunzâhâdi, ib.
a chapel over it, called Bafs, so contrived as to give a found when any person entered. Kbalad Ebn Waleh being lent by Mohamed in the eighth year of the Hejra to destroy this idol, demolished the chapel and cutting down this tree or image, burnt it; he also slew the priests, who ran out with her hair dishevelled, and her hands on her head as a suppliant. Yet the author who relates this, in another place says the chapel was pulled down, and Dhalem him, killed by one Zobair, because he consecrated the chapel with design to draw the pilgrims thither from Mecca, and lessen the reputation of the Caaba. The name of this deity is derived from the root azza, and signifies the most mighty.

Manab was the object of worship of the tribes of Hodhail and Khozair, who dwelt between Mecca and Medina, and, as some say, of the tribes of Aun, Khozraj and Thakif also. This idol was a large stone, demolished by one Saad in the eighth year of the Hejra, a year so fatal to the idols of Arabia. The name seems derived from mana to flow, from the flowing of the blood of the victims sacrificed to the deity; whence the valley of Mina near Mecca has also its name, where the pilgrims at this day fling their sacrifices.

Before we proceed to the other idols, let us take notice of five more, which with the former three are all the Koran mentions by name, and they are Wad, Sawd, Tagdib, Yud, and Nafr. These are said to have been antedeluvian idols, which Noah preached against, and were afterwards taken by the Arabs for gods, having been men of great merit and piety in their time, whose statues they reverenced at first with a civil honour only, which in process of time became heightened to a divine worship.
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Wadd was supposed to be the heaven, and was worshipped under the form of a man by the tribe of Calb in Doumat al Vendal ⁴.

Sawā was adored under the form of a woman by the tribe of Hamadan, or, as others ⁵ write, of Hodbaî in Robat. 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 Hodbaî, who instituted pilgrimages to it ⁶.

Yagîbûth was an idol in the shape of a lion, and was the deity of the tribe of Madbaj and others who dwelt in Yaman ⁷. Its name seems to be derived from gtbâ, which signifies to help.

Yaûk was worshipped by the tribe of Morâd, or, according to others, by that of Hamadan ⁸ 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 ⁹. The name Yaûk probably comes from the verb âka to prevent or avert ¹⁰.

Nafîr was a deity adored by the tribe of Hamyer, or at Duûl Khalaab 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 Yagîbûth and Yaûk, or else with Manab 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 Nefr. These statues were hollow within

⁴ Al Jauhari, al Shahreftani.
⁵ Al Firaunabâdi, & Sâho-
⁶ Jâddin.
⁷ Al Firaunabâdi.
⁸ Al Firaunabâdi.
⁹ Idem, al Firaunabâdi, & Sâho-
¹⁰ Al Jauhari, al Shahreftani.
¹ Al Firaunabâdi.
¹¹ Shahreftani.
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for the secret giving of oracles", but they seem to have been different from the Arabian idols. There was also an idol at Sámenat in the Indies, called Lát or al Lát, 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 Mabnúd Ebn Sebetaegbin, who conquered that part of India, broke to pieces with his own hands.

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 Korán, are not so much to our present purpose; for besides that every house-keeper had his household god, or gods, which he left took leave of, and first saluted at his going abroad and returning home, there were no less than 360 idols, equalling in number the days of their year, in and about the Caaba of Mecca; the chief of whom was Hobal, brought from Belka in Syria into Arabia by Amru Ebn Lobai, pretending it would procure them rain when they wanted it. It was the statue of a man made of red agate, which having by some accident lost a hand, the Koréish repaired it with one of gold: he held in his hand seven arrows without heads or feathers, such as the Arabs used in divination. This idol is supposed to have been the same with the image of Abràham", found and destroyed by Mohammed in the Caaba, on his entering it, in the eighth year of the Hejra, when he took Mecca, and surrounded with a great number of angels and prophets, as inferior deities; among whom, as some say, was Iṣmael with divining arrows in his hand also.

Alasif and Nayelab, 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 Safá, and

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\[\text{References: } a \text{ See Hyde, de rel. vet. Perf. p. 132. } ~ D'Herbelet, Bel Orient. p. 512. ~ p Al Moftatraf. ~ q Al Jannab. ~ r Alr. fed. 'Shahreft. } \text{ &c. } ~ s \text{ Poc. Spec. 95. } ~ t \text{ Sfihido. } ~ u \text{ Poc. Spec. 97. } ~ w \text{ Abulfeda. } ~ x \text{ Ebn al Athir. al Jnab. &c.}


the other on mount Merwa. They tell us Asaf was the son of Amru, and Navelab the daughter of Sabal, both of the tribe of Jorham, who committing whoredom together in the Kaaba, were by God converted into stones, 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.

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

Several of their idols, as Manab 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 Kaaba. 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 stone they met with.

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, left they should be obliged, at the resurrection, to go on foot, which was reckoned very scandalous. Some believed a metempsychosis, and that, of the blood near

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the dead person's brain, was formed a bird named Hamâb, 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 Osteini, Osteini, 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.

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 Persians had, by their vicinity and frequent intercourse with the Arabians, introduced the Magian religion among some of their tribes, particularly that of Tamim, 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 Magian to Dr. Hyde's curious account of it, a succinct abridgment of which may be read with much pleasure, in another learned performance.

The Jews, who fled in great numbers into Arabia from the fearful destruction of their country by the Romans, made proselytes of several tribes, thole of Kanânab, al Hareb Ebn Caaba, and Kendab 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 Asfàd, taken

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e Al Mofâtrâf.
f In his Hist. religion.
g Dr. Pridieaux's Connect. of the hist. of the Old Testament, part I. book 4.
h Al Mofâtrâf.
notice of in the Korán¹, who was king of Taman, 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, Yusuf, surnamed Dhu Nowás, 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 Korán ¹.

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, 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. The principal tribes that embraced Christianity, were Hamyer, Ghassán, Rabâ, Taglab, Babrâ, Tonîch, part of the tribes of Tay and Kaddâ, the inhabitants of Najrân, and the Arabs of Hira². As to the two last, it may be observed, that those of Najrân became Christians in the time of Dhu Nowás³; 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 Tepbra (which I take to be Dbaṣâr) for the Christians, and Herbanus for the Jews. On the third day, Herbanus, to end

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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 fight, and they would then believe on him; the Jews crying out with one voice, Show 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 fight, I who was crucified by your fathers. After which the cloud received him from their fight. The Christians cried out Kyrie eleison, i.e. Lord have mercy upon us, but the Jews were stricken blind, and recovered not till they were all baptized.

The Christians at Hira received a great accession by several tribes, who fled thither for refuge from the persecution of Dhu Novas. Al Nooman, for named Abu Kabus, King of Hira, who was slain 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 let part two days, one of which he called the unfortunate, and the other the fortunate day; making it 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. He had magnificent gifts. On one of those unfortunate days there came before him accidentally an Arab, of a tribe of Tay, who had once entertained this kind

* V. Gregentii disput. cum Heribano 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 custom1. 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 capital2.

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 Dhafar has been already named, and we are told that Najran was also a bishop’s see3. The Jacobites (of which sect we have observed

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2 Abulfeda ap. cund. p. 74.  
the Arabs generally were) had two bishops of the
Arabs subject to their Masriyan, 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 Cufsa, others a
different town near Baghdad. The other had the
title of bishop of the Scenite Arabs, of the tribe of
Tbaalab in Hira, or Hirta, as the Syrians call it, whose
seat was in that city. The Nestorians had but one bi-
shop, who presided over both these dioceses, of Hira
and Akula, and was immediately subject to their
patriarch.

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 dif-
ferent opinions. The Koreish, in particular, were
infected with Zendicism, 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, and yet embraced
none of the other religions of the country.

The Arabians before Mohammed were, as they ac-
curred, divided into two sorts, those who dwell in cities
and towns, and those who dwell in tents. The for-
mer lived by tillage, the cultivation of palm-trees,
breeding and feeding of cattle, and the exercise of
different arts of trades, 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 culti-

w Abulfarag. in Chron. Syriac, MS.
\* Abulseda, in deferr. Iran.
y Vid. Alfenann Bibl. Orient. T. II. in Differt. de Monophysita,
& p. 459.
\* V. Relland de Relig. Moham. p. 270. & Millium deMohammedismo ante Moham.
p. 511.
\* These seem to be the same whom Mr. La Rouge de
Moors. Voy. dans la Palestine, p. 110. See Priscus's life
of Mahomet, p. 6.
mary for the Arabia to exercise the same trade that their parents did. 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. They generally wintered in Irak, 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, that I cannot do better than refer the reader to his account of them.

The Arabic language is undoubtedly one of the most ancient in the world, and arose soon after, if not at, the confusion of Babel. There were several dialects of it, very different from each other: the most remarkable were that spoken by the tribe of Hamyar and the other genuine Arabs, and that of the Koreish. The Hamyari or the other genuine Arabs, and that of the Koreish. The Hamyariitic seems to have approached nearer to the purity of the Syriac, than the dialect of any other tribe; for the Arabs acknowledge their father Tarab to have been the first, whole tongue deviated from the Syriac (which was his mother tongue, and is almost generally acknowledged by the Ablatites to be the most ancient) to the Arabic. The dialect of the Koreish is usually termed the pure Arabic, or, as the Koran, 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 Hebrew 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,

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as frequented by the Arabs from the country 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 the 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 their countryman, and also to the Hamyarites (who used a perplexed character called al Masnad, 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, until such of them as were Jews, or Christians: Moriam Ebn Morra of Anbar, a city of Irak, who lived many years before Mohammed, was the inventor of the Arabic character, which Bashar the Keshahed is said to have learned from those of Anbar, and have introduced at Mecca, but a little while before the institution of Mohammedism. These letters of Moramer were different from the Hamyaritic; as though they were very rude, being either the same with, or very much like the Cufic, which character is still found in inscriptions, and some ancient books.

*Job xix. 23, 24.*  
*See Prideaux’s Life of Mahomet, p. 25.*  
*A specimen of the Cufic character may be seen in Sir J. Chardin’s travels, vol. 111. p. 119.*
yet they were those which the *Arabs* used for many years, *the Korān itself being at first written therein*; for the beautiful character they now use, was first formed from the *Cufic* by *Ebn Moklab*, *Wazir* (or *Vifir*) to the *Khalifs al Moktader*, *al Kāber*, and *al Kādi*, who lived about 300 years after *Mohammed*, and was brought to great perfection by *Ali Ebn Bowāb*\(^k\), who flourished in the following century, and whose name is yet famous among them, on that account; yet, it is said, the person who completed it, and reduced it to its present form, was *Zakut al Moṣṭāfīmi*, secretary to *al Moṣṭāfīmi*, the last of the *Khalifs* of the family of *Abbās*, for which reason, he was surnamed *al Khattāt*, 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*.\(^1\) The first they exercised themselves in, by composing 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 enterprise, or dissuade them from a dangerous one, or gave them other wholesome advice, was honoured with the title of *Khāṭeb*, 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-

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\(^1\) Poc. Orat. ante Carmen Tograi, p. 10.
ing in public, except themselves and the Persians, which last were reckoned much inferior in that respect to the Arabians. Poetry was in so great esteem among them, that it was a great accomplishment and a proof of ingenuous extraction, to be able to express one’s self in verse with ease and elegance, in any extraordinary occurrence; and even in their common discourse, they made frequent applications of celebrated passages of their famous poets. In their poems were preserved the distinction of descents, the rights of tribes, the memory of great actions, and the propriety of their language; for which reason an excellent poet reflected an honour on his tribe, so that, as soon as any one began to be admired for his performances of this kind in a tribe, the other tribes sent publicly to congratulate them on the occasion and themselves made entertainments, at which the women assisted, dressed in their nuptial ornaments, singing to the sound of timbrels the happiness of their tribe, who had now one to protect their honour to preserve their genealogies and the purity of the language, and to transmit their actions to posterity; for this was all performed by their poems, to which they were solely obliged for their knowledge and instructions, moral and economical, and to which they had recourse, as to an oracle, in all doubts and differences. No wonder then, that a public congratulation was made on this account, which honour they were so far from making cheap, that they never did but on one of these three occasions, which were reckoned great points of felicity; viz. on the birth of a boy, the rise of a poet, and the fall of a foal of generous breed. To keep up an emulation among their poets, the tribes had, once a year, a general assembly at Ocdah, a place famous on this account, and where they kept a weekly mart or fair, which was held on our Sunday. This annual meeting lasted a whole

m Poc. Spec. 161.
Idem, Spec. p. 159.
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. The poems that were judged to excel, were laid up in their king's treasuries, as were the seven celebrated poems, thence called \textit{Ma'alla-kat}, rather than from their being hung up on the \textit{Caaba}, which honour they also had by public order, being written on \textit{Egyptian} silk, and in letters of gold; for which reason they had also the name of \textit{al Mod-bababat}, or the golden verses.

The fair and assembly at \textit{Ocadh} were suppressed by \textit{Mohammed}, in whose time, and for some years after, poetry seems to have been in some degree neglected by the \textit{Arabs}, who were then employed in their conquests; which being completed, and themselves at peace, not only this study was revived, 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 preferred by memory; the use of writing being rare among them, in their time of ignorance. Though the \textit{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 prodigy digested into rules, till some time after \textit{Mohammed}; for this was done, as it is said, by \textit{al Khatif Ahmed al Farabidi}, who lived in the reign of the \textit{Khalif Harun al Rashid}.

\footnote{Poc. Spec. 159.}{Ibid. & p. 381. Et in calce Notar. in Carmen Tugrai, p. 233.}{Jallal-ed-din al Soyuti, apud Poc. Spec. p. 159, &c.}{Ib. 160.}{Ib. 161. Al Safadi confirms this by a story of a Grammarian, named \textit{Abu Jaafar}, who fitting by the \textit{Mikyai} or \textit{Nelometer} in \textit{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.}{V. Clericum de Profod. Arab. p. 2.}{Thè}
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The exercise of arms and horlemanship 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.

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, and Hafn of that of Fezarah, were particularly famous on this account; and the contrary vice was so much in contempt, that a certain poet upbraids the inhabitants of Wafet, as with the greatest reproach, that none of their men had the heart to give, nor their women to deny.

Nor were the Arabs less propenfe to liberality after the coming of Mubahmed, than their ancestors had been. I could produce many remarkable instances of this commendable quality among them, 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 Mubahmed; another to Kais Ebn Saad Ebn Obada; and the third gave it to Arabah of the tribe of Aul. 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, friend, going to him, found him with his foot in the

1 Pocock, in calce Notar. ad Carmen Tograi. 2 V. Gentii Not. in Gulielmi Stedhi Sadi, p. 436, &c. 3 Poc. Spec. p. 48. 4 Ebn al Hobirah, apud Poc. in Not. ad Carmen Tograi, 107. 5 See Ver. may be found in D'Herberlet's Bibli. Orient. particularly in the articles Hafn the son of Ali, Muea, Fudbel, and Ebn Tulba.
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thirrup, 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 faddle, because it had belonged to Ali, the son of Abutaled. So he took the camel, and found on her some vefts 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 Arabab, 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 Arabab 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 Arabab 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 Arabab 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, and respectful to their kindred. And they have always been celebrated for their quickness of apprehension and penetration, and the vivacity of their wit; especially those of the desert.

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 desert, who are therefore observed to be most inclined to these vices) that creature being most malicious and tenacious of anger; 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. We must not however imagine that they are the less honest for this among themselves, or towards those whom they

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strato, l. 16. p. 1129.


Voyage dans la Palestine. p. 220, &c.
receive as friends; on the contrary, the strictest probity is observed in their camp, where everything is open, and nothing ever known to be stolen. The sciences the *Arabians* chiefly cultivated before *Mohammedi*sm, were three; that of their genealogies and history, such a knowledge of the *stars* as to foretell the changes of weather, and the interpretation of dreams. 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. 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 *Chaideans*, who chiefly worshipped the planets, and that of the *Indians*, who worshipped the fixed *stars*. The *stars* or afterimis they most usually foretold the weather by, were those they call *Amat*, or the houses of the moon. There 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; saying, that their rain was from such or such a star: which expression *Mohammed* condemned, and absolutely forbade them to use it in the old sense; unless they meant no more by it, than that God had so ordered the

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1. *Voyage dans la Palestine*, p. 213, &c.
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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.

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 had 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.

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 setting up for a prophet, and what were the conducive circumstances and accidents that favoured his success.

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 induced with active graces, zeal, and devotion, and established within itself with purity of doctrine, union, and firm profession of the faith, 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. 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

q Prideaux's pref. to his life of Mahomet.
pitch, that it even surpassed whatever is now practised among the Romanists. After the Nicean 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; 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. 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 Ursinus 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.

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

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fictions, and, perplexing it with intricate questions, instead of reconciling different opinions, excited many disputes, which he fomented as they proceeded, with infinite altercation*. 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.

This corruption of doctrine and morals in the princes and clergy, was necessarily followed by a general depravity of the people; 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.

But, to be more particular as to the nation we are now writing of, Arabia was of old famous for heresies; 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: these Origen is said to have convinced. Among the Arabs it was that the heresies of Ebion, Beryllus, and the Nazareans, and also that of the Colyridians 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.

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. Others imagined her to be exempt from humanity, and deified; which goes

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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 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.

Though the Jews were an inconsiderable and despised people in other parts of the world, yet in Arabia, whether 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 profiteers, that they were some of the bitterest enemies he had, waging continual war with him, till that their reduction cost him infinite trouble and danger, and at last his life. This aversion of their 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 follower to this day observe the same difference between them and the Christians, treating the former as the most abject and contemptible people on earth.

It has been observed by a great politician, that it is impossible a person should make himself a prince and found a state, without opportunities. If the detrafficated 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 ems.

\[ \text{Chap. 5.} \quad \text{\textsuperscript{a} Machiavelli, Princ. c. 6. p. 19.} \]
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 Khagan or king of the Huns; and, after Phocas had murdered his master, such lamentable havoc 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.

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

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The Persians had also been in a declining condition for some time before Mohammed, occasioned chiefly by their intestine broils and diffusions; 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 Kbosfru Kobād, and pretended himself a prophet sent from God to preach a community of women and pofitions, since all men were brother 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. Kobād 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 Anufbirvān, 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 Anufbirvān, as soon as he succeeded his father, put Mazdak to death, with all his followers, and the Mandaeans also, restoring the ancient Magian religion.

In the reign of this prince, deservedly turremed the jufi, Mohammed was born. He was the last king of Persia who deferred the throne, which, after him, was almost perpetually contended for, till subverted by the Arabs. His son Hormīz took 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 Kbosfru Pārdzh, who, at the instigation of Babram Chubīn, had rebelled against him, and was afterwards frangled. Pārdzh was soon obliged to quit the throne to Babram; but having obtained succours of the Greek emperor Maurice, he then 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 correspondences.

* V. Ροι. Σπε. p. 70.
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with the Arabs; and he was at length deposed, imprisoned, and slain by his son Shiriya. After Parviz 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 Koost Parviz; 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.

As these empires were weak and declining, so Arabia, at Mohammed's setting up, was strong and flourishing; having been peopled at the expense 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 Ar tabians were not only a populous nation, but unac quainted 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. Vol. I.
This posture of public affairs in the eastern world, both as to its religious and political state, it is more than probable Mohammed was well acquainted with; he having had sufficient opportunities of informing himself in those particulars, in his travels as a merchant in his younger years: and though it is not 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 to what might seem dangerous to another, to his own advantage.

Mohammed came into the world under some advantageous circumstances, which he soon surmounted. His father was a younger son of Abd’al-motaileb, a man dying very young, and in his father’s lifetime, his widow and infant son in very mean circumstances, his whole substance consisting but of four camels and one Ethiopian slave. Abd’al-motaileb was therefore obliged to take care of his grandson Mohammed, which he not only did during his lifetime, but at his death enjoined his eldest son Abu Talib, 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 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 equal with the richest in Mecca.

After he began by this advantageous match to live at his ease, it was that he formed the scheme of establishing a new religion, or, as he expressed it, he was not his eldest son, as Dr. Prideaux tells us; whose reflections built on that foundation must necessarily fail: (see his life of Mahomet, p. 9.) nor yet his youngest son, as M. de Boudanville (Vie de Mahomet, p. 182, &c.) supposed; for Hamza and al Abbás were both younger than Abd’allah. As Abulfeda, Vit. Moham. p. 2.
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It is of replanting the only true and ancient one, profaned by Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and all the Prophets, by destroying the gross idolatry fallen, and weeding out the corruptions and superstitions which the latter years and Corruptions had, as the thoughts, introduced into their religion, and reducing it to its original purity, which conflicted chief-

ilation 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 Muhammad was certainly himself a great and enthusiastic christian, which, in his own words, was violated by all the rest of the world; and not only by the idolaters, but by the Chrisiants, as those who superstitionally adored the Virgin Mary, as God, it is easy to conceive that he might think it a meritorious work to refute the world from such ignorance.
ignorance and superstition; and, by degrees, with the help of a warm imagination, which an Arab seldom wants, 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 on a 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 prudence.

The terrible destruction of the eastern churches once so glorious and flourishing, by the sudden spreading of Mohammedism, and the great successes its professors against the Christians, necessarily inspire a horror of that religion in those to whom has been so fatal; and no wonder if they endeavour to set the character of its founder, and his 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 he went too far, and resolved to abolish what he might think incapable of reformation.

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

\[\text{See Calaub. of Enthusiasm, p. 148.}\]
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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, 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.

* Ammian. Marcell. I. 14. c. 4. by
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by the professors of a religion, which was confessedly of divine original.

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, liberty, clemency, humility, and abstinencc. 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: God, says al Babari, offered him the keys of the treasures of the earth, but he would not accept them. Though the eulogies of the writers are justly to be suspected of partiality, yet thus much, I think, may be inferred from thence that for an Arab who had been educated in Paganism and had but a very imperfect knowledge of his duty, he was a man of at least tolerable morals, and not such a monster of wickedness as he is usually represented. And, indeed, it is scarce possible to conceive, that a wretch of so profligate a character should ever have succeeded in an enterprise of that nature; a little hypocrisy and saving of appearance 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 art of insinuation. The eastern historians describe him to have been a man of an excellent judgment, and 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

\[t \text{ V. Abulfeda, Vit. Moham. p. 144, &c.} \]
\[v \text{ Prid. life of Moham. 231, p. 105.} \]
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...say he was a person of few words, of an equal cheerful temper, pleasant and familiar in conversation, of inoffensive behaviour towards his friends, and of great condescension towards his inferiors. To all which were joined a comely agreeable person and a polite address; accomplishments of no small service in preventing those in his favour, whom he attempted to persuade.

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

The scheme of religion which Mohammod framed, and the design and artful contrivance of those written revelations (as he pretended them to be) which compose his Koran, 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...

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w V. Abulfed. ubi sup. p. 23, &c. y Chap. 7.

x See Koran chap. 29. Praed. life of Moh.
wears the effecting of his enterprize, and the accidents which concurred to his success therein.

Before he made any attempt abroad, he rightly judged that it was necessary for him to begin by the conversion of his own household. Having therefore retired with his family, as he had done several times before, to the above-mentioned cave in Mount Harem, he there opened the secret of his mission to his wife Khadijah; and acquainted her that the angel Gabriel had just before appeared to him, and told him that he was appointed the apostle of God: he also repeated to her a passage 2 which he pretended had been revealed to him by the ministry of the angel with those other circumstances of this first appearance, which are related by the Mohammedan writers. Khadijah received the news with great joy 3; swearing by him in whose hands her soul was, that she trusted he would be the prophet of his nation: and immediately communicated what she had heard to her cousin Warakah Ebn Nasifal, who, being a Christian, could write in the Hebrew character, and was tolerably well versed in the scriptures 4; and he readily came into her opinion, assuring her that the same angel who had formerly appeared unto Mohammed was now sent to Mohammed 5. The first overturn the prophet made in the month of Ramadán, in the fortieth year of his age, which is therefore usually called the year of his mission.

Encouraged by so good a beginning, he resolved to proceed, and try for some time what he could do by private persuasion, not daring to hazard the whole affair by exposing it too suddenly to the public. He soon made proselytes of those under his own roof, viz. his wife Khadijah, his servant Zainab Ebn Harethah (to whom he gave his freedom 6) on the occasion.

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2 This passage is generally agreed to be the first five verses of the 68th chapter.

3 I do not remember to have read in any eastern author, that Khadijah ever rejected her husband’s pretences as delusions, or suspected him of any imposture. Yet see Prideaux’s life of Mahomet, p. 31. for V. Doc, Spec. p. 157.

4 V. Abulphed, Vit. Moham, p. 16. Where the learned translator has mistaken the meaning of this passage.

5 For he was his purchased slave, as Abulfeda expressly tells us; and not his cousin german, as Mr. de Bouainvill, affirms (Vie de Mah, p. 273.)
occasion, which afterwards became a rule to his followers) and his cousin and pupil Ali, the son of Abu Taleb, though then very young; but this last, making no account of the other two, used to stile himself the first of believers. The next person Mohammed applied to was Abdallah Ebn Abi Kobafa, surnamed Abu Beer, a man of great authority among the Koreifa, and one whose interest he well knew would be of great service to him; as it soon appeared: for Abu Beer, being gained over, prevailed also on Obman Ebn Affan, Abd’alrahman Ebn Awef, Saad Ebn Abi Wakkas, al Zobeir Ebn al Awam, and Talha Ebn Obiad’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, 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, 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 Labab, one of his uncles, making the company break up before Mohammed had an opportunity of speaking, obliged him to give them a second invitation the next day; and, when they were come, he made them the following speech: "I know no man in all Arabia who can offer his kindred a more excellent thing than I now do you: I offer you happiness both in this life, and in that which is to come; God Almighty hath commanded me to call you unto him; Who therefore among you will be assisting to me herein, and become my brother, and my vice-gerent?" All of them hesitating, and declining the matter, Ali at length rose up, and declared that he would be his assistant, and vehemently threatened those who should oppose him. Mohammed

e Koran, c. 74. See the notes thereon.
upon 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.

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

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 Othman Ibn Af-
fan 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. These refugees were kindly received by the Najashi, 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, 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 Ibn al Khatib, 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, made a solemn league or covenant against the Hashemites and the family of Abd'almotalib, 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 Kaaba. 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 Lakeb, who, out of his inveterate hatred to his nephew and his doctrine, went over to the opposite party, whose chief was Abu Sofian Ibn Harb, of the family of Ommaya.

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...
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.

In the same year Abu Taleb died, at the age of above four score; 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.

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 Tayef, 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 'Abakif who were the inhabitants of that place; but they received them very coldly. However he stayed 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. 284. Ebn Shohnah.
where he put himself under the protection of al-Muttam Ebn Adi.

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 profylytes, and among them six of the inhabitants of Yathreb of the Jaffa 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.

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, so much spoken of by all that write of him. Dr. Pridaux*, 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 ministration of Gabriel.

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 Beer vouched for his veracity, and declared that, if Mohammed affirmed it to be true, he verily believed the

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* See the notes on the 17th chap. of the Koran. * 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.

In this year, called by the Mohammedans the accepted year, twelve men of Yathreb or Medina, of whom ten were of the tribe of Kbaerah, 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 women's 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 Koran, 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); 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 Masahb Ebn Qais, home with them, to instruct them more fully in the grounds and ceremonies of his new religion.

Masahb, being arrived at Medina, by the assistance of those who had been formerly converted, gained several proselytes, particularly Usaid Ebn Hodeira, a chief man of the city, and Saad Ebn Moahd, 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.
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The next year, being the thirteenth of Moham-
med’s mission, Mas‘ab returned to Mecca, accompa-
nied by seventy-three men and two women of Me-
da 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 appoint-
ment, 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 de-
fend 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 influxs, as heartily as they would their own wives
and families. They then asked him what recom-
pence 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; 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.

Hitherto Mohammed had propagated his religion by fair means, so that the whole success of his en-
terprize, before his flight to Medina, must be attrib-
uted to persuasion only, and not to compulsion.
For, before this second oath of fealty or inaugura-
tion at al Akaba, he had no permission to use any

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. Môses, 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. 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.

* Mackiavelli, Princ. c. 6.*
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 *Mohammedanism* 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; 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. 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, 


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which they accordingly did; but himself with *Abu Beer* and *Ali* stayed 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 theirkinsman’s death.

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, to *Abu Beer*’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 till morning, when *Ali* arose and they found themselves deceived.

From *Abu Beer*’s house *Mohammed* and he went to a cave in mount *Thor*, to the south-east of Mecca, accompanied only by *Amer Ebn Fobirab*, *Abu Beer*’s servant, and *Abdallah Ebn Orefah*, an idolater, whom they had hired for a guide. In this cave they hid three days to avoid the search of their enemies, which they very narrowly escaped, and not without

*See the notes to chap. 8. and 36.*
the assistance of more miracles than one; for some say that the Korésh 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, which made them look no farther. 

Abu Beer, seeing the prophet in such imminent danger, became very sorrowful, whereupon Mohammed comforted him with these words, recorded in the Korâne: 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 Mubahadans tell us, miraculously, escaped some who were sent to pursuive them, arrived safely at that city; whither Ali followed them in three days, after he had settled some affairs at Mecca. 

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 Sabal and Sobei the sons of Amrû, who were orphans. This action Dr. Prideaux explains against, representing it as a flagrant instance of injustice, for that, says he, he violently disposseted these poor orphans, the sons of an inferior artificer whom the author he quotes calls a carpenter, of this ground, and so founded the first fabric of his worship with the like wickedness as he did his religion. But, to say nothing of the improbability that Mohammed should act in so impolitic a manner at

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Footnotes:
1. 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.
5. Disputatio Christiani contra Saracen. c. 4.
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; however, as historians of good credit assure us, he actually bought it; and the money was paid by Abu Beer. 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 Najjar, 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 Najjar, which signifies a carpenter, for an appellative, whereas it is a proper name.

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 Kureish, 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 Badr, which was fought in the second year of the Hejra, and is so famous in the Mohammedan history. 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: some of them, however, will be necessarily taken notice of in explaining several passages of the Koran. His forces he maintained

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part.
partly by the contributions of his followers for this purpose, which he called by the name of Zadî or abns, 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 Hodeibya, 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 Mafid, prince of the tribe of Thakif, 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.

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 caught the water that he had used; and, whenever he spit, they immediately licked it up, and gathered up every
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. Khošru Parviz, then king of Persia, received his letter with great disdain, and tore it in a passion, sending away the messenger very abruptly; while when Mohammed heard, he said, God shall tear his kingdom. And soon after a messenger came to Mohammed from Badban king of Yaman, who was a dependant on the Persians, to acquaint him that he had received orders to send him to Khošru. Mohammed put off his answer till the next morning, and then told the messenger it had been revealed to him that night that Khošru was slain by his son Shirvayeh, adding, that he was well assured that religion and empire should rise to as great a height as that of Khošru; and therefore bid him advise his master to embrace Mohammedism. The messenger having returned, Badban in a few days received a letter from Shirvayeh, informing him of his father’s death and ordering him to give the prophet no further disturbance. Whereupon Badban and the Persians with him turned Mohammedans.

The emperor Heraclius, as the Arabian historian affirms, 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.

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 presents...
sents to Mohammed, and among the rest two girls, one of which, named Mary, 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, king of Ghassân, who returning for answer that he would go to Mohammed himself, the prophet said, May his kingdom perish; another to Hwedba 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 Babrein, who embraced Mohammedism, and all the Arabs of that country followed his example.

The eighth year of the Hejra was a very fortunate year to Mohammed. In the beginning of it Khâled Ebn al Walid and Amr 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 Mîta, 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 Haretha, Mohammed's freedman, Jafar, the son of Abu Taleb, and Abdallah Ebn Rawâba; but Khâled Ebn al Walid, succeeding to the command, overthrew the Greeks with a great slaughte-
The Preliminary Discourse.

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 Bcezâyab, who were confederates with the Koreïb, attacking those of Kbezâyab, who were allies of Mohammed, killed several of them, being supported in the action by a party of the Koreïb themselves. The consequence of this violation was soon apprehended; and Abu Sofîân himself made a journey to Medina on purpose to heal the breach and renew the truce; but in vain: for Mohammed, glad of this opportunity, refused to see him; whereupon he applied to Ali, Beer 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 surprize the Mecans 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. Thoese of Mecca, being not in a condition to defend themselves against so formidable an army, surrendered at discretion; and Abu Sofîân 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 Koreïb, 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 more than three men and one woman were put to death, the rest obtaining pardon on their embracing

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* Al Bokhâri in Sonna.  
* The circumstance is a plain proof that the Koreïb had actually broken the truce, and that it was not a mere pretence of Mohammed's, as Drs. Prideaux infer.  

**Life of Abub.** p. 94.
Mobammedism, and one of the women making her escape.

The remainder of this year Mobammed 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.

The next year, being the ninth of the Hejra, the Mobammedans call the year of embassies: for the Arabs had been hitherto expecting the issue of the war between Mobammed 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 Mobammed, 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 stayed there, and also to Medina, whither he returned this year. Among the rest five kings of the tribe of Hawyar professed Mobammedism, and sent embassadors to notify the same.

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

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

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2 V. Abulfed. ubi sup. c. 51, 52. 7 V. Gagnier, Not. ad Abulfed. p. 121. 2 Abulfed. ubi sup. p. 128. a Abulfed. ib. p. 129.
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Of the Korân itself, the Peculiarities of the 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 Karâb, or Mikra, words of the same origin and import. Which observation seems to overthrow the opinion of some learned Arabians, who had 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: and may also, by the way, serve as an answer to those who object that the Korân must be a book forged at once, and could not possibly be revealed in 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, 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...
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books of scripture: as, al Farkán, from the verb faraka, to divide or distinguish; not, as the Mosammedan doctors say, because those books are divided into chapters or fections, or distinguish between good and evil; but in the same notion that the Jews use the word Perek, or Pirká, from the same root, to denote a fection or portion of scripture. It is also called al Mohif, the volume, and al Kitáb, the book, by way of eminence, which answers to the Biblia of the Greeks, and al Dibikr, the admonition, which name is also given to the Pentateuch and Gospel.

The Korán is divided into 114 larger portions or divisions, very unequal length, which we call chapters, but the Arabians Sawwar, in the singular Sūra, 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 Sūra, or Tora of the Jews, who also call the fifty-three fections of the Pentateuch Sedomim, a word of the same signification.

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 Sedomim: 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,
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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 into smaller portions of very unequal length also, which we customarily call verses: but the Arabic word is Ayat, the same with the Hebrew Othoth, 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 Koran consists in the division and number of the verses: and for this reason I have not taken upon me to make any such division.

Having mentioned the different editions of the Koran, 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 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; and the same number of letters, viz. 323015: 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.

Besides these unequal divisions of chapter and verse, the Mohammedans have also divided their Korân into sixty equal portions, which they call Abzâb, 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 Mishma into sixty portions called Maffîoth: but the Korân is more usually divided into thirty sections only, named Ajzá, 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. 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.

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1 Or, as others reckon them, 99464. Reland, de rel. Moh. p. 25.
2 Or, according to another computation, 330113. Ibid. V. Gol. ubi sup. p. 178. D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. p. 87.
5 V. Smith, de moribus & instit. Turcis. p. 58.

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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 Bisnallah, *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 Mohammeed really took this form, as he did many other things, from the Persian Magi, who used to begin their books in these words, *Benâm Tezdân bakhshajšgb re dâdâr:* that is, *In the name of the most merciful, just God.*

This auspicious 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 confessest, 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," and suppose the letters stand for as many words, expressing the names and attributes of God, his works, ordinances, and decrees; and therefore these mysterious letters, as

well as the verses themselves, seem in the Koran to be called signs. Others explain the intent of these letters from their nature or organ, or else from their value in numbers, according to another species of the Jewish Cabala called Gematria; 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 la ilah magid; 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 alam, 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 Koran. 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 Koran should be fully established. The conjecture of a learned Christian is at least as certain as any of the former, who supposes those letters were set there by the amanuensis, for Ameree 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 Cab yaas, i.e. Thus be commanded.

The Koran 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

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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) and therefore insisted on as a permanent miracle, greater than that of raising the dead, 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, public and challenging the most eloquent men in Arabia, which was at that time stocked with thousands, whose for study and ambition it was to excel in elegance, style and composition, to produce even a single chapter that might be compared with it. I will mention but one instance, out of several, to show that this book was really admired for the beauty of its composture by those who must be allowed to have been competent judges. A poem of Labid Ebn Rabia, one of the greatest wits in Arabia 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 Koran being fixed up by it soon after, Labid himself (the idolater) on reading the first verses only, was struck with admiration, and immediately professed the religion taught thereby, declaring that no words could proceed from an inspired person. This Labid was afterwards of great service to Mohammed, in writing answers to the satires and invective that were made on him and his religion.


* A noble writer therefore mistakes the question, when he says, the eastern religionists leave their sacred writ the sole standard of literary formance by extinguishing all true learning. For, though they substitute of what we call learning, yet they were far from being ignorant or unable to compose elegantly in their own tongue. See L. Shafei's Charactaristics, Vol. III. p. 235. * Al Gazali, apud Poc. Spec. See Koran, c. 17. and also c. 2. p. 2. and c. 11, &c.
the infidels, and, particularly, by Amri al Kais<sup>x</sup>, prince of the tribe of Aṣhad<sup>y</sup>, and author of one of those seven famous poems called al Moellakât<sup>y</sup>.

The style of the Korâân 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 Korâân, 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 Korâân, 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 chosê 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<sup>z</sup>. He must

<sup>y</sup> See Poc. Spec. p. 80.  
<sup>y</sup> See Cæs.æbron of Enthuiafin, 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 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 succeeds 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 sometimes complains.

Design. "The general design of the *Korân*" (to use the words of a very learned person) "seems to be the following. To unite the professors of the three different religions then followed in the populous country of *Arabia*, who, for the most part, lived as miserably, and wandered without guides, the greater number being idolaters, and the Jews and *Christians* mostly of erroneous and heterodox belief, in the knowledge and worship of one eternal, invisible *God*, by whose power all things were made, and those which are may be; the supreme Governor, Judge, and absolute Lord of the creation, established under the sanction of certain laws, and the outward signs of certain ceremonies, partly of ancient and partly of novel institution, and enforced by setting before them rewards and punishments both temporal and eternal: and to bring 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,

*Korân*, chap. 15, 23, &c.
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"to be acknowledged chief pontiff in spiritual matters, as well as supreme prince in temporal."

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 recondition mankind there-of, 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,
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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 Koran 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 law 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 exculcate himself with honour from any difficulty which might occur. If any objection be hence made to that eternity of the Koran, which the Mohammedians 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.

That Mohammed was really the author and chief contriver of the Koran, 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; however they differed so much in their conjectures as to the particular persons who gave him such assistance, that they were not able, it seems, to prove the charge; Mohammed, it

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Its author and manner of publishing.

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c Vide Koran, c. 16. and c. 25. d See the notes on these passages.
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is to be presumed, having taken his measures too well to be discovered. Dr. Prideaux\(^a\) has given the most probable account of this matter, though chiefly from Christiau 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 prepared 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\(^b\): 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\(^c\). The first parcel that was revealed is generally agreed to have been the first five verses of the ninety-sixth chapter\(^d\).

\(^a\) Life of Mahomet, p. 37, &c.  \(^b\) Vide Korân c. 97, and not. ibid.  \(^c\) 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.  \(^d\) Not the whole chapter, as Gaius says. Append. ad Gr. Erp. p. 180.
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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 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 Beer, 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 Haffa the daughter of Owar, one of the prophet's widows.

From this relation it is generally imagined that Abu Beer was really the compiler of the Koran; 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 Beer 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 Hejira, Othman being then Khalif, and observing the great disagreement in the copies of the Koran 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 Macdud Ebn Afsaad, he, by advice of the companions, ordered a great number of copies to be transcribed from that of Abu Beer, in Haffa's care.

care, under the inspection of Zeid Ebn Thabet, Ab-
d'allab Ebn Zobair, Sàid Ebn al As, and Ad'al'abhmân
Ebn al Hâreth the Makkzumite; whom he directed
that, wherever they disagreed about any word, they
should write it in the dialect of the Korâns, in which
it was at first delivered. These copies, when made,
were dispersed in the several provinces of the empire,
and the old ones burnt and suppressed. Though
many things in Haffa'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 in the Arabic character made various
readings. Mârî's, or readers, whose peculiar study and profes-
son it was to read the Korân with its proper vowels,
absolutely necessary. But these, differing in their
manner of reading, occasioned further variations
in the copies of the Korân, as they are now written
with the vowels; and herein consists much the
greater part of the various readings throughout the
book. The readers whose authority the commentators chiefly alledge, in admitting these various read-
ings, are seven in number.

There being some passages in the Korân which are contradictory, the Mohâmmedan doctors obviate any
objection from thence, by the doctrine of abrogation;
for they say, that God in the Korân commanded se-
veral things which were for good reasons afterwards
revoked and 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 re-

\[1\] Abûlsedâ, in vitis Abubeer & Othmân. \[2\] The characters or marks
of the Arabic vowels were not used till several years after Mohâmmed.
Some ascribe the invention of them to Yâhya Ebn Yâmer, some to Nâfî Ebn
Sâm, surnamed al Lebâb, and others to Abû'l'aswâd al Dîlî; all three of
whom were doctors of Basra, and immediately succeeded the companions.

See D'Herbel, Bibl. Orient. p. 87.
Of the first kind were several verses, which by the tradition of Ans Ebn Malec were in the prophet's lifetime read in the chapter of repentance, but are 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 bells 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 Mafud, 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 Oma, afterwards Kbalif, was extant while Mohammed was living, though it be not now to be found. The words are these, "Abhor not your parents, for they would be ingratitude in you. If a man and woman 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 222. Such as the precepts of turning in prayer to Jerusalem; fasting after the old custom; forbearance towards idolaters; avoiding the ignorant, and the like. The passages of this sort have been carefully collected by several writers, and are most of them remarked in their proper places.

Though it is the belief of the Sennites or orthodox that the Koran 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; yet several have been of a different opinion;
opinion; particularly the sect of the Motázalites, and the followers of Isā Ebn Soheib Abu Muṣa, surnamed al Moxdor, who stuck not to accuse those who held the Korān to be uncreated of infidelity, as affronts of two eternal beings.

This point was controverted with so much heat that it occasioned many calamities under some of the Khulfs of the family of Abbās, al Mamān making a public edict declaring the Korān to be created, which was confirmed by his successors al Motafam and al Wathek, who whipt, imprisoned, and put to death those of the contrary opinion. But at length al Motawakkil, 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.

Al Ghazāli seems to have tolerably reconciled both opinions, saying, that the Korān 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; by which he seems to mean no more than that the original idea of the Korān 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 Ḥabib, chief of a sect bearing his name, touching the Korān, is too remarkable to be omitted: he used to say it was a body, which

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* See after, in Sect. 8. p V. Poc. Spec. p. 219, &c. t Anno Hej. 218. Abufarag. p. 245. v. etiam Elmacin, in vira al Mamān. r In the time of al Motafam, a doctour named Abu Harān Ebn al laca found out a definition to screen himself, by affirming that the Korān was ordained, because it is laid in that book, and R have ordained thee the Korān. He went still farther, to allow that what was ordained, was created, and yet he denied it thence followed that the Korān was created. Abufarag. p. 245. t Ibid. p. 255. t Anno Hej. 242. u Abufarag. p. 262. w Al Ghazāli, in prof. fid.
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might sometimes be turned into a man; and sometimes into a beast; which seems to agree with the notion of those who assert the Korán to have two faces, one of a man, the other of a beast; thereby, as I conceive, intimating the double interpretation it will admit of, according to the letter or the spirit.

As some have held the Korán 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 their natural liberty, and not restrained them in that particular, the Arabians could have composed something not only equal, but superior to the Korán in eloquence, method, and purity of language. There was another opinion of the Motázalites, and in particular of al Mozdár above-mentioned and al Nazám.

Exposition of it.

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

One of the most learned commentators distinguishes the contents of the Korán into allegorical and literal. The former comprehends the more obscure, parabolical, and enigmatical passages, and such are repealed or abrogated; the latter those which

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* The Khalif al Wálid Ebn Yazid, who was the eleventh of the race of Ommezay, and is looked on by the Mohammedans as a representative and one of no religion, seems to have treated this book as a riddle, or a creature. For, dipping into it one day, the words he met with were: Every rebellious perverse person shall not prosper. Wherefore he stuck it on a lance and shot it to pieces with arrows, repeating these verses:

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

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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. 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.

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; which left 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, 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.

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

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6 Ahmed Ibn Moh. al Thalebi, in princip. expof. Alc. 4 Yahya Ebn a Sahin al Bari, in princip. expof. Alc. 8 The Jews have the same regeneration for their law; not daring to touch it with unwashed hands, for then neither, without a cover. V. Millium, de Mohammedino antechrist. p. 366. 6 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 Persians, who do the same with the scripture. V. Millium, ubi sub. 3 Sionita, de usus orient. p. 41. & Marracc. de Alc. p. 33. h Reland, de Rel. orb. p. 265.
SECTION IV.

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

It has been already observed, more than once, that the fundamental position, on which the Mohammedan religion is built, was that, from the beginning to the end of the world, there has been, and for ever will be, but one orthodox belief; consisting, as to matter of faith, in acknowledging 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 temporary, and subject to alteration, according to his will and pleasure. And to this religion he gives the name of Islam, which signifies resignation, or submission to the service and commands of God; and is used as the proper name of the Mohammedan religion, which they also have to be the same at bottom with that of all the prophets from Adam.

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

Sec. 11.
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 Mohammedians divide their religion, which, as The division and fundamental points
I just now said, they call Ijma into two distinct parts; Imán, i.e. faith, or theory; and Din 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.

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

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

The four angels, whom they look on as most 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, and the angel of revelations, suppose him to be honoured by God with a greater confidence than any other, and to be employed in writing down the divine decrees; Michael, the friend and protector of the Jews; Azrâel, the angel of death, who separates mens souls from their bodies; Israfîl, whose office it will be to found the trumpets at the resurrection. The Mohammedans also believe that two guardian angels attend on every man,
observe and write down his actions\textsuperscript{a}, being changed every day, and therefore called al Moakkibát, 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\textsuperscript{a}. 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 Soráb and Reván bakhsb, 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 Mordád, or the giver of death; Michael they called Bešter, who according to them provides sustenance for mankind\textsuperscript{a}. The Jews teach, that the angels were created of fire\textsuperscript{a}, that they have several offices\textsuperscript{b}; that they intercede for men\textsuperscript{c}, and attend them\textsuperscript{c}. The angel of death they name Dúnd, and say he calls dying persons by their respective names, at their last hour\textsuperscript{c}.

The devil, whom Mohammed names Eblis, from his despair, was once one of those angels who are nearest to God's presence, called Azazâl\textsuperscript{a}, and fell, according to the doctrine of the Korán, for refusing to pay homage to Adam at the command of God\textsuperscript{w}. Besides angels and devils, the Mohammedans are taught by the Korán to believe an intermediate order of creatures, which they call jin or Genii, created also of fire\textsuperscript{x}, but of a grosser fabric than angels; since they eat and drink, and propagate their species, and are subject to death\textsuperscript{r}. Some of these are supposed to be good, and others bad, and

\textsuperscript{a} Kor. c. 10. \textsuperscript{b} Talmud Hierof. in Rosh haShana. \textsuperscript{c} V. Hyde, ubi sup. c. 19. and 20. \textsuperscript{d} Gemar. in Hagiag. & BereSnit rabbah. &c. V. Pelam civ. 4. q Yalkut hadash. \textsuperscript{e} Gemar. in Sheebir, & Bava Bathra, &c. \textsuperscript{f} Midrath. Yalkut Shemůni. \textsuperscript{g} Gemar. Berachoth. \textsuperscript{h} V. Rodart. de Rel. Muh. p. 109, &c. \textsuperscript{w} Korán, c. 2, p. 5. See also, c. 718, &c. \textsuperscript{x} Kor. c. 55. See the notes there; \textsuperscript{r} Jallalo'ddin, in Kor. c. 2, & 18.
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capable of future salvation or damnation, as men are; whence Mohammed pretended to be sent for the conversion of Genii, as well as men. The Oriental 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 Tabmûrath, one of the ancient kings of Persia, who waged war against them, forced to retreat into the famous mountains of Kaf. Of which succestions 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 fairy, some Div or giants, others Taeurins or fates.

The Mohammedan notions concerning these Genii agree almost exactly with what the Jews write of the four daemons, called Shedim, whom some fain to have been begotten by two angels, named Az and Asael, on Naamah, the daughter of Lamech, before the flood. However the Shedim, they tell, agree in three things with the ministering 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. They also say that some of them believe in the law of Moses, and are consequently good, and that others of them are inside and reproprobate.

As to the scriptures, the Mohammedans are taught by the Koran 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 is

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z V. Korân, c. 55, 72, and 74. a See D’Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. p. 369, 816, &c. b In libro Zohar. c Gemara, in Hagiga. d Ex. Baale hayyim, c. 15.
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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 Edris or Enoch, ten to Abraham; and the other four, being the Pentateuch, the Psalms, the Gospel, and the Koran, 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 Koran 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; 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. 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

* 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. 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 Koran. On this Gospel, the Moriscoes in Africa have a translation in Spanish; 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 renegade 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 the purpose; and in particular, instead of the Paraclete or Comforter, they have in this apocryphal gospel inferred the word Periclyte, that is, the famous or laudable, by which they pretend their prophet was foretold by name, that being the signification of Mohammed in Arabic: and this they say to justify that passage of the Koran, where Jesus Christ is formally ascertained 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, is that the Mohammedans quote several passages, 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 the copies of theirs to be the ancient and genuine structures themselves. If any argue, from the corruption, which they insist has happened to the Paraclete and Gospel, that the Koran may possibly be co:

A copy of this kind, he tells us, is in the library of the Duke of Savoy, Bibl. Orient. p. 974. b Relan, ubi sup. c Menagian, T. 4, 211, &c. d John xiv. 16. 26. xv. 26. and xvi. 7. compared with Luke xxiv. 49. e See Touland's Nuralun, the first eight chapters. f Copian.
rupted also; they answer, that God has promised that he will take care of the latter, and preserve it from any addition or diminution; but that he left the two other to the care of men. However they confess there are some various readings in the Korân, 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.

The number of the prophets, which have been from time to time sent by God into the world, amounts to no less than 2,240,000, according to one Mohammedan tradition, or to 12,400, according to another; among whom 313 were apostles, sent with special commissions to reclaim mankind from infidelity and superstition; and fix 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, Islam, 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. 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; as Adam, Seth, Lot, Ismael, Nun, Jephtha, &c. and introduce some of them under differ-

8 Kor. c. 15. 0 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 Alum by Epiphanius: (Adv. Hæret. p. 6.) See also Joseph, Ant. i. i. e. 2.
rent names, as Enoch, Heber, and Jethro, who are called, in the Korân, Edris Hâd, 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, Saleb, Kbedr, Dha’kuf, &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 their 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 fritting the passages which bear witness to him*. 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;¹

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 Mohammedian 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.

When a corpse is laid in the grave, they say it 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 Monzer and Nakir. These order the dead person to sit up right, 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 loudly, that

* Korân, c. 2. p. 6. 12. 38. c. 3. &c. ¹ Some of these texts are produced by Dr. Prideaux at the end of his life of Mahomet, and more by Maracci 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: circum-
stances which some understand in a figurative sense.

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 Koran, 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 fit up with more ease while
they are examined by the angels; but is utterly re-
jected by the sect of the Metamorphoses, and, perhaps,
by some others.

These notions Mohammed certainly borrowed from
the Jews, among whom they were very anciently re-
cived. 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 Hibbut hakkeber, or
the beating of the sepulchre, and pretend that all men
in general must undergo it, except only those who
die on the evening of the sabbath, or have dwelt in
the land of Israel.

If it be objected to the Mohammedans that the cry
of the persons under such examination has been ne-
ver heard: or if they be asked how those can undergo it whole 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.

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, it enters into that state which they call al Berzakh, 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 the tradition of Mahammed, 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. Sometimes they stay near the sepulchres, with liberty, however of going wherever they please; which they confirm from Mahammed's manner of saluting them in their graves, and his affirming that the dead have those salutations as well as the living, though they could not answer. Whence, perhaps, proceeds the custom of visiting the tombs of relations, common among the Mahomedans. 2. Others imagine they are with Adam, in the lowest heaven, and also support their opinion by the authority of

\[ V. Poc. ubi sup. \]  
\[ Korâ, c. 79. \]  
\[ Nisomat hayam, f. 77. \]  
\[ V. Kor. chap. 23. and not. ib. \]  
\[ Poc. sup. p. 247. \]
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. 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 Borbüt; 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. 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 filthy 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 Sojin, under a green rock, or, according to a tradition of Mohammed, under the devil’s jaw, to be there tormented, till they are called up to be joined again to their bodies.

Though some among the Mohammedans have thought that the resurrection will be merely spiritual, and no more than the returning of the soul to the place whence it first came (an opinion defended by Ebn Sinan, and called by some the opinion of the philosophers); 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

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6 Poc. ubi sup. p. 248. Constanlant hereto are the Jewish notions of the
7 souls of the just being on high, under the throne of glory. V. Ib. p. 156.
8 Poc. ubi sup. p. 250. 9 Al Reidawi, in Kor. c. 79. V. Poc. ubi sup. p. 252.
10 Ory, as we corruptly name him, Avicenna. 11 Kenz al afixr.
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subtilty concerning the manner of it. 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 man's body was entirely consumed by the earth, except only the bone called *al Ajib*, which we name *os caecygis*, 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. Herein, also, is *Mohammed* beholden to the *Jews*; who say the same thing of the bone *Luz*, 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 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*.

The lesser signs are: 1. The decay of faith among men. 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*.

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k V. Poc. ubi sup. p. 254.  
Berth.  
rabbah, &c. V. Poc. ubi sup. p. 117, &c.  
*See* Luke, xviii. 8.

6. Great
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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 Abbas, or Yabbd.

The greater signs are,

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

2. The appearance of the beast, which shall rise out of the earth, in the temple of Mecca, or on mount Safd, or in the territory of Tayef, 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 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 Mumen, i.e. believer; and with the latter will mark the unbelievers on the face likewise, with the word Cæsar, 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 Islam, and to speak Arabic. All this stuff seems to be the result of a confused idea of the beast in the Revelations.

* See Whiston's Theory of the earth, Book 2. p. 98, &c.

* Chap. xii. 3. War
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3. War with the Greeks, and the taking of Constan-
tinople 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 Masib al Dajjal, i.e. the false or lying Christ, and simply al Dajjal. He is to be one-eyed, and marked on the forehead with the letters C. F. R signifying Cifer, or infidel. They say that they will 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 Irak and Syria, or, according to others, in the province of Kborasân; they add, that he is to ride on an ass, that he will be followed by 70,000 Jews of Ispakân, 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 make 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 of 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-five years', continuance on earth. Under him, they say, there will be great security, and plenty in the

* Al Thalabi, in Kor. c. 4.
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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.

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 Gbarkad, which is the tree of the Jews.

7. The eruption of Gog and Magog, or, as they are called in the east, Tadjj and Majj, of whom many things are related in the Koran, 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 Molems will burn for seven years together; 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.

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

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

1 See Isaiab xi. 6, &c.  
2 Chap. 18. and 21.  
3 See Ezek. xxxix.  
4 Rev. xx. 8.  
5 See Koran, c. 44, and the notes thereon. Compare also Joel ii. 30. and Rev. ix. 2.
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11. The discovery of a vast heap of gold and silver by the retreating of the Euphrates, which be the destruction of many.

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

13. The speaking of beasts and inanimate things, or, according to others, in Yaman.

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

15. The appearance of a man of the descendant of Kabitán, who shall drive men before him with a staff.

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

17. A wind which shall sweep away the souls of all who have but a grain of faith in their hearts, has been mentioned under the tenth sign. These are the greater signs, which, according to their doctrine, are to precede the resurrection, but still leave the hour of it uncertain; for the immediate sign of its being come will be the first blast of the trumpet; which they believe will be sounded three times. The first they call the blast of conflagration; at the hearing of which all creatures
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 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\(^a\), 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; 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.

\(^a\) Chap. 87.  \(^b\) 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.  \(^c\) Kor. chap. 39.
Forty years after this will be heard the blast of 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 dead and rotten bones, and other dispersed parts of 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 for all parts, will throw them into his trumpet, whence, on his giving the last sound, at the command of God, they will fly forth like bees, and repair to their respective bodies, which the open earth will suffice 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, and will resemble the sweat of a man, and be supplied from the water under the throne of God, which is called living water, the efficacy and virtue of which the dead bed shall spring forth from their graves, as they did their mother's womb, or as corn sprouts forth common rain, till they become perfect; after whose breath will be breathed into them, and they sleep in their sepulchres till they are raised to at the last trump.

The length of the last day.

As to the length of the day of judgment, the Koran in one place tells us that it will last 10 years, and in another 50,000 years. To reconcile the spirit who bears the waters on which the throne is placed, the table, wherein the decrees of God are registered, and the pen where they are written; all which things the Mohammedans imagine were created before the world. In this circumstance the Mohammedans follow Jesus, who also agree that the trumpet will sound more than once. Bechah in Buir hattorah, & Orioth shel R. Akiha. Elsewhere before, p. 79.) this rain is said to continue only forty days; rather seems that it is to fall during the whole interval between the first and third blasts. Kor. chap. 32. 1st. chap. 70.
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.

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 Koran; though that passage which is produced to prove the resurrection of brutes be otherwise interpreted by some.

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, bare-footed, naked, and uncircumcised; which circumstances when Mohammed was telling his wife Ayeshia, 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

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*See the notes to Kor. chap. 81. and the preceding page.*
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 allege 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; 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. *Mohamed* 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 consist of those believers whose good works have been few; the second of those who are in greater honor with God, and more acceptable to him; whereas *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*; and the third class, they say, will be composed of the infidels, whom God shall cause to make their appearance with the 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 disjunctive 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

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1 In this also they follow their old guides, the *Jews*: who say that the wheat which is sown naked rise clothed; it is no wonder the pious are buried in their clothes should rise with them. *Gemar. Sanhedrin.* fol. 9.

*See before, Sect. I. p. 51.*
who have been greedy of filthy lucre, and enriched themselves by public oppression: the third will be brought with their heads reversed, and their feet distorted; these are the usurers: the fourth will wonder 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 everybody 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.

As to the place where they are to be assembled to judgment, the Korán and the traditions of Moham med 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 Gbazâli 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 Korán has this expression, on the day wherein the earth shall be changed into another earth.

The end of the resurrection the Mohammedans declare to be, that they who are raised may give an account of judgment.
account of their actions, and receive the reward thereof. And they believe, that not only mankind, but the genii and irrational animals also, shall be judged on this great day; when the unarmed cake shall take vengeance on the horned, till entire satisfaction shall be given to the injured.

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

m Kor. chap. 6. V. Maimonid. More Nov. part 3. c. 17. n, opinion the learned Greenes supposed to have taken its rise from the following words of Ezekiel, wrongly understood: 'And as for you, O professor of the Lord God, Behold I judge between cattle and cattle, between camels and the he-goats.—Behold I even I will judge between the fat cattle between the lean cattle; because ye have thrust with foot and with hand, and struck all the defenceless with your horns, till ye have scattered abroad; therefore will I set my face against you, and they shall no more be a prey. I will judge between cattle and cattle,' &c. Ezek. xxxiv. 17, &c. 22. Much might be said concerning brutes deserving future reward.
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 souls will boil like a pot, 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. 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 beaten, in which it is now put up, lest it should destroy all things by its excessive heat.

When those who have risen shall have waited the limited time, the Mohammedans believe God will at length appear to judge them; the undertak- ing the office of intercessor, after it shall have been declined by Adam, Noab, Abrahan, 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, 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, at 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-

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\[\text{Sect. IV. The Preliminary Discourse,}\]

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\[\text{I. I.}\]

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\[\text{Al Ghazâli. Iden. V. Pocock, in Port. Molis, p. 237.}\]

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\[\text{See before, p. 94.}\]
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 first saying, O Lord, my body I received from thee; for thou createdst me without a hand to lay hold with, a foot to walk with, an eye to see with, or an understanding to apprehend with, till I came and entered into this body; therefore punish it eternally, but deliver me. The body on the other side will make this apology, O Lord, thou createdst me like a block of wood, having neither hand that I could lay hold with, nor foot that I could walk with, till this soul, like a ray of light, entered into me and my tongue began to speak, my eye to see, and my foot to walk; therefore punish it eternally, but deliver me. But God will propound to them the following parable of the blind man and the lame man, which, as well as the preceding dispute, was borrowed by the Mohammedans from the Jews. A certain king, having a pleasant garden, in which were ripe fruits, let two persons to keep it, one of whom was blind, and the other lame, the former not being able to bear 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.

* Gemara, Sanhedr. c. 17. R. Jof. Albo, Serm. IV, c. 35. See also Epiph. in Ancora, Sect. 39. 
Sect. IV. The Preliminary Discourse.

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 1. Some, explaining those words so frequently used in the Koran, 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 2.

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 3, which will be bound behind their backs, their right hand being tied up to their necks 4.

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

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1 The Arabs use, after they have drawn some milk from the camel, to work it 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 ed. Port. Mofiz, p. 278—282. See also Kor. c. 2. p. 23. 2 Kor. x. 17, 18, 69, and 84. 3 Jallallo'ddin. 4 Scribe
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. 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 men's actions are registered, as of the balance wherein they shall be weighed, and the scripture itself seems to have given the first notion of both. But what the Persian Magi believe of the balance, comes nearest to the Mosammedan opinion. They hold, that on the day of judgment two angels named Mibr and Sorufis, will stand on the bridge whereon they 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

\[7 \text{Kor. c. 23, 7, &c.} \quad 7 \text{Midrash, Valkut Shemuni, f. 152, &c.} \\
\[8 \text{Gemar. Sanhedrin, f. 91, &c.} \quad 8 \text{Exod. xxxii. 32, 33, Dan. viii.}
\[9 \text{Revel. xx. 12, &c. and Dan. vii. 27.} \]
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.

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 laden with both. This will be the method of God’s dealing with mankind. As to brutes, after they shall have likewise taken vengeance of one another, as we have mentioned above, he will command them to be changed into dust; wicked men being referred to more grievous punishment:

5 Hyde, de relig. vet. Pers. p. 245, 301, &c. 6 Yet they say the dog of the seven sleepers, and Ezra’s ass, which was in peculiar favour, be admitted into paradise. See Keb. c. 18, and c. 3, p. 31.
The Preliminary Discourse.

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

The trials being over and the assembly dissolved, the Mohammedans hold, that those who are to be admitted into paradise will take the right hand way, and those who are destined to hell-fire will take the left; but both of them must first pass the bridge, called, in Arabic al Sirat, which they say is laid over the midst of hell, and described to be finer than a hair, and sharper than the edge of a sword; so that it seems very difficult to conceive how any one shall be able to stand upon it, for which reason most of the sect of the Mohammedans 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 falsehood, meaning their prophet; who to add to the difficulty of the passage has likewise declared that

*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.

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 **Pil Chinarad**, or **Chinavar**, 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. 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.

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

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

Mohammed has, in his Koran 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 that the apartment he is condemned to; and that he who is punished the most lightly of all will be thrown into a furnace 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 frequent expression in the Koran, they must remain therein for ever. It must be remarked, however, that the infidels alone will be liable to eternity of damnation, for the Moslems, those who have embraced the true religion, and have been guilty of heinous sins, will be do-

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k Others fill these apartments with different company. Some place 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, crown of all, the Jews, Christians, and Magians together in the sixth. Some again will be the first to be prepared for the Dabrians, or those who deny the existence and believe the eternity of the world; the second, for the Buddha, or Buddhists, and the idolatrous Arabs; the third, for the Brahmins of India; 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.

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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 least 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 filth from the
the flames and smoke of hell, will be immerged one of the rivers of paradise, called the river of which will wash them whiter than pearls.  

For most of these circumstances relating to and the state of the damned, Mohammed was likely in all probability indebted to the Jews, and in particular to the Magians; both of whom agree in making seven distinct apartments in hell, though they vary in other particulars. The former place an angel a guard over each of these infernal apartments, and suppose he will intercede for the miserable wretches there imprisoned, who will openly acknowledge the justice of God in their condemnation. They teach that the wicked will suffer a diversity of punishments, and that by intolerable cold as well as heat, and that their faces shall become black; I believe those of their own religion shall also be punished in hell hereafter, according to their crimes (for they hold that few or none will be found exactly righteous as to deserve no punishment at all); but will soon be delivered thence, when they shall be sufficiently purged from their sins, by the intercession of Abraham, or at the intercession of him or his father Abraham, and as they term it: And as assigns punishments proportionate to each particular crime, restraining also the tyranny and excess of the punishment of the devil, who would, if left to himself, torment the damned beyond their sentence. The Jews of this religion do also mention and describe various kinds of torments, wherewith the wicked will be punished in the next life; among which though reckoned extreme cold to be one, yet they do admit fire, out of respect, as it seems, to that.

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

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 gulf of separation mentioned in scripture. They call it al Orf, and more frequently, in the plural, al Arāf, a word derived from the verb ara'a, 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; and others say the word properly intends anything that is high raised or elevated, as such a wall of separation must be supposed to be. The Mohammedan writers greatly differ as to the persons who are to be found on al Arāf. 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

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* V. Eundem, ib. p. 399, &c. x Luke xvi. 26. y Jallab'uddin. V. Kor. c. 7. z Al Beidāwī.
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. 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.

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 Cambar, one of the rivers of paradise, being whiter than milk or silver, and more odoriferous than musk, with as many cups let around it as there are stars in the firmament; of which water whoever drinks will thirst no more for ever. 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 Koran, yet it is a dispute among the Mohammedans whether it be already created, or be to be created hereafter; the Motazalites 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.

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 Tuba, 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; that it will be laden 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 blest 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.

As plenty of water is one of the greatest additions to the pleasantness of any place, the Koran often speaks of the rivers of paradise as a principal ornament thereof; some of these rivers, they say,
flow with water, some with milk, some with wine,
and others with honey; all taking their rise from
the root of the tree Fūba; two of which rivers,
named al-Cawthar and the river of life, we have al-
ready 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
Salsabil and Tanūm.

But all these glories will be eclipsed by the re-
splendent and ravishing girls of paradise, called,
from their large black eyes; Hūr al-ayn, the enjoy-
ment 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 Korān,
free from all natural impurities, defects, and incon-
veniences incident to the sex, of the strictest mo-
defesty, 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 Mohammedians 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 gar-
den of Eden, (though they generally interpret the
word Eden, not according to its acceptation in He-
brow, but according to its meaning in their own
tongue, wherein it signifies a settled or perpetual habi-
tation) Jannat al-Māwā, the garden of abode, Jannat
al-Naīm, the garden of pleasure, and the like; by
which several appellations some understand so many
different gardens, or at least places of different de-
grees 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 Móhammed 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 Móhammed’s pond, whereof the righteous are to drink before their admission into this delicious fear; besides which, some authors 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 Móhammed has declared that no person’s good works will gain him admittance, and that even himself shall be faved, not by his merits, but merely by the mercy of God. It is, however the constant doctrine of the Korán, 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

1 Al Ghazáli, Kenz al Afár.
in respect to the time of their admission; (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 be as one loaf of bread, which God will reach to them with his hand, holding it like a cake; and that for meat they will have the ox Balaam, and the fish Nâm, the lobes of whose livers will suffice seven thousand men, being, as some imagine, to be fed before the principal guests, *viz.* those who, to that number, will be admitted into paradise without examination; 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 means 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 real 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.

*Footnote* See before, p. 116.
once, containing each a different kind of food, the
left morsel of which will be as grateful as the first;
and will also be supplied with as many sorts of li-
quors in vessels of the same metal: and, to com-
plete 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
imbibe, as that we drink here. The flavour of
this wine we may conceive to be delicious without
a description; since the water of Tanfim 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 an-
swer, as the prophet did, that the inhabitants of
paradise will not need to eat themselves, nor even
to blow their noses; for that all superfluities will be
discharged and carried off by perspiration, or a
sweat as odorous as musk, after which their ap-
petite shall return afresh.

The magnificence of the garments and furniture,
promised by the Koran to the godly in the next life,
is answerable to the delicacy of their diet. For they
are to be clothed 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 Tabba; they will be adorned with brace-
ders of gold and silver, and crowns set with pearls
of incomparable lustre; and will make use of silk
carpets, litters of a prodigious size, couches, pil-
lovs, 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
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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 in this age and stature their children, if they shall desire any, (for otherwise their wives will not conceive) shall immediately attain, according to the 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.

Left 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 blest wish for music; nay, the very clashing of the golden-bodied trees, whose fruits are pearls and emeralds, will surpass human imagination; so that the pleasures of this sense will not be the least of the enjoyments of paradise.

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

The reader will observe, by the way, that this is a full confession 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.

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; they also say it has three gates, or, as others will have it, two, and four rivers, (which last circumstance they copied, to be sure, from those of the garden of Eden) flowing with milk, wine, balsam, and honey. Their Bebemoth and Leviathan, which they pretend will be slain for the entertainment of the blessed, are so apparently the Baldan.k

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1 Itish liv. 4. 2 Corinthians. ii. 9. 3 Chap. 10, &c. 4 k V. Poc. 5 in not. ad Port. Moitss, p. 305. 6 V. Reland. de Ref. Moh. l. 2. §. 7, 8 V. Gemar. Tanith, t. 25. Jer. new, t. 54, & Midraș rab-koth, f. 37. 9 Megillah, Amkoth, p. 78. 10 Midraș, Yalkut Shemoni. 11 Genes. ii. 10, &c. 12 Midraș, Yalk. Shem. 13 Gemar. 14 Ezra Bathya, f. 78. Radhi, in Job i. 15 k 3 and
and Nān of Māhomet, that his followers themselves confess he is obliged to them for both. The Rabbins likewise mention seven different degrees of felicity, 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 Māhomet. Paradise they call Bebiṣṭ, and Ménti, which signifies crystal, where they believe the righteous shall enjoy all manner of delights, and particularly the company of the Ḥurānī bebiṣṭ, or blazed nymphs of paradise, the care of whom they is committed to the angel Zaminād, and, hence Māhomet seems to have taken the first hint of paradisiacal ladies.

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

8 V. Poc. not. in Port. Mosbs, p. 298. 4 Nishmat hayim, v Midrash, Tchillim, f. 11. w Sadder, porta 5. x Hyde, de rer. Perf. p. 205. y Revel. xxii. 10, 12, and xxii. 10, 2. z Luke 22. 29, 30, 31. a I would, not, however, undertake to defend all Christian writers in this particular; witness that one passage of Israël, 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. 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, left his beatified Messiahs 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 Panargus's a's, they would think all other enjoyments not worth their acceptation, 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) this might, perhaps, make some atonement; but the contrary is so evident from the whole tenor of the Koran, that although some Mohammedians, 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, 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 grapes; and every one of those branches shall have ten thousand grapes, and in every one of those clusters, there shall be ten thousand grapes, and every one of those grapes being pressed shall yield two hundred and seventy-five gallons of wine; and, when a man shall take hold of one of these laden bunches, another bunch shall cry out, I am a better bunch, take me, and bless the Lord by me, &c. Tren. I. 5. c. 33.

b Matth. xxii. 39. c V. Rabelais, Pantagru. I. 5. c. 7. A better authority than this might however be alluded 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 knives of boys and beauteous damsels. V. Geel. Nect. Att. I. 18. c. 2. d V. Hyde, de rel. vet. Perf. p. 266. e V. Blunt, if not ad Bobov. Lit. Turcar. p. 21.
is, that the whole is to be strictly believed in the obvious and literal acceptance; to prove which 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.

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 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 Mohammedi 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. 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;) but that good women will go into a separate place of happiness, where they will enjoy all sorts of delights; but whether one of those delights will be the en-
joyment of agreeable paramours created for them, to complete the economy 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 crying, he explained himself by saying God would then make her young again.

The sixth great point of faith, which the Mohammedans are taught by the Koran, 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; 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 this doctrine Mohammed makes great use in his Koran 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; and deterring them from disobeying or rejecting him as an impostor, by setting before them the danger they might thereby incur

1 See Koran, c. 56, and the notes there, & Gagnier. not. in Abulfed: loc. Moh. p. 145. * See before, p. 84. a Kor. c. 3. p. 52, 54. and b p. 70. 3.
of being, by the just judgment of God, abandoned to seduction, hardness of heart, and a reprobate mind, as a punishment for their obstinacy.

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 subtle 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.

Of the four fundamental points of religious practice required by the Koran, 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, or called Gbiit, being a total immersion or bathing of the body in water; and the other called Wadd, (so 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 dead body; women also being obliged to it after their courses or childbirth. The latter is the ordinary ablution in common cafes, and before prayer, and must necessarily be used by every person before he can enter upon that duty. It is performed with certain formal ceremonies, which have been described by some writers, but a much easier apprehension 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
measure with those used by that nation, 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. But as it is certain that the Pagan Arabs used lustrations of this kind, long before the time of Mohammed, as most nations did, and still do in the east, where the warmth of the climate requires a greater nicety and degree of cleanliness than these colder parts; perhaps, Mohammed only recalled his countrymen to a more strict observance of those purifying rites, which had been probably neglected by them, or, at least, performed in a careless and perfunctory manner. The Mohammedans, however, will have it that they are as ancient as Abraham, who, they say, was enjoined by God to observe them, and shewed the manner of making the ablution by the angel Gabriel, in the form of a beautiful youth. Nay, some deduce the matter higher, and imagine, that these ceremonies were taught our first parents by the angels.

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. That these expressions may be the better understood, al Ghazālī reckons four degrees of purification; of which the first is the cleaning of the body from all pollution,

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1 Poc. not. in Port. Mosis, p. 356, &c. 2 Mark vii. 3, &c. 3 V. Herodot. l. 3. c. 198. 4 Al Jannabi in vita Abrah. V. Poc. Spec. p. 293. 5 Herewith agrees the spurious Gospel of St. Barnabas, the Spanish translation of which (chap. 29.) has these words: Dixo Abraham, que hare yo para servir al Dios de los santos y profetas? Respondió el angel, In a qualla fuente y lavaste, porque Dios quiere hablar contigo. Dixo Abraham, como enego de lavarme? Luego el angel se le apareció como uno bello hombre, y se lavó en la fuente, y le dijo, Abraham, haz como yo. Y Abrah. 6 Al Ghazālī, Ebn al Athir, &c. 7 Al Keffālī. V. Reldand, de j Rel. Mohamm. p. 81. 8 Al Ghazālī, Ebn al Athir.
filth, and excrements; the second, the cleansing of the members of the body from all wickedness and unjust actions; the third, the cleansing the heart from all blameable inclinations and odious vices; and the fourth, the purging a man's secret thoughts from all affections which may divert their attendance on God: adding, that the body is but as the outward shell, in respect to the heart, which is as the kernel. And for this reason he highly complains of those who are superstitiously solicitous in exterior purifications, avoiding those persons as unclean who are not so scrupulously nice as themselves, and, at the same time, have their minds lying waste, and over-run with pride, ignorance, and hypocrisy. Whence it plainly appears, with how little foundation the Mohammedans have been charged, by some writers, with teaching or imagining that these formal washings alone cleanse them from their sins.

Left to 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; 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, as to the example of the Jews, or, perhaps, that of the Persian Magi, most as scrupulous as the Jews themselves in their lustrations, who both of them prescribe the same method in cafes of necessity; and there is a famous

in the 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. 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; of which last I will add a word or two, lest I should not find a more proper place.

Circumcision, though it be not so much as once mentioned in the Koran, is yet held, by the Mohammedans, to be an ancient divine institution, confirmed by the religion of Iskam, and, though not so absolutely necessary but that it may be dispensed with in some cases, 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 Hymarites, and other tribes, practised the same. The Ismaelites, we are told, 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: 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; but pitch on what age they please for the purpose, between six and sixteen, or thereabouts. Though the Moslem doctors are generally of opinion, conformably to the scripture, that this precept was originally given to Abraham, yet some have imagined


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. Though I cannot say the Jews led the Mohammedans the way here, yet they seem so unwilling to believe any of the principal patriarchs or prophets before Abraham were really circumcised, that they pretend several of them, as well as some holy men who lived after his time, were born ready circumcised, or without a foreskin, and that Adam, in particular, was so created; whereas the Mohammedans affirm the same thing of their prophet.

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 Tayef, sending, in the ninth year of the Hezem, to make their submission to that prophet, after the keeping of their favourite idol had been denied them, begged, at least, that they might be dispens ed with as to their laying of the appointed prayer, he answered, That there could be no good in that religion wherein was no prayer.

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

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* This is the substance of the following passage of the Gospel of Barnabas, (chap. 23.) viz. Ecnones dixo Jesus: Adam el primer hombre, yendo con uno del demonio la comida prohibida por Dios en el jardín y le rebeló su carne y su espíritu; por lo cual juró diciendo, Por Dios que si quiero cortar y rompiendo una piedra tomo su carne para cortar su corte del cuerpo. Por lo cual fue reprochado por el angel Gabriel, y le dijo: Jerbo por Dios que lo he de cortar, y verás no lo verás jamás. Además, el angel le profetizó lo superioridad de su carne, y a quella cortó. De nuevo se vino acomel como todo hombre toma carne de Adam, y así es obligado a com-, aquello que Adam con juramento profetizó. F Shahlah. hakkahal. Poës Spec. p. 320. Gagnier, Not. in Abulfed. vit. Moh. p. 2. Poc. Spec. p. 504. 2 See before, p. 22. 3 Abulfed. vit. Moh. p. 127.
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 night¹. 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 ob-
servering of the stated times of prayer is frequently
insisted on in the Korán, though they be not particu-
larly prescribed therein. Accordingly, at the afore-
faid times, of which public notice is given by the
Muehdibins, or Cryers, from the steeples of their
Mosques, (for they use no bells,) every conscientious
Mohammet prepares himself for prayer, which he per-
forms either in the Mosque or any other place, pro-
vided 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 writers², 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 ³; the quarter where the same is situate being,
for that reason, pointed out within their Mosques by
an arch, which they call al Mebrâb; 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 Keblâb, or part towards
which they ought to pray, in places where they have
no other direction ⁴.

⁵Smith, de moribus ac initii. Turcar. Ep. 1. p. 33, &c. ⁶Korâb,
chap. 2. p. 24. See the notes there.

x V. Hyde, de Rel. vet. Pers.
p. 13, 5, 126.

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But what is principally to be regarded in the discharge of this duty, say the Moflems doctors, is the inward disposition of the heart, which is the life and spirit of prayer; 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: so that we must not think the Mofammedans, or the confederate part of them, at least, content themselves with the mere opus operatum, or imagine their whole religion to be placed therein.

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 Mofammedans never address themselves to God in sumptuous apparel, though they are obliged to be decently clothed; but aside their costly habits and pompous ornaments, if they wear any, when they approach the divine presence, lest they should seem proud and arrogant. The other is, that they admit not their women 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 Moflems are of opinion, that the presence inspires a different kind of devotion from that which is requisite in a place dedicated to the worship of God.

\[ y \text{ Al Ghazâli.} \quad z \text{ V. Poc. Spec p. 405.} \quad a \text{ V. Smith,} \quad b \text{ Reland, de Rel. Moh. p. 96.} \quad c \text{ See K. r. ch. 6.} \text{ A Moor, named Ahmed Ein Abdella, in a Latin epitaph by him written to Maurice prince of Orange, and Emanuel prince of Portugal, containing a cenotaph of the Christian religion, (a copy of which, once belonging to Mr. Selden, who has hence transmitted a considerable passage in his treatise De Synoditis cent. Ebror. 1. 1. c. 12, is now in the Bodleian library), finds great fault with the unedifying manner in which mass is said among the Roman Catholics, for this very reason, among others. His words are: Ubique congregantur simul viri & formine, ibi mens non est intenta & servata: nam inter eis vane misfam & furtifs, formine & vici mutui affectionibus,igitur, ac mutibus accidentium principum appetitionem, & desideriorum fieri: & quando hoc non fieret, fidelem humana fragilitas deletiatur mutua reciproc affectibus; & ita non potest eis mens quieta, attenta, et devote.} \]
The greater part of the particulars, comprised in the Mohammedan institution of prayer, their prophet seems to have copied from others, and especially the Jews; exceeding their institutions only in the number of daily prayers. The Jews are directed to pray three times a day, in the morning, in the evening, and within night, in imitation of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob: and the practice was as early, at least, as the time of Daniel. 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; 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. The Jews likewise constantly pray with their faces turned towards the temple of Jerusalem, which has been their Kebla from the time it was first dedicated by Solomon; for which reason Daniel, praying in Chaldea, had the windows of his chamber open towards that city: and the same was the Kebla of Mohammed and his followers for six or seven months, 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: the men and women, also, among them, pray apart, (in which particular they were imitated by the eastern Christians,) and fe-

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

Of alms. The next point of the Mohammedan religion is the giving of alms; which are of two sorts, legal and voluntary. The legal alms are of indispensable obligation, being commanded by the law, which directs and determines both the portion which is to be given, and of what things it ought to be given; but the voluntary alms are left to every one’s liberty, to give more or less, as he shall see fit. The former kind of alms some think to be properly called Zacâ, and the latter Sadakâ; though this name be also frequently given to the legal alms. They are called Zacâ either because they increase a man’s store by drawing down a blessing thereon, and produce in his soul the virtue of liberality; or because they purify the remaining part of one’s substance from pollution, as the soul from the filth of avarice; and Sadakâ because they are a proof of a man’s sincerity in the worship of God. Some writers have called the legal alms tythes, but improperly, since in some cases they fall short, and, in others, exceed that proportion.

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

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*: 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, of camels, kine, and sheep. 2. Of money. 3. Of corn. 4. Of fruits, viz. dates and raisins. And, 5. Of wares fold. 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 burdens. 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 Ramadán, every Mohammed 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,

* This measure is a 'sad', and contains about six or seven pounds weight.  
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 make an 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. Zacharias gave the half of his goods to the poor g; and we are told, that some gave their whole substance: so that their doctors, at length, decreed, that no man should give above a fifth part of his goods in alms h. There were also persons publicly appointed in every synagogue to collect and distribute the people's contributions i.

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

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a Hence alms are, in the New Testament, termed Δικαιοσύναι, Matt. vi. 1. (Ed. Steph.) and 2 Cor. ix. 10.
b Gemar. in Bava batra.
c Gemar. in Gittin.
d Gemar. in Rosh. hahana.
e Levit. xix. 10.
f Deut. xxiv. 19, &c.
g V. Gemar. Hierosol. in Peah, & Mibnas.
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.

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, 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 drop 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: 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, though the more rigid begin the fast again.

* Al Ghazâli, Al Mosfataf. 1 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.  a 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 lessons 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 expression the commentators do not approve; pretending that by the white thread and the black thread are to be understood the light and dark breaks 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 fasting 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. A. Elsdawi, V. Pocock, Not. in Carmen T. grai, 89, &c. Chardin, Voy. de Perse, t. II. p. 423.
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At midnight. This fast is extremely rigorous and mortifying when the month of Ramadán happens to fall in summer, (for, the Arabian year being lunar, 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 Ramadán was pitched on for this purpose is, that on that month the Korán was sent down from heaven. Some pretend that Abraham, Moses, and Jesus received their respective revelations in the same month.

From the fast of Ramadán, 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 these are obliged, so soon as the impediment is removed, to fast an equal number of other days: and then, breaking the fast is ordered to be expiated by giving alms to the poor.

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, from day-break until sun-set, and the stars begin to appear; spending the night in taking what refreshments they please. And they allow women with child and giving suck, old persons, and young children to be exempted from keeping most of the public fasts.

Though my design here be briefly to treat of these points only which are of indispensable obligation on a Moslem, and expressly required by the Koran, 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. Among the more commendable days is that of Ashura, the tenth of Moharram; which, though some writers tell us it was observed by the Arabs, and particularly the tribe of Koreifb, before Mohammed’s time, 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 Tisri, and the great day of expiation commanded to be kept by the law of Moses. Al Kazwini relates, that, when Mohammed came to Medina and found the Jews there fasted on the day of Ashura, 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.

1 Al Ghazâli. 2 Al Bârezi, in Comment, ad Orat. Ebn Nohâte.
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; and the same expressly commanded in the Korân. 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 less prolix, because that edifice has been already described by several writers, 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 of Mecca stands in the midst of the city, and is honoured with the title of Masjid al-haram, 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 Allab, 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. 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

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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\textsuperscript{b}, 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 Sultans of Egypt, and is now pro-
vided 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 re-
spected by the Mohammedans, of which something
will be said hereafter.

The Caaba, at some distance, is surrounded, but
not entirely, by a circular inclosure of pillars joined
towards the bottom by a low balustrade, and to-
towards the top by bars of silver. Just without this
inner inclosure, on the south, north, and west sides of
the Caaba, are three buildings, which are the oratories
or places where three of the orthodox sects assemble
to perform their devotions, (the fourth sect, \textit{viz.}
that of al Shafiei, making use of the station of Abra-
ham for that purpose;) and, towards the south-east,
stands the edifice which covers the well Zemzem, the
treasury, and the cupola of al Abbas\textsuperscript{4}.

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

\textsuperscript{b} Sharif al Edrifs, apud Poc. Spec. 125, \&c.
\textsuperscript{4} Idem, ibid.,
lighted
lighted at night. The first foundations of this outward inclosure were laid by Omar, the second Khaiff, 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.  

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. 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 for the Holy Ghost.

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, yet the Mohammedans are generally persuaded that the Caaba is almost coeval with the world; for they say that Adam, after his expulsion from paradise, begged of God that he might erect a building like that he had seen there, called Beit al Mámir, or the frequented house, and al Dorab, 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-

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tion of that house in curtains of light, and set it in Mecca, perpendicularly under its original, ordering the patriarch to turn towards it when he prayed, and to compass it by way of devotion. 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 Isaac, at God's command, in the place where the former had stood, and after the same model, they being directed therein by revelation.

After this edifice had undergone several repairs, it was a few years after the birth of Mohammed rebuilt by the Korijb on the old foundation, and afterwards repaired by Abd'allah Ebn Zobeir, the Khalif of Mecca, and at length again rebuilt by Tusof, surnamed al Hejaj, in the seventy-fourth year of the Hejira, with some alterations, in the form wherein it now remains. Some years after, however, the Khalif Harun al Rasjid (or, as others write, his father al Mobdi, or his grandfather al Mansur) intended again to change what had been altered by al Hejaj, and to reduce the Caaba to the old form in which it was left by Abd'allah, but was dissuaded from meddling with it, left 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. But, notwith-

* Some say that the Beit al Mamur itself was the Caaba of Adam, which, having been let down to him from heaven, was, at the flood, taken up again into heaven, and is there kept. Al Zamakb. in Kor. c. 2, p. Al Juzi, ex trad. Ebn Abbas. It has been observed, that the primitive Christian church held a parallel opinion, as to the situation of the celestial Jerusalem with respect to the terrestrial; for, in the apocryphal book of the 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 Abulfeid. vit. Moh. p. 23. * Al Shahdetani. * V. Kor. chap. 2. p. 24. * Al Jannabi, in vita Abrah. V. Abuieid, vit. Moh. p. 15. # Idem, in Hist. Gen. Al Jannabi, &c. * Al Jannabi.
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*.

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 Bafsra, 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, was 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 Most fruitful woman, or, as others tell us, by the sins of mankind; or rather by the touches and kisses of many people: the superficies only being black, and the inside still remaining white*. When the Carmatians, among other profanations 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*. 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...

*a The Carmatians were a sect which arose in the year of the Hijra 5, and whose opinions overturned the fundamental points of Mohammedism. See O. Herbel. Bibl. Orient. Ant. 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.

Another thing observ'd 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, and that it served him for a scaffold, rising and falling of itself, as he had occasion; though another tradition says he stood upon it while the wife of his son Ismael, whom he paid a visit to, washed his head. It is now inclosed in an iron chest, out of which the pilgrims drink the water of Zemzem, and are ordered to pray at it by the Koran. The officers of the temple took care to hide this stone, when the Karmatians took the other.

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 desert; 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, 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 Haseeb, 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, to which I really believe it as efficacious as that of Helicon to the inspiring of a poet.


v V. Hyde, de rel. vet. Perf. p. 35. f Ahmed Ebn Yusef, Safo'ddin.


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To this temple every Mohammedian, who has health and means sufficient, 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, during the months of Shawal and Dhulkaada; being obliged to be their by the beginning of Dhulhajja; 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 Ikrâm 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 flippers 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, (though they are allowed to fish) 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. During the pilgrimage, it behoves a man to have a constant guard over his words and actions, and to avoid all quarrelling; or ill language, and all converse with women, and obscene discourse, and to apply his whole intention to the good work he is engaged in.

The pilgrims, being arrived at Mecca, immediately visit the temple, and then enter on the performance of the prescribed ceremonies, which consist chiefly in going in procession round the Kaabah.
in running between the mounts Safa and Marwâ, in making the station on mount Arafa, and slaying the victims, and shaying their heads in the valley of Mina. These ceremonies have been so particularly described by others, that I may be excused, if I but just mention the most material circumstances there-of.

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. But the afore-said quick pace they are not obliged to use every time they perform this piece of devotion, but only at some particular times. 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 Safa and Marwâ is also performed seven times, partly with a slow pace, and partly running: 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: for the ceremony is said to be as ancient as her time.

On the ninth of Dhulhajja, 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 Arafa, where they

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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 Korān. The next morning by day-break they visit al Masjir al barām, or the sacred monument, and, departing thence before sun-rise, hail by Bain Mohasser to the valley of Mina, where they throw seven stones at three marks or pillars, in imitation of Abraham, who, meeting the devil in the 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; 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.

This ceremony being over, on the same day, the tenth of Dhu’l-ha ijja, 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 fair age. The sacrifices being over, they shave the heads and cut their nails, burying them in the same place; after which the pilgrimage is looked on as completed: though they again visit the Caaba, to take their leave of that sacred building.

The above-mentioned ceremonies, by the confession of the Mōhammedans 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 Safā and Marwā, and the throwing of the stones.

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b See Kor. chap. 2. p. 36. Mr. Gagnier has been twice guilty of mistake in confounding this monument with the sacred inclure of in Caaba. V. Gagn. Not. ad Abulfed. vit. Moh. p. 131. & Vie de Mah. t. 2. p. 262. c Dr. Poock, from al Ghazzālī, says severity, at different times and places. Spec. p. 115. d Al Ghazzālī, Ahmed Ebn Yā’qūb. e Ebn al Athisr. f V. Reland. ubi sup. p. 117. g See Kor. chap. 2. p. 36.
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Mina; and were confirmed by Mohammed, with some alterations in such points as seemed most exceptionable: thus, for example, he ordered that, when they compassed the Caaba, they should be clothed, 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, or as signs of their disobedience towards God.

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.

Some, however, have endeavoured to find out some reasons for the arbitrary injunctions of this kind; and one writer, 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.

Roland 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 insufficiency of human fortune.

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-

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1 Kor. chap. 7.  
1 Jallil. al Bahl. This notion comes very near, if it be not the same with that of the Adamites.  
1 Abu Jafar Ebn Tofail, in Vita Hai Ebn Yekdhân, p. 151. See Mr. Otley's English translation thereof, p. 117.  
1 De Rel. Mah. p. 123.  

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felves, 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 forever, which they are fond of, especially where the interest of a considerable party is also concerned, and that a man with less danger change many things than one great one, must excuse Mohammed's yielding some points of least 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 Khabdân, and some of the potherty of al Haus, Ebn Caab*, who used not to go in pilgrimage thereto) and especially by those of Mecca, who had 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, he thought it best to consent to promise the matter, and, rather than to frustrate the whole design, to allow them to go on pilgrimage thither, and to direct their prayers thereto; considering 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 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 condescension for the Jews, whose hardness of heart he humoured in many things, giving them therefore statutes which were not good, and judgments whereby they should not be...
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 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. 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: 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, the more conscientious are so strict, especially if they have performed the pilgrimage to *Mecca*, 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.

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*a* See chap. 2. p. 39, & chap. 5. 
*w* Chap. 2. p. 25, & 
*x* V. Smith, de

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*y* V. Chardin, ubi supra,

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Chardin, ubi sup. p. 344.

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It has been a question whether coffee comes no under the above-mentioned prohibition\(^a\), because the fumes of it have some effect on the imagination. This drink, which was first publicly used at Adbel in Arabia Felix, about the middle of the ninth cent.

ury of the Hejra, and thence gradually introduced into Mecca, Medina, Egypt, Syria, and other parts of the Levant, has been the occasion of great disputes and disorders, having been sometimes public condemned and forbidden, and again declared lawful and allowed\(^b\). At present the use of coffee is generally tolerated, if not granted, as is the use of tobacco, though the more religious make a scruple of taking the latter, not only because it inebriates but also out of respect to a traditional saying of the prophet, (which, if it could be made out to be true, would prove him a prophet indeed) That in the latter days there should be men who should bear the name of Moslems, but should not be really such; and that they should smoke a certain weed, which should be called tobacco: however, the eastern nations are generally so addicted to both, that they say, a day without coffee and a pipe of tobacco are a complete entertainment, and the Persians have a proverb, that coffee without tobacco is meat without salt\(^c\).

Opium and beng (which latter is the leaves of hemp in pills or ctablions) are also by the rigid Mohammedan medans esteemed unlawful, though not mentioned in the Koran, because they intoxicate and diffuse the understanding as wine does, and in a more extraordinary manner: yet these drugs are now commonly taken in the east; but they who are addicted to them are generally looked upon as debauchees\(^d\).

\(^a\) Abd'alkader Mohammed al Anfari has written a treatise concerning coffee, wherein he argues for its lawfulnes. V. D'Herbel, Art. Cafe.
Several stories have been told as the occasion of Mohammed's prohibiting the drinking of wine. But the true reasons are given in the Koran, 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. 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; and that the Nazarites and Rechabites, 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. But Mohammed is said to have had a nearer example than any of these, in the most devout persons of his own tribe.

Gaming is prohibited by the Koran in the same passages, and for the same reasons, as wine. The word al Meisfar, 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: these arrows were put promiscuously into a bag, and then drawn by an indifferent person, who had another star to receive them, and to see he acted fairly.
fairly; those to whom the marked arrows fell, we shared in proportion to their lot; and those to whom the blanks fell, were intitled to no part of the camel at all, but were obliged to pay the full price of it. The winners, however, tasted not of the flesh any more than the losers, but the whole was distributed among the poor; and this they did on of pride and ostentation, it being reckoned a shame for a man to stand out, and not venture his money on such an occasion. This custom, therefore, though it was of some use to the poor, and diversified the rich, was forbidden by Mohammad, as a source of greater inconveniences, by occasions of quarrels and heart-burnings, which arose from the winners insulting of those who lost.

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

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* Author's Note: Various authors' names and citations are mentioned, including al Shirazi in Orat., al Hujazi, and Beidawi, among others, as references to Islamic scholars and texts. The note also mentions sections 324, 325, and 326 of the Koran, as well as references to Hyden, De Ludis Orientalibus, and other works on the history and literature of the Middle East.
elephants, horses, and dromedaries; and these are thought, by some commentators, to be truly meant by the images prohibited in one of the passages of the Korân quoted above. That the Arabs in Mohammed's time actually used such images for chefsmen appears from what is related, in the Senna of Ali, who, passing accidentally by some who were playing at chefs, asked, What images they were which they were so intent upon? 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 Khosru Nahshirvarân. Hence the Mohammedan doctors infer that the game was disapproved only for the sake of the images: wherefore the Durmites 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.

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. 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 to be no better than a thief: the Roman senate made very severe laws against playing at games of hazard, except only during the Saturnalia; though the people played often at other times, notwithstanding the prohibition: the civil law forbade all pernicious games.

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. Accursius, indeed, is of opinion they may play at chefs, notwithstanding that law, because it is a game not subject to chance, 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 chefs.

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.

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; but generally in divination they made use of three only, on one of which was written, My Lord hath commanded me; on another, My Lord hath forbidden me; and the third was blank. If the first was drawn, they looked on it as an approbation of the enterprise in question; if the second, they made a contrary conclusion; but, if the third happened to be drawn, they mixed them and drew over again, till a decising answer was given by one of the others. These divining arrows were generally consulted before any
thing of moment was undertaken; as when a man was about to marry, or about to go a journey, or the like. This superstitious practice of divining by arrows was used by the ancient Greeks, 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, be mixed together, or shook the arrows) be consulted with images, &c. the commentary of St. Jerome 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.

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 Koran, 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. 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, as camels flesh 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; and the Jewish doctors grant the

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4 Lev. xi. 4. 7 See Kor. chap. 3. p. 65, & 72, & chap. 6.

5 Kor. chap. 5. and in the other passages last quoted.
fame liberty in the like case. 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: this
food they called Moswadd, from Asfawad, which sig-
nifies black; the same nearly resembling our black
puddings in name as well as composition.

The eating of meat offered to idols I take to be com-
monly practised by all idolaters, being looked on as
a sort of communion in their worship, and for the
reason esteemed by Christians, if not absolutely un-
lawful, yet as what may be the occasion of great
scandal: but the Arabs were particularly supersti-
tious 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. Swine’s-flesh, indeed, the
old Arabs seem not to have eaten; and their pro-
phet, in prohibiting the same, appears to have only
confirmed the common aversion of the nation. Fo-
 reign writers tell us, that the Arabs wholly abstained
from swine’s-flesh, thinking it unlawful to feed
thereon, and that very few, if any, of those ani-

mals are found in their country, because it produ-
ces not proper food for them; which has made
one writer imagine that, if a hog were carried
thither, it would immediately die.

In the prohibition of usury I presume Mohammed
also followed the Jews, who are strictly forbid-
den by their law to exercise it among one another,
though they are so insamaha guilty of it in their

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* V. Maimon, in Halachothis Mekachim, chap. 9. § 1, &c.
* Nadr al dorr, al Firaux, al Zamakh. & al Beid.
* Compare Acts xv. 29. with 1 Cor. viii. 4, &c.
* See the 8th chapter of the Koran and the notes there.
* Solir. de Arab. cap. 15.
* Hieronym. in Iovin. 1. 2. c. 6.
* Idem, ib. 
* Solinus, lib. supra.
* Kor. chap. 2. p. 51 & 52.

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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 *Koran* 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 *Babira*, *Saiba*, *Wafila*, and *Ham*: of each whereof in their order.

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 *Babira*. Or the *Babira* was a she-camel, which was turned loose to feed, and whose fifth young one, if it proved a male, was killed and eaten by men and women promiscuously; but, if it proved a female, had its ear slit, and was dismissed to free pasture, none being permitted to make use of its flesh or milk, or to ride on it; though the women were allowed to eat the flesh of it, when it died: or it was the female young of the *Saiba*, which was used in the same manner as its dam; or else an ewe, which had been five times *a*. These, however, are not all the opinions concerning the *Babira*: 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; and others tell us, that, when a camel had newly brought forth, they used

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* Kor. chap. 5.  
* Al Fira'uzabdi.  
* Al Zamakh. al Beidawi, al Mofatrah.
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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'.

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

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: nay a servant, set at liberty and dismissed by his master, was also called Saiba; 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.

Wafila is, by one author, 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, Wafilat akabba, i.e. She is joined, or was brought forth with her brother.

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after which none might drink the dam's milk, except men only; and she was used as the Saîba. Or Wafîla 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 Wafîla 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.* Another 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 Wafîla 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 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;

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a Al Firaun al Zakhkh. b Al Jawhari. c Al Moutarrefi.
nor was any allowed to receive the least benefit from him, not even to shear his hair. These things were observed by the old Arabs in honour of their false gods, and as part of the worship which they paid them, and were ascribed to the divine institution; but are all condemned in the Koran, and declared to be impious superstitions.

The custom of burying their daughters alive was 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; the birth of a daughter being for these reasons, reckoned a great misfortune, and the death of one as great a happiness. The manner of their doing this is differently related. Some say that, when an Arab had a daughter born, if he intended to bring her up, he sent her, clothed in a garment of wool or hair, to keep camehs or sheep in the desert; but, if he designed to put her to death, he let her live till she became five 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 of pit dug for that purpose, and, having bid her to look down into it, pushed her in headlong, as she 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 favel it alive. This custom, though not observed by

9 Al Firuz, al Jawhari. 1 Jallal, in Kor. 2 Kor, chap. 5, and chap. 6. V. Poc. Specim. p. 330—334. 1 Al Beidawi, al Zamakh, al Moftatrif. 3 See Koran, chap. 16. 4 Al Meidani.
all the *Arabs* in general, was yet very common among several of their tribes, and particularly those of *Koreif* and *Kendah*; the former using to bury their daughters alive in mount Abu Daláma, near *Mecca*. In the time of ignorance, while they used this method to get rid of their daughters, *Sáfáa*, 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 cenured, he excused himself by alleging the following words of the *Korán*: *He who saveth a soul alive, shall be as if he had saved the lives of all mankind.*

The *Arabs*, in thus murdering 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; and, by the laws of *Lycurgus*, 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.

This wicked practice is condemned by the *Korán* in several passages; one of which, as some commentators judge, may also condemn another cul-

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*Τάν τερείτι τοι καὶ πίνεις ὑπὸ τάκης*

*Θυγατέρα ἰδίᾳ ηιτίας καὶ οὐ πλούσιος*, i.e.

*A man, though poor, will not expose his son,*

*But, if he is rich, will scarce preserve his daughter.*

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 left 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 law is founded on the precepts and determinations of the Korân, and 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 Hanîfâ, Malek, al Shâfeî, and Ebn Hanbal, to treat therein 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.

That polygamy, for the moral lawfulness of which the Mohammedan doctors advance several arguments, 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. 63, and 66.
owes an unbounded plurality; some pretending
hat a man may have as many wives e, 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 con-
cubines f; and, if a man apprehend any inconvenience
from even that number of ingenuous wives, it is ad-
ded, 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-flaves, 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 pro-
phet 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.

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P. Greg. Tholofanus, in Synt. juris, l. 9. c. 2. § 22. Septemcaftrensis,
(de musb. Turc. p. 24.) says the Mohammedans may have twelve lawful
wives, and no more. Ricaut falsely affirms the restraint of the number of their
wives to be no precept of their religion, but a rule superinduced on a
h Marrac. in Prodr. ad refut. Alcor. part 4. p. 52 & 71. Prideaux, life
of Mah. p. 114. Chardin, Voy. de Perse, l. 1. p. 166. Du Ryer, Som-
maries de la Rel. des Turcs, mis à la tête de la version de l'Alcor. Ricaut,
d'après, Puffendorf. de Jure nat. & gent. l. 6. c. 7. § 18. Chap.

f V. Gagner, in notis ad Ahulfeved vit. Moh. p. 150.


l V. Reland, ubi sup. h Kor. chap. 4.

maund

V. l. 1.

n Divorce
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; whereas Mohammed, to prevent his followers from divorcing their wives on every light occasion, or on account 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. 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 forbes those who have little or no sense of honour that will take a wife again, on the condition enjoined. 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 lightest dishonour, 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 duties, impotency, or some cause of equal import; but then she generally loses her dowry, which she does not if divorced by her husband, unless she has been guilty of impudence, or notorious disobedience.

When a woman is divorced, she is obliged, by the direction of the Koran, to wait till she hath 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...
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 expense; it being forbidden to turn a woman out before the expiration of the term, unless she be guilty of dishonesty. Where a man divorces a woman before consummation, she is not obliged to wait any particular time, nor is he obliged to give her more than one half of her dower.

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.

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: 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.

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 Sona, that an adulteress should be foned, and an unmarried woman guilty of fornication scourged with an hundred stripes, and banished for a year. A slave, if convicted of adultery, is to suffer but

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1 Korân, chap. 2. p. 40 & 41. & chap. 65.
2 Ib. chap. 33.
3 Ib. chap. 2. p. 44. & Ib. chap. 2. p. 41 & 42, and chap. 65.

n2 half
half the punishment of a free woman, 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, 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 fourcore stripes, and his testimony is to be held invalid for the future. Fornication, in either sex, is by the sentence of the Koran to be punished with an hundred stripes.

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 implore 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.

In most of the last mentioned particulars the decisions of the Koran 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. 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. 32. f Ibid. See the notes there. g Lev. xx. 21. 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. xvii. 25, 26.) 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.
and a betrothed bond-maid, if convicted of adultery, underwent the same punishment, being exempted from death, because she was not free. By the same law, no person was to be put to death on the oath of one witness and a man who slandered his wife was also to be chastised, that is, scourged, and fined one hundred shekels of silver. The method of trying a woman suspected of adultery where evidence was wanting, by forcing her to drink the bitter water of jealousy, though disused by the Jews, long before the time of Mohammed, 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, the taking of slaves to wife, and the prohibiting of marriage within certain degrees, have likewise no small affinity with the institutions of Moses, 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; which last was, notwithstanding, too frequently practised, and is expressly forbidden in the Koran.

Before I leave the subject of marriages, it may be proper to take notice of some peculiar privileges in respect of Mohammed.
in relation thereto, which were granted by God to Moham*med*, 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; and this he pretended to have been the privilege of the prophets before him. Another was, that he might alter the turns of his wife, 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. A third privilege was, that no man might marry any of his wives, 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 Jews 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; and Moham*med*, it seems, thought an equal respect, at least, due to the prophetic, as to the regal dignity; and therefore ordered that his reliefs should pass the remainder of their lives in perpetual widowhood.

The laws of the Koran 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 in*justice, frequently denying them any share in the inheritance of their fathers or their husbands, or pretence that the same ought to be distributed among those only who were able to bear arms; and disposling of the widows, even against their consent.

*Kor. chap. 33. See also chap. 66. and the notes there.

as part of their husbands possessions. 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.

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: 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. The particular proportions, in several cases, distinctly and sufficiently declared the intention of Mohammed; whose decisions expressed in the Korân 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. 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

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\[ a \text{ See chap. 4. and the notes there. V. etiam Poc. Spec. p. 337.} \\
, \text{ Kor. chap. 4. ubi supra. b Ibid. chap. 4. V. Chardin, Voy. de} \\
, \text{ Perse, T. 2. p. 193. c Ibid. d Ibid. e Kor. chap. 5.} \\
, \text{ heirs} \]
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.

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; not 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; but this law continued not long in force, being quickly abrogated.

It must be observed, that among the Mohammedans the children of their concubines or slaves were 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.

As to private contracts between man and man, the conscientious performance of them is frequently recommended in the Koran. For the preventing of disputes, all contracts are directed to be made before witnesses, and, in case such contracts are not immediately executed, the same ought to be reduced into writing in the presence of two witnesses, 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
writer is not to be found, pledges are to be taken in.

Hence, if people trust one another without writing,

witnesses, or pledge, the party on whom the de-

mand is made, is always acquitted, if he denies the

charge on oath, and swears that he owes the plain-
tiff nothing, unless the contrary be proved by very

convincing circumstances.

Wilful murder, though forbidden by the Korán,

under the severest penalties to be inflicted in the

next life, is yet, by the same book allowed to be

compounded for, on payment of a fine to the fa-

mily, of the deceased, and freeing a Moâlem 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.

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, 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 mur-

der in too unmerciful a manner, whole tribes fre-

quently engaging in bloody wars on such occasions,

the natural consequence of their independency, and

having no common judge or superior.

If the Mohammedan laws seem light in case of

murder, they may perhaps be deemed too rigorous in

case of manslaughter, or the killing of a man unde-

signedly; 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


534, &c. and the notes to Kor. chap. 5.  Kor. chap. 4.  Chap.

2, p. 33 & 33. chap. 17.  V. Chardin, ibid sup. p. 299, &c.

Numb. xxxv, 31.  This is particularly forbidden in the Korán, chap. 17.
together, by way of penance. The fine for man’s blood is set in the Sonna at an hundred camels; 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. 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 man-slayer 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; nor could any satisfaction be made for the slayer to return home before the prescribed time.

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

* Kor. chap. 4. † See the notes to chap. 37. § Kor. chap. 4. w See Numb. xxxv. 26, 27, 28. x Ibid. ver. 32. y Korán, chap. 2. z Novell. 134. c. 13.
manner. 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.

As to injuries done to men in their persons, the law of retaliation, which was ordained by the law of Moses, is also approved by the Korân: but this law, which seems to have been allowed by Mohammed to his Arabsians, for the same reasons as it was to the Jews, viz. to prevent particular revenges, to which both nations were extremely addicted, 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. Or rather Mohammed designated 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; the expression eye for eye, and tooth for tooth, being only a proverbial manner of speaking, the fente whereof amounts to this, That every one shall be punished by the judges, according to the heinousness of the fault.

\[\text{Of retaliation.}\]

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\[\text{1V. Puffendorf, de Jure nat. \& gent. I. 3. c. 3. § 26. }\] See the notes to chap. 5. p. 387. 
\[\text{2Exod. xxiii. 24, & Levit. xxiv. 30. Deut. xix. 21. }\] 
\[\text{3Chap. 5. }\] 
\[\text{4V. Gratium, de Jure belli \& pacis, I. 1. c. 2. § 8. }\] 
\[\text{5V. Chardin, T. 2. p. 299. The talio, likewise established among the old Romans by the laws of the twelves tables, was not to be inflicted, unless the delinquent could not agree with the person injured. V. A. Gall. Noct. Artic. I. 20 c. 7. \& Feuill, in voce Talio. }\] 
\[\text{6See Exod. xxi. 13, 19, and 22. }\] 
\[\text{7Barbeyrac; in Grat. ubi supra. }\] 
\[\text{V. Cleric. in Exod. xxi. 24, \& Deut. xix. 21. }\] 

In
The Preliminary Discourse.

In injuries and crimes of an inferior nature, where no particular punishment is provided by the Korán, and where a pecuniary compensation will not do, the Mohammedans, according to the practice of the Jews in the like case, have recourse to stripes or drubbing, the most common chastisement used in the east at this day, as well as formerly; the judge, 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 an instrument wherewith the judge's sentence is generally executed.

Notwithstanding the Korán is by the Mohammedans in general regarded as the fundamental part of the civil law, and the decisions of the Sunna, among the Turks, and of the Imáms, among those of the Peo sect, with the explications of their several doctors are usually followed in judicial determinations; 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 call it) which takes place in the secular courts, and has the executive power on its side.

Under the head of civil laws, may be comprehended the injunction of warring against infidels, which is repeated in several passages of the Korán, 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. Hence, this duty is greatly magnified by the Mohammedan divines.
who call the sword the key of heaven and hell, and persuade their people that the least drop of blood spilled in the way of God, as it is called, is most acceptable unto him; and that the defending the territories of the Molesmes, for one night, is more meritorious than a fast of two months: 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 Koran. Such a doctrine, which Mohammed ventured not to teach till his circumstances enabled him to put it in practice, 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 lifted himself in defence of the law, says Maimonides, rely on him who is the hope of Israel, and the favour thereof, in the time of trouble; and let him know that he fights for the profession of the divine unity: wherefore let him put his life in his hands, 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 only confound himself, but sin against the law; may the blood of the whole people rangeth on his neck: for, if they are discomfited, and he has not fought boldly with all his might, it is equally the same as if he had fed the blood of them all, according to that saying, let him return, lest his brethren's heart faint as his own.

† Reland. de jure milit. Moham. p. 5 & c. p V. chap. 9, chap. 3.
* See before, p. 63 & 64.
† Halach. Melachin. c. 7.
‡ Je- gen. xiv. 8.
§ Job xiii. 14.
¶ Deut. xx. 8.
The Preliminary Discourse.

To the same purpose doth the Kabala accommodate the other passage, Cursed be he who doth the work of the LORD negligently, and cursed be he who keepeth back his sword from blood." On the contrary, he who believeth bravely in battle, to the utmost of his endeavour, without trembling, with intent to glorify God's name, being to expect the victory with confidence, and to apprehend danger or misfortune, but may be assured that he will be 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. 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 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 who shall faithfully lose his life in this warfare, shall by no means deny the kingdom of heaven. And another gives the following exhortation: Laying aside 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, be dieteth for the truth of the faith, and the salvation of his country, and the defence of Christians; and therefore 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 practice a doctrine so opposite to the temper and whole tenour of the gospel, seems very strange; and yet the latter have carried

w Jerem. xlvi. 10. x Sam. xxv. 28, 29. y Nicolaus, in leam canon. c. omnium, 23, quæst. 5. z Leo IV, ib. quæst. 8.
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 let down by the learned Reland, 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 oppo- ners 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. The same sentence was pronounced not only against the seven Canaanitish nations, 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 Amale- kites and Midianites, 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 perfections, families, and fortunes, but intitled to all the privileges of other Moslems; or to submit and pay tribute, 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 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. Herewith agree the laws of war given to the Jews, which relate to the nations

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*In his treatise De jure militari Mohomnedanor. Dissertations Miscellanea.*

See Kor. chap. 47, and the notes there; and chap. 4, chap. 5, but xx. 16—20. d Ib. chap. xxv. 17—19. e Numb. xxxii. 17, chap. 9, and the notes there. f See the notes to chap. 47.
not devoted to destruction; 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; 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 burden their hearts, that he might destroy them utterly.

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, reserving thereout, in the first place, one fifth part 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 Hawazen taken at the battle of Hopen, which he bestowed by way of presents on the Meccans only, passing by those of Medina, and highly distinguishing the principal Korashites, that he might ingratiate himself with them, after he had become

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h Deut. xx. 16-15. i Talmud Hierosol. apud Maimonid. Halach. Melachim, c. 6. § 5. R. Bechai, et al. Siphne. V. Selden. de Jure nat. & gent. fec. Hebr. l. 6. c. 11 & x4. & Schickandi Jus Regium Hebr. c. 5. Theor. 16. k Josh. xx. 6. l The Jews however, say that the Girgasites, 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. Tam Hieros. Ugi sup.) And this is assigned as the reason why the Girgasites are not mentioned among the other Canaanites nations who assembled to fight against Joshua, (Josh. ix. 1.) and who were doomed to utter extermination (Deut. xx. 27.) But it is observable, that the Girgasites 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. m Kor. chap. 8. n Ibid.
matter of their city. He was also allowed in the expedition against those of al Nadir to take the whole body to himself; and to dispose thereof as he pleased, because no horses or camels were made use of in that expedition, but the whole army went on foot; and this became thenceforward a law: 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, 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, and by him employed for his own support and the use of the public. Mose, 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: 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. 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: 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 Mobammed’s men, about sharing the booty at Bedr, arose on the same occasion as did that among David’s soldiers in relation to the spoils recovered from the Amalekites; those who had been in the action insisting that they

Abulfed. in vit. Moh. p. 118, &c. V. Kor. c. 9. and the notes there.  9 Kor. chap. 59. See the notes there.  9 V. Abulfed. ubi supra.  9 V. Kor. chap. 59. ubi supra.  9 Gemar. Babylon. ad Sam.  9 c. 3. V. Selden. de Jure nat. & gent. &c. Hebr. lib.  9 p. 16.  9 Numb. xxxi. 27.  9 V. Maim. Halach. Melach. c. 4.  9 Midr. xxxii. 8.  9 See Kor. c. 8. and the notes there.  9 1 Sam.  921—25.  9 vol. i.  9 who
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*; which words are variously understood. *Al Shâfi‘i* was of opinion that the whole ought to be divided into five parts; the first, which he called *God’s part,* to go to the treasury, and be employed in building and repairing fortresses, bridges, and other public works, and in paying salaries to magistrates, civil officers, professors of learning, ministers of public worship, &c. The second part be distributed among the kindred of *Mohamed,* that is, the descendants of his grandfather *Habîb,* and of his great uncle, *al Motalleb,* as well the men as the poor, the children as the adult, the women as the men; observing only to give a female 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. According to *Ma‘ṣec Ebn Ans* the who is at the disposition of the *Imâm,* or prince, may distribute the same at his own discretion, where he sees most need. *Abü‘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 divided into two parts, one half to the apostle’s to be one and the same.* Abu Hor*.

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*Note, Al Shâfi‘i himself was defendant in this latter.*


*Idem. c Idem.*
thought that the share of Mubammed and his kindred
fank at that prophet's death, since which, the whole
ought to be divided among the orphans, the poor,
and the traveller. Some insist, that the kindred
of Mubammed intitled to a share of the spoils are the
posterity of Hashem only; but those who think the
defendants of his brother al Motalleb, have also a
right to a distributive part, alledge a tradition in
their favour, purporting, that Mubammed himself
divided the share belonging to his relations among
both families, and when Othman Ibn Affan and
Yahia Ibn Motam (who were descended from Abd-
Raus and Nacefal, the other brothers of Hashem)
sold him, that, though they disputed not the preference of the Hashemitas, they could not help taking
it 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 descend-
ants of al Motalleb had forfaken 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 Hashemitas. Some
refuse none of the tribe of Koreish from receiving a
part in the division of the spoil, and make no differ-
entiation 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 Koran; 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.
It must be observed, that immovable possessions,
lands, &c. taken in war, are subject to the same
law as the moveable; excepting only, that the
part of the former is not actually divided, but

2 Idem.
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the income and profits thereof, or of the prince thereof, if fold, 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, during which they held it unlawful to wage war, and to cut off the heads from their spears, ceasing from immolated and other hostilities. During those months, whoever was in fear of his enemy lived in security; so that, if a man met the murderer of his father or his brother, he durst not offer him violence: a great argument, says a learned writer of a humane disposition in that nation, who, being the son of the independent governments of their several tribes, and for the preservation of their just rights, expulsed frequent quarrels with one another, had yet learned to cool their inflamed breasts with moderation, and to check the rage of war by stated times of truce.

This institution obtained among all the Arab tribes, except only those of Tay and Khathîâm, and some of the descendants of al Hareth Ebn Caab, distinguished no time or place as sacred) and so religiously observed, that there are but few

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stances in history (four, say some, six, say others) 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 Mohammad himself served under his uncles, being then fourteen, or, as others say, twenty years old.

The months which the Arabs held sacred were Al Moharram, Rajeb, Dhu'kaada, and Dhu'bejja; the first, the seventh, the eleventh, and the twelfth in the year. Dhu'bejja being the month wherein they performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, not only that month, but also the preceding and the following for that reason kept inviolable, that every one might safely and without interruption pass and repass to and from the festival. Rajeb is said to have been more strictly observed than any of the other three, probably, because in that month the Pagan Arabs used to fast; Ramadân, which was afterwards let apart by Mohammad for that purpose, being in the time of ignorance dedicated to drinking in excess. 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, was distributed among the people; the other part being, for the like reason, distributed at the pilgrimage.

4 Al Moghulrâ, s Abulfedâ, vit. Moh. p. ii. f Al Kodâr, al Fazur. apud Poc. Spec. p. 174. Al Moghulrâ mentions both opinions. g Mr. Bayle (Dict. Hist. et Crit. Art. la Mecque, Rem. F.) accuses Dr. Prideaux of inconstancy for saying in one place (life of Moh. p. 64) that these sacred months were the first, the seventh, the eleventh, and the twelfth, and intimating in another place (lb. 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, if we tell us, are the two first, and the two last in the year. V. Golii Lex. Arch. col. 601. & Reland. de Jure milit. Mohammedanor. p. 5. h V. Gol. in Alfrag. p. 9. i V. ibid. p. 6. k Al Makhri, apud Poc. vii supra. l Idem, & Auctor Nehlîk al Azhâr, ibid. m See Kâ- 0 3
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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, 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 profane.

One practice, however, of the Pagan Arabs, in relation to these sacred months, Mohammed thought proper to reform: for some of them, weary of fighting quiet for three months together, and eager make their accustomed incursions for plunder, by way of expedient, whenever it suited their inclinations or conveniency, to put off the obliance of al Moharram to the following month Safar thereby avoiding to keep the former, which they supposed it lawful for them to profane, provided they sanctified another month in lieu of it, and gave public notice thereof at the preceding pilgrimage. This transferring the observance of a sacred month to a profane month is what is not meant by the Arabic word al Nafi, and is absolutely condemned, and declared to be an impious innovation, in a passage of the Korân, which Dr. Prideaux misleads by Golius', imagines to relate to the prolepsis of the year, by adding an intercalary month therein: 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; by which means they fixed the pilgrimage of Mecca (contrary to the original institution) to a certain season of the year.

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* Chap. 9. chap. 2. p. 53 and 54. chap. 4. chap. 5. &c.  
 Chap. 6. chap. 2. p. 33 and 34.  9 See the notes to chap. 9. ubi sup.  
 Chap. 9. &c. Life of Mab. p. 66.  
* In Alfrig. p. 12.  
 In Pride, Preface.
year, viz. to autumn, as most convenient for the pilgrims, by reason of the temperateness of the weather, and the plenty of provisions; 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; whereas, if the intercalation of a month were allowed, every third or second year would conflict 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, setting apart of Friday.

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; 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, 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; pretending also that it will be the day whereon the last judgment will be solemnized; 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 Mohammediens, and granted them the advantage of having first observed it.

w V. Gol. ubi supra. x Kor. cap. 9. See alio cap. 2. p. 33 and 34. y See cap. 63. and the notes there. z Al Beidawi. a Ebn al Arîr, & al Ghazâlî, apud Poc. Spec. p. 317. b V. ibid. c Al Ghazâlî, 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 Koran, 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.

Since I have mentioned the Mohammedan weekly feast, I beg leave just to take notice of their two Beirâms, 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 Shawwal, immediately succeeding the *Id of Ramadân*; and the other is called, *Id al korbân*, or *Id al adâb*, i.e. *The feast of the sacrifice*, and begins on the tenth of Dhu’l-hajja, when the victims are slain at the pilgrimage of Mecca. The former of these feasts is properly the lesser Beirâm; and the latter, the greater Beirâm: but the vulgar, and most authors who have written of the Mohammedan affairs, 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; whereas the feast of sacrifices, though it be also kept for three days, and the first of them be the most
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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.

Before we take a view of the sects of the
Mohammedans, it will be necessary to say some-
thing 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, con-
sisting 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 Mohammed-
ans themselves for the founder divines, or more
able philosophers\(^a\), and therefore in the partition
of the sciences this is generally left out, as un-
worthy a place among them\(^b\). The learned Maim-
monides\(^c\) has laboured to expose the principles and
systems of the scholastic divines, as frequently re-
pugnant 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

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\(^a\) Poc. Spec. p. 196.  \(^b\) Apud Ebn Sina, in libello de divisione
Scientiar. & Nafiruddin al Tusi, in prefat. ad Ethic.  \(^c\) More Nevech.

1. c. 71. & 73.
religion began to be called in question, and was at first made use of to defend the truth of those articles against innovators; 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 Ghazālī, 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 Shāfiʻī, 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 Korān and Sunna, applied himself to the study of scholastic divinity. Al Ghazālī, 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 requires three things, diligence, acuteness of judgment, and probity of manners; and is by no means for suffering the same to be publicly explained. The 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.

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 Ghazālī 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

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\[\text{\textsuperscript{d}}\text{ Al Ghazālī, apud Poc. ubi supra.} \quad \text{\textsuperscript{e}}\text{ Ibid.} \quad \text{\textsuperscript{f}}\text{ V. Poc. ib. p. 197.} \quad \text{\textsuperscript{g}}\text{ Al Ghazālī, ibid.} \quad \text{\textsuperscript{h}}\text{ Ebn al Kollā, apud eund. ibid. p. 198.}\]
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nality; 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 preferring 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: 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.

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.

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 Athesians, the Kalamians, the Mottassians or Corporalists, and the Mottazalites.

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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 Nejarians, the Jabarians, the Afsarians, and the Keramians.

The third basis concerns the promises and threats, the precise acceptance 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 Waendidians, the Mootazalites, the Afsarians, and the Keramians.

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 Imam, or chief priest. Under this head are comprised all casuistical questions relating to the moral beauty or turpitude of actions; inquiring whether things are allowed or forbidden by reason of their own nature, or by the positive law; and also questions concerning the preference of actions, the favour or grace of God, the innocence which ought to attend the prophetical office, and the conditions requisite in the office of Imam; some asserting it depends on right of succession, others on the consent of the faithful; and also the method of transferring it, with the former; and of confirming it, with the latter. These matters are the subjects of

n Al Shahrestani, apud Poc. ubi, ib. p. 25.
  o Idem, ib. p. 206.
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dispute between the Shiites, the Mowazalites, the Kera-
mancs, and the Asharians.

The different sects of Mohammedans may be dis-
tinguished into two sorts; those generally esteemed
orthodox, and those which are esteemed heretical.

The former, by a general name, are called Sonnites
or Traditionists; because they acknowledge the au-
thority of the Sonna, or collection of moral trad-
tions of the sayings and actions of their prophet,
which is a sort of supplement to the Koran, directing
the observance of several things omitted in that
book, and, in name, as well as design, answering to
the Mishna of the Jews.

The Sunnites are subdivided into four chief sects, Divided
which, notwithstanding some differences as to legal
conclusions in their interpretation of the Koran, 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.

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 be-
long to the next life and to man's right conduct
here, and directing all their knowledge to the glory
of God. This is al Ghazali'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.

The first of the four orthodox sects is that of the sect
Haneefites, so named from their founder, Abu Hanifa of Abu Ha-
al Noman Ebn Thabet, who was born at Cufa, in the

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Millium. de Mohammadimo ante Moh. p. 368, 369. 1 See before.
eightieth year of the Hejra, and died in the one hundredth and fiftieth, according to the more preferable opinion as to the time. He ended his life in prison at Bagdad, where he had been confined, because he refused to be made Kádi or judge; on which account he was very hardly dealt with by his superiors, yet could not be prevailed on, either by threats or ill treatment, to undertake the charge, choosing rather to be punished by them than by God, says al Ghazáli; who adds, that, when he excused himself from accepting the office by alleging that he was unfit for it, being asked the reason, he replied, If I speak the truth, I am unfit; but, if I tell a lie, a harim not fit to be a judge. It is said that he read over the Korán, in the prison where he died, no less than seven thousand times.

The Haneefites are called by an Arabian writer 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 Haníafa heretofore obtained chiefly in Irák, but now generally prevails among the Turks and Tartars: his doctrine was brought into great credit by Abu Yüsuf, chief justice under the Khalifs al Hâdi and Harún al Rashíd.

The second orthodox sect is that of Malíc Ebn An, who was born at Medina, in the year of the Hejra 90, 93, 94, or 95, and died there in 177, 178, or 179, (for so much do authors differ.) This doctor is said to have paid great regard to the tradit-

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1 Ebn Khalečán.  
2 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.) milled by the dubious acceptation of the word Kádi, which signifies not only God’s decree in particular, but also the giving sentence as a judge in general; this caused Abu Haníafa have been reckoned orthodox, had he denied one of the principal articles of faith.  
4 Al Shahrí, ibid.  
6 Ebn Khalečán.  
7 Idem.  
8 A. Abu’l Féda.  
9 Ebn Khalečán.  
10 Idem.  
11 A. Abu’l Féda.  
12 Elmacinus, p. 114.
ons of Mohammed. 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! Al Ghazâlî 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.

The doctrine of Malec is chiefly followed in Barbary and other parts of Africa.

The author of the third orthodox sect was Mohammed Ebn Edris al Shâfeî, born either at Gaza or Akko 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. He died in two hundred and four, in Egypt, whither he went above five years before. 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 Shâfeî at first, that he forbade his scholars to go near him; but some time after one of them, meeting his master trudging on foot after al Shâfeî, who rode on a mule, asked him how it came about that he forbade 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.*

2 Idem, apud. eund. ibid.
3 Al Ghazâlî. ibid. 4 Ebn Khalecân. 5 Yet Abu Ismael.
6 Says he lived fifty-eight years. 7 Ebn Khalecân. 8 Idem.
9 Al.
Al Shâfei is said to have been the first who discoursed of jurisprudence, and reduced that science into a method; one wittily saying, that the relations of the traditions of Mubâhâmed were asleep till Al Shâfei came and waked them. He was a great enemy to the scholastic divines, as has been already observed. Al Ghazâlî tells us that Al Shâfei 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 swore by God, either to confirm a truth, or to affirm a falsehood; and that, being once asked his opinion, he remained silent for some time, and, when the reason of his silence was demanded, he answered, I am considering first whether it be better to speak or hold my tongue. The following saying is also recorded of him: Viz. Whoever pretends to love the world and its Creator at the same time, is a liar.

The followers of this doctor are from him called Shâfeites, and were formerly spread into Mâwarînâbâr and other parts eastward, but are now chiefly of Arabia.

Ahmed Ebn Hanbal, the founder of the fourth sect, was born in the year of the Hejra 164; but, as to the place of his birth, there are two traditions: some say he was born at Merû in Kborâsân, of which city his parents were; and that his mother brought him from thence to Bagdad at her breast; while others assure us that she was with child of him when she came to Bagdad, and that he was born there. Ebn Hanbal, in process of time, attained a great reputation on account of his virtue and knowledge; being well versed in the traditions of Mubâhâmed, in particular, that it is said he could repeat no less than a million of them. He was very intimate with Al Shâfei, from whom he received most of his traditional knowledge, being his constant attendant till


Khalecân  s Idem.
his departure for Egypt. Refusing to acknowledge the Korán to be created, he was, by order of the Khalif al Mutasem, severely scourged and imprisoned. Ebn Hanbal died at Bagdad, 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. This fact 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 Bagdad, 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: but the Hanbalites at present are not very numerous, few of them being to be met with out of the limits of Arabia.

The heretical facts among the Mohammedans are those which hold heterodox opinions in fundamentals, or matters of faith.

The first controversies relating to fundamentals began, when most of the companions of Mohammed were dead: for in their days was no dispute, unless about things of small moment, if we except only the diffusions concerning the Imáms, 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 savour of conquest a little abated than they began to examine the Korán more nearly; whereupon differences in opinion became unavoidable, and at
length so greatly multiplied, that the number of these sects, according to the common opinion, are seventy-three. For the Mohammedans seem ambitious that the religion should exceed others even in this respect; foreseeing, 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: of which sects they reckon one to be always orthodox, and intituled to salvation. The first hereby was that of the Khârijites, who revolted from Ali in the 37th year of the Hejra; and not long after, Mâhad al Jobnî, Ghailân of Damajî, and Jonas al Aswârî broached heterodox opinions concerning predestination, and the ascribing of good and evil unto God; whose opinions were followed by Wâeful Ebn Atâ. This latter was the scholar of Haflîn 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 Khârijite (who used to come and dispute there) maintained the affirmative, and the orthodox the negative. Wâeful, without waiting his master's decision, withdrew abruptly; and began to publish among his fellow scholars a new opinion of his own, to the effect that such a sinner was in a middle state; and he was thereupon expelled the school; and he and his followers being thenceforth called Mōtazalîtes, or Separatists.

The several sects which have arisen since the time are variously compounded and decompound of the opinions of four chief sects, the Mōtazalîtes, the Sefâtians, the Khârijites, and the Shiîtes.

* V. Poc. Spec. p. 194.  a Al Shâhri, apud eund. p. 271.  b U. A. Shôrîh Shâh Shâh Shâh, ubi sup.  c Ibidem, ib. p. 211.  d Et Ebn Khâlacan, in vita Wâefil.  e Al Shâhri, who reduces them to four chief sects, puts the Kadarians in the place of the Mōtazalîtes. Abu'l Faragius (Hist. Dyn. p. 166.) reckons six principal sects, adding the Jabarians and the Morgians; and the author of Shâh Shâh Shâh, eight, viz. the Mōtazalîtes, the Shiites, the Khârijites, the Morgians, the Najariacs, the Jabariacs, the Muhabebites, and the sects which he calls al Nâja, because that alone will be faced, according to him the sect of the Ašâriacs. V. Poc. Spec. p. 209.
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I. The Mọ́ţazalítes were the followers of the before-mentioned Wạ́fíl Ebn Álā'. 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 Chri̇stians; saying that eternity is the proper or formal attribute of his essence; that God knows by his essence, and not by his knowledge; and the same they affirmed of his other attributes (though all the Mọ́ţazalítes do not understand these words in one sense;) and hence this sect were also named Mọattalítes, from their divesting God of his attributes: 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; and this was the true doctrine of Wạ́fíl their master, who declared that whoever asserted an eternal attribute, asserted there were two Gods. This point of speculation concerning the divine attributes was not ripe at first, but was at length brought to maturity by Wạ́fíl's followers, after they had read the books of the philosophers. 2. They believed the word of God to have been created in subiecto, (as the schoolmen term it) and to consist of letters and sounds, copies thereof being written in books, to express or imitate the original. They also went farther, and affirmed that whatever is created in subiecto, is also an accident, and liable to perish. 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: which being properly the opinion of the Kedarians, we defer what may be farther said thereof till we come to speak of that sect. On ac-
count of this tenet and the first, the Mútazalites look on themselves as the defenders of the unity and justice of God. 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 infidel.

5. They denied all vision of God in paradise by the corporeal eye, and rejected all comparisons or similitudes applied to God.

This sect are said to have been the first inventors of scholastic divinity, and are subdivided into several inferior sects, amounting, as some reckon, to twenty, which mutually brand one another with fidelity: the most remarkable of them are,

1. The Hodeilians, or followers of Hamán Abi Hodeil, a Mútazalite doctor, who differed something from the common form of expression used by the 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 subsidiaries therein, but are his essence itself: and this the most orthodox take to be next kin to making distinction in the Deity, which is the thing they so much abhor in the Christians. As to the Korán’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 Káin, i.e. Fiat, at the creation, are partly in subjecto, as the precepts, prohibitions, &c. Marraci mentions an opinion of Abu Hodeil concerning predestination, from an Arab writer, which, being by him expressed in a manner not very intelligible, I chuse to omit.

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o Al Shabrej. & Sharh al Mawâkîf, apud Poc. ubi sup. p. 74.
q Idem, ibid.
as Al Mawâkîf apud Poc. ibid.
t Al Shabrejâni, apud Poc. p. 215.
216, 217.
u Idem, apud eund. p. 217, &c.
part. 3. p. 74.
x Al Shabrej.
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2. The Jobbâians, or followers of Abu Ali Moham-
med Ibn Abd al Wakkâb, furred al Jobbâi, whose
meaning when he made use of the common expres-
sion
of the Mûtazalites, that God knows by his essence, &cc.
was, that God's being knowing is not an attribute,
the same with knowledge, nor such a state as rendered
his being knowing necessary. He held God's word
to be created in subjectio, as in the preserved table,
for example, the memory of Gabriel, Mohammed,
&c. This sect, if Marracci has given the true sense
of his author, denied that God could be seen in para-
ledge without the assistance of corporeal eyes; and
held that man produced his acts by a power super-
added 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 Wâfel) 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:

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. Abu Hâshem took the Mûta-
zalite 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. 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. Abu Hâshem, and his
father Abu Ali al Jobbâi, were both celebrated for their
skill in scholastic divinity:

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8 Idem, & Author
9 Mâvakis, ib. p. 218.
10 Marracci, ubi sup. p. 75. ex al Sharhefi.
11 V. Eund. ibid.
12 Al Sharhefi. apud Poc. 215.
14 Ebn Khalecân, in vitis corum.

4. The
4. The Nodhamians, or followers of Ibrahim al Nodham, 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. Of his opinion as to the Koran's being created we have spoken elsewhere.

5. The Hayetians, so named from Ahmed Ibn Hayet, who had been of the sect of the Nodhamians, 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 future: he also farther asserted, that there are two Gods, or Creators; the one eternal, viz. the mid high God, and the other not eternal, viz. Christ: which opinion, though Dr. Pocock urges the same argument that he did not rightly understand the Christian mysteries, 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; and 3. That God will be seen at the resurrection, not with the bodily eyes, but those of the understanding.

6. The Jacobians, or followers of Amru Ibn Babi, f surnamed al Jabadh, a great doctor of the Nestorians, and very much admired for the elegance of his compositions; who differed from his brethren, in that he imagined the damned would not be eternally

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* ra. & al Shahreft. ubi sup.
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. 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. His peculiar opinion as to the Korán has been taken notice of before.

7. The Mozdârians, who embraced the opinions of Hâ Ebn Sobeih al Mozdâr, and those very absurd ones: for besides his notions relating to the Korán, he went so directly counter to the opinion of those who abridged God of the power to do evil, that he affirmed it possible for God to be a liar and unjust. He also pronounced him to be an infidel who thrust himself into the supreme government: 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.

8. The Basharians, who maintained the tenets of Bashar Ebn Molâmer, the master of al Mozdâr, and a principal man among the Mózazâlîtes. 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
repent of a mortal sin, and afterwards return to it, he will be liable to suffer the punishment due to the former transgression. 7.

9. The Thamamians, who follow Thamama Ibn Branfar, a chief Mottazalite. 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. 8.

10. The Kadarians; which is really a more ancient name than that of Mottazalites; Mibad al-John and his adherents being so called, who disputed the doctrine of predestination, before Wafel quitted his master: for which reason some use the denomination of Kadarians as more extensive than the other, and comprehend all the Mottazalites under it. 9. These 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. 10. Those, however, who give the name of Kadarians to the Mottazalites are their enemies, for they disclaim it, and give it to their antagonists the Taborians, who like wise refuse it as an infamous appellation, because Mohammed is said to have declared the Kadarians to be the Magians of his followers. 11. But what the opinion of these Kadarians in Mohammed’s time was, is very uncertain: the Mottazalites say the name belongs to

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those who assert predestination, and make God the author of good and evil; viz. the Jazarians; but all the other Mohammedan sects agree to fix it on the Motazalites, 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 Motazalites, 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. And, indeed, it is a difficult matter to say what Mohammed’s own opinion was in this matter; for, on the one side, the Koran itself is pretty plain for absolute predestination; and many sayings of Mohammed are recorded to that purpose, and one in particular, wherein he introduces Adam and Moses disputing before God in this manner: Thou 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: wherefore 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 whome 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?

\[^1\text{Al Motarresi, al Shahreft. V. ib. p. 232.}\]
\[^2\text{V. Poc. ib. p. 233.}\]
\[^3\text{V. ib. p. 237.}\]
In the conclusion of which dispute Mohamned declared that Adam had the better of Moses. On the other side, it is urged in the behalf of the Motazalites, that Mohamned, declaring that the Kadarians and Morgians had been cursed by the tongues of seventy prophets, and, being ascribed who the Kadarians were, answered, Those who assert that God predestinated them to be guilty of rebellion, and yet punishes them for it: if Hasan is also said to have declared, that God sent Mohamned to the Arabs, while they were Kadarians, or Jabarians, and laid their sins upon God: and to confirm the matter this sentence of the Koran is quoted: When they commit a filthy action, they say, We found our fathers practicing the same, and God hath commanded us so to do: Say, Verily God commandeth not filthy actions.

11. The Sefatians held the opposite opinion to the Motazalites 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 Sefatians, or Attributists. Their doctrine was that of the first Makommedans, 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. However, at length, by giving various explications and interpretations of these attributes, they divided into many different opinions: and, by taking the words in the literal sense, fell into the notion of a likeness or similitude between God and created beings; to which it is said the Karaites among the Jews, who are for the literal interpretation of Moses’s law, had

k Ebn al Athir, al Bokhari, apud Poc. p. 236.
m Al Motarrezi, apud cund. p. 237, 238.
a Al Shahrif, apud Poc.
spec. p. 223.
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The way 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 fame of both; it being sufficient to believe that God hath no companion or similitude. Of this opinion was Malek Ibn 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 hereby to make any questions about it.

The sects of the Sefatians are,

1. The Asharites, the followers of Abu'l Hasan al Ashari, who was first a Motaalite, and the scholar of Abu Ali al Jobbâi, but disagreeing from his master in opinion as to God's being bound (as the Motaalites assert) to do always that which is best, or most expedient, left him, and set up a new sect of himself. The occasion of this difference was the putting a case concerning three brothers, the first of whom lived in obedience to God, the second in rebellion against him, and the third died an infant. Al Jobbâi, being asked what he thought would become of them, answered, that the first would be rewarded in paradise, the second punished in hell, and the third neither rewarded nor punished: but what, objected al Ashari, if the third say, O Lord, if thou hast 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 Ashari, 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-

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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 Asbâr, 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 Jobbaĩ was told to send the devil to pass the bridge; i.e. he is posed.

The opinions of the Alshârians 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. This was also the opinion of Ahmed Ibn Hanbal, and David a Jpabani, and others, who herein followed Malik Ibn 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; 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. 2. In this 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

1 Al Shâhreft, apud Poc. spec. p. 257.
2 Idem, apud cund. p. 228, &c.
3 V. Poc. ib.
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 will-
eth and knoweth, he willeth concerning men that which
he knoweth, and hath commanded the pen to write
the name in the preserved table: and this is his de-
cre, and eternal immutable counsel and purpose". 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
Cafh, i.e. Acquisition, being, in respect to its cre-
ation, from God, but, in respect to its being pro-
duced, 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 there-
to: 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, how-
ever, who are also on the side of Al Asbârî, and re-
puted orthodox, explain the matter in a different

w Al Shâbêh apud eund. p. 245, &c.
x Al Shâbêh apud Poc. p. 245, &c.

1 Al Shâbêh apud eund. p. 247.
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. 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. Abūl Hasan al Aškārī affirms all the actions of men to be subject to the power of God, being created by him; and that the power of man hath no influence at all on that which he is empowered to do; but that both the power, and what is subject thereto, fall under the power of God: al Kādi Abu Bar fays, 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 Imām al Haramein, Abūl Ḥosain of Bif 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 empowered to do: and Abū Isbāk al Isfarayeni taught, that the which maketh impression, or hath influence on an action, is a compound of the power of God and the power of man. 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.

7 Al Shahreft. ib. p. 248.
8 Auctof Sharh al Tawāles, &c.
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. 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.

3. As to mortal

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2. Idem ib. 250.
3. 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 Mahomedan 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 Moerijb 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 Sommites, who assert that man hath power and will to choose good and evil, and can moreover know he shall be rewarded, if he do well; and shall be punished, if he do ill; but that he depends notwithstanding on God's power, and will, if God will, 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 quod voluit fuit et futurum est ab aeternitate in finem unque mundi, postea.
mortal sin, the Abarians taught, that, if a believer guilty of such sin die without repentance, his fenerance & poslea. Et ita novit ab aeterno omnia opera creatureum, fore bona, se male, quem fuerint creatum cum potentia Dei, & ejus libera & determinata voluntate, in quo ipsi eisium sicut. Denique novit enim qui futurus erat malus, & tamen creavit eum, & fundit bonum, quem etiam creavit: neque nigrari posse quin, si ipsi hibisset, posset ei omnes creata bonos: placuit tamen Deo creare bonos & malos, quem Deo fuit absoluta & libera voluntas, & perficte delicis & non bonum. Ita enim Salomon in suis proverbiis dixit, Viam & mortem, prae & malum, divitias & paupertatem, esse & centere a Deo. Christum non dicunt S. Paulum dixisse in suis epistolis: Didiet etiam lumnum figula, quare unum non est ad bonum, & omnis non est ad contumeliam? Cum igitur afferret fuerit creatum à voluntate Dei & potentia, nihil a deo potest tribui ipsi qui ipsi seipsum cognoscebat & sentit eum bene vel male faciat. Quae unica est (sid est, senex cognoscebat) erat ejus gloria vel pacem caussa: per talem eum se ipsum novit qui bonum vel malum adversum Dei precipitasse fecerit. The opinion of the Jodavians, on the other hand, he rejects as contrary to man's scions of his own power and choice, and inconsequent with God's justice, and his having given mankind laws, to the obviating or tranquillizing of which he has annexed rewards and punishments. After this he proceeds to explain the third opinion in the following words: Tertia opinio est (i.e. Somitara) quae vera est, affirmat hominem potestatem esse, sed non tam a sua causa, ut est, dependente aut Dei potentia & voluntate, & possibilia cognitum quod deliberet bene vel male facere, esse dignum pascere prae fraudem. Manifesctum est in aeternitate non sufficiat aliis potentiam prae se nostrarum omnium, et ejus potentia pendebant omnia possibilium, id est, que prae vent eum, cum ab ipso fuerint creatum. Sapientia vero Dei novit etiam que futurum: & potentia ejus, non creaverit ea, potuit tamen, tamen, ha Dei sui sit. Ita novit sapientia Dei quae erat impossibilis, id est, que non potest quotiens atque tamen modo penden ad eum potest: ab ejus enim potestas dependebat nisi possibilis. —Dicitur enim a Dei potentia non pendere cedere hominum; ipsi seipsum similiter, nec creare eadem quae mortuorum & quiendent semper tempore, quia hoc sunt impossibilium: comprehensur tamen se ipsum omnium aliud non pendere a ejus potestate. —A potentia igitur Dei pendere potest esse, et possibile esse; quae tempus parata esse dare esse possibilum. Si hoc penitus cognoscamus, cognosceremus partum omne quod est, semper futurum, si sunt opera nostra, sic quidem alium, pendere a sola potentia Dei. Et sic privatum intelligitur, sed in genere de omni eo quod est, & mortuorum, esse in se suo esse in terrarum, & nec aliena potentia potest impediri Dei potentia, cum omnium potestas absoluta sit, prae Dei: potentia vero nostra non eis a se, & a Dei potentia: & cum potentia nostra dicitur esse in causa sua, id est, qua se nosmam nosteram esse frangimus comparatam cum potentia Dei: eo cum massa eam quae frangam mortuorum a nostri mari; ut nostra potentia & voluntas ad Dei potentiam. Quae Dei potentia semper est parata etiam ad occidentem dispansum ut si quis hodiem occidit, non dicitur potentia hominis id faciendum, sed aeterna potentia Dei: error enim est idem qui potentiam hominis. Potestas enim Dei semper sit parata, & ante se ipsum hominem, ad occidentem: si fidel hominem potest id faciendum esse desiderius, & mortuorum, potentia Jane Dei (quae est erat) iam ibi esset justitia: quia post mortem non post potentiam Dei crescit occidente; ex quo sequatur potentiam Dei impediti a potentia hominis, & potentiam hominis anteri & antecessore potentiam Dei; quod est absurdo.
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 whe-
ther he punish him in proportion to his demerit, and
afterwards, through his mercy, admit him into para-
dise: but that it is not to be supposed he will re-
main 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. And this is generally received for the
orthodox doctrine in this point, and is diametrically
opposite to that of the Mətəzalites.

These were the more rational Sefatians, but the
ignorant part of them, not knowing how otherwise
to explain the expressions of the Korān relating to the
declarative attributes, fell into most gross and abstrus
opinions, making God corporeal, and like created
things. Such were,

2. The Mosabbebesites, or Assimilators, who allowed
a resemblance between God and his creatures, sup-
posing him to be a figure composed of members or
parts, either spiritual or corporeal, and capable of
local motion, of ascent or descent, &c. Some of
this sect inclined to the opinion of the Holī'ans,
who believed that the divine nature might be united
with the human in the same person; for they grant-
ed it possible that God might appear in a human

 formas. Igitur Deus est qui operatur aeterna fœta potentiæ: sic vero homini
mediantur causæ, sine in tali homicidio, sine in aliis, hoc est aquantum ad precepta
et legem. Homini tribunal juxta opus externè, et eijus elici, quæ est a vo-
dominio ejus et potentiæ: non vero internè. — Hoc est punctum illud indevisibile et
futurum, quæ est præciscimus capitis, ut sapientissimus Sidi Abo Humet Elgayelı
i.e. Dominus Abu Hamed al Ghazali) affirmat (cuius spiritui Deus conce-
dit glorian. Amen et) quæ verbit. Ista obditum et profundum et obscur-
sum est intelligere punctum illud Liberi Arbitrii, ut neque charactères ad fœri-
dum est, neque utra rationem ad exprimendum sufficiumt, et omnes, quotquot de
his re locuti sunt, hæc re conficiunt, in ripa tantùm et tam spaciis maris.  4 Al
167, &c.  6 Al Mawākef, apud Poc, ib.  7 Al Shairef, apud eun. ib. p. 236.
form, as Gabriel did: and to confirm their opinion, they allude Mohamed's words, that he saw the LORD in a most beautiful form, and Moses's talking with GOD face to face. And

3. The Keramians, or followers of Mohamed Ibn Tharán, called also Mojaissemians, or Corporalists; who not only admitted a resemblance between GOD and created beings, but declared GOD to be corporeal. The most 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 circumcised either on all sides or on some only, (as beneath, for example,) according to different opinions; and others allowed him might be felt by the hand, and seen by the eye. Nay, one David al Javiri went so far as to say, 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. These most blasphemous and monstrous notions were the consequence of the literal acceptance of those passages in the Korán which figuratively attribute corporeal actions to GOD, and of the words of Mohamed, 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 faction 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 dem.
to assimilate God to men, so that they describe
him as weeping for Noah’s flood till his eyes were
Iore*. 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 invent-
ed, yet many expressions of this kind are to be found
in their writings; as when they introduce God
moaning 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
laughing among the Heathen, &c. 

4. The Jabarians, who are the direct opponents of
the Kadarians, denying free agency in man, and ascrib-
ing his actions wholly unto God*. They take their
denomination from ab Jabr, which signifies necessity,
or compulsion; because they hold man to be necessa-
arily and inevitably constrained to act as he does, by
force of God’s eternal and immutable decree. 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
operative; asserting that man can do nothing, but
produces all his actions by necessity, having neither
power, nor will, nor choice, any more than an inani-
mate agent: they also declare that rewarding and
punishing are also the effects of necessity; and the same
they lay of the imposing of commands. This was
the doctrine of the Jabhians, the followers of Jabh
Ebn Safwán, who likewise held that paradise and hell
will vanish, or be annihilated, after those who are
defined thereto respectively shall have entered them,
so that, at last, there will remain no existing being

n Talm. Berachoth,
* V. Poc. ubi supra, p. 228. 
q 2 besides

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besides God "; supposing those words of the Korán, which declare that the inhabitants of paradise and hell shall remain therein for ever, to be hyperbolical only, and intended for corroboration, and not to denote an eternal duration in reality ". The moderate Fabarians 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 " will not admit them to be called Fabarians; though others reckon those as to be called middle Fabarians, and to contend for the middle opinion between absolute necessity and absolute liberty, who attribute to man acquisition, or consent in producing the action, whereby he gains commendation or blame, (yet without admitting it have any influence on the action) and therefore me the Ashárians a branch of this sect ".

Having here 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 act 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 ". Of the middle or moderate Fabarians, were the Najárians and the Derárians. The Najárians were the adherents of Al Hasan Bn Mubammed al Najj, who taught that God was he who created the actions of men, both good and bad; and that men acquire them; and also that man's power had an influence in the action, or a certain co-operation, which he called Acquisition; and herein he agreed with Al Asbárán. The Derárians were the disciples of Derár Bn Afn, who held also, that men's actions are really created by God, and that man really acquired them.

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* Al Shahrest. al Motareza, & Ebn al Kofí, apud eund. p.239, &c.  
* Idem, ib. p. 263.  
* Al Shahrest. al Kofí, & al Mawáket.  
* Al Shahrest. apud eund. p. 245.  
* Idem.  

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duens 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. And in this particular likewise they agree with the Aßbárians, who assert the same, 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.

5. The Morgians, who are said to be derived from the jahárians. 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 abjuration or condemnation. They also hold that disobedience with faith hurseth not; and that, on the other hand, obedience with infidelity profiteth not. 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.

1 Abulfarag. p. 168. &c. 2 Al Shahrefâni, ubi sup. p. 252. &c. 3 Shahr al Tawâles, ib. To the same effect writes the Moorish author quoted above, from whom I will venture to transcribe the following passage, which he concludes his discourse on Free-will: Intellectus jure la- maxe naturali novit Deum esse rectum judicem et juvatum, qui non alter aff- fieri creatorem quam fuisse ita Deum esse abjuration Dominum, et hanc veram medium esse ejus, et ab eo creatum. Deum nullis debere rationem re- licerit, cum puerum agat, agat, quod propria sibi: et id abscondi poterit affl- tarum præmii vel puni quem vel nullum, cum omnis creatura est ejus, nec factit aliquam incapacit. Ee omnis tormentis et punis externis officiat: plus enim honori et commodi necit creatura quando accepti est a suo creatore, quam inconveniunt et damni quando ebe damnata est et afficitur tormentis et punis. Hoc autem intelligitur si Deus absque id factet. Quanto enim Deus, pietaete et misericordia motus, dixit aliquis ut ipsi promisisset, Dominus Deus gratia sua id factit ex infinitâ latitudine; et quando aliquus derelinqui, et punis et tormentis effect, ex justitia o reluctatione. Et tandem dicimus omnes præmii esse injustas quæ Deovenient, et nostra tantum culpa est, et omnia bona esse ab pietate et misericordia ejus infinita.

4 Al Shahref. ubi sup. p. 256. 5 Abulfar. p. 169.
to intention and profession of the faith; 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; and others, their degrading of Ali, or removing him from the first degree to the fourth: for the Morgians, in some points relating to the office of Imam, agree with the Kharejites. This sect is divided into four species: three of which, according as they happen to agree in particular dogms with the Kharejites, or Kadarians, or the Jabarians, are distinguished as Mongians of those sects; and the fourth is that of the pure Mongians; which last species is again subdivided into five others. The opinions of Mokâtel and Bshar, both of a sect of the Mongians called Tahavians, should not be omitted. The former affirms 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 inidelity; and that a disobedient believer will be punished, at the day of resurrection, on the bridge 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. 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 Shâbârî.

Of the sect of the Kharejites, from the lawful prince established by public consent.

d Al Fîrâun. • Ebn al Athîr, Al Motarezzi.

e Al Shâhî. ref. ubi sup. p. 245, &c.

f Al Shâhî. f Idem, ib. p. 120.

g See before, p. 179.
and thence comes their name, which signifies revolvers or rebels. The first who were so called, were twelve thousand men who revolted from Ali, after they had fought under him at the battle of Seffain, taking offence at his submitting the decision of his right to the Khalifat, which Modawiyah disputed with him, to arbitration, though they themselves had first obliged him to it. These were also called Mobakimites, or Judicianians; 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. The heresy of the Kharejites consisted chiefly in two things. 1. In that they affirmed a man might be promoted to the dignity of Imam, or prince, though he was not of the tribe of Koraish, nor even a freeman, provided he was a just and pious person, and endowed with the other requisite qualifications; and also held, that, if the Imam turned aside from the truth, he might be put to death or deposed; and that there was no absolute necessity for any Imam 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. In the 38th year of the Hijra, 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 write, even to a man: but others say, nine of them escaped, and that two fled into Oman, two into Kermân, two into Sejestân, two into Mesopotamia, and one to Tel Mawrân; and that these propagated their heresy in those places.

k Al Shahreft. ubi supra, p. 269. 1 See Ockley's Hist. of the Sarac. v. 1. p. 60, &c. 2 Al Shahreft. ubi sup. p. 270. m Idem, ib. 3 Abdul'feda, al Jannabi, Elmacinus, p. 40.
the same remaining there to this day. The principal sects of the Khārijites, besides the Mobakkenites above-mentioned, are six; which, though they greatly differ among themselves in other matters, yet agree in these, viz. that they absolutely reject 'Abdul-Mān 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 re sist the Imām, when he transgresses the law. One sect of them deliver more particular notice, viz.

The Wāidiyan; so called from al Wāid, which signifies the threats denounced by God against the wicked. These are the antagonists of the Mogiyan, 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: which opinion of theirs, as has been observed, occasioned the first rise of the Kātibzāliyan. One Jaafar Ibn Mobasor, of the sect of the Nubāmiyan, was yet more severe than the Wāidiyan, pronouncing him to be a reprobate and an apostate who steals but a grain of corn.

IV. The Shiites are the opponents of the Khārijites; their name properly signifies sectaries or adherents in general, but is peculiarly used to denote those of Ibn Abi Tāleb; who maintain him to be lawful Khaib and Imām, 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 Imām 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

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p Al Shahreftâni. See Ockley's Hist. of the Saracens, ubi sup. p. 43.
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prophet could not have neglected, or left to the
fancy of the common people: nay some, thence
called Imâms, go so far as to assert, that religion
consists solely in the knowledge of the true Imâm.
The principal sects of the Shiites are five, which are
further 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 Mo-
hammed 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 Zaidians, a sect so named from
Zeid, the son of Ali, furnished Zein al-ábedín, and
great grandson of Ali, distinguished from the rest of the
Shiites. As to other articles, wherein they agreed
not, some of them came pretty near to the notions
of the Móezalites, others to those of the Moshabbehites,
and others to those of the Sunnites. Among the
latter of these Mohammed al-Bâker, another son of
Zein al-ábedín's, seems to claim a place: for his op-
nion, as to the will of God, was, that God will-
eth 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 will-
eth 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. A tenet of the Khâ-
thâbians, or disciples of one Abu'l Khattâb, is too pe-

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\[^2\] Al Shahrârî, ib. p. 262.  
\[^4\] V. Per. ib.  
\[^5\] Al Shahrârî, ib. 262.
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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.

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 Ghoolaites, who had their name from their excess of zeal for their Imams, 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 Imams to God, and another while they liken God to a creature. The fets 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 Ghoolaites became divided into several species; some maintaining the same thing, or something like it, of Ali, and others of some of his descendants; affirming that he was not dead, but would return again in the clouds, and fill the earth with justice. But, how much soever they disagreed in other things, they unanimously held a metempsychosis, and what they call al Holâl, or the descent of God on his creatures; meaning thereby that God is present in every place,

\[1\] Al Shairfi, & Ebn al Koffi, ib. p. 260, &c.
\[2\] Idem, ibid.
\[3\] Idem, ib. p. 264. V. Marrace-Pracr. part iii. p. 80, &e.
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 *Nasârians* and the *Ishâkians* taught that spiritual substances appear in groser 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 Sûfs 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 Shahriyât. *ib.* p. 265.  
\(^e\) See *Prid.* Life of *Mah.* p. 93.  
\(^f\) Al Shah. *ubi supr.* p. 266.  
\(^g\) *Pocock.*
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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 Hallaj, who was put to death for some words of this kind uttered to him, he having said (as was proved by credible witnesses) I am the Truth, or Abu Yazid al Bastrami, of whom it is related that he often used the expression, Sobhani, i.e. Praise be unto me! But this way of talking is the cause of great mischief among the common people; in much that husbandmen, neglecting the tillage of their land, have pretended to the like privileges; nature being filled with discourses of this kind, which furnish men with an excuse for leaving their occupations, under pretense 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, as catching at such vain expressions: for, whenever what they say is denied to be true, they fail not to reply, that our belief proceeds from learning and logic; affirming having 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 fruit 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.

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. It may be proper, however, to mention a word or two of the great schism at this day subsisting between

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1 V. Ibid. Art. Bastałam.  
k Al Ghazahil, apud Poc. ubi. sup.  
1 The reader may meet with some account of them in Ricaut's State of the Otum. Empire, 1. 2. chap. 12.
the Sunnites 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 detests and animates the other as abominable heretics, and further from the truth than either the Christians or the Jews. The chief points wherein they differ are,

1. That the Shiites reject Abu Beer, Omar, and Othman, the three first Khalifs, as usurpers and intruders; whereas the Sunnites acknowledge and respect them as rightful Imams.

2. The Shiites prefer Ali to Mohammed, or, at least, esteem them both equal; but the Sunnites admit neither Ali, nor any of the prophets, to be equal to Mohammed.

3. The Sunnites charge the Shiites with corrupting the Koran, and neglecting its precepts; and the Shiites retort the same charge on the Sunnites.

4. The Sunnites receive the Sana, 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 Sunnites, 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.


The words of Spinosa are: Ordinem Romano ecclesiae politician et plurimas lucrifacit esse factae; nec ad decipiendam plebs, et hominum animus corruendum commodorem ipso credidit, ni ordo Mahumedan ecclesiae effeat, qui longe eundem antecellit. Nam à quo tempore haec superstitionis incepit, nulla in eorum ecclesias schismata evis sunt. Opera Posth. p. 613.
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 byars.

The former was of the tribe of Honiefa, who inhabited the province of Yamama, and a principal man among them. He headed an embassy sent by his tribe to Mohammed in the ninth year of the Hejira, and professed himself a Moslem: 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 commissio to recall mankind from idolatry to the worship of the true God; and he published written revelations, in imitation of the Koran, of which Abu'lfaragius 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 renteth between the peritoneum and the bowels. Moseilama, having formed a considerable party among those of Honiefa, began to think himself upon equal terms with Mohammed, and sent him a letter, offering to go halves with him; 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: be giveth the fame for inheritance unto such of his servants as he pleaseth; and the happy issue shall attend those who fear him.

During the few months which Mohammed lived after this revolt, Moseilama rather gained than lost ground.

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\* Abulfed. p. 160.  \* Abulfed. ubi lup.  \* Al Beidawi, in Kor. c. 5.

\* Abulfed. p. 160.  \* Idem, Elmac. p. 9.  \* Al Beidawi, in
and grew very formidable; but Abu Bekr, his suc-
cessor, in the eleventh year of the Hijra, sent a great
army against him, under the command of that con-
fluent general Khâled Ebn al Walid, who engaged
Muâilama in a bloody battle, wherein the false pro-
phet happening to be slain by Wahshâ, the negro
slave who had killed Hamza at Obod, and by the
same lance, the Mosems gained an entire victory,
ten thousand of the apostates being left dead on the
spot, and the rest returning to Mohammedism

Al Afsâwâd, whose name was Aikâla, was of the
tribe of Ans, and governed that and the other tribes
of Arabs descended from Madhbâj. This man was
likewise an apostate from Mohammadism, and set up
for himself the very year that Mohammed died. He
was surnamed Dhuîlhamâr, or the master of the
Aâs, because he used frequently to say, The master of
the Aâs is coming unto me; and pretended to receive
his revelations from two angels named Sobaik and
Sharâik. Having a good hand at legerdemain, and
a smooth tongue, he gained mightily on the multi-
rude by the strange feats which he shewed them, and
the eloquence of his discourse: by these means he
greatly increased his power, and, having made him-
self master of Najrân and the territory of al Tayef,
on the death of Badbân, the governor of Yaman for
Mohammed, he seized that province also, killing Shabr,
the son of Badbân, and taking to wife his widow,
whose father, the uncle of Firuz the Deilamite, he
had also slain. This news being brought to Mo-
hammed, he sent to his friends, and to those of Ham-
dân; a party of whom, conspiring with Kais Ebn
Alâl Yaghbûth, who bore al Afsâwâd a grudge, and
with Firuz and al Afsâwâd’s wife, broke by night into
his house, where Firuz surprized him, and cut off his

4 Elmac. p. 9. 5 Abulfed. ubi sup. 6 Al Suhelli, ubi supra. 7 Abulfed.
ubi sup. 8 Idem, & Elmac. ubi sup. 9 Idem, al Jannâbi, ubi sup.
head.
head. While he was dispatching, he roared like a bull; at which his guards came to the chamber-door, but were sent away by his wife, who told them the prophet was only agitated by the divine inspiration. This was done the very night before Mohammed died. The next morning the conspirators caused the following proclamation to be made, viz.,

I bear witness that Mohammed is the Apostle of God, and that Aihala is a liar; and letters were immediately sent away to Mohammed, with an account of what had been done: but a messenger from heaven, out-stripped them, and acquainted the prophet with the news, which he imparted to his companions but a little before his death; the letters themselves not arriving till Abu Beir was chosen Khalif. It is said that Mohammed, on this occasion, told those who attended him, that before the day of judgment many impostors, besides Moselama 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.

In the same eleventh year of the Hijra, but after the death of Mohammed, as seems most probable, Toleiba Ebu Khowaited set up for a prophet, and Saydah Bint al Mondar for a prophetess.

Toleiba was of the tribe of Asad, which adhered to him, together with great numbers of the tribes of Ghaffan and Tay. Against them likewise was Khaled sent, who engaged and put them to flight, obliging Toleiba with his shattered troops to retire into Syria, where he stayed till the death of Abu Beir; 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.

Saydah, furred Omm Sader, was of the tribe of Tamim, and the wife of Abu Cabdala, a footsllayer of

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4 Abulfeda, ubi sup. ibid. daughter of al Harth.  
5 Ebn Stohmah & Elmacimus call her the  
6 Elmac. p. 16. al Beidawi, in Kor. e. f.
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Tamana. 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 Mefidah, and married him; but, after she had stayed with him three days, she left him, and returned home. What became of her afterwards I do not find. Ebn Shobnab 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 Abbás, one Hakem Ebn Hishem, originally of Merú in Khurasán, who had been an under-secretary to Abu Moslem, the governor of that province, and afterwards turned soldier, passed thence into Mavvarā’lnabr, where he gave himself out for a prophet. He is generally named by the Arab writers al Mokanna, and sometimes al Borkai, 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 disgusting appearance; though his followers pretended he did it for the same reason as Moses did, viz. to prevent the splendor of his countenance should dazzle the eyes of the beholders. He made a great many professed at Nakhsbāb and Kabh, 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, Sázendeh mab, or the moon-maker. This impious impostor, not content

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2. Or Ebn Atá, according to Ebn Shobnab.
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 Ghoolites above mentioned, who affirmed a transmigration or successive manifestation of the divinity through and to certain prophets and holy men, from Adam to the latter days, (of which opinion was also Abu Mokanna himself;) but the particular doctrine of al Mokanna was, that the person in whom the deity had 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 Khaliif 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 Khaliif forces, when he found there was no possibility for him to escape, he gave poison in wine to his whole family, and all that were with him in the castle: and, when they were dead, he burnt their bodies together with their clothes, and all the provisions and cattle; and then, to prevent his own body's being found, he threw himself into the flames, or, 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 people; as translated by Erpenius, and corrected by Bejnier. V. Bayle, Däa. Hist. Art, Abuynifimus, vers la fin, & Rem. B.
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main 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, under the name of Maleyditus, or, as the Persians call them, Sefid jâ-
ningbân, i. e. the clothed in white, because they wore their garments of that colour, in opposition, as is supposed, to the Khalifs 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 ¹.

In the year of the Hejra 201, Bâbec, surnamed al of Bâbec al Khorremi, and Khorremdîn, either because he was of a certain district near Ardebîl in Adberbijân, called Khor-
rem; or because he instituted a merry religion, which is the signification of the word in Persia; 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 Adberbijân and the Persia Irâk, and grew powerful enough to wage war with the Khalif 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 Mûtasem, the successor of al Mâmûn, was obliged to employ the forces of the whole empire against him. The general sent to reduce Bâbec was Afsâd, 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 im-
pollor 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-

¹ They were a sect in the days of Abu'l-Taghagius, who lived above five hundred years after this extraordinary event; and may, for aught I know, be still.

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ing refuge in the territories of the Greeks, was be-
trayed in the following manner: Sahel, an Armenian
officer, happening to know Bábec, enticed him by
offers of service and respect, into his power, and
treated him as a mighty prince, till, when he was
down to eat, Sahel clapped himself down by him; in
which Bábec, 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 who
am I, that I should sit at your majesty's table? And,
medicately sending for a smith, he made use of the
bitter sarcasm, Stretch forth your legs, great king, the
this man may put fetters on them. After this Sahel led
him to Affhid, 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 Bábec used to treat his pris-
oners. Affhid, having the arch-rebel in his power,
conducted him to al Motařem, by whose order he was
put to an ignominious and cruel death. This man
had maintained his ground against the power of the
Khalifs for twenty years, and had cruelly put a
death above two hundred and fifty thousand people;
it being his custom never to spare man, woman, or
child, either of the Mohammedi ans or their allies.
The secretaries of Bábec which remained after his
death, seem to have been entirely dispersed; there
being little or no mention made of them by histo-
rians.

About the year 235, one Mahmúd Ebn Faraj pre-
tended to be Moses resuscitated, and played his part
so well that several people believed on him, and at-
tended him, when he was brought before the Khalif
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

13 Ex Abulfarag, p. 252, &c. Elmæin, p. 141, &c. & Khondami. V.
Sect. VIII.  

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was accordingly executed; and his disciples were
imprisoned till they came to their right minds a.

The Karmatians, a sect which bore an inveterate malice against the Moabmedans, began first to raise disturbances in the year of the Hejra 278, and the latter end of the reign of al Motamed. Their origin is not well known; but the common tradition is, that a poor fellow, whom some call Karmata, came from Khuzistan to the villages near Cæfa, and there feigned great sanctity and strictness of life, and that God had enjoined him to pray fifty times a day; pretending also to invite people to the obedience of a certain Imâm of the family of Moabmed; 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

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a Ebn Shohnah. V. D'Herbel. p. 537.
ceremonies and form of prayer used by the Mosis, and introduced a new kind of faith; and that he had also allowed them to drink wine, and dispensed with several things commanded in the Koran. They also turned the precepts of that book into allegory; teaching that prayer was the symbol of obedience to their Imam, 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 Othman of the town of Nasirâna faith, 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. 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 Dhâber, 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.

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 Molâbedâh, or the Impious, and, by the writers of the history of the holy wars, Assasins, agreed with the former in many respects; such as their inveterate malice against those of other religions, and especially the Mohammedans.

their unlimited obedience to their prince, at whose command they were ready for afflaminations, or any other bloody and dangerous enterprize; their pretended attachment to a certain Imam of the house of Ali, &c. These Ismaelians, in the year 483, possessed themselves of al Jebal, in the Persian Irak, under the conduct of Hafan 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.

The Batenites, which name is also given to the Ismaelians by some authors, and likewise to the Karmanians, were a sect which professed the same abominable principles, and were dispersed over several parts of the east. The word signifies Eforics, or people of inward or hidden light or knowledge.

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 Temam 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 prophetic, 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 desarts, particularly that of Kelab, acknowledged him to be what he pretended. But Ladd, governor in those parts for Akhsbed king of Egypt and Syria, soon put a stop to the further progress of this new sect, by imprisoning their prophet, and obliging him to renounce his chimerical dignity; which having done, he regained his liberty, and applied himself solely to his poetry, by means whereof he got very considerable riches, being in high esteem.

\[ V. \text{Abulfar. p. 506, &c. D'Herbel. p. 104, 437, 505, 620, \& 784.} \]
\[ V. \text{Elmacin. p. 174 \& 286. D'Herb. p. 194.} \]
\[ V. \text{Abulfar. p. 361, 374, 520, 483.} \]
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esteem at the courts of several princes. Al Matanabeh lost his life, together with his son, on the bank of the Tigris, in defending the money which had been given him by Adado'ddavila, sultan of Persia, against some Arabian robbers, who demanded it of him; with which money he was returning to Caisa, his native city. This accident happened in the year 354.¹

Of Baba. The last pretender to prophecy I shall now take notice of, is one who appeared in the city of Amasya in Natolia, in the year 638, and by his wonderful feats seduced a great multitude of people there. He was by nation a Turkman, 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 mission, and prevailed on many to embrace his master's sect, especially among the Turkmans; 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 Chris-
tians, 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.²

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.

¹ Pref. in opera Matanabbiæ MS. V. D'Herbel. p. 638, &c. ² Abu-
AL KORAN.

CHAP. I.

Intitled, The Preface, or Introduction; revealed at Mecca.

In the name of the most merciful God.

Let *RAISE* be to God, the Lord of all creatures; the most merciful, the king of the day of judgment. Thee do we worship, and of thee do we beg assistance.

Direct us in the right way, in the way of those to whom the original words are, Rabbi 'alamîna, which literally signify, Lord of the worlds; but 'alamîna 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).

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1. The Preface, &c. In Arabic al Fâlikat. 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 intercession, &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).

2. Lord of all creatures; the original words are, Rabbi 'alamîna, which literally signify, Lord of the worlds; but 'alamîna 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).

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whom thou hast been gracious; not of those against whom thou art incensed, nor of those who go astray.

*Direct us in the right way, &c.*

This last sentence contains a petition, that God would lead the suppliants into the true religion, by which is meant the Mohammedan, in the Koran often called the right way; in this place more particularly defined to be, *the way of those to whom God hath been gracious,* that is, of the prophets and faithful who preceded Mohammed; under which appellations are also comprehended the Jews and Christians, such as they were in the times of their primitive purity, before they had deviated from their respective institutions; *not the way of the modern Jews,* whose signal calamities are marks of the just anger of God against them for their obstinacy and disobedience; *nor of the Christians of this age,* who have departed from the true doctrine of Jesus, and are bewildered in a labyrinth of error (1).

This is the common exposition of the passage; though al Zamakhshari, and some others, by a different application of the negatives, refer the whole to the true believers; and then the sentence will run thus: *The way of those to whom God hath been gracious, against whom thou art incensed, and who have not erred.* Which translation the original will very well bear.

(1) Jallalo'ddin. Al Beidawi, &c.

**CHAPTER II.**

**Intitled, The Cow; revealed partly at Mecca, and partly at Medina.**

In the name of the most merciful God.

L. M. There is no doubt in this book; it is a direction to the pious, who believe in the mysteries 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,
Al KORAN.

And have firm assurance in the life to come; 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; and they shall suffer a most painful punishment, because they have disbelieved. When one faith unto them, Act not corruptly in the earth; they reply, Verily we are men of integrity. 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).

1. The prophets before these.] The Mohammedans believe that God gave written revelations not only to Moza, Jesus, and Mohammed, but to several other prophets (2); tho' they acknowledge none of those which preceded the Korn to be now extant, except the Pentateuch of Moses, the Psalms of David, and the Gospels of Jesus; which yet they say were even before Mohammed's time ireared and corrupted by the Jews and Christians; and therefore will not allow our present copies to be genuine.

2. The life to come.] The original word al-akhirat 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-dunya, this world; and al-ula, 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).

1. 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 predestimation, as believed by the Mohammedans, hath been sufficiently treated of in the Preliminary Discourse.

3. Act not corruptly.] Literally corrupt not in the earth, by which some expositors understand the laving of false doctrine, and corrupting people's principles.

4. 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 Cor. iv. 18, &c. 7. (2) V. Reland. De relig. Moham. p. 14. & Differt. de Samaritanis, p. 34, &c.

(3) Numb. xxiv. 20. Deut. viii. 16.

B 2 And
And when one faith unto them, believe ye as others 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, they say, We really bold 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, and when it hath enlightened all around him; God taketh away their light 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, they put

\[\text{Others] The first companions and followers of Mohammed (1).}\]

\[\text{Devils] The prophet, making use of the liberty zealots of all religions have, by prescription, of giving ill language, belows this name on the Jewish rabbins and Christian priests; though he seems chiefly to mean the forner, against whom he had by much the greater spleen.}\]

\[\text{In this passage Mohammed compares those who believed not on him, to a man who wants to kindle a fire, but as soon as it burns up, and the flames give a light, shuts his eyes, lest he should see. As if he had said: You, O Arabians, have long desird a prophet of your own nation, and now I am sent unto you, and have plainly proved my mission by the excellence of my doctrine and revelation, you refuse conviction, and refuse to believe in me; therefore shall God leave you in your ignorance.}\]

\[\text{The sentence seems to be here imperfect, and may be completed, by adding the words, he turns from it, shuts his eyes, or the like.}\]

\[\text{Their light] That is of the unbelievers, to whom the word their being in the plural, seems to refer; though it is not usual for Mohammed in affectation of the prophetic style, Suddenly to change the number against all rules of grammar.}\]

\[\text{Here he compares the unbelieving Arabs to people caught in a violent storm. To perceive the beauty of this comparison, it must be observed, that the Mohammedan doctors say, this tempest is a type or image of the Koran itself: the thunder signifying the threats therein contained; the lightning, the promises; and the darkness, the mysteries. The terror of the threats makes them stop their ears, unwilling to hear truths so disagreeable; when the promises are read to them, they attend with pleasure; but when any thing mysterious or difficult of belief occurs, they stand rock still and will not submit to be directed.}\]

\[(1) JALLALO'DDIN.\]
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, if ye say truth. But if ye do it not, nor shall ever be able to do it; justly fear the fire whose fuel 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. 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: for they who believe will

1 Your witnesses besides God] i.e. Your false gods and idols.
2 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.
3 "This was revealed to take off an objection made to the Koran by the infidels, for condescending to speak of such insignificant insects, as the spider, the pilimire, the bee, &c. (3)."

(1) JALLALO'DDIN; (2) AL ZAMAKHSHARI; (3) YAHYA. B 3 KNOW
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 funder 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; 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; 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 Moham- medans have several peculiar traditions. They say the Angels, Gabriel, Michael, and Iraisil, 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 confluence, 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 Azrael 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 kneaded by the angels, it was afterwards fashioned by God himself into a human form, and left to dry for the space of forty days, or, as others say, as many years; the angels in the mean time often visiting it, and Bedil (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 invested 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 TERMEDEI, from a tradition of ABU MUSA
AL'ASH'ARI. (3) Korân, c. 55. (4) KHOND AMIR. JALLALO'DDIN,
Comment. in Korân, &c. V. D'HERBELOT. Biblioth. Orient. p. 55.
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? And when we said unto the angels, Worship Adam; they all worshipped him, except Eblis who refused, and was puffed up with pride, and became of the number of unbelievers. And we said, O Adam, dwell thou and thy wife in the garden, and eat of the fruit thereof plentifully wherever ye will; but approach not this tree, lest ye become of the number of

7 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 Tabare (2).

2 Worship.] The original word signifies properly to profess 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).

2 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.

Mohammed, as appears by what presently follows, does not place this garden or paradise on earth, but in the seventh heaven (5).

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

of the transgressors. But Satan caused them to forfeit paradise, and turned them out of the state of happiness wherein they had been; whereupon we said, Get ye down, 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, 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.

4 Satan caused them to forfeit paradise (2) 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).

5 Get ye down! The Mohammedans say, that when they were cast down from paradise, Adam fell on the isle of Ceylon or Serendib, and Eve near Jodhab (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 Rakam, 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 muskets shot adunder (7).

A direction from me! God here promises Adam that his will should be revealed to him and his posterity; which promise the Mohammedans believe was fulfilled at several times by the ministrations of several prophets, from Adam himself, who was the first, to Mohammed, who was the last. The number of books revealed

signs of falsehood, they shall be the companions of hell fire, therein shall they remain for ever. O children of Israel, 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 fouls? 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 drowned unto Adam they say was ten (1).

[1] Sign. This word has various significations in the Koran; sometimes, as in this passage, it signifies divine revelation, or scripture in general; sometimes the verses of the Koran in particular; and at other times visible miracles. But the sense is cally distinguished by the context.

(1) V. Hottinger Hist. Orient. p. 11. Reland. de relig. Mohammed. p. 21. (2) Yahya. (3) Jallaloddin. a The Jews are here called upon to receive the Koran, as verifying and confirming the Pentateuch, particularly with respect to the unity of God and the mission of Mohammed. 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.
drowned Pharaoh's people while ye looked on. And when we treated with Moses forty nights; then ye took the calf 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; 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,

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1 See the story of Moses and Pharaoh more particularly related chap. viii. & xxi. etc.

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 gulf (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 Egyptian 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 12,000 (6).

A 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 2500) men (8); whereas the commentators of the Korân make the number of the slain to amount to 7000; and add, that God sent a dark cloud which hindered them from seeing one another, lest the fight should move those who executed the sentence to compassion (9).

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(9) Jallalo'ddin, &c.
that peradventure ye might give thanks". And we caus'd clouds to over-shadow you, and manna and quails 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, and eat of the provisions thereof plentifull as ye will; and enter the gate worshipping, and say, Forgivenes, we will pardon you your sins, and give increase unto the well-doers. But the ungodly changed the expression into another, different from what had been spoken unto them; and we sent down upon the ungodly indignation from heaven, because they had transgressed. And when Moses asked drink for his people, we said, Strike the rock with thy rod; and there came forth waters.

The persons here meant are said to have been seventy men, who were made choice of by God, 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 lightning, and on Moses's intercession, restored to life.

The eastern writers say, these quails were of a peculiar kind, to be found no where but in Yemen, from whence they were brought by a foure wind in great numbers to the Israeites camp in the desert. The Arabs call these birds Salwah, which is plainly the same with the Hebrews Salwim, and say they have no bones, but are eaten whole.

Thirty.] Some commentators suppose to be Jericho; others, Jerusalem.

Forgivenes.] The Arabic word is Hittaton, which some take to signify that profission of the unity of God, so frequently used by the Mohammedans, La ilaha illa 'elavo, There is no god but GOD.

Changed the expression into another.] According to Jallaloddin, instead of Hittaton, they cried Habbat fi sabirat, 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.

Indignation from heaven.] A pestilence, which carried off, near 70000 of them.

The rock.] The commentators say this was a stone which Moses brought from mount Sinai, and the same that they, with his garments which he laid upon it one day, while he was washing them, added 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 falsehood of a report, which had been raised of their prophet, that he was burdened, or, as others write, an hermaphrodite.

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

\(\text{(1)}\) Ismael Ern Ali. \(\text{(2)}\) See Psalm lxxviii. 26. \(\text{(3)}\) V. D'Hery. \(\text{(4)}\) Jallaloddin. \(\text{(5)}\) Jallaloddin, Yahya.
gushed thereout twelve fountains 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; 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, 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). [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 El'm (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 flanks 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; egressa sunt aquae largissime in duodecim locis petras, juxta numerum duodecim tribuum Israel (4). A late curious traveller (5) observes, that there are 24 holes in the base, 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 there are on this 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 to reckon them to be but twelve.

whoe ver 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, 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.

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 aggravated by several others in the Koran, which expressly declare, that none can be saved who is not of the Mohammedan faith; and particularly by those words of the 3d chapter, Wherever followeth any other religion than Islam (1, i.e. the Mohammedan) it shall not be accepted of him, and at the last day be shall be of those whom perished (3). However, others are of opinion that this passage is not aggravated, 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 be 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 Moham medan 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).

\[7\] 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 Aiath, 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.

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; they answered, Doth thou make a jest of him, and bid him six pieces of gold for her; but he would not take the money, till he had asked his mother's consent; which when he had obtained, he returned to the marketplace, and met the angel, who now offered him twice as much for the heifer; provided he would pay 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 Istrach, named Hammel, 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 murder 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'l Fedaa. (2) Abu'l Fedaa.
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 faith, 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 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 faith, She is a cow not broken to plough the earth, or water the field, a found 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. 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: so God saith 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 burst 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 regardful 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 red cow.] The epithet in the original is yellow; but this word we do not use in speaking of the colour of cattle.

And they wanted but little of leaving it undone. Because of the exorbitant price which they were obliged to pay for the heifer.

With part of the cow, i. e. Her tongue, or the end of her tail (2).

(1) Numb. xix. (2) JALLALODDIN.
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 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. 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 who so doth evil, 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-

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*Mohammed* again accuses the Jews of corrupting their scripture. The fire of hell shall not touch us, but for a certain number of days; that is, 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 sort, 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.

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*Who doth evil, &c.* 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.

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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 thereof. Afterwards ye were they who slew one another, and turned several of your brethren out of their houses, mutually afflicting 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 whofo 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. Do ye therefore, whenever an apostle cometh unto you

2 Ye shew one another, &c.] This passage was revealed on occasion of some quarrels which arose between the Jews of the tribes of Koreidba, and those of al Saus, al Nadhib, and al Khozraj, 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 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, left 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 flay others? The Jews say, Our hearts are uncircumcised: but God hath cursed them with their insidelity, 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, 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 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 faith unto them, Believe in that which God hath sent down; they answer, We believe in that which hath been sent down unto us: 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, 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 for their unbelief. Say, A grievous thing hath

1 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 Korán.

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.
hath your faith commanded you, if ye be true believers. Say, If the future mansion with God be prepared peculiarly for you, exclusive of the rest of mankind, with for death, if ye say truth: but they will never wish for it, because of that which their hands have sent before them; 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 defile 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 (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

foreord it upon the water (of the brook that descended from the mount), and made the children of Israel drink of it (1). A grievous thing, &c. Mohammed here infers from their forefathers' disobedience in worshipping the calf, at the same time that they pretended to believe in the law of Moses, that the faith of the Jews in his time was as vain and hypocritical, since they rejected him, who was foretold therein, as an impostor (2). 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 fists are open before-hand, going before to judgment (3). 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 revelations of that kind (6); for which reason, it is probable, Mohammed pretended he was the angel from whom he received the Koran.

signs, 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; and Solomon was not an unbeliever; but the devils believed not, they taught men forcery, and that which was sent down to the two angels at Babel, Harut and Marut: yet those

\[1\] Evident signs, i.e. the revelations of this book.

\[2\] 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 blate 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).

\[3\] The devils taught forcery, and that which was sent down to Harut and Marut, &c.] Some say only that these were two magicians, or angels sent by God to teach men magic, and to tempt them (2). But others tell a longer fable; that the angels expressing their surprise at the wickedness of the sons of Adam, after prophets had been sent to them with divine commissions, God bid them choose two out of their own number to be sent down to be judges on earth. Whereupon they pitched upon Harut and Marut, who executed their office with integrity for some time, till Zobara, 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 the flew up again to heaven, whether the two angels also returned, but were not admitted. However, on the intercession of a certain pious man, they were allowed to choose whether they would be punished in this life, or in the other; whereupon they chose the former, and now suffer punishment accordingly in Babel, where they are to remain till the day of judgment. They add, that if a man has a fancy to learn magic, he may go to them, and hear their voice, but cannot see them (3).

This story Mohammed took directly from the Persian Magi, who mention

(1) Yahya. Jallalo'ddin. (2) Jallalo'ddin. (3) Yahya.
those two taught no man until they had said, Verily we are a temptation, therefore be not an unbeliever. So men learned from those two a charm by which they might cause division between a man and his wife; but they hurt none thereby, unless by God’s permission; and they learned that which would hurt them, and not profit them; and yet they knew that he who bought that art should have no part in the life to come, and woeful is the price for which they have sold their souls, if they knew it. But if they had believed, and feared God, verily the reward they would have had from God would have been better, if they had known it. O true believers, say not to our apostle Râîna; but say Òndhornâ”; 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?” 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 Shamshu’âzai, who, having debauched himself with women, repented, and by way of penance hung himself up between heaven and earth (2).

“Soy not unto our apostle Râîna, but Òndhornâ.] 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 theuffix, 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 נא, which signifies to be bad or mischievous.

w What was formerly required of Moses.] Namely, to see God manifestly (4).

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: this is their wish. Say, Produce your proof of this, if ye speak truth. Nay, but he who resigneth himself to God, and doth that which is right, 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; 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 disfigure. Who is more unjust than he who prohibiteth the temples of God, that his name

\[ x \] None shall enter paradise, except Jews or Christians. \[ y \] Resigneth himself, &c. \[ z \] And doth that which is right, &c. \[ a \] The Jews say, the Christians are grounded on nothing, &c. \[ b \] Who prohibiteth the temples of God, &c. \[ c \] Or hindereth men from paying their adorations to God in those sacred places. This passage was revealed on occasion of a dispute which Mohammed had with the Jews of Medina, and the Christians of Najran, each of them affirming that those of their religion only should be favored. 

(1) Jallaluddin. (2) Idem. (3) Idem. (4) V. Abu’l Feda'as
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 be- longeth 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: 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 faith 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

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*They say God hath begotten children. This is spoken not only of the Christians, and of the Jews (for they are accused of holding Oxair, 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, which he fulfilled: GOD said, Verily I will constitute thee a model of religion 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 of MECCA to be a place of resort for mankind, and a place of security; and said, Take the station of ABRAHAM 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 knowest: LORD, make us also resigned 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-

a 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).

b A model of religion. I have rather expressed the meaning, than truly translated the Arabic word Ḩaṭiha, which answers to the Latin Antityles. This title the Mohammedans give to their priests, who begin the prayers in their Mosque, and whom all the congregation follow.

(1) Jallalo'ddin. (2) See the Prelim. Dis. § IV.
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, 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

1 What they have gained, I or deserv-

ed. The Mohammedan notion, as to the imputation of moral actions to

man, which they call gain, or acqui-
fition, is sufficiently explained in the

Preliminary Discourse.
against them, for he is the hearer, the wife. The
baptism of God have we received, and who is better
than God to baptize? him do we worship. Say,
will ye dispute with us concerning God, 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? But God is not
regardles of that which ye do. That people are
passeth away, they have what they have gained, and
ye shall have what ye gain, nor shall ye be question-
ed concerning that which they have done. * The
foolish men will say, What hath turned them from
their Keblah, towards which they formerly prayed?
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 interme-
diate nation, that ye may be witnesses against the

k The baptism of God.] By bapt-
sim is to be understood the religion
which God instituted in the begin-
ning; 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).

1 Will ye dispute with us concerning
God? [Thee 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).

= Who hideth the testimony, &c.] The
Jews are again accused of corrupt-
ing and suppressing the prophecies in
the Pentateuch relating to Mohammed.

= 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 quar-
ter of the world, when they prayed;
it being declared to be perfectly in-
different (3). Afterwards, when
the prophet fled to Medina, he direc-
ted them to turn towards the temple
of Jerusalem (probably to ingratiate
himself with the Jews,) which con-
tinued to be their Keblah for a
or seven months; but either find-
ing the Jews too intractable, or de-
spairing otherwise to gain the paga-
Arabs, who could not forget their
respect to the temple of Mecca, he
ordered that prayers for the future
should be towards the Ka'bah. This
change was made in the second year
of the Hejira (4), and occasioned
many to fall from him, taking of-
tence 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 mojost just and good nation.

(1) Jallalo'ddin. (2) Idem. (3) See before, p. 23. (4) V. Ar-
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; though this change seem a great matter, unless unto those whom God hath directed. But God will not render your faith of none effect; 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 regardles 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 heart 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 forever thou comest forth, turn thy face towards the holy temple; for this is truth from thy Lord; neither is God regardles of that which ye do. From what place forever thou comest forth, turn thy face towards the holy temple; and,

p Who turneth back on his heels
l c. 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, 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, that they are dead; yea, they are living: but ye do not understand. We will surely prove you by afflicting you in some measure with fear, and hunger, and decrees 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. Upon them shall be blessings from their Lord and mercy, and they are the rightly directed. Moreover Safa and Marwa 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. And as for him who voluntarily performeth

\[\text{An apostle from among you:}\] That is, of your own nation.

\[\text{Who are slain in fight for the religion of God:}\] The original words are literally, who are slain in the way of God; by which expression, frequently occurring in the Koran, is always meant war undertaken against unbelievers for the propagation of the Mohammedan faith.

\[\text{They are living:}\] The souls of martyrs (for such they esteem those who die in battle against infidels) says "fajlalo'ddin, are in the crops of green birds, which have liberty to fly wherever they please in paradise, and feed on the fruits thereof.

\[\text{We are God's, and unto him shall we surely return:}\] An expression frequently in the mouths of the Mohammedans, when under any great affliction, or in any imminent danger.

\[\text{Whosoever goeth on pilgrimage to Mecca, it shall be no crime in him if he compass them both:} Safa and Marwa are two mountains near Mecca, whereon were anciently two idols, to which the pagan Arabs used to pay a superstitious veneration. (1) "Fajlalo'ddin says this passage was recited."

(1) See the Prelim. Diff. 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. 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. 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 faileth 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 between heaven and earth, are

revelled 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 Kásim Hebas'uláh thinks these last words are abrogated by those other, Who will reject the religion of Abraham, except he who hath infatuated his soul? 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 expounders are all against him, and the ceremony of running between these two hills is still observed at the pilgrimage.

x They who curse shall curse them. That is, the angels, the believers, and all things in general. 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, 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.

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, 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, 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 fight
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 commanded
you evil and wickedness, and that ye should show that
of God which ye know not. And when it is fall
unto them who believe not, Follow that which God
hath sent down; they answer, Nay, but we will fol-
low 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 un-
derstand. 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
fort of compulsion or force (1).

a Oh that they who do unjustly did
perceive, &c.] Or it may be transla-
ted, Although the ungodly will per-
ceive, &c. But some copies, in-
stead 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 pu-
nishment, &c.

b When those who have been fo-
lowed shall separate themselves from
their followers, &c.] That is, when
the broachers or heads of new sects
shall, at the last day for take or with
their hands of their disciples, as if
they were not accomplices in their
superstitions.

(1) Matt. v. 41. xxvii. 32, &c.
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 invoked. But he who is forced by necessity, not lustful, 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 Chin: the free shall die for the free, and the servant for the servant, and a woman for a woman: but he

For this reason, whenever the Mohammedans kill any animal for food, they always say Bismillah, or, in the name of God; which, if it be neglected, they think it not lawful to eat of it.

A woman for a woman.] This is not to be strictly taken; for, according to the Sunna, 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 Sunna.

(1) Jallaluddin.
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 with humanity.
This is indulgence from your Lord, and mercy.
And he who shall transgress after this, by killing the
murderer, shall suffer a grievous punishment. And
in this law of retaliation ye have life, O ye of under-
standing! that peradventure ye may fear. It is or-
dained you, when any of you is at the point of death,
if he leave any goods, that bequeath a legacy to his
parents, and kindred, according to what shall be
reasonable. 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
be fast: but he among you who shall be sick, or on
journey, shall fast an equal number of other days, and
those who can keep it, and do not, must redeem their
neglect.

(1) V. Chardin, *Voyage de Perse*, tom. II. p. 299, &c.
neglect by maintaining of a poor man. 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 Ramadán shall ye fast, in which the Koran was sent down from heaven, a direction unto men and declarations of direction, and the distinction between good and evil. Therefore, let him among you who shall be present 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 prays, when he prays 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; they are a garment 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

According to the usual quantity which a man eats in a day, and the custom of the country (1).

(1) Jallalo'ddin.

(2) Jallalo'ddin.

Vol. I. D unto

(1) See the Prelim. Difé. Sect. II.

(2) Who shall be present? i.e. at home, and not in a strange country, where the fast cannot be performed, or on a journey.

(1) It is lawful for you on the fast to go in unto your wives by night.] In the beginning of Mohammedan, during the fast, they neither lay with their wives, nor ate nor drank after supper. But both are permitted by this passage (2).

(2) They are a garment unto you, &c.] A metaphorical expression, to signify the mutual comfort a man and his wife find in each other.
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 be the season of the pilgrimage to Mecca. It is not righteousness that ye enter your houses by the back parts thereof, 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, and the holy limits of Mecca, if they attack you therein, do ye also attack them therein in retaliation;

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a 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 comprehended.

b As to these sacred months, wherein it was unlawful for the ancient Arabs to attack one another, see the Prelim. Dif. sect. VII.
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, 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 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 of his head by fasting, or alms, or some offering. 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. But he who findeth not any thing to offer, shall fast three days in the pilgrimage, and even 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; whatsoever, therefore, purposeth to go on pilgrimage therein, let him not know a woman, nor trangrels, nor quarrel in the pilgrimage. The good

And throw not yourselves away, &c.] i.e. Be not accursory to your own destruction, by neglecting your contributions towards the wars against infidels, and thereby suffer thy brethren to gather strength.

Shave not your heads, &c.] For this was a sign they had completed their vow, and performed all the ceremonies of the pilgrimage (1).

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.

(1) Jallalo'ddin.
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 from Arafat, remember God near the holy monument; 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. Remember God the appointed number of days: but if any haste to depart from the valley of Mecca in two days, it shall be no crime in him. And if any tarry longer, it shall be

\[\text{u} \text{ When ye go in procession.}] \text{ The original word signifies to rush forward impetuously; as the pilgrims do when they proceed from Arafat to Mecca.}

\[\text{w} \text{ Arafat.}] \text{ A mountain near Mecca, so called, because Adam there met and knew his wife, after a long separation. Yet others say that Gabriel, after he had instructed Abraham in all the sacred ceremonies, coming to Arafat, 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.} \text{ The holy monument;} \text{ In Arabic, al Meṣbur al harām. It is a mountain in the farther part of Mecca, where it is said Mohammed stood praying and praising God, till his face became extremely shining. Beobotius calls it Farkh, but the true name seems to be Meṣbur; the variation being occasioned only by the different pointing of the Arabic letters.}

\[\text{y} \text{ God is swift in taking an account.}] \text{ For he will judge all creatures, says Jallaloddin, in the space of half a day.}

\[\text{z} \text{ The appointed number of days.}] \text{ Three days after slaying the sacrifices.}

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 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 haiteth to act corruptly in the earth, and to destroy that which is sown, and stirreth up: 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; 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 slumbered 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

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2. There is a man who causeth thee to marvel, &c.] This person was al Bahr al Shurqy, a fair spoken deliver, who spake that he believed in Muhammad, and pretended to be one of his friends, and to confess this world. But God here reveals to the prophet his hypocrisy and wickedness.  

3. He haiteth to act corruptly, and to destroy that which is sown, &c.] Setting fire to his neighbour's corn, and killing his asses by night.  

4. There is a man who selleth his soul, &c.] The person here meant was one Sobeib, who, being persecuted by the idolaters of Mecca, forsook all he had, and fled to Medina.
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. Whatever good ye do, God knoweth it. War is enjoined 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 and lots: Answer, In both there is great sin, and also some things of use unto men; 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, 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 dé-

\[a\] Wine.] Under the name of some all sorts of strong and inebriating liquors are comprehended (1). 
\[b\] Lots.] The original word, al-Majer, 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). 
\[c\] 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). 
\[d\] God will surely distress you.] \textit{viz.} By his curse, which will certainly bring to nothing what ye shall wrong the orphans of. 

(1) See the Prelim. Dif. § V. (2) See ibid. (3) l'. JALLALO'DDIN & al ZAMAKHSHARI. (4) See the Prelim. Dif. ubi sup. clareth
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, 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 ye will: and do first some act that may be profitable unto your souls; 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, that ye may deal justly, and be devout, and make peace among men; for God is he who heareth and knoweth. God will not punish you for an inconsiderate word 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, but if they go back

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h As God hath commanded you.

In what manner 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. 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.

Do first some act that may profit your soul; i. e. Perform some act of devotion or charity.

Make not God the object of your oaths; i. e. So as to swear frequently by him. The word translated object, properly signifies a butt to shoot at with arrows.

That ye will deal justly, &c.

Some commentators exposed 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 afterwars find it better to do otherwise; do that which is better, and make void your oath.

An inconsiderate word.

When a man sware inadvertently, and without design.

They who vow to abstain from other 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.
from their vow, verily God is gracious and merciful; 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, and it shall not be lawful for them to conceal that which God hath created in their wombs, 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. 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. These are deceiving their husband, obtain a separation from him before the term be accomplished; left 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 expenses of her lying in, under pretence that she waited not her full prescribed time.

If they go back from their vow, etc.] 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.

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.

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; left 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 expenses of her lying in, under pretence that she waited not her full prescribed time.

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.

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) Jallallo’ddin. (2) Yahya.
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 else 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; for he who doth this, surely injureth his own soul. And make not the signs of God a jest: but remember God’s favour towards you, and that he hath sent down unto you the book of the KORAN, and wisdom, admonishing you thereby; and fear God, and know that God is omniscient. But when ye have divorced your wives, and they have fulfilled their prescribed time, hinder them not from marrying their husbands, when they have agreed among themselves according to what is honourable. This is given in admonition unto him among you who believeth in God, and the last day. This is most righteous for you, and most pure. God knoweth, but ye know not. Mothers after they are divorced shall give suck unto their children two full years, to him who desireth the time of giving suck to be completed; and the father shall be obliged to maintain them and 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,
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 *, and when they shall have fulfilled their term, it shall be no crime in you, for that which they shall do with themselves *, 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

* 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

* For that which they shall do with themselves; that is, if they leave off their mourning weeds, and look out for new husbands.
knot of marriage is; 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, and be affianced therein, with devotion towards God. But if ye fear any danger, pray on foot or on horseback; and when ye are fat, 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 wife. 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. Halt thou not considered those, who left their habitations, (and they were thousands) for fear of death? And God

7. Unless they, or be in whose hand the knot of marriage is, released, &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.

2. 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 Jalalloddin allows a greater latitude, and supposes it may be the afternoon prayer, the morning prayer, the noon prayer, or any other.

2. 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 Buzzi happened to pass that way, at the sight of their bones, wept; whereupon God said to him, Call 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 form of dead corpses as long as they lived, and the clothes they wore changed as black as pitch; which qualities they transmitted to their posterity.

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.

(1) Jalalloddin, Yahya, Abulfeda, &c. (2) Ezek. xxvii. 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? verily he will double it unto him manifold; for God contraseth and extendeth his band 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 all 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, 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: therein

Some of the Mohammedan writers will have Ezekiel to have been one of the judges of Israel, and to have succoured Othniel the son of Caleb. They also call this prophet Eml al ajees, or the son of the old woman; because they say his mother obtained him by her prayers in her old age. (1)

Who will lend unto God, on good usury? 

(1) Al Thalabi, Abu Ishak, &c.
therein shall be tranquillity from your Lord, and the relics 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. And when they had passed the river, he and those who believed with him, they said, We have no strength to-day, against Jalut 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 Talit; who was thereto 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).

(1) Sam. iv. v. and vi. (2) JALLALO’DDIN. (3) Idem, YAHYA. (4) Judges vii.
him his will; 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 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. 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 intercourse. The infidels are unjust doers. God! there is no God but he; the living, the self-sufficing: 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

1 [His will: Or what be pleased to teach him. Tahta most rationally understands hereby the divine revelations which David received from God; but Jellalo'dhim, 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.

2 [See before p. 17. Note b.

1 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).

heaven and earth, and the preservation of both is no burthen unto him. He is the high, the mighty. Let there be no violence in religion. Now is right direction manifestly distinguished from deceit, whoever therefore shall deny Tagut, 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 bell fire, they shall remain therein for ever. Hast thou not considered him who disputed with Abraham concerning his Lord, 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? He said, How

m His throne is extended over heaven and earth, &c.] This throne, in Arabic called Corfi, is, by the Mohammedans, supposed to be God's tribunal, or seat of justice. Being placed under that other called Al Arif, which they say is his imperial throne. The Corfi, 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 profeteus, who having sons that had been brought up in idolatry or Judaism, would oblige them to embrace Mohammedism by force (2).

o Tagut.] This word properly signifies an idol, or whatever is worshipped besides God; particularly the two idols of the Meccan, Alil 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 curious 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

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 asf: and this have we done that we might make thee a sign unto men. And look on the bones of thine asf, how we raise them, and afterwards cloathed 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; 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; then lay a part of them

was Ozair or Ezra, who, riding on a 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 hay 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 there, while the prophet looked on, were raised and clothed with flesh, becoming an ass again, which being inspired with life, began immediately to bray (1).

This apocryphal story may perhaps have taken its rise from Nehemiah’s viewing of the ruins of Jerusalem (2).

1 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).

8 Take four birds and divide them.] These birds, according to the commentators, were an eagle (a dove, or 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 mafs 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

(2) Nehem. ii. 12, &c.
(3) See D’HERBELOT, p. 13.
(4) JALLALODDIN. 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; they shall have their reward with their Lord; upon them shall no fear come, neither shall they be grieved. A fair speech, and a 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 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 proper 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 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 feeth that which ye do. Doth any of you desire to have a garden of palm trees and vines, 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 

This seems to be taken from Abraham's sacrifice of birds mentioned by Moses (1), with some additional circumstances.

1 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 expounding 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 pretended with reproaches, which perish, and will be of no service hereafter to the giver (3).

(1) Gen. xv. (2) Jallaloddin. (3) Idem.
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; 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 rebound unto yourselves; and ye shall not give unless out of desire of seeing the face of God.

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 importance; 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 public,

* 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.

* 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).
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: 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, 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,

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1. As he whom Satan hath infected, viz. Like demons or possessed persons, that is, in great horror and distraction of mind and convulsive agitation of body.

2. Remit whatsoever 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.]

**Note:** The text is from The Koran, Chapter 2, 52. The English translation is by John Gibb, with annotations by William Muir.
write it down; and let a writer write between you according to justice, and let not the writer refuse writing according to what God hath taught him; but let him write, and let him who oweth the debt dictate, and let him fear God his Lord, and not diminish aught thereof. But if he who oweth the debt be foolish, or weak, or be not able to dictate himself, let his agent dictate according to equity; and call to witness two witnesses of your neighbouring men; but if there be not two men, let there be a man and two women of those whom ye shall 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, whenever 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 transit 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

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2 His agent.] Whoever: ma- heir, guardian, or interpreter (1).

(1) JALLALO’DDIN.

been
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. And they say, We have heard, and do obey: go, 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 burden like that which thou hast laid on those who have been before us: neither make us, O Lord, to bear what we have not strength to bear, but be favourable unto us, and spare us, and be merciful unto us. Thou art our patron, help us therefore against the unbelieving nations.

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 burden, 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 half of their substance in alms, and cut off an unclean ulcerous part, and were forbidden to eat four animals that divided the hoof, as the Mohammedans are at liberty (2).

(f) Jallaloddin.  (2) Idem.  (3) Yahya.

CHAP. III.

Intitled, The family of Imran; revealed at Medina.

In the name of the most merciful God.

A. L. M. h. There is no God but God, the living, the self-substantiating: He hath sent down unto thee the book of the Koran with truth.

a Imran.) This name is given in the Koran to the father of the virgin Mary. See below, p. 59.

b A. L. M.] For the meaning of these letters, the reader is referred to the Preliminary Discourse, Sect. III.
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. But they whose hearts are perverse will follow that which is parabolical therein, out of love of chifin, and a desiring 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

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 Muzzaffari, which seems to be the truest.

The contents of the Koran are here distinguished into such passages as are to be taken in the literal sense, and such as require a figurative acceptance. The former, being plain and obvious to be understood, comprise 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 wrapped up in metaphors, and delivered in an enigmatical, allegorical style, are always to be interpreted (1).

(1) See the Prelim. Dict. § 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 shown you in the two armies, which attacked each other: 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-fight; 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 furs 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 they

a Ye have already had a miracle shown you in the two armies, &c.] The sign of miracle here meant, was the victory gained by Mohammed in the second year of the Hejra, over the idolatrous Meccans, headed by Abu Sofán, 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 Koréj, and taken as many prisoners, with the loss of only fourteen of his own men. 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 Korán, 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 Korán, that it was not he, but God, who threw it; that is to say, by the ministrations 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 Haijsim; and, according to the Korán, these celestial auxiliaries really did all the execution, though Mohammed's men imagined themselves did it, and fought stoutly at the same time.

(2) See this chap. below, & chap. 3, & 32. (3) Chap. 3. not far from the beginning. (4) Ibid.
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; and they who had received the scriptures disbelieved 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, 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 becometh 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

*Islam.] The proper name of the Mohammedan religion, which signifies the resigning or devoting one’s self entirely to God and his service. This, they say, is the religion which all the prophets were sent to teach, being founded on the unity of God (1).† The ignorant; i. e. The pagans Arabs, who had no knowledge of the scriptures (2).

(1) Jallalo’ddin, Al Beidawi. (2) Tidem.
the scripture was given? They were called unto the book of God, that it might judge between them; then some of them turned their back, 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: and that which they had fainly 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, of which there is no doubt; and every soul shall be paid that which it hath gained, neither shall they be

a Thoše unto whom part of the scripture was given. That is, the Jews.

b 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 Biddawi says, that Mohammed going one day into a Jewish synagogue, Na'm an Abu amr and ol Harrell Abu Zeid asked him what religion he was of. To which he answered, Of the religion of Abraham; they replied, Abraham was a Jew: but, on Mohammed's proposing that the Pentateuch might decide the question, they would by no means agree to it.

But Jallaluddin 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, being only said that such shall be put to death (2). This omission is inferred 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 Koran, commanding adulterers to be stoned; and the commentators say the words only are abrogated, the law or law still remaining in force (3).

A certain number of days i.e. Forty, the time their forefathers worshipped the calf (4). Al Biddawi 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.

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 pertaining, and then order them to hell (5).

treated unjustly? Say, O God, who possessest the
kingdom; thou givest the kingdom unto whom
thou wilt, and thou takest away the kingdom from
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 suc-
ceed the day; thou bringest forth the living out of the
dead, and thou bringest forth the dead out of the
living; 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 above the rest of the
world.

1 Thou bringest forth the living out of the dead, and the dead out of the living: As a man from seed, and
a bird from an egg; and vice versa. (1).

m Imran, or Amran, is the
name of two several persons, ac-
cording to the Mohammedan tra-
tition. One was the father of Moses
and Aaron; and the other was the
father of the virgin Mary (2); but
he is called, by some Christian writers
Joachim. The commentators sup-
pose the first, or rather both of them
to be meant in this place; however,
the person intended in the next pas-
tage, it is agreed, was the latter;
who, besides Mary, the mother of
Jesus, had also a son named
Aaron (3), and another daughter,
named Ithai (or Elizabeth) who mar-
ried Zacharias, and was the mother
of John the Baptist; whence that pro-
phet 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 \(^a\) said, Lord, verily I have vowed unto thee that which is in my womb, to be dedicated to thy service: 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 Meriam, 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 affected, that Moses preceded Jesus several ages. And the commentators accordingly fall not to tell us, that there had passed about one thousand eight hundred years between Amran the father of Moses, and Imran the father of the virgin Mary: they also make them the sons of different persons; the first, they say, was the son of Yeshur, or Izbar, (though he was really his brother) \(^2\) the son of Kâbal, the son of Levi; and the other was the son of Mathân \(^3\), whole 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 that time till that of Jesus Christ, purposely to become the mother of the latter \(^6\).

\(^n\) The wife of Imran.] The Imran here mentioned, was the father of the virgin Mary, and his wife was Hannah or Ann, the daughter of Fakûd. This woman, say the commentators, being aged and barren, on seeing a bird feed her young ones, became very desirous of issue, and begged a child of God; promising to consecrate it to his service in the temple; whereupon she had a child, but it proved a daughter \(^7\).

\(^o\) Dedicated to thy service.] The Arabic word is free; but here signifies particularly one that is free or detached from all worldly desires and occupations, and wholly devoted to God's service \(^8\).

female: I have called her Mary; and I commend her to thy protection, and also her issue, against Satan driven away with stones. Therefore the Lord accepted her with a gracious acceptance, 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: and he said, O Mary, whence hast thou this? She answered, This is from God: for God provideth for whom he pleaseth without measure. There Zacharias called on his Lord, and said, Lord, give me from thee a good offspring.

* A male is not as a female; because a female could not minister in the temple as a male could (1).

(1) A male is not as a female; because a female could not minister in the temple as a male could (1).

(2) See the Prelim. Disc. § IV.

(3) Jallaloddin.

(4) Jallaloddin.

(5) Kitab.

(6) Jallaloddin.

(7) Jallaloddin.


(10) Al Beidawi.

(11) Al Beidawi.

(12) Al Beidawi.

(13) Al Beidawi.

(14) Al Beidawi.

(15) Al Beidawi.

(16) Al Beidawi.

(17) Al Beidawi.

(18) Al Beidawi.
for thou art the hearer of prayer. And the angel 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 which cometh from God; an honourable person, chaste, and one of the righteous prophets. He answered, Lord, how shall I have a son, when old-age hath overtaken me, 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 for three days, otherwise thou shalt be silent; 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 wouldest not present with them when they threw in their rods to cast lots; which of them should have the education of Mary, neither wait thou with them, when they strive 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 Beidawi says, is so called, because he was conceived by the word or command of God, without a father.
x Chaf.] The original word signifies one who refrains not only from women, but from all other worldly delights and desires. Al Beidawi 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 eight-nine (1).

* 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.

x 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 the chief priests, 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 there

(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, and when he is grown up, 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 faith 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 their rods (or arrows without their 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 flunk, except that of Zacharias, which floated on the water, and he had thereupon the care of the child committed to him.  

And when he is grown up.] The Arabic word properly signifies a man in full age, that is, between thirty or thirty-five 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.  

clay, as it were the figure of a bird: then will I breathe thereon, and it shall become a bird, by the permission of God: and I will heal him that hath been blind from his birth; and the leper: and I will raise the dead 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: 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

a 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 drink when he offered them meat and drink. The children telling this to their parents, were forbidden to play anymore with Jesus, whom they held to be a forcer (3).

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.] Jalaloddin 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 (5) whom he means the ruler of the synagogue’s daughter. He adds, that he also raised Shem the son of Noah, who, as another writer (6), 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 immediately died again.

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 caw and fowl of animals, and camels and red, and to work on the Sabbath. These things say the commentators, being arbitrary insertions 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).

apostles 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; but God devised a stratagem against them, and God is the best deviser of stratagems.

The apostles; in Arabic, al-Fawāyīn; which word they derived from Hara, to be white, and hence 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 vocable is thus related: That, as Jesus pilled by the sea-side, he saw three 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 Hāwāyra, to go; whence Hāwāyra signifies one that is fast, a messenger or apostle (2).

The Jews devised a stratagem against him; i.e., They laid a design to take away his life. 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 Mahometans that it was not Jesus himself who underwent that ignominous death, but somebody else in his likeness and semblance (3). The person crucified some will have to be that they that sent to intrap him; others that it was one Titius, 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 Mahomet's; but they are certainly mistaken: for several sectaries held the same opinion, long before his time. The Bajuldians (5), in the very beginning of Christianity, denied that Christ himself suffered, but that Simon the Cyrenian 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
gems. When God said, O Jesus, verily I will cause thee to die, 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 Bar-
vabas, a forgery originally of some nominal Christians, but interpolated
since by Mohammedants; 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 fetched 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 soever, 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

(1) Photius, Bib. Cod. 114. col. 291. (2) Toland's
Mazzeus, p. 17, &c. (3) Pecius. Difl. § IV. p. 97. (4) See the
Menagiana, Tom. 4. p. 326. &c. (5) See the Pecius. Difl. § IV.
p. 207. (6) At Brudlaw.
me, and I will deliver thee from the unbelievers; and I will place those who follow thee, above the unbelievers, until the day of resurrection: 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. This is the truth from thy Lord; be not therefore one of those who doubt; and whoever shall dispute with thee concerning him, 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 lie. Verily this is a true history:

1 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. 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 forever superior to the jews, both in arguments and in arms. And accordingly, says al Bidawi, to this day the jews have never prevailed either against the Christians or Muslims, nor have they any kingdom or established government of their own.

2 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.

3 Him;] Namely, Jesus.

4 Let us call together our sons, &c. and imprecate the curse of God on those who lie.] To explain this passage the commentators tell the following story: That some Christians, with their bishop named Abu Hureih, coming to Mohammed as ambassadors from the inhabitants of Najran, 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 Fatimah,
and there is no God, but God; and God is most mighty and wise. If they turn back, God will knoweth the evil-doers. Say, O ye who have received the scripture, come to a just determination between us and you; 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, 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; 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? 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, Hafiz and Hefzin, 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 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 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 Why do ye dispute concerning Abraham? By pretending him to have been of your religion.

4 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?
received the scriptures desire to seduce you, 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 the truth with vanity, and knowingly hide the truth? 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, 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 and

* Some of those to whom the scriptures were given seek to seduce you, etc. This passage was revealed when the Jews endeavoured to pervert Hadrija, Anmar, and Moadd to their religion (1). * Why do ye clothe the truth with vanity, and knowingly hide the truth? The Jews and Christians are again accused of corrupting the scriptures, and lifting the prophecies concerning Mohammed. * The commentators, to explain this passage, say, that Cabab Ebn al Haraf and Malar Ebn al Seif (two Jews of Medina) advised their companions, when the Kebha 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, there were certain Jewish priests of Khaihar, 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 prophet described and intended in the law; by which trick they hoped to raise doubts in the minds of the Mohammedans (3).

and there is also of them, unto whom if thou trust a dinar, he will not restore it unto thee, unless thou stand over him continually with great urgency. This they do because they say, We are not obliged to observe justice with the Heathen: but they utter a lie against God, knowingly. Yea, who so keepeth his covenant, and feareth God, God surely loveth those who fear him. But they who make merchandise of God’s covenant, and of their oaths, for a small price, shall have no portion in the next life; neither shall God speak to them, or regard them, on the day of resurrection; nor shall he cleanse them; but they shall suffer a grievous punishment.

received the scriptures, unto whom if thou trust a talent, he will restore it; As an instance of this, the commentators bring Abd’allah Ibn Selâm, 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).

(1) See Prideaux’s Life of Mahom. p. 33. (2) Al Beidawi.


Verely 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 Moicema in the third year of the Hegira (3). Dr. Prideaux (4) has confounded the Caab, we are now speaking of, with another very different person of the same name, and a famous poet, but who was the son of Zobair, and no Jew; 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).
And there are certainly some of them, who read the scriptures perversely, that ye may think what they read to be really in the scriptures, yet it is not in the scripture; and they say, This is from God; but it is not from God: and they speak that which is false concerning God, against their own knowledge. It is not fit for a man, that God should give him a book of revelations, and wisdom, and prophecy; and then he should say unto men, Be ye worshippers of me, besides God; but be ought to say, Be ye perfect in knowledge, and in works, since ye know the scriptures, and exercise yourselves therein. 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, 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...
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 Isaac, and
Ismael, 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. Who-
ever 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.

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 be-
lieve 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
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; before

* See before, ch. ii. p. 12. Note.
* All food was permitted unto the children of Israel, except what Israel
forbad unto himself.] This passage
was revealed on the Jesus reproach-
ing Mohammed and his followers
with their eating of the flesh and
milk of camels (1), which they did
was forbidden Abraham, whose reli-
gion Mohammed pretended to fol-

(1) See Lev. xi. 4. 
Dent. xiv. 7.
the Pentateuch was sent down. Say unto the Jews, Bring hither the Pentateuch and read it, if ye speak truth. Whoever therefore contriveth a lie against God after this, they will be evil-doers. Say, God is true: follow ye therefore the religion of Abraham the orthodox; for he was no idolater. Verily the first house appointed unto men to worship in was that which is in Becca; blessed, and a direction to all creatures. Therein are manifest signs: 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, to

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 feista, 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 on

This exposition seems to be taken from the children of Israel's not being at the sinew of the upper arm of the thigh, because the angel, with whom Jacob wrestled at Peniel, touched the bellow of his thigh in the sinew that swelled up.

Before the Pentateuch was sent down, wherein the Israelites, because of their wickedness and pertinacity, were forbidden to eat certain animals which had been allowed their predecessors.

The first house appointed unto men, was that which is in Becca. Mohammad received this passage, when the Jews said that their Kebha, or the temple of Jerusalem, was more ancient than that of the Mohammedans, or the Kaaba (4). Becca is another name of Mecca (5). Al-Bidakwi observes that the Arabs used the M and B promiscuously in several words.

A direction to all creatures: Such as the stone wherein they show 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 Abravam Al Abravam (7); and other fables of the same stamp which the Mohammedans are taught to believe.

Those who are able to go thither: According to an exposition of this passage attributed to Mohammad, he is supposed to be able to perform the pilgrimage, who can supply himself with provisions for the journey, and

1. Al Beikawi, Jallaloddin.
2. Gen. xxxii. 32.
3. Koran, i. 4. See the notes there.
4. Al Beikawi, Jallaloddin.
5. See the Pref. i. p. 4.
7. See Koran, c. 105.
to visit this house; but whosoever believeth, 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: and how can ye be infidels, when the signs of God are read unto you, and his apostle is among you? But he who cleaved 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 of God, and depart.

a beast to ride upon. Al Shafii has decided that those who have money enough, if they cannot go themselves, may hire some other to go in their room. Malek 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 Hanifis is of opinion that both money sufficient, and health of body are requisite to make the pilgrimage a duty (1).

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 Aus and Al Khazraj, by one Shab 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 Mahommedin; 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 follow by them, directing him to relate his story of the battle of Badr (a place near Medina) wherein, after a bloody fight, Al Aus had the better of Al Khazraj, and to repeat some verses on that subject. This 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 Mahommed had not stepped in and reconciled them; by representing to them how much they would be to blame, if they returned to Paganism, and revived those animosities which Islam had composed; and telling them, that what had happened was a trick of the devil, to disturb their present tranquility (2).

m Cleave unto the covenant of God, &c.] Literally, Hold fast by the cord

(1) Al Beidawi. (2) Idem.
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, 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. 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 Allah al matin, i.e. the sure cord of God (1).

a 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).

b On the day of the resurrection the faces of some shall become white, &c.] See the Preliminary Discours, § IV.

(1) Al Beidawi. (2) Idem.
them: there are believers among them, 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. They are smitten
with vilence, wherefoever they are found, unless
they obtain security by entering into a treaty with God,
and a treaty with men: and they draw on them-
selves indignation from God, and they are afflicted
with poverty. This they suffer, because they disbel-
ieved the signs of God, and flew the prophets un-
justly; this, because they were rebellious, and tran-
gressed. Yet they are not all alike: there are, of
those who have received the scriptures, upright
people; they meditate on the signs of God 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, 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

9 There are believers among them;]
As Abdallah Ebu Salem and his
companions (1), and those of the
tribes of Al Ans and Al Khaizraj
who had embraced Mohammedism.

1 And they shall not be helped.
This verse, Al Beidawi says, is one
of those whose meaning is myste-
rious, and relates to something fu-
ture; intimating the low condition
to which the Jewish tribes of Koreid-
ka, Nadir, Banu Kainca, and those
who dwelt at Khairun, were after-
wards reduced by Mohammed.

(1) Al Beidawi.
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: 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 giveth 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; and God heard and knew 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 Obad, 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 Mohammed.

(1) See before, p. 56.
knew it; when two companies of you were anxiously thoughtful, so that ye became faint-hearted; but God was the supporter of them both; and in God let the faithful trust. And God had already given you the victory at Bêdr, 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. And this God designed only as good tidings for you that your hearts might be 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.

meduses and attack them in the rear, he left the day, and was very near losing his life; being struck down by a shower of stones, and wounded in the face with two arrows, on pulling out of which his two fore-teeth dropped out. Of the Moslems 70 men were slain, and among them Hamza the uncle of Mohammed, and of the infidels 22. To exclude 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.

1 When two companies of you were anxiously thoughtful, &c. These were some of the families of Banu Sahma, of the tribe of al Khaizar, and Bani Hureib, of the tribe of al Azz, who composed the two wings of Mohammed's army. Some ill impressions had been made on them by Abdallah b. Ebn Abi Solil, 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).

2 See before, p. 56.  

3 Distinguished, &c.] The angel who afflicted the Mohamenian at Bêdr, rode, say the commentators, on black and white horses, and had on their heads white and yellow fashions, the ends of which hung down between their shoulders.

b As good tidings for you, &c. As an earnest of future success.

c It is no business of thine, &c. God be turned unto them, &c. The passage was revealed when Moshe-
forever 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 fury, 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. 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.

and received the wounds above-mentioned at the battle of Ohad; and said out, How shall that people profess who have stained their prophet's feet with blood, while he called them to their Lord? The person who wounded him was Oiba the son of the Wabbi (1). It is related of Hafsan the son of Abu, that a slave, having once thrown a dish on him boiling hot, he sat at table, and fearing his master's resentment, fell immediate-
If a wound hath happened unto you in war; a like wound hath already happened unto the unbelieving people: 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 with for death before that ye met it; 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? 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

* If a wound hath happened unto you in war; That is, by your being worsted at Ohod.

† 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).

‡ Ye swished 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 own 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 Nader, uncle to Ans Ebn Mala, 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 execused before thee, and acquitted of thy fight 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) Litt. book
book containing the determinations of things. And who so chooseth the reward of this world, we will give him thereof: but who so chooseth the reward of the world to come, we will give him thereof; and we will surely reward the thankful. How many prophets have inquired after those who had many myriads of troops: and yet they descended not in their mind for what had befallen them in fighting for the religion of God; and were not weakened, neither behaved themselves in an abject manner? God loveth those who persevere patiently. And their speech was no other than that they said, Our Lord forgive us our offences, and our transgressions in our business; and confirm our feet, and help us against the unbelieving people. And God gave them the reward of this world, and a glorious reward in the life to come; for God loveth the well-doers. O ye who believe, if ye obey the infidels, they will cause you to turn back on your heels, and ye will be turned back and perish: but God is your Lord; and he is the best helper. We will surely cast a dread into the hearts of the unbelievers, because they have associated with God that concerning which he sent them down no power: their dwelling shall be the fire of

1 No fool can die, unless by the permission of God, &c.) Mohammed, the more effectually to still the murmurs of his party on their defeat, resorted to 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 stayed 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).

2 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 induce the Mohammedans to their old idolatry, as they fled in the battle of Obad.

(1) Prelim. Disc. § IV.
(2) Al Baidawi.
bell; 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, until ye became faint-hearted, and disputed concerning the command of the apostle, and were rebellious; after God had shown you what ye desired. Some of you chose this present world, and others of you chose the world to come. 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 utmost part of you. 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; 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

in 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 Khâlid Bin al Wâlid, 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 Abd'Allah Bin Jâbair, 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, 0 servants of God; I am the apostle of God: he who returns 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 bent by your enemies, and to be discouraged by the report of your prophet's death; that ye might be induced to patience under adversity, and not repine at any other disappointment for the future.

(1. Al Beidawi. V. Abulfed. vit. Mab. p. 65, 66. & vet. it.)

their
their own souls; falsely thinking of God a foolish imagination, saying, Will any thing of the matter happen unto us? Say, Verily the matter belongeth wholly unto God. They concealed in their minds what they declared not unto thee; saying, If any thing of the matter had happened unto us, 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 wherein the two armies met each other at OHOD, SATAN caused them to slip, for some crime which they had committed: but now hath God forgiven them; for God is gracious and merciful. O true believers, be not as they who believed not, and said of their brethren, when they had journeyed in the land, or had been at war, If they had been with us, those had not died, nor had these been slain: whereas what befell them was so ordained that God might make it matter of fighting in their hearts. God giveth life, and causeth to die: and God feeth 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

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1. Then he sent down upon you—left sleep, &c.] After the action, that 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 endured themselves ill were troubled in their minds, imagining they were now given over to destruction.

2. 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?

3. Saying, &c.] i.e. To themselves, or to one another in private.

4. If any thing of the matter had happened unto us, &c.] If God had afflicted us according to his promise; or, as others interpret the words, if we had taken the advice of Abdallah Ebn Abi Sahl, and had kept within the town of Medina; our companions had not lost their lives.

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(1) Al Bisdawi, Jallalo'odin.
(2) Ibid.
(3) Ibid.
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 hast 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, for he who defrauds, shall bring with him what he hath defrauded any one of, on the day of the resurrection. Then shall every foul 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 feareth what they do. Now hath God been gracious unto the believers when he raised up among them, an apostle of their own nation, who should recite his signs unto them, and those who were with him in the action, and gave nothing to the party that was absent on duty.

* 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 Mohammned 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 Obod, left their station because they imagined Mohammned 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 meantime, attacking the enemy, took some spoils which he divided among

(1) Al Beidawi, Jallaloddin. (2) Al Beidawi. (3) Idem.
purify them, and teach them the book of the Koran and wisdom; whereas they were before in manifest error. After a misfortune hath befallen you at O H O D, (ye had already obtained two equal advantages) do ye say: Whence cometh this? Answer, This is from yourselves: 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. 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 yourselves 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 O H O D in the cause of God, dead; nay, they are sustained alive with their Lord, 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; 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, equaling the number of those who lost their lives at O H O D, and also took as many prisoners (2).  
c This is from yourselves;] It was the consequence of your disobeying the orders of the prophet, and abandoning your post for the sake of plunder.  
d If we had known ye went out to fight, &c.] That is, if we had conceived the least hopes of success when ye marched out of Medina to encounter the infidels, and had not known that ye went rather to certain destruction, than to battle, we had gone with you. But this Mohammed here tells them was only a feigned excuse; the true reason of their staying behind being their want of faith and firmness in their religion (3).  

See before, p. 27.  
1 Being glad for those, who, coming after them, have not as yet overtaken them;] i. e. Rejoicing also for their fakes; who are destined to suffer martyrdom, but have not as yet attained it (4).
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 Ohad, 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; but this increased their faith, and they said, GOD is our support, and the most excellent patron. Wherefore

6. 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 Ohad, that the enemy, repenting of their retreat, were returning towards Medina, he called about him those who had been in the battle, and marched out to meet the enemy as far as Homarad al Ajad 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 Koran 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 Sofian and the Koreish, according to their challenge, at Bedr (1), where they waited some time for the enemy, and then returned home; for the Koreish, though they sent 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 terror from GOD (2). This expedition the Arabian historians call the second, or lesser expedition of Bedr.

7. 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 Sofian with a camel's load of dried raisins; and, according to another tradition, it was Noamin Ibn Mas'ud al Abhir, who was also bribed with a camel's load of dried raisins months gone with young, (a valuable present in Arabia). This Noam, they say, finding Mohammed and his men preparing for the expedition, told them that Abu Sofian, to spare them the pains of coming so far as Bedr, would seek them in their own houses, and that none of them could possibly escape otherwise than by timely flight. Upon which Mohammed, seeing his followers a little dispirited, swore that he would go himself though not one of them went with him. And accordingly he set out with seventy horse-men, every one of them crying out Hashima Allah, i.e. GOD be our support (3).

(1) See before, p. 85, note 1. (2) Al Bedawi. (3) Idem Jallalo'ddin.
they returned with favour from God, and advantage: no evil befell them: and they followed what was well pleasing unto God; for God is endowed with great liberality. Verily that devil would cause you to fear his friends: but be ye not afraid of them; but fear me, if ye be true believers. They shall not grieve thee, who emulously hasten unto infidelity; for they shall never hurt God at all. God will not give them a part in the next life, and they shall suffer a great punishment. Surely those who purchase infidelity with faith, shall by no means hurt God at all, but they shall suffer a grievous punishment. And let not the unbelievers think, because we grant them lives long and prosperous, that it is better for their souls: we grant them long and prosperous lives only that their iniquity may be increased; and they shall suffer an ignominious punishment. God is not disposed to leave the faithful in the condition which ye are now in, 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: 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

\[1\] Wherefore they returned with advantage: \[2\] While they stayed at Bedr, expecting the enemy, they opened a kind of fair there, and traded to very considerable profit. 

\[3\] That devil: \[4\] Meaning either Nusayr, or Ahsan himself.

\[5\] God will not leave the faithful in the condition ye are now in, \&c. \[6\] 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. \[n\] 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.

(1) Al-Baidawi. (2) Idem.
about their neck \(^5\), 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 \(^6\); 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 sacrificer, which should be consumed by fire,

\(^n\) 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 Keinóka to invite them to Isfám, and exhorting them, among other things, in the words of the Korán (2), to lend unto God on good surety, Phineas Ebn Azúra, on hearing that expression, said, Surely God is poor, since they ask to borrow for him. Whereupon Abu Beer, who was the bearer of that letter, struck him on the face, and told him, that if it had not been for the trust between them he would have struck off his head: and on Phineas's complaining to Mohammed of Abu Beer's ill usage, this passage was revealed (3).

\(^p\) The Jews, say the commentators, inferred 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 sacrificer, and therefore they expected Mohammed, should do the like. And some Mohammedan doctors agree that God appointed this miracle as the last 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 the 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. \(^7\) Chron. xvii. 2 Chron. vii. 1. Kings xviii. 38. \(^8\) Lev. ix. 24. \(^9\) Talmud, Zebadiah, c. 6.
Say, Apostles have already come unto you before me, 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 surelv be proved in your possession, 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. Think not that they who rejoice at what they have done, and expect to be praised for what they have not done; think not, O prophet

(1) See Prideaux's Connect. part 3, book 3, p. 158.
prophet, that they shall escape from punishment, for they shall suffer a painful punishment; and unto God belongeth the kingdom of heaven and earth: God is almighty. Now in the creation of heaven and earth, and the vicissitude of night and day, are signs unto those who are indued with understanding; who remember God standing, and sitting, and lying on their sides; 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 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 answered them, saying, I will not suffer the work of him among you who worketh to be lost, whether he be male, or female: 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 fled

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).

1 Who remember God standing, and sitting, and lying on their sides; viz. At all times and in all postures. Al Bīdawi mentions a saying of Mohammed to one Inrād Frbn Hofein, 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 Shafāʾi directs that the sick should pray lying on their right side.

2 We have heard a preacher, &c.

Namely, Mohammed, with the Koran.

Whether be 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 Bīdawi. (2) Ident.
fixed 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: this is but a slender provision; 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 therefor 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: they fell 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. O true believers, be patient, and strive to excel in patience, and be constant-minded, and fear God, that ye may be happy.

1. 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, envying the prosperity the idolaters enjoyed, expressed their regret that their enemies of God should live in such ease and plenty, while themselves were perishing for hunger and fatigue; whereupon this passage was revealed (1).

2. A slender provision.] Because of its short continuance.

3. There are some of those who have received the scriptures, who believe in God, &c.] The persons here meant, were forty Arabs of Najran, or thirty-two Ethiopians, or else eight Greeks, who were converted from Christianity to Mohammedism; and others say this passage was revealed in the ninth year of the Hijra, when Mohammed, on Gabriel's bringing him the news of the death of Abama 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).

4. God is swift in taking an account.] See before, p. 35 and 56, and the Preliminary Discourse, § IV.

(1) Al Beidawi. (2) See before, p. 70 and 71. (3) See the Prelm. (4) Al Beidawi.
CHAP. IV.

Intitled, Women b; revealed at Medina.

In the name of the most merciful God.

OMEN! fear your Lord, who hath created you out of one man, and out of him created his wife, and from them two hath multiplied men, and women: and fear God by whom ye be seech 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 be that ye shall not act with equity towards orphans: 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 be seech one another;] saying, I beseech thee, for God's sake (1).

d Women] Literally, the women.

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 worth 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; and by reason of their having already several wives, they should rather choose to marry other women, to avoid the occasion of sin (2). Others hold, when this passage was revealed, many of the Arabians, fearing the danger of temptation, refused to take the charge of orphans, and married orphans to a great number, and used them ill; or, as some write, gave themselves up to iniquity; which occasioned the passage.

And, according to these, its meaning must be either, that if they had thought 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 this imposition was a crime as much as wronging of orphans, they are to avoid that sin, by marrying according to their abilities (3).

(1) Al Beidawi. (2) Idem. (3) Idem, Jallaloddin.
But if ye fear that ye cannot act equitably towards so many, marry one only, or the slaves which ye shall have acquired. 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 until they attain the age of marriage; 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. 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. 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, whether it be little, or whether it be much; a determinate part is

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1. Or the slaves which ye shall have acquired. For slaves requiring not a 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.

2. 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.

3. 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).

4. Because they grow up. i.e. Because they will shortly be of age, to receive what belongs to them.

5. According to what shall be reasonable. That is, no more than what shall make sufficient recompence for the trouble of their education.

6. 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).

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(1) Al Beidawi. (2) Idem
due to them. And when they who are of kin are present at the dividing of what is left, and also the orphans, and the poor; distribute unto them some part thereof; and if the estate be too small, at least speak comfortably unto them. And let those fear to abuse orphans, who if they leave behind them a weak offspring, are solicitous for them: let them therefore fear God, and speak that which is convenient. 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: but if they be females only, and above two in number, they shall have two third parts of what the deceased shall leave; and if there be but one, the shall have the half. 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. And if he have brethren, his mother shall have a sixth part, after the legacies.

\[\text{\textsuperscript{n} Let them speak that which is convenient;}] \text{viz. Either to comfort the children, or to assure the dying father they shall be judged by (1).}

\[\text{\textsuperscript{o} A male shall have as much as the share of two females.}] \text{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).}

\[\text{\textsuperscript{p} If there be above two in number, they shall have two third parts, &c.}] \text{Or if there be two and no more, they will have the same share.}

\[\text{\textsuperscript{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 Koran, he says, that, were there is a son and an only daughter, each of them will have a moiety (1) for the daughter can have a moiety but in one case only, that is, when there is no son; for if there be a son, she can have but a third, according to the abovementioned rule.}

\[\text{\textsuperscript{r} His mother shall have the third part.}] \text{And his father consequently the other two thirds (4).}

\[\text{\textsuperscript{s} The legacies.}] \text{By legacies in this and the following passages are chiefly meant those bequeathed to particular persons; for the Mohammedans approve not of a person’s giving away his substance from his family and near relations on any other account.}

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 relation¹, and he or she have a brother or sister; each of them two shall have a sixth part of the estate². 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 who so 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 who so disobeys 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, 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

¹ For this may happen by chance, or on some other special occasion.
² 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 a way to escape. And if two of you commit the like wickedness, punish them both: 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 preveniently unto one of them, and be faith, 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, nor to hinder them from marrying

× 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 Soma; 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 foned (1).

v And if two of you commit the like wickedness, &c.] The commentators are not agreed whether the text speaks of fornication or idolatry. Al Zanakhsari, and, from him, Al Beidawi suppose the former is here meant; but Jalalodin 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 flight punishment, and are both allowed the same repentance and indulgence; and especially for that a different and much severer punishment is appointed for the women in the preceding words. Abu'l Kasem Heshatallah 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 (5), or strike them on the head with the 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 affected by throwing his garment over her; and then he either married her himself, if he thought fit, or 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 the might claim of her husband's goods (5). This unjust custom is abolished by this passage.

Chap. 4.  

**Al Koran.**  

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others, that ye may take away part of what ye have given them in dowry; unless they have been guilty of a manifest crime: 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, and ye have already given one of them a talent; take not away any thing therefrom: will ye take it by flandering 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: except what is already past: for God is gracious and merciful. *Ye are also forbidden to take to wife five free women who are married, except those whom

b Nor to binder 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).

4 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. 110.

8 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, This is ordained by God. Whatever is believed in 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, according to what is ordained: but it shall be no crime in you to make any other agreement among yourselves, after the ordinance shall be complied with; for God is knowing and wise. Wherefore 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: therefore marry them with the consent of their matters; 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. This is allowed unto him among you, who feareth to sin by marrying free women; but, if ye abstain from

Ye are forbidden to take to wives 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).

Give them their reward.] That is, assign them their dower.

(1) Al Buzain. (2) Idem. (3) Idem.
marrying slaves, it will be better for you; God is gracious and merciful. God is willing to declare these things unto you, and to direct you according to the ordinances of those who have gone before you, and to be merciful unto you. God is knowing and wise. God defreth to be gracious unto you; but they who follow their lusts, 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. O true believers! confute not your wealth among yourselves in vanity; unless there be merchandizing among you by mutual consent: neither slay yourselves; for God is merciful towards you: and whoever doth this maliciously and wickedly, he will surely cast him to be broiled in bell fire; and this is easy with God. If ye turn aside from the grievous sins; of those which

1 Of those who have been before you, viz. Of the prophets, and other holy and prudent men of former ages (1).
2 They who follow their lusts, &c.] Some commentators suppose that their 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).
3 For man was created weak; being unable to refrain from women, and too subject to be led away by carnal appetites (3).
4 Confine 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).
5 Neither slay yourselves.] Literally, slay not your souls; i.e. says Jallaloddin, 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).
6 See Wildom xvi. 14. in the Vulgate.

Grievous sins.] These sins al Beidawi, from a tradition of Mohammed, reckons to be seven (equality in number the sins called deadly by Christians) that is to say, idolatry, murder, falsely accusing modest women of adultery, wasting the substance of orphans, taking of usury, defecion in a religious expedition, and disobedience to parents. But Ibn Abbas says, they amount to near seven hundred; and others supposed that idolatry only, of different kinds, in worshipping idols or any crea

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. 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: 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; 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, and for that which they expend of their

made an alliance, give this part, &c.] A precept conformable to an old custom of the Arabs, that, when persons mutually entered into a kind of friendship or confederacy, the surviving friend should have a sixth part of the deceased’s estate. In this it was afterwards abrogated, according to Jallalo’ddin and Al-Mahdi’abari, at least as to indies. 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 has first (3).

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 double share of their deceased ancestors’ estates (4).

(1) Al Beidawi. See before, chap. 2. p. 16 and 17. (2) Lit.
Jallalo’ddin. (3) V. Al Beidawi. (4) Lit.
substance in maintaining their wives. The honest women are obedient, careful in the absence of their husbands, for that God preserveth them, by committing them to the care and protection of the men. But thole, whole perverseness ye shall be apprehensive of, rebuke, and remove them into separate apartments, and chastise them. 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 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, 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 vain-glorious, who are covetous, and recommend covetousness unto men, and conceal that which God, of his bounty, hath given them; (we have prepared a shameful punishment for the unbelievers;) and who beflow their wealth in charity to be observed of men, and believe not in God, nor in the last day; and

2 Careful in the absence of their husbands; i.e. Both to preserve their husband's substance from loss or waste, and themselves from all degrees of immodesty.
3 Remove them into separate apartments; That is, banish them from your bed.
4 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.

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.
4 Your neighbour who is of kin to you; Either of your own nation or religion.
5 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.
whoever hath Satan for a companion, an evil companion hath be! And what harm would befall 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: and, if it be a good action, he will double it, and will recompense it in his fight with a great reward. How will it be with the unbelievers, when we shall bring a witness out of each nation against itself, and shall bring thee, O Mohammed! a witness against these people? In that day they who have not believed, and have rebelled against the apostle of God, shall with 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, 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

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8 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 dharr, 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 unit.

9 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 prodiced to give evidence against such of them as refused to believe on him, or obeyed not the laws which he brought.

b Against these people.] That is, the Arabians, to whom Mohammed was, as he pretended, more particularly sent (1).

1 Come not to prayers when ye are drunk, &c. [It is related, that, before the prohibition of wine, Abû Dhabîbîn Abû Aysf made an entertainment, to which he invited several of the apostle’s companions; and after they had ate and drunk 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).
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 was delivered? they fell error, and declare 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 n; and say, We have heard, and have disobeyed; and do thou hear without understanding or meaning o; and look upon us p: perplexing with their tongues, and reviling the true religion. But if they had laid, We have heard, and do obey; and do thou hear, and regard us q: 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 r; 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 Philm. Difc. s. IV.

n Those unto whom part of the scripture was delivered. Meaning the Jews, and particularly their Rabbin.

o Who pervert words from their places. That is, (according to the commentators,) who change the true sense of the pentateuch by dilating passages, or by wresting the words according to their own fancies and lufts (r). 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.

p Without understanding. Literally, without being made to hear, or apprehend what we say.

q And regard us. In Arabic, Ondhur; which, having no ill equivocal meaning, the prophet ordered them to use instead of the former.

r 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.

(i) Al Beidawi, Jallaloddin. (2) See before, c. 3, p. 21.
day¹, and the command of God was fulfilled. Surely God will not pardon the giving him an equal²; but will pardon any other sin, except that, to whom he pleareth³: and whoso giveth a companion unto God, hath devised a great wickedness. Haft thou not observed those who justify themselves⁴? But God justifieth whomsoever he pleareth, nor shall they be wronged a hair⁵. Behold, how they imagine a lye against God; and therein is iniquity sufficiently manifest. Haft thou not considered those to whom part of the scripture hath been given? They believe in false gods and idols⁶, and say of those who believe not, These are more rightly directed in the way of truth, than they who believe on Mohamed. Those are the men whom God hath curst; and unto him whom God shall curse, thou shalt surely find no helper. Shall they have a part in the kingdom⁷, since even then they would not bebow the

¹ Those who transgressed on the sabbath-day;] And were therefore changed into apes (1).
² The giving him an equal;] That is, idolatry of all kinds.
³ To whom he pleareth;] nix. To those who repent (2).
⁴ Those who justify themselves;] i.e. The Christians and Jews, who called themselves the children of God, and his beloved people (3).
⁵ 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.
⁶ In false gods and idols;] The Arabic is, in Jibt and Ushait. 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: Huyai Ebr Akbar, and Caab Ibn Affraf (5), two chief men among the Jews, with several others of the religion, went to Mecca, and offered to enter into a confederacy with the Koreish, and to join their forces against Mohamed. But the Koreish, entertaining some jealousy of them, told them, that the Jews pretended to have a written revelation from heaven, as well as Mohamed, 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 innate hatred to Mohamed (6).

⁷ Shall they have a part in the

the smallest matter on men? Do they envy other men that which God, of his bounty, hath given them? We formerly gave unto the family of Abraham a book of revelations and wisdom; and we gave them a great kingdom. There is of them who believeth on him; 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; 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.

(2) The smallest matter.] The original word properly signifies a small det on the back of a date-stone; and is commonly used to express a thing of little or no value.

(3) Who believeth on him?] Namely, on Mohammed.

(4) 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 Obhan Ebn Telba Ebn Abdal-Kar, who had then the honour to be keeper of that holy place (3), and not to deliver them to his uncle at Abbás, who, having already the custody of the well Zemzem, would fain have had also that of the Caaba. The prophet, obeying the divine order, Obhan was so affected with the justice of the action, notwithstanding he had, at first, refused him entrance, that he immediately embraced Mohammed; whereupon the guardianship of the Caaba was

(1) Al Beidawi.
(2) Idem.
(3) See Prideaux’s Life of Mahomet, p. 2.
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, 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, although they have been commanded not to believe in him; and Satan defreteth 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 befall them, for that which their hands have sent before them? Then will they come unto thee, and swear by God, confirmed to this Othman and his heirs for ever (1).


and Ockley’s Hist. of the Sarac. t. 1. p. 565. (3) See before, p. 41
If we intended any other, than to do good, and to reconcile the parties. 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, 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; 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 fight 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 against your enemies, and either go forth to your houses;] Some understand these words of their venturing their lives in a religious expedition; and others, of their undergoing the same punishments which the Israelites did, for their idolatry in worshipping the golden calf. 

1. Slay yourselves, or depart from

2. Take your precaution; i.e. Be vigilant, and provide yourselves, with arms and necessaries.

(1) Al Beisawi. (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 tarry behind; and, if a misfortune befal you, he fayth, 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,) 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; for whosoever fighteth for the religion of God, whether he be slain, or be victorious, 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, 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. They who believe fight for the religion of

1 Who tarry behind, &c.] Mohammed upbraids the hypocritical Meflens, who, for want of faith and constancy in their religion, were backward in going to war for its defence.

2 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 Muhannes, himself, intimating 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.

3 Whosoever fighteth for the present life in exchange for that which is to come; By venturing their lives and fortunes in defence of the faith.

4 Whether he be slain, or be victorious; For no man ought to quit the field, till he either fails a martyr, or gain some advantage for the cause.

5 In defence of the weak, &c.] Wise. Those believers who stay behind at Mecca, being detained there either forcibly by the idolaters, or for want of means to fly to refuge to Medina. Al Beidawi observes that children are mentioned here, to shew the infirmity of the Korifs, who persecuted even the tender age.

6 O Lord! bring us forth from this city, and grant us from before 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 Othul Byn Qasid 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) Lahn.
God, but they who believe not fight for the religion of Taghut. Fight therefore against the friends of Satan, for the stratagem of Satan is weak. Hold thy hands from war, and be constant at prayers, and pay the legal alms. 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? Say unto them, The provision of this life is but small; but the future shall be better for him who seareth God; and ye shall not be in the least injured at the day of judgment. Wherever ye be, death will overtake you, although ye be in lofty towers. If good befall them, they say, This is from God; but, if evil befall them, they say, This is from thee, O Muhammad! 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. 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. They fly, Obedience; yet, when they go forth from thee,

1. Taghut. See before, p. 48 and 49.
2. Hast thou not observed those unto whom it was said, With-hold your hands from war, &c.? These were some of Muhammad's followers, who readily performed the duties of their religion, so long as they were commanded nothing that might endanger their lives.
3. Our approaching end; That is, a natural death.
4. If evil befall them, they say, This is from thee; As the Jews in particular, who pretended that their land was grown barren, and provisions scarce, since Muhammad 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 proceed from God; since the evil which befalls 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.
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. Fight therefore for the religion of God, and oblige not any to what is difficult, 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, shall have a portion thereof; and he who intercedeth, with an evil intercession, shall have a portion

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 Koran 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).

Oblige not any to what is difficult, except thyself: It is said this passage was revealed when the Mohammedans refused to follow the prophet to the battle of Badr, so that he was obliged to set out with no more than 70 (4). Some copies vary in this place, and instead of la tokalleso, in the second person singular, read la nokalleso, in the first person plural, We do not obey, &c. The meaning being, that the prophet only was under an indispensible necessity of obeying God’s commands, however difficult, but others might choose, though at their peril.

thereof: for God overlooketh all things. When ye are saluted with a salutation, salute the person with a better salutation, 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 faith? Why are ye divided concerning the ungodly into two parties; since God hath overthrown 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 define 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, or those who come unto you, their hearts forbidding them either to fight against you, or to fight against their own people. And, if God pleased, he would have permitted them to have prevailed against

Salute, the person with a better salutation:] By adding something further. 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.

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 defectors at the battle of Obed, concerning whom the Moslems were divided in opinion whether they should be slain, as infidels, or not.

A people who are in alliance with you:] The people here meant, say some, were the tribe of Khuzayb; or, according to others, the Makhzum, whose chief, named Hedal Ibn Owaizmar, agreed with Mohammed, when he set out against Mecca, to stand neutral; or, as others rather think, Banu Beer Ibn Zeid (1).

Whole hearts forbid them to fight either against you, or their own people:] These, it is said, were the tribe of Madaj, who came in to Mohammed, but would not be obliged to assist him in war.

(1) Al Beydawi, Jallalo'ddin.
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: so often as they return to sedition, they shall be subverted therein; and, if they depart not from you, and offer you peace, and refrain their hands from warring against you, take them and kill them wherefover ye find them; over and above we granted you a manifest power. It is not lawful for a believer to kill a believer, unless it happen by mistake; 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, 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; but, if he be of a people in confederacy with you, a fine to be paid to his family, and the freeing of a believer. And he who findeth not wherewith to do this, shall fast two months consecutively, as a penance enjoined from God; and God is knowing and wise. But whoso killeth a believer deliberately, his reward shall be hell; he shall remain therein for ever; and God shall be angry with him, and shall

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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; seeking the accidental goods of the present life; for with God is much spoil. Such have ye formerly been; but God hath been gracious unto you; 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, 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 this 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. They are not a true believer; for the ancient you all 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.

Seeking the accidental goods of his life.] That is, being willing to judge him an infidel, only that ye may kill and plunder him.

Such were ye formerly, &c.] viz. At your first profession of Isla

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 Makrim, 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-Baidawi. (2) Idem. merciful.
merciful. Moreover, unto those whom the angels put to death, having injured their own souls; the angels said, Of what religion were ye? they answered, We were weak in the earth. The angels replied, Was not God’s earth wide enough, that ye might fly therein to a place of refuge? Therefore their habitation shall be hell; and an evil journey shall it be there: 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 fleeth 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 fleeth unto God and his apostle, if death overtake him in the way, 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 aribe in prayer with thee, and let them take their arms; and, when they shall have worshipped, let them

9 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 Mohammedanism, 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 (x).

9 We were weak in the earth;] Being unable to fly, and compelled to follow the infidels to war.

9 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.

9 If death overtake him in the way;] This passage was revealed, says Al Beidawi, on account of the death of Ebn Damra. This person bore sick, was in his flight, carried on a couch, and, before he arrived at Medina, perceiving the end approached, he clapped his right hand on his left, and solemnly plighting his faith to God and his apostle, died.

(x) Al Beidawi, Jallalo’ddin.
stand behind you; 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 incommode by rain, or be sick, that ye lay down your arms; but take your necessary precaution: 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. 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. 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; but ask pardon of mail from his neighbour Kitâda Ebn al Nomân, in a bag of meal; and hid it at a Jew's, named Bât 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 not of Tima, the sons of Dhaifar 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 Beidâwî.
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. 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, 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? ye who doth evil, or injureth his own soul, and afterwards asketh pardon of God, shall find God gracious and merciful. Whoso committheth wickedness, committeth it against his own soul: God is knowing and wise. And whoso committheth 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; 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; for the favour of God hath been great towards thee. There is no good in the multitude of revealed, reprobating 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).  

(1) Al Beidawi, Jallallo'ddin, Yahya.
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 who so 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, and will cast him to be burned in hell; and an unhappy journey shall it be to him. 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 a side into a wide mistake: the infidels invoke, besides him, only female deities; and only invoke rebellious Satan. God cursed him; and he said, Verily I will take of thy fervants a part cut off from the rest, and I will reduce them, and will insinuate vain desires into them, and I will command them and they shall cut off the ears of cattle; and I will command them and they shall change God's creature. But whoever taketh Satan for his patron, besides God, shall surely

2 We will cause him to obtain that which is inclined to evil, and false notions of religion.
3 The infidels invoke besides him only female deities; namely, Allah, Uzza, and Malek, the idols of the Maccans; or the angels, whom they called the daughters of God (1).
4 A part cut off from the rest; or, if the original may be translated, a part destined or predetermined to be reduced by me.
5 And they shall cut off the ears of cattle; which was done out of superstition by the old pagan Arabs.
6 And they shall change God's creature; either by maiming it, or putting it to uses not designed by the Creator. At Beidone the text intend, not only the superstitious amputations of the ears, and other parts of cattle, but the cutrivation of slaves, the marking their bodies with figures, by pricking and dying them with woad or indigo, as the Arabs did and still do, the sharpening their teeth by filing; and also sodomy, and the unnatural amours between those of the female sex, the worship of the sun, moon, and other parts of nature, and the like.
7 Besides God; i.e. By leaving the service of God, and doing the works of the devil.

(1) See the Prelim. Discourse, §. 1. 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 faith? It shall not be according to your desires, nor according to the desires of those who have received the scriptures. 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: and to God belongeth whatsoever is in heaven.

* 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 parable, 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).

† Since God took Abraham for his friend;] Therefore the Mohammedans usually call that patriarch, as the scripture also does, Khalil Al-lab, 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 guest, and give away to the poor, according to his usual hospitality. The terrour whom Abraham had sent on the message, being afraid to return empty, to conceal the matter from their neighbors, filled their sack with fine white sand, which, in the east, pretty much resembles such...
ven and on earth; God comprehendeth all things. They will consult thee concerning women; and
A. God instructeth you concerning them; and that which is read unto you in the book of the KO-
RAN concerning female orphans, to whom ye give not that which is ordained them, neither will ye marry them; and concerning weak infants; and that ye observe justice towards orphans: whatever good ye do, God knoweth it. If a woman fear ill
уже, or aversion from her husband, it shall be no
crime in them if they agree the matter amicably be-
 tween themselves; for a reconciliation is better than a separation. Mens souls are naturally inclined
towards women; but, if ye be kind towards women,

Abraham, being informed by his ser-
 Rons, on their return, of their ill
ibt, the concern he was under
drew him into a sleep; and, in the
 next time, Sarab, knowing nothing
 of what had happened, opening one
 of the packs, found good flower in it,
 and immediately set out about mak-
ing of bread. Abraham awakening,
 and smelling the new bread, asked
 her whence she had the flour? Why?
 says she, from your friend in Egypt;
 they replied the Patriarch, it must
 have come from no other than my
 friend, God Almighty (1).

* 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 relatives; for it seems the Arabs were not satisfied with Mohammed's decision in this point, against the old
customs.

God instructeth you concerning them, k. c. i.e. He hath already
made his will known unto you, by
revealing the passages concerning in-
heritances in the beginning of this
chapter.

* Neither will ye marry with

them; ] Or the words may be ren-
dered in the affirmative, and whose
ye desire to marry. For the Pagan
Arabs used to wrong their female
orphans in both instances; obliging
them to marry against their inclina-
tions, 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 par-
ents estate (3).

q If they agree the matter between
themselves; i.e. By the wife's re-
mitting part of her dowry, or other
dues.

r Mens souls are naturally inclined
towards women; ] So that the wo-
man, 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
scarcely expect he will use her in all
respects as he ought (4).

Mohammedian explained, V. t. p. 172.  
(2) Al Beidawi.  
(3) See
before, p. 93. not. vii.  
(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: nor leave her like one in suspense: 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; for God is extensive and wife, 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, 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 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

— Turn not from a wife with all manner of aversion; i.e. Though you cannot use her equally well with a beloved wife, yet observe some measures of justice towards her; for, if a man is not able perfectly to perform his duty, he ought not, for that reason, entirely to neglect it.

— Nor leave her like one in suspense; Or, like one who neither has a husband, nor is divorced and at liberty to marry elsewhere.

— God will satisfy them both, &c.] That is, either will bless them with a better and more advantageous match, or with peace and tranquility of mind.

— God is self-sufficient;] Wanting the service of no creature.

— And will produce others, &c.] i.e. Either another race of men, or a different species of creatures.

(1) Al Beidawi. (2) Idem.
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. And whosoever believeth not in God, and his angels, and his scriptures, and his apostles, and the last day, he surely ereth in a wide mistake. Moreover, they who believed, and, afterwards, became infidels, and then believed again, and, after that, disbelieved, and increased in infidelity, God will, by no means, forgive them, nor direct them into the right way. Declare unto the ungodly 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, the following passage: When ye shall hear the signs of God, they shall not be believed, but they shall be laughed to scorn. Therefore fit 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 unbelievers 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.

1 Believers in God and his apostle, &c.] It is said, that Abdallah ibn Salam and his companions told Mohammed, that they believed in him, and his Koran, and in Moses, and the pentateuch, and in Ezra, but no farther; whereupon this passage was revealed, declaring that a partial faith is better than none at all; and that a true believer must believe in all God's prophets and revelations without exception. (1)

2 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 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. (2)

(1) Al Bidaawi. (2) Idem. (3) Idem.
lievers together in hell. They who wait to observe what bealleth you, if victory be granted you from God, say, Were we not with you? But, if any advantage happen to the infidels, they say unto them, Were we not superior to you, 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, wavering between faith and infidelity, and adhering neither unto these, nor unto those: 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, 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 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 disheartening them (2)?

f Unless a little; That is, with

e The tongue, and not with the heart.

1 Adhering neither unto these, nor unto those: Halting between two opinions, and being fain to friends neither to the Moslems, nor the infidels.

2 The hypocrites shall be in the lowest bottoms of hell fire: See the Preliminary Discourse, § IV. p. 122.

(1) Al Baidawi. (2) Idem.
pe 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, 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 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. Wherefore a storm of fire from heaven destroyed them, because of their iniquity. Then they took the calf for their God, 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. And we lifted the mountain of Sinai over them, when we exacted from them their covenant; and said unto them, Enter the gate of the city worshippers. 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 they have maid void their covenant, and

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1 See chap. ii. p. 54. note b.
2 They also 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 descend upon him from heaven; or, that he would produce one written in a celestial character, like the two tablets of Moses.
3 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).

1 See chap. ii. p. 10.
2 See ibid. p. 10. note f.
3 See ibid. p. 13.
4 See ibid. p. 11.
5 Therefore for that, &c.] There being nothing in the following words
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; 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; and verily they who disagreed concerning him, 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 wife. And there shall not be one of those who have received the scriptures, who shall not believe in him, before his death; and, on the day of return.

of this sentence, to answer to the causal for that, ḇalladodin supposes something to be understood to complete the sentence, as, therefore we have cursed them, or the like.

3 And have spoken against Mary a grievous calumny; By accusing her of fornication (1).

4 Yet they slew him not, &c. See chap. iii. p. 6a. and the notes there.

5 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 unlikeliness, 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).

6 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.

(1) See the Kor. chap. xix, and that eminent book intitled Toldoth Jeim (2). Al Bidawi.
resurrection, he shall be a witness against them. Because of the iniquity of those who judaize, we have forbidden them good things, which had been formerly allowed them; 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, 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 John, 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, discouraging with him; apostles declaring good tidings, and denouncing threats, left men should have an argument of excuse against God, after the apostles had been sent unto them; God is mighty and wise.

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 defends 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).
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, 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 God s; 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:

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). 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 AlBidawi 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.

who disdaint his service, and is puffed up with pride, G O D. 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 su-
perabundantly 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. They who believe in God and firmly ad-
here to him, he will lead them into mercy from him, and abundance; and he will direct them in the right way to himself. 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. If a man die without wife, and have a sister, she shall have the half of what he shall leave: and he shall be heir to her, 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. the religion of Islam, in this world, and the way to paradise in the next (1).

c See the beginning of this chapter, p. 95.
d She shall have the half of what she 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 Baidawi.
TRUE believers! perform your contracts. Ye are allowed to eat the brute cattle, 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, nor the sacred months; nor the offering, nor the ornaments hung thereon; 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, provoke you to transgress, by taking revenge on them in the sacred months. Afflict one another, according to justice and piety, but afflict 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

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1 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.

2 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.

3 The holy rites of God:] i.e. The ceremonies used in the pilgrimage of Mecca.

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(1) Jallalo'ddin, Al Beidawi. (2) See the Preliminary Discourse, §. VII. (3) See the Preliminary Dilec, §. II. p. 69.
blood, and swine's flesh, and that on which the name of any besides God, hath been invoked; 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, except what ye shall kill yourselves; and that which hath been sacrificed unto idols. It is likewise unlawful for you to make division by casting lots with arrows. This is an impiety. On this day, 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, and have completed my mercy upon you; 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 are allowed you; and what ye shall teach animals of prey to catch, training them.

* On which the name of any besides God hath been invoked; for the idolatrous Arous used, in killing any animal for food, to consecrate it, as it were, to their idols, by slaying, in the name of Allah, or of Mecca. (1)

* Which hath been eaten by a wild beast; or by a creature trained up to hunting (2).

* Except what ye shall kill yourselves; That is, unless ye come up in time enough to find life in the animal, and to cut it's throat. (3)

Idol. * The word also signifies certain stones, which the pagan devout used to set up near their houses, and on which they superfluously threw animals, in honour of their gods. (4)

* See Pref. Difc. §. V.

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; 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 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 ankles; 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. Therefore

* 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.

v Ver. Slain or dressed by Jews or Christians.

** 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).
fear God, for God knoweth the innermost parts of the breasts of men. O true believers! observe justice when ye appear as witnesses before God, and let not hatred towards any induce you to do wrong: but act justly; this will approach nearer unto piety; and fear God, for God is fully acquainted with what ye do. God hath promised unto those who believe, and do that which is right, that they shall receive pardon and a great reward. But they who believe not, and accuse our signs of falsehood, they shall be the companions of hell. O true believers! remember God's favour towards you, when certain men designed to stretch forth their hands against you, but he restrained their hands from hurting you; 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

(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, ereth 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 (x), 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 falsely telling what they had seen, except only Caleb the son of Yefuneh (Jephunneh) and Josaph 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 interpolated by the verse of the fouled (3).

(1) See Num. i. 4, 5. (2) Al Beidawi. See Num. xiii and xiv. (3) Al Beidawi.
scriptures; and to pass over 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; left 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

* 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).
* And to pass over many things; i.e. Those which it was not necessary to restore.
* During the cessation of apostles; (1) See Chap. 3. p. 58. (2) Al Beldawi.

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.
unto his people, O my people! remember the favour of God towards you, since he hath appointed prophets among you, and constituted you kings, and bestowed on you what he hath given to no other nation in the world. 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; 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; 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).

j 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).

k Two men;] Namely, Caleb and Joshua.

m The land shall be forbidden them forty years; during which time 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 Reidaui.

(2) V. Marracc, in Alcor. p. 231, &c.


within
cious for the ungodly people. Relate also unto them the history of the two sons of Adam, with truth. When they offered their offering, and it was accepted from one of them, 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. I choose that thou shouldst bear my iniquity, and thine own iniquity; and that thou become a companion of hell fire; for that is the reward of the unjust. But his soul suffered him to slay his brother, and he slew him.

where

within the compass of about eighteen (or, as some say, twenty-seven) times; and, that though they traveled from morning to night, yet they constantly found themselves, the next day, at the place from whence they set out.

1. The two sons of Adam; viz., Cain and Abel, whom the Mohammedans call Kābil and Ḥābil.

2. When they offered their offering. The occasion of their making this offering is thus related, according to the common tradition in the east. 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 handiomerit, Adam ordered them to make their offerings to God, thereby referring the dispute to his determination. The commentators say, Cain’s offering was a heaf of the very worst of his corn, but Abel’s a fat lamb, of the best of his flock.

3. 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. I will not stretch forth my hand against thee. To enhance Abel’s patience, al Beidawi tells us, that he was the stronger of the two, and could easily have prevailed against his brother.

5. The conversation between the two brothers is related somewhat to the same purpose in the Jerusalem Targum, and that of Jonathan ben Uzziel.

6. And he slew him. Some say, he knocked out his brains with a stone; and pretend, that as Cain was
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; and he said, Woe 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, shall be as if he had slain all mankind; 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 from the land. This shall be their disgrace in this world, and eternal disgrace in the next.

was considering which way he should effect the murder, the devil appeared to him in a human shape, and showed him how to do it, by crunching the head of a bird between two stones (1).

1 God sent a raven, which scratched the earth, and showed him how to hide his brother’s shame; i.e. His dead body. 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 horribly; 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 its claws and beak, and buried him therein (2). For this circumstance of the raven, Mohammed is beholden to the Jews, who tell the same story, except only that they make the raven appear to Adam, and that he thereupon buried his son (3).

u Without committing wickedness in the earth. Such as idolatry, or robbing on the highway (4).

w Shall be as if he had slain all mankind. Having broken the commandment, which forbids the shedding of blood.

x The lawyers are not agreed as to the applying of these punishments. But the commentators suppose, that they who commit murder only, are to be put to death in the ordinary way; those who murder and rob too, to be crucified; those who rob, without committing murder, to have

(1) V. D'Herbel., ubi sup.
(2) Jallalodin, 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 wherewithal, 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, 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, for God is inclined to forgive, and merciful. Doth 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 crosses till they die (2).

thee, who haftent to infidelity, either of those who say, We believe, with their mouths, but whose hearts believe not; or of the Jews, who hearken to a lie, and hearken to other people; who come not unto thee: they pervert the words of the law from their true places, and say, If this be brought unto you, receive it; but if it be not brought unto you, beware of receiving aught else; 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. But if they come unto thee for judgment, either judge between them, or leave them; 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. 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 Ibn Suriya (a Jew) who was called upon to decide the matter, acknowledged the law to be so. Whereupon they were stoned at the door of the mosque (3).
f And eat that which is forbidden; Some understand this of unlawful meats; but others, of taking or devouring, as it is expressed, of usury and bribes (4).

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? Then will they turn their backs, after this; but these are not true believers. 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. Therefore fear not men, but fear me; neither sell my signs for a small price. And who so judgeth not according to what God hath revealed, they are infidels. We have therein commanded them, that they should give life for life: and eye for eye.

differences or not. Hence al Shajari 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 is regarding them. Abu Hanifa, however, thought that the magistrates were obliged to judge all cases which were submitted to them (1).

(1) Al Baghdadi.
for eye, and nose for nose, and ear for ear, and tooth for tooth; and that wounds should also be punished by retaliation; but whoever should remit it as alms, it should be accepted as an atonement for him. And who so 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 who so 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; 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 from part

See Exod. xxi. 24, &c.
* 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).
* And follow not their desires; but, beware of them, lest they cause thee to err, &c.] It is related, that certain

(1) Al Baithawi
part of those precepts which God hath sent down unto thee; and, if they turn back, 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? 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 who 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; but it is easy for God to give victory, or a command from him, 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? 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).

O true believers! whoever of you apostatizeth from his religion, God will certainly bring other people to supply his place, whom he will love, and who will love him; who shall be humble towards the believers, but severe to the unbelievers: they shall fight for the religion of God, and shall not fear the 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
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; 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, 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, and who worship Tashru, 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

1. 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, Zafida Ben Zeid, and Jawaid Ben al Hareth, who, though they had embraced Mohammedism, yet ridiculed it on all occasions, and were, notwithstanding, greatly beloved among the prophet’s followers.  
2. 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 Mushidin, or cryer, in calling to prayers, repeated 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).  
3. Having changed some of them into apes and swine. The former, were the Jews and Ailab, 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 Ailab, only are meant in this place, pretending, that the young men, among them, were metamorphosed into apes, and the old men into swine (4).  

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; 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. Their hands shall be tied up, 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 shall increase the transgression and insidelity 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; 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. 123.

c God's hand is tied up:] That is, he is become negligence and eftec-
fitted. These were the words of Plineas Enc Aetura, another inde-
cent 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 re-
jecting of Mohammed; and, the other Jews, who heard him, instead of reproving him, expressed their appro-

bation of what he said (2).

d Their hands shall be tied up:]

e. c. 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.

f Viz. The Korán.

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 Bidahzul adds, that, on the Jews waged the true observance of their law, and corrupting their religion, God has successively delivered them into the hands, first, of Nebuchadrezzar, then of Titus, the Roman, and afterwards of the Persians; and has now, at last, subjected them to the Moslems.

(1) Chap. iii. p. 88. (2) Al Bidawie. (3) See the Prelim. Diff.
§. IV. p. 117.
to gardens of pleasure; and if they observe the law, and the gospel, and the other scriptures, which have been sent down unto them from their Lord, they shall surely eat of good things both from above them, and from under their feet. 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 dost not, thou dost not, in effect, publish any part thereof; and God will defend thee against wicked men; 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 Sakaïs, 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. 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

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1 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.

2 If thou publish not the whole, thou dost not, in effect, publish any part thereof.] That is, if thou dost not complete the publication of all revelation, without exception, thou dost not answer the end for which they were revealed; because, concealing of any part, renders

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(1) Al Beidawi, Jallaloddin. (2) Iddari.
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. Then was God turned unto them⁵; 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: 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: they both ate food. 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, by speaking beside the truth; neither follow of the divine nature, or to be the mother of God (1).

⁵ They both ate food.] Both were obliged to support their lives by the same means, and being founded on the same necessities and influences as the rest of mankind, and, therefore, no gods (2).

(1) Jallalo'ddin. (2) Idem, Al Beidawi.
the desires of people who have heretofore erred, and who have seduced many, and have gone astray from the strait path. Those among the children of Israel who believe not, were cursed by the tongue of David, and of Jesus, the son of Mary. This infid 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, 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 related with pride: * And, when they hear that which hath 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; saying, O Lord!

* Neither follow the desires of people who have heretofore erred, &c.] That is, of their prelates and preceptors, who erred in ascribing divinity to Christ, before the mission of Mohammed (1).

(1) Jallalo'ddin, Al Beidawi.
LORD! we believe; write us down, therefore, with those who bear witnesses to the truth: and, what should binder 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; 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; 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 Koran; on hearing of which the king, and the rest of the company, burst into tears, and confessed what was delivered therein to be conformable to truth; that prince himself, in particular, becoming a profiteer to Mohammedism (2); or else, thirty, or, as others say, seventy perrons, went ambassadors to Mohammed, by the same king of Ethiopia, to whom the prophet himself read the thirty-sixth chapter, entitled Y. S. Whereupon, they began to weep; saying, How like is this to that which was revealed unto Jesus! and, immediately, professed themselves Moslems (3). x. Forbid not the good things which God hath allowed you!) These words were revealed, when certain of Mohammed's companions agreed to oblige themselves to continual fasting and watching, and to abstain from women, eating flesh, sleeping in beds, and other lawful enjoyment 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.

own families withal; or, to cloath them; or, to free
the neck of a true believer from captivity: but he who
shall not find wheresewith to perform one of these three
things, shall fast three days. This is the expiation
of your oaths, when ye swear inadvertently. There-
fore, keep your oaths. Thus God declareth unto
you his signs, that ye may give thanks. O true be-
lievers! surely wine and lots, and images and
divining arrows 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. 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 G O D,
and believe, and do good works, and shall, for the
future, fear G O D, and believe, and shall persevere to
bear him, and to do good, for God loveth those who

\[ The\ commentators\ give\ us\ the\ different\ opinions\ of\ the\ doctors, as\ to\ the\ quantity\ of\ food\ and\ cloathes\ to\ be\ given\ in\ this\ case;\ which\ I\ think\ not\ worth\ transcribing.\]

\[ Shall\ fast\ three\ days.\] That is
three days together, says Abu Hanifa.
But this is not observed in practice, being
neither explicitly commanded in the Koran, nor ordered in the
Sunnah (1).

\[ Wine and lots.\] That is, all in-
creasing liquors, and games of chance.
See the Prelim. Disc. § V. and chap.

\[ Images.\] Al Beidawi, and some
other commentators, expound this of
 idols; but others, with more prob-
ability, of the carved pieces, or
men, with which the pagan Arabs
played at chess, being little figures.

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, 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; whosoever among you shall kill any designedly, shall restore the like of what he shall have killed, in domestic animals, 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, and to eat what ye shall catch, as a provision for you and for those

God will prove you in offering you plenty of game, &c.] This temptation, or trial, was at al Hadribiya, 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).

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).

Shall restore the like in domestic animals.] That is, he shall bring an offering to the temple of Mecca, as 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 fail a proportionable number of days (3).

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 Malet, and, perhaps, some others, make no scruple of it.

(1) Idem, Jallalo'ddin. (2) See the Prelim. Dict. § V. (3) Jallalo'ddin, Al Beidawi.
who travel; but, it is unlawful for you to hunt by
land, while ye are performing the rites of pilgrim-
age; therefore, fear God, before whom ye shall
be assembled at the last day. God hath appointed
the Caaba, the holy house, an establishment for
mankind; and hath ordained the sacred month,
and the offering, and the ornaments hung thereon.
This hath be 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; and God knoweth that which ye discover,
and that which ye conceal. Say, Evil and good
shall not be equally esteemed of, though the abun-
dance of evil pleaseth thee; therefore, fear God.
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;

1 See above note b.
2 An establishment.] That is, the
place where the practice of their re-
ligious ceremonies is chiefly es-
tablised; where those who are under
any apprehension of danger may find
a sure asylum, and the merchant
certain gain, &c. (1).
3 The sacred month.] Al Baidawi
understands this of the month of
Dzulhijja, wherein the ceremonies
of the pilgrimage are performed;
but, Jallaloddin supposes all the four
sacred months are here intended (2).
4 See before, p. 128.
5 See the Prelim. Discourse §. II.
6 62.
7 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).
8 Inquire not concerning things which
if they be declared unto you may give you

(1) Jallaloddin, Al Baidawi.
(2) See the Prelim. Discourse §. VII.
(3) Al Baidawi.
but, if ye ask concerning them, when the Koran is fent 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 Saba, nor Wasila, nor Hami; 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 err eth shall not hurt you, while ye are rightly directed: 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, or two others of a different tribe or faith from yourselves, if ye be journeying in the earth, and the accident of death befal you. Ye shall shut them both up,

* God hath not ordained any thing concerning Bahira, nor Saba, nor Wasila, nor Hami, &c.* These were the names given by the pagan Arabs to certain camels or sheep, which were turned loose to feed, and exempted from common services, in some particular cases; having their ears slit, or some other mark, that they might be known; and this they did in honour of their gods (1). Which superfluities are here declared to be no ordinances of God, but, the inventions of foolish men.

(1) See the Prelim. Dif. §. V.  (2) Al Beidawi.  (3) Mem.
after the afternoon prayer, and they shall swear by God, if ye doubt them, and they shall say, We will not tell our evidence for a bribe, although the person concerned be one, who is related to us, neither will we conceal the testimony of God, for then should we certainly be of the number of the wicked. But if it appear that both have been guilty of iniquity, two others shall stand up in their place, of those who have convicted them of falsehood, the two nearest in blood, and they shall swear by God, saying, Verily our testimony is more true than the testimony of these two, neither have we prevaricated; for then should we become of the number of the unjust. This will be easier, that men may give testimony according to the plain intention thereof, or fear lest a different oath be given, after their oath. Therefore fear God, and hearken; for God directeth not the unjust people. On a certain day.

(1) Al Beidawi.
day 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. 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, that thou shouldst speak unto men in the cradle, and when thou wast grown up 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; and when I with-held the children of Israel, from killing thee, 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 re-signed unto thee. Remember, when the apostles said,

missed them. But, afterwards, the vessel, being found in their hands, the Salmites, suspecting it was Bâdid's, charged them with it; and they confessed it was his, but, insinuating that they bad 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 Annu Ebn al As and al Motalleb Ebn Abi Refaî, both of the tribe of Salm, stood up, and were sworn against them; and judgment was given accordingly(1).

2 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.
O Jesus, son of Mary! is thy Lord able to cause a table to descend unto us from heaven? 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 its descent may become

1 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 fish; another, all sorts of food except bread and flesh; another, all except bread and fish; another, one fish, which had the taste of all manner of food; and another, fruits of paradise; but the most received tradition is, that, when the table was uncovered, there appeared a fish ready dressed, without scales or prickly fins, dropping with fat, having salt placed at its head, and vinegar at its tail, and round it all sorts of herbs, except leeks, and five leaves of bread, on one of which there were olives; on the second, honey; on the third, butter; on the fourth, cheese; and on the fifth, dried flesh. They add, that Jesus, at the request of the apostles, shewed them another miracle, by restoring the fish to life, and causing its scales and fins to return to it; at which the standers-by being affrighted, he caused it to become as it was before: that one thousand three hundred men and women, all afflicted with bodily infirmities, or poverty, ate of these provisions, and were satisfied; the fish remaining whole as it was at first: that then the table flew up to heaven in the sight of all; and every one who had partaken of this food, were delivered from their infirmities and misfortunes: and, that it continued to descend for forty years together, at dinner time, and food 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 Koran 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 feasting 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, ¶ 238, &c.
(2) V. Marracc, in Alc.

a festival
a festival day 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 wouldst 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, 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

8 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 felicity. Unto God belongeth the kingdom of heaven and of earth, and of whatever therein is; and he is almighty.

CHAP. VI.

Intitled, Cattle\textsuperscript{a}; revealed at Mecca\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{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 gainstaid the truth, after that it hath come unto them: but a message shall come unto them, concerning that which they have mocked at\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{e}; we sent the heaven to rain abundantly upon

\textsuperscript{a} This chapter is so intitled, because some superstitious customs of the Meccaus, as to certain cattle, are therein incidentally mentioned.

\textsuperscript{b} Except only six verses; or, say others, three verses, which are taken notice of in the notes.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{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 forcery. 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, 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, and have clothed him before them, as they are clothed. Other apostles have been laughed to scorn, before thee, but the judgment which they made a jest of, encompassed those who laughed them to scorn. Say, Go through the earth, and behold what hath been the end of those, who accused our prophets of imposture. Say, Unto whom belongeth whatsoever is in heaven and earth? Say unto God, He hath prescribed unto himself mercy. He will surely gather you together on the day of resurrection; there is no doubt of it. They who destroy their own souls are those who will not believe. Unto him is owing whatsoever happeneth by night, or by day; it is he who heareth and knoweth. Say, Shall I take any other protector than God, the creator of heaven and earth, who feedeth

you, &c.] i. e. We had blessed them with greater power, and length of prosperity than we have granted you, O men of Mecca (1). Mohammed seems here to mean the ancient and potent tribes of Ad, and Thamud, &c. (2).

5 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.

6 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-Baidawi.
all, and is not fed by any? Say, Verily I am com-
manded to be the first who professeth Islam, 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 afflicts thee with any
hurt, there is none who can take it off from thee,
except himself; but, if he cause good to befall 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? Say,
God! he is witness between me and you. And this
Koran was revealed unto me, that I should admo-
nish 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 guileless of what
ye associate with him. They unto whom we have
given the scripture know our apostle, even as they
know their own children; but they who destroy
their own souls, will not believe. Who is more un-
just than he who inventeth a lie against God, or
chargeth his signs with imposture? Surely the un-
just shall not prosper. And, on the day of resur-
rection, we will assemble them all; then will we say
unto those who associated others with God, Where
are your companions, whom ye imagined to be those
of God? But, they shall have no other excuse than

1 The first who professeth Islam:]
That is, the first of my nation (1).

1 What thing is the strongest in
bearing testimony, &c.] This passage
was revealed when the Korysh told
Mohammed, that they had asked the
Jews and Christians concerning him,
who allured 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)?

1 See chap. ii. p. 27.

1 Who inventeth a lie against
God.] Saying the angels are the
daughters of God, and intercessors
for us with him, &c. (3).

m Your companions.] i.e. Your
idols and false gods.

that they shall say, By God our Lord, we have not been idolaters. Behold, how they lye against themselves, and, what they have blasphemy imagined to be the companion of God, flieth from them. There is of them who hearkeneth unto thee, when thou readest the Koran, 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; 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 cou’dst see, when they shall be

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*And what they have blasphemy imagined flieth from them;* That is, their imaginary deities prove to be nothing, and disappear like vain phantoms and chimæras.

*The persons here meant were* Abu Sofian, Al Walid, Al Nodar, Qiba, Abu Jahl, and their comrades, who went to hear Mohammed repeat some of the Koran; and Nodar, being asked what he said, answered, with an oath, that he knew not, only that he moved his tongue, and told a parcel of foolish stories, as he had done to them (s).

*That is become manifest unto them which they formerly concealed;* 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).

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(1) Al Beidawi. (2) Idem.
yet before their Lord? 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 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; will it not be evil which they shall be laden with? This present life is no other than a play, and a vain amusement; but surely the future manna 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. And apostles, before thee, have been accounted liars: but they patiently bore their being accounted liars, and their being vexed, until

1. When they shall be set before their Lord, &c. [viz. In order for judgment.

2. 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 in agreeable to the same (2).

3. They shall carry their burdens on their backs. &c. [When an infidel comes forth from his grave, says Allah Allah, 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? The other know any thing more detestable, to which the figure will answer, My Lord thou wander at my ugliness (3); thou didst ride upon me, while thou wert in the world, but now will I ride upon thee, and thou shalt carry me. And immediately it shall get upon him; and whatever shall meet shall terrify him, and say, Hail, thou enemy of GOD, thou art he who was meant by (these words of the Koran) and they shall carry their burdens, &c. (4).

4. 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) † John v. 25, &c. (2) † Thes. iv. 17. (3) See MILTON's Paradise lost, book II. v. 373, &c. (4) See also ch. iii. p. 84. (5) Al KORAN.
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. 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. 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. There is no kind of beast on earth, nor fowl which flieeth with it's wings, but the same is a people like unto you; we have not omitted any thing in the book 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 how 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; i.e. 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; i.e. Being created and preferred by the same omnipotence and providence as you are.

z We have not omitted any thing in the book, &c. That is, in the preferred tables; wherein God's decrees are written, and all things which come to pass in the world, as well the most minute as the most momentous, are exactly regulated (1).

(1) Al-Beidawi. (2) Ibid. (3) See the Prelim. Dis.
§. IV. p. 377.
then unto their Lord shall they return. 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. We have already sent messengers unto many 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; 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; *b* For, according to the Moslem Law, 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 injustices they did one another while in this world. *c* 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. *d* We opened unto them the gates of all things; *e* 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.

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*a* See the Prelim. Disc. p. 114.  
*b* Al Beidawi.
feal up your hearts; What god, besides God, will restore them unto you? See how variously we shew forth the signs of G O D's unity; 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; will any perish, except the ungodly people? Who so, therefore, shall believe, and amend, on them shall no fear come, neither shall they be grieved: but, who so 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 G O D: 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 L o r d: 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 L o r d morning and evening, desiring to see his face; it belongeth not

4 How variously we shew forth the signs, &c.] Laying them before you in various views, and making use of arguments and motives drawn from various considerations.

5 Suddenly, or in open view;] That is, says al-Bidaawi, either without any previous notice, or after some warning given.

6 Drive not away those who call upon their L o r d, &c.] These words were occasioned when the Koreisheh desired Mohammed not to admit the poor, or more inferior people, such as Aumâr, Suhbâh, Khobieh, and Salma, into his company, pretending that then they would come and discourse with him; but he refused 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 necerity, and not real conviction (1); whereupon this passage was revealed.

(1) Al Bidaawi, Jâlaloddîn.
unto thee to pass any judgment on them: 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? 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 amends; unto him will he surely be gracious and merciful. Thus have we distinctly propounded our signs, that the path of the wicked might be made known. Say, Verily I am forbidden to worship the false deities which ye invoke, besides God. Say, I will not follow your desires; for then should I err; neither should I be one of those who are rightly directed. Say, I behave according to the plain declaration which I have received from my Lord; but ye have forged lies concerning him. That which ye desire should be hastened, is not in my power: judgment belongeth only unto God; he will determine the truth; and he is the best disposer. Say, if what ye desire should be hastened were in my power, the matter had been determined between me and you: but God well

1. It belongeth not unto thee, to pass judgment on them, &c. I. e., nably 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.

2. Thus have we proved some part of them by other part, &c. That is to say, the noble by those of mean condition, and the rich by the poor; so that God chose to call the latter to the faith before the former (1).

3. 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 had Mohammed, if he were a true prophet, to call for a flower of stones from heaven, or some other sudden and miraculous punishment, to destroy them (2).

4. The matter had been determined; I. For I should ere now have destroyed you, out of zeal for God's honour, had it been in my power (3).

(1) Al-Baidawi, Jallalod'din. (2) Al-Baidawi. (3) Idem. knoweth
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. 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, until, when death over taketh one of you, our messengers 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. Say, Who delivereth you from the darkness of the land, and of the sea, when ye call upon him humbly, and in private, saying, Verily if thou deliver us 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. Say, He is able to send on you a punishment from above you, or from under your feet, or to engage you in diff:...
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 childhood, although it be the truth. Say, I am not a guardian over you: every prophecy hath its fixed time of accomplishment; and ye will hereafter know it. When thou seest those who are engaged in cavilling at, or ridiculing our signs, depart from them, until they be engaged in some other discourse; and, if Satan cause thee to forget this precept, do not fit 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. 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,
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 faith 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 founded: 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, Doth thou take images for gods? Verily I perceive, that thou, and thy people,

w See the Prelim. Disc. §. IV. p. 95 and 108, &c.

* 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 it was supposed, of a fiery nature, was acknowledged by the Chaldeans and Assyrians as a god, or planetary deity, whom, in old times, they worshipped under the form of a pillar: whence Azer became a name among the nobility, who esteemed it honourable to be denominated from their gods (5), and is found in the composition of several Babylonian 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 Berdawt confirms this conjecture, saying, that Azer was the name of the idol which he worshipped. It may be observed, that Abraham's father is also called Zara in the Talmud, and Azer by Eshbin.

v Do ye take images for gods? That Azer, or Terah, was an idol.

(2) D'Herbel, ibid.
(3) Al Berdawt, Jalilaoddin, Yahya, Esh bin.
(5) Hyde, ibid. p. 63.
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. And when the night over-had over him, he saw a star, and he said, This is my Lord, but Jesus themselves acknowledge it.

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; and the Mohammedans likewise suppose him very young, and that he asked his father and mother several shreded questions when a child. Others, however, allow him to have been a middle-aged man at that time. Maimonides, in particular, and R. Abraham Zacuth, think him to have been forty years old; which age is also mentioned in the Koran. But the general opinion of the Mohammedans is, that he was about fifteen or sixteen. As the religion wherein Abraham was educated, was the Sabian, which consisted chiefly in the worship of the heavenly bodies; 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. This method of Abraham's attaining to the knowledge of the supreme Creator of all things, is conformable to what Josephus writes, vis. That he drew his notions from the changes which he had observed in the earth

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, Ver-
ily if my Lord direct me not, I shall become one of
the people who go astray. And when he saw the
moon 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
G O D: 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 con-
cerning 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 com-
prehendeth all things by his knowledge: 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 which concerning which he
hath sent down unto you no authority? which, there-
fore, of the two parties is the more safe, if ye un-
derstand aright? They who believe, and clothe not
their faith with injustice, they shall enjoy security,
and they are rightly directed. And this is our argu-
ment 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 reit of the celestial
bodies; concluding that they were
subject to the command of a supe-
rior power, to whom alone all ho-
nour and thanks are due (1). The
story itself is certainly taken from
the Talmud (2). Some of the com-
mentators, however, suppose this
reasoning of Abraham with himself
was not the first means of his con-
version; 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 permiteth it, or is
pleased to afflict me himself.

c Injustice; By injustice, in this
place, the commentators understand
idolatry, or open rebellion against
G O D.

(1) Joseph. Ant. i. 1. c. 7.

(2) R. Bechar, in Midrajj. V. 

thy
And we gave unto him Isaac and Jacob; we directed them both: and Noah had we before directed, and of his potteriness David and Solomon; and Job, and Joseph, and Moses, and Aaron: thus do we reward the righteous: and Zacharias, and John, and Jesus, and Elias; all of them were upright men: and Israel, and Elisha, and Jonas, and Lot; 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 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, when they say,

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4 Of his potteriness; Some refer the relative his, to Abraham, the person chiefly spoken of in this passage; come to Noah, the next antecedent, because Jonas and Lot were not (I 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).”

5 [1.] The Mohammedans say he was of the race of Elijah. See chap. xxi. and xxxviii.

6 Elijah. See chap. xxxvii.

(1) Al Beidaawi.

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2 Elisha. This prophet was the successor of Elijah, and, as the commentators will have it, the son of Okhtib; though the scripture makes him the son of Shaphat.

Jonas. See chap. x, xxi, and xxxvii.

Lot. See chap. vii, &c.

These; That is, the Koran (2).

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, ac-
say, God hath not sent down unto man any thing at all: 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 forgets a lie concerning God? or faith, This was revealed unto me; when nothing hath been revealed unto him: and who FAITH, putting the truths into their own words, and manner of expression. 

(2) Al-Biruni. (2) See the Proph. Dict. § III. § 31. 66.

(3) Koran, chap. xxii.
fifth, I will produce a revelation like unto that which God hath sent down? If thou didst see when the ungodly were in the pangs of death, and the angels reached out their hands, saying, Cast forth your souls; this day shall ye receive an ignominious punishment for that which ye have falsely spoken concerning God; and because ye have proudly rejected his signs. And now are ye come unto us alone, as we created you at first, and ye have left that which we had bestowed on you, behind your backs; neither do we see with you your intercessors, 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. 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. 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.
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. We have clearly shewn forth our signs, unto people who are wife. 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 as partners with God, although he created them: and they have falsely attributed unto him sons and daughters, 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 light comprehendeth him not; but he comprehendeth the light; he is the gracious, the wife.
Now have evident demonstrations come unto you from your Lord: who soareth them, the advantage thereof will redound to his own soul: and who soareth unrightfully, 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: 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. Revere 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 permittest you not to understand that when they come, they will not believe. And we will turn aside their hearts, and their sight, from the truth, as they believed not therein the first time; and we will leave them to wander in their error. * And though we had sent down angels unto VIII.

* That they may say, Thou hast studied diligently: That is, Thou hast been instructed by the Jews and Christians, in these matters, and only taught unto us what thou hast learned of them. For this the infidels objected to Mohammed, thinking it impossible for hum 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.

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* In this passage Mohammed endeavors to excuse his inability of working a miracle, as had been demanded of him; declaring that God did not think fit to comply with their desires; and that, if he had so thought fit, yet it had been in vain, because, if they were not convinced by the Koran, they would not be convinced by the greatest miracle (1).

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them, and the dead had spoken unto them, and we had gathered together before them all things in one view; they would not have believed, unless God had so pleased: but the greater part of them know 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 sanguine discourses to deceive; but if thy Lord pleased, they would not have done it. Therefore leave them, and that which they have falsely imagined; and let the hearts of those be inclined thereto, who believe not in the life to come; and let them please themselves therein, and let them gain that which they are gaining. Shall I seek after any other judge besides God to judge between us? It is he who hath sent down unto you the book of the Koran, distinguishing between good and evil; and they to whom we gave the scripture, know that it is sent down from thy Lord, with truth. Be not therefore one of those who doubt thereof. The words of thy Lord are perfect, in truth and justice; there is none who can change his words: 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, and speak nothing but lies; verily thy Lord well knoweth those who go astray from his path, and well

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* And though we had sent down angels unto them, &c.] For the Meccans required that Mohammed should 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.

* 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 Koran 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 Mosaic 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.

* They follow an uncertain opinion only.] Imagining that the true religion was that which their idolatrous ancestors professed.

(1) See the Prelim. Dis. p. 98. and Kor. c. xv.
 knoweth those who are rightly directed. Eat of that whereon the name of God hath been commemorated⁴, 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 he 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 thereof⁴: 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? 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 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

⁴ See chap. lii. p. 31. and chap. vi. others, instead of Hamza name Omar, or Ammar.

⁴ Leave the outside of iniquity, and the inside thereof; That is, Both open and secret sins.

⁴ The persons primarily intended in this passage, were Hamza, Mohammed's uncle, and Abu Jahl, a sign; i.e. Any verse or passage of the Koran.
God. God best knoweth whom he will appoint for his messenger. 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. 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 wherein God shall gather them all together, and shall say, O company of genii! ye have been much concerned with mankind; and their friends from among mankind shall say, O Lord! the one of us hath received advantage from the other, and we are arrived at our limited term which thou hast appointed us. God will

* We will not believe until a revelation be brought unto us, &c.] These were the words of the Koran, who thought there were perils among themselves more worthy of the honour of being God's messenger than Mohammed.

* God best knoweth whom he will appoint for his messenger.] Literally, Where he will place his commission. God, says al Beidawi, bestows not the gift of prophecy on any one on account of his nobility or riches, but for their spiritual qualifications; making choice of such of his servants as he pleaseth, and who, he knows, will execute their commissions faithfully.

* 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.

* O company of genii! That is, of devils (1).

* Ye have been much concerned with mankind.] In tempting and seducing them to sin.

* 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).

* Our limited term, &c.] viz. The day of resurrection, which we believed not in the other world.

(1) Al Beidawi. (2) Idem, Jallalo'ddin.
say, *Hell fire shall be your habitation, therein shall ye remain for ever; unless, as God shall please to mitigate your pains*, 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 deferred. 0 company of genii and men! did not messengers from among yourselves come unto you, rehearsing my signs unto you, and forewarning you of the meeting of this your day? They shall answyer, 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.

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-

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(1) Jallalo’ddin. (2) Al’Brīdawi. (3) See the Prelim.
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: 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. And that which is defined for their companions cometh not unto God; yet that which is set apart unto God cometh unto their companions. How ill do they judge! In like manner have their companions induced many of the idolaters to slay their children, that they might bring them to perdition, and that they might render their religion obscure and confused unto them. 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, (according to their priests, and providing sacrifices for them.)

a 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 infinities with patience, and to publish these revelations which God has commanded me (1).

b Our companions; i.e. Our idols. In which sense this word is to be taken through the whole passage.

c As to this custom of the pagan Arabs; see the Prelim. Difc. 9 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 shrieve of the idols, for paying their priests, and providing sacrifices for them (2).

d To slay their children; Either by that inhuman custom, which prevailed among those of Kenadah 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, as the infatuation of those who had the custody of their temples (4).

e And render their religion obscure and confused, &c.] By corrupting with horrid superstitious, that religion which Ismael had left to his posterity (5).

f 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).

imagination;) and there are cattle whose backs are forbidden to be rode on, or loaden with burdens; and there are cattle on which they commemorate not the name of God when they slay them, 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, is allowed our males to eat, and is forbidden to our wives: but if it prove abortive, then they are both partakers thereof.

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, without knowledge; 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 rails of wood, and those which are not supported, 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; but be not profuse, for GOD loveth not those who

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7. 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 Babira, the Saba, and the Hami (1).

8. That which is in the bellies of these cattle.] That is, the foetus, or embryos of the Babira and the Sai, which shall be brought forth alive.

9. 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.

10. See above, note b.

11. Without knowledge;] Not having a due sense of God's providence.

12. Supported on rails 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.

13. And pay the due thereof, &c.] That is, give alms thereof to the poor. And these alms, as al Bidaawi observeth, were what they used to give before the Zecat, 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.

14. 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.

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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 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? Were ye present when God
commanded you this? And who is more unjust than
he who deviseth a lie against God? that he may sub-
duce men without understanding? Verily God di-
recteth not unjust people. Say, I find not in that
which hath been revealed unto me, anything for-
bidden unto the eater, that he eat it not, except it be
that which dieth of itself, or blood poured forth;
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 who so shall be compelled
by necessity to eat of these things, nor having, nor wil-
fully transgressing, verily thy Lord will be gracious
unto him and merciful. Unto the Jews did we for-

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*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).

*Who is more unjust than he who deviseth a lie against God, &c.?* The person particularly intended here, some say, was Amru Ebu Labai, king of Hâzâz, a great introducer of idolatry and superstition among the Arabs (2).

*Blood poured forth:* That is, fluid blood; in opposition to what the Arabs suppose to be all blood, but not fluid; as the liver and the spleen (3).

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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 ¹, or which should be intermixed with the bone ². 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 falseness, and who believe not in the life to come, and equalize idols with their Lord. Say, Come; 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 ³, neither openly

¹ We forbade them the fat, &c.] See Levit. vii. 23, and iii. 16.
² 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 three score.
³ This and the two following verses Jallaloddin supposes to have been revealed at Medina.
⁴ 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. This
hath he injoined you that ye may understand. And
meddle not with the substance of the orphan, other-
wise 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 fulfill 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,
left 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 per-
fect rule unto him who should do right, and a deter-
mination concerning all things needful, and a direc-
tion, 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; there-
fore follow it and fear GOD, that ye may obtain
mercy; lest ye should say, The scriptures were only
sent down unto two people before us; and we ne-
eglected to peruse them with attention: 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. And now hath a manifest decla-
ration come unto you from your LORD, and a di-
rection 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 no-
thing of them, or did not under-
stood 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 fa-
_cility of learning sciences; as ap-
ppears from our excelling in history,
poetry, and oratory, notwithstanding we are an illiterate people (2).

(1) Al BIDAWI.
(2) Idem.
burneth 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? 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. Say, Wait ye for this day; we surely do wait for it. They who make a division in their religion, 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:

1 Al Beidawi, from a tradition of Mohammed, says that ten signs will precede the last day; viz. the shooth, the beast of the earth, an eagle 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 Eden (1).  
2 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.  
3 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).

he hath no companion. This have I been commanded: I am the first Moslem. Say, Shall I de-
fire 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. Moreover unto
your Lord shall ye return; and he shall declare unto
you that concerning which ye now dispute. It is he
who hath appointed you to succeed your predecessors in
the earth, and hath raised some of you above others
by various degrees of worldly advantages that he might
prove you by that which he hath bestowed on you.
Thy Lord is swift in punishing: and he is also
gracious and merciful.

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* See before, p. 158, 159.
* No burdened soul shall bear the
  burden of another.] This was re-
  vealed in answer to the pressing in-
  stances of the idolaters, who offered
to take the crime upon themselves;
if Mohammed would conform to their
worship (1).

(1) Al Baidawi.

C H A P. VII.

Intitled, Al Araf; revealed at Mecca.

In the name of the most merciful God.

AL M S. 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

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a Al Araf signifies the partition
  between paradise and hell, which is
  mentioned in this chapter (1).

b Some, however, except five or
eight verses, begin at these words,
And of them concerning the city, &c.

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c The signification of these let-
  ters, 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 him: how little will ye be warned! How many
cities have we destroyed; which our vengeance over-
took by night 4, or while they were reposing them-
selves at noon-day 5! 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 ab-
sent from them. The weighing of mens actions on that
day shall be just; and they whole balances, laden with
their good works, shall be heavy, are those who shall be
happy; but they whole balances shall be light, are
those who have loft their souls, because they injured
our signs. And now have we placed you on the
tearth, and have provided you food thereon: but how
little are ye thankful! We created you, and after-
wards 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 O D said unto him, What hindered thee from wor-
shiping 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.
G O D 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. G O D said, Verily thou
shalt be one of those who are respited. 6. The devil

4 Which our punishment overtook by
night; 5 As did the inhabitants of
Sodom and Gomorrah, to whom Lot
was sent.
6 Or while they were reposing
themselves at noon; 7 As happened
to the Midianites, to whom Shaib
preached.

See the Prelim. Disc. § IV. p. 177, 178.

Verily thou shalt be one of those who
are respited; 8 As the time till which
the devil is reprieved, is not particular-
lly expressed, the commentators
suppose his request was not wholly
granted; but agree that he shall die,
as well as other creatures, at the se-
cond sound of the trumpet (1).

(1) A L B E I D A W I. See the Prelim. Disc. § IV. p. 109, and D’HER-

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; 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 that 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. And when they had tasted of the tree, their nakedness appeared unto them; and they began to join together the leaves

1 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, by the commentators, to shew that the devil’s power is limited (1).

2 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 pollenery; 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 dijo: Aque ella fuerza es acelerada, echala la primera del paraiso; y corra en sus piernas, y si quisiere caminar, arrastrara la vida por tierra. Y llamó a Satanás, el cual viniendo, le dijo: Porque tu has probado engañado a estos, y los has hecho impuros? To quiero que toto inmundo fues, y de todos tus hijos, en saliendo de tus cuerpos entre por tu boca, porque en verdad ellos haran la inmundicia, y tu quedaras harto de inmundo.

1 Their nakedness appeared unto them. Which they had not perceived before; being clothed, as some say, with light, or garments of pa-
leaves of paradise, 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, to conceal your nakedness, and fair garments; but the clothing of piety is better. This is one of the signs of God; that, peradventure, ye may consider. O children of Adam! let not Satan seduce you, as he expelled your parents out of paradise, by stripping them of their clothing, that he might shew them their nakedness: verily he seeth you, both he and his companions, whereas ye see not them. 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

nakedness was hidden by their hair.

* The leaves of paradise; Which it is said were fig-leaves (1).

* 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).

* Whereas ye see not them; Because of the falsity 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 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, 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 be hath provided for food? Say, These things are for those who believe, in this present life, but peculiarly on the day of resurrection. 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!

9. 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 Kaaba naked, because cloaths, they said, were the signs of their disobedience to God (1). The Senna orders that when a man goes to prayer, 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 cloths adorned with gold or silver, lest they should seem proud.

9. And eat and drink:] The sons of Amr, 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).

9. But peculiarly on the day of resurrection:] Because then the wicked, who also partook of the blessings of this life, will have no share in the enjoyments of the next.

(1) Jallalo'ddin, Al Beidawi. (2) Idem. verily
Verily apostles from among you shall come unto you, who shall expound my signs unto you: whosoever, therefore, shall fear GOD, and amend, there shall come no fear on them, neither shall they be grieved. But they who shall accuse our signs of falseness, and shall proudly reject them, they shall be the companions of hell fire; they shall remain therein for ever. And who is more unjust than he who deviseth a lie concerning GOD, or accuseth his signs of impotence? 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 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 infer, 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; 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 falseness, and shall proudly reject them, the gates of heaven shall not be opened.

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* Our messengers;] viz. The angel of death, and his attendants.
* It shall curse it's infer;] That is, the nation whose example betrayed them into their idolatry, and other wickedness.
* 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).

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(1) Jallaloddin, Al Beidawi.
unto them, neither shall they enter into paradise, until a camel pass through the eye of a needle; 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; 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 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 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

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* 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.

* This expression was probably taken from our Saviour’s words in the gospel; though it be proverbial in the east.

* And we will remove all grudges from their minds; So that whatever differences, or animosities, there had been between them in their lifetime, they shall now be forgotten, and give place to sincere love and unity. This Ali is said to have hoped would prove true to himself and his inveterate enemies, Othman, Tuba, and al-Zobeir.

* The inhabitants; Literally, the companions.

* This crier, some say, will be the angel Israfil.

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and men shall stand on Al Araf, who shall know every one of them by their marks, and shall call unto the inhabitants of paradise, saying, Peace be upon you: yet they shall not enter therein, although they earnestly desire it. 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, 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 swears that God would not bestow mercy? Enter ye into paradise; there shall come no fear on you, neither shall ye be grieved. And the inhabitants of hell shall call unto the inhabitants of paradise, saying, Pour upon us some water, or of those refreshing, with a bare view of the felicity of that place.

And men shall stand on Al Araf; Al Araf is the name of the wall, or partition, which, as Mohammed saith, 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).

Who shall know every one of them by his marks? i.e. Who shall distinguish the blest 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). 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 period 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 admission into paradise, and will be penalized here for a certain time.


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ments which God hath bestowed on you. 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? 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. Verily your Lord is God, who created the heavens and the earth in six days; and then ascended his throne: he caueth 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. And act not corruptly in the earth.

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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 Davies and Lawrance.

k See chap. vi. p. 160. note h.

4 Who transgress.] Behaving themselves arrogantly, while they pray; or praying with an obtrusive voice; or a multitude of words, and vain repetitions. (1)
after its reformation; 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 before his mercy, until they bring a cloud heavy with rain, which we drive into a dead country; 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; 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 unto his people: and he said, O my people,

Delivered to him, and the first who appeared after his great-grandfather Edris, or Enoch. They also say, he was by trade a carpenter, which they infer from his building the ark; and that the year of his mission was the fiftieth, or, as others say, the fortieth of his age.

That Noah was a preacher of righteousness unto the wicked antediluvians, is testified by scripture. 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 Nākūs, 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.

people! worship God: ye have no other God than him. Verily I fear for you the punishment of the great day. 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 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, and we drowned those who charged our signs with falsehood; for they were a blind people. And unto the tribe of Ad we sent their

Some Mohammedan authors pretend, Noah was sent to convert Zabâk, 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). 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).


The great day; viz. Either the day of resurrection, or that whereon the flood was to begin.

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).


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 confirmable to the scripture, that eight persons, and no more, were saved in the ark; yet some of them repeat the number variously. One says, they were but six, another ten, another twelve, another seventy-eight, and another fourcore, half men and half women (4); and that one of them was the elder Jobham (5), he, as it were, as some pretend, of the Arabian language (6).

Ad was an ancient and potent tribe of Arabs (7), and zealous idolaters (8). They chiefly worshiped four deities, Sucka, Hafseba, Rais.


(8) Abu'l-Feda.
their brother Hud. 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, answered, Verily we perceive that thou art guided by folly; and we certainly esteem thee to be one of the liars. He replied, O my people! I am not guided by folly; but I am a messenger unto you from the Lord of all creatures: I bring unto you the messages of my Lord; and I am a faithful counsellor unto you. Do ye wonder that an admonition hath come unto you from your Lord, by a man from among you, that he may warn you? Call to mind how he hath appointed you successors unto the people of Noah, and hath added unto you in stature largely. Remember the benefits of God, that ye may prosper. They said, Art thou come unto us, that we should worship God alone, and leave the deities which our fathers worshipped? Now bring down that judgment upon us, with which thou 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

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2. Al Eidawai. (4) Note.
3. Al Eidawai. (5) Note.
4. See the Prelim. Disc.
ye have named, and your fathers; as to which God hath not revealed unto you any authority? Do ye wait, therefore; and I will be one of those who wait with you. And we delivered him, and them who believed with him, by our mercy; and we cut off the uttermost part of those who charged our signs with falsehood, and were not believers. And unto the tribe of Thamud we sent their brother Saleh. 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, 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.

The tribe of Ad having been, for their incredulity, previously chastised with a three years drought, sent Kail Ibn Ahbar and Morhbed Ibn 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 Māråniyab Ibn Beer; 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, left they should think he wanted to be rid of them; but by some verdict which he put into the mouth of a singing woman. At which, being roused from their lethargy, Morhbed 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 Māråniyab 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 chase which he would. Kail failed not to make choice of the last, thinking it to be laden 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.

Thamud was another tribe of the ancient Arabs who fell into idolatry. See the Prelim. Disc. § 1, p. 9.

[Sāleb.] Al Beidawi deduces his genealogy thus: Sāleb, the son of Obeid, the son of Asaf, the son of Majabb, the son of Obeid, the son of Hadher, the son of Thamud.

Sign unto you: 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. 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 exalted with pride, replied, Verily we believe not in that wherein ye believe. And they cut off the feet of the camel, and insolently transgressed.

1 This camel of God is a sign unto you.] The Thamudites inflicting a miracle, proposed to Saleh, that he should go with them to their festival, and that they should call on their gods, and he on his, promising to follow that deity which should answer. But after they had called on their idols a long time, to no purpose, Jundah Ebn Amru, their prince, pointed to a rock, standing by itself, and bid Saleh cause a he-camel, big with young, to come forth from it, solemnly engaging, that, if he did, he would believe; and his people promised the same. Whereupon Saleh asked it of God, and presently the rock, after several throes, as if in labour, was delivered of a he-camel, answering the description of Jundah, which immediately brought forth a young one ready weaned, and, as some say, as big as herself. Jundah, 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 The tribe of Thamud dwelt first in the country of the Adites, but their numbers increasing, they removed to the territory of Hejir for the sake of the mountains, where they cut themselves habitations in the rocks, to be seen at this day.

1 And they cut off the feet of the camel.] This extraordinary camel frightened the other cattle from their pasture, a certain rich woman named, Owniz a Omrn Ganem, having four daughters, dressed them out and of-
transgressed the command of their Lord, 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 assailed them; and, in the morning, they were found in their dwellings prostrate on their breasts and dead. And Saleh departed from them, and said, O my people! now have I delivered unto you the message of my Lord: and I

fered one Kedár 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. Others tell the story somewhat differently, adding Sadaka Bint al Mukhidar as a joint conspirator with Onirza, and pretending that the young one was not killed; for, they say, that having fled to a certain mountain, named Kāra, 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.

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.

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, and which rent their hearts. 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 fought to put him to death, but God delivered him, by sending him into Palestine.

Mohammed in the expedition of Tabuc, which he undertook against the Greeks in the ninth year of the Hejra, passing by Hejir, 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 to their camels; 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 befell them, and, having so said, he continued galloping full speed with his face muffled up, till he had passed the valley.

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.

advised you well, but ye love not those who advise you well. And remember Lot, when he said unto his people, Do ye commit a wickedness, wherein no creature hath set you an example? Do ye approach lustfully unto men, leaving the women? Certainly ye are people who transgress all modesty. But the answer of his people was no other than that they said, the one to the other, Expel them your city; for they are men who prefer for themselves pure from the crimes which ye commit. Therefore we delivered him and his family, except his wife; she was one of those who stayed behind: and we rained a shower of stones upon them. Behold, therefore, what was the end of the wicked. And unto Madian we sent their brother Shoaib. He said unto them, O my people! worship

* Lot.] The commentators say, conformably to the scripture, that Lot was the son of Haran, the son of Ezer 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 unceasing 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. * Expel them, &c.] viz. Lot, and those who believe on him. * See chap. xi. * See ibid. * Madian,] or Midian, was a city of Hejaz, and the habitation of a tribe of the same name, the descendants of Midian, the son of Abraham by Keturah (3), who afterwards coalesced with the Israelites, as it seems; Moses naming the same merchants who sold Joseph to Potiphar, in one place Israelites (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 Midian of Ptolemy; what was remaining of it in Mohammed's time, was soon after demolished in the succeeding wars (6), and it remains deloated to this day. The people of the country pretend to have built the well whence Moses watered Jetba's flocks (7). * Shoaib.] Some Mohammedan writers make him the son of Mikhail, the son of Yaishar, the son of Midian (8); and they generally suppose him to be the same person with the father-in-law of Moses, who is named,

worship God; ye have no God besides him. Now hath an evident demonstration come unto you from your Lord. Therefore, give full measure and just weight, and diminish not unto men, that of their matters; neither act corruptly in the earth, after it's reformation. This will be better for you, if ye believe. And beset not every way, threatening the passenger; 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 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 Jeibro (1). But Ahmed Ebn Ab'dalabbalim charges those who entertain this opinion with ignorance. Al Kessai says, that his father's name was Sainia, and that he was first called Bajun, 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, Chaiib (2).

* An evident demonstration! This demonstration, the commentators suppose to have been a power of working miracles, though the Koran mentions none in particular. However, they say, (after the Jeivit) that he gave his son-in-law that working rod (3), with which he performed all those miracles in Egypt and the desert, and also excellent

advice and instructions (4); whence he had the surname of Khaib al am’bit, or the preacher to the prophets (5).

* Give full measure and just weight, &c. [For one of the great crimes which the Midianites were guilty of, was the using of diverse measures and weight, a great and a small, buying by one and selling by another (6).]

* See before, p. 182, note l.

y Beset not every way, threatening the passenger;] Robbing on the highway, it seems, was another crying sin, frequent among these people. But some of the commentators interpret this passage figuratively, of their besetting the way of truth, and threatening those, who gave ear to the remonstrances of Shoaib (7).
though we be averse thereto? We shall surely ima-
gine a lie against God, if we return unto your reli-
gion, 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 sure-
ly perish. Therefore a storm from heaven 2 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 nev-
er dwelt therein; they who accused ShoaiB of im-
posture perished themselves. And he departed from
them, and said, O my people! now have I perform-
ed unto you the messages of my Lord; and I ad-
vised 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 ex-
change good in lieu of evil, until they abounded,
and said, Adversity and prosperity formerly hap-
pened unto our fathers, as unto us. Therefore we
took vengeance on them suddenly, and they per-
ceived 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 hea-
v and earth. But they charged our apostles with
falsehood; wherefore we took vengeance on them,
for that which they had been guilty of. Were the
inhabitants, therefore, of those cities secure; that our
punishment should not fall on them by night, while

2 A storm from heaven; Like the 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 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? 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 gain said. 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 and his

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(1) Al-Bidayawi. (2) See the Prelim. Disc. p. 11. (3) Abulfeda, &c. (4) Kitab ta'isir lebab, & al kefay. princes;
princes; who treated them unjustly: 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. And he drew forth his hand out of his bosom; and behold it appeared white unto the spectators. The chiefs of the people of Pharaoh said, This man is certainly an expert magician: he seeketh to confound 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

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Who treated them unjustly; By not believing therein.

A visible serpent; the Arab writers tell enormous fables of this serpent, or dragon. For, they say, that he was hairy, and of prodigious a size; that, when he opened his mouth, his jaws were four score cubits at distance; 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 left 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).

He drew forth his hand and it became white; There is a tradition, that Moses was a very swarthly 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). Marracei (3) says, we do not read in scripture, that Moses shewed this sign before Pharaoh. It is true, the scripture does not express the contrary; but it seems to be no less 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).


2, 9.
the magicians \(^e\) 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. \(^b\) Moses answered, Do ye cast down your rods first. And when they had cast them down, they enchanted the eyes of the men who were present, and terrified them; and they performed a great enchantment. \(^a\) And we spake by revelation unto Moses, saying, Throw down thy rod. And behold, it swallowed up the rods which they had caused falsely to appear changed into serpents. Wherefore the truth was confirmed, and that which they had wrought, vanished. \(^1\) And Pharaoh and his magicians were overcome there, and were rendered contemptible. And the magicians prostrated themselves, worshipping; and they said, We believe in the Lord of all creatures, the Lord of Moses and Aaron. Pharaoh said, Have ye believed on him?

\(^e\) The magicians \(\ldots\) The Arabian writers name several of these magicians, beside their chief priest Simeon, viz. Sadhir, and Ghadar, Jaath, and Mosia, Wardan and Zamen, each of whom came attended with their disciples, amounting in all to several thousands \((1)\).

\(^a\) And they performed a great enchantment. They provided themselves with a great number of thick ropes and long pieces of wood which they contrived, by some means, to move, and make them twist themselves one over the other; and so imposed on the beholders, who at a distance took them to be true serpents \((2)\).

\(^b\) 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 crowd; then Moses took it up, and it became a rod in his hand as before. Whereupon the magicians declared, that it could be no enchantment, because, in such case, their rods and cords would not have disappeared \((3)\).

\(^1\) And the magicians prostrated themselves worshipping, \&c.\(\) It seems probable that all the magicians were not converted by this miracle, for some writers introduce Sadhir and Ghadar 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

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\((2)\) Al Beidawi. V. D'Herbelot, ubi sup. and Koran, c. 20.
\((3)\) Al Beidawi.
him, before I have given you permission? Verily this is a plot which ye have contrived in the city, that ye might cast forth from thence the inhabitants thereof. 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, then will I cause you all to be crucified. 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. 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? Pharaoh answered, We will cause their male children to be slain, being sent for to court on this occasion, their mothers perfumed 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, enchantments have no effect while the inquirer 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. And this was the first step towards their conversion.

1 On the opposite side.] That is, your right hands and your left feet.

2 And I will cause you all to be crucified.] Some say Pharaoh was the first inventor of this ignominious and painful punishment.

3 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; inferring on these words of the Koran (3), You know, and they who follow you, shall overcome.

4 Thy gods;] Which were the stars, or other idols. But some of the commentators, from certain impious expressions of this prince, recorded in the Koran (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 aliluata, thy gods, read, aliluata, thy worship (5).

and we will suffer their females to live; 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 befell them, they attributed the same to the ill luck of Moses, and those who were with him. Was not their ill luck with God? but most of them knew it not. And they said unto Moses, Whatever sign thou shew unto us, to enchant us therewith, we will not believe on thee. Wherefore we sent upon them a flood, and locusts, and

2 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).

4 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 prefiguration of any future event, from the flight of birds, or the like.

5 Was not their ill luck with God?] By whose will and decree they were so afflicted, as a punishment for their wickedness.

* 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 Moslem writings, some have imagined this plague to have been either a pestilence, or the small-pox, or some other epidemic dittemper (3). For the word tuhān, which is used in this place, and is generally rendered a deluge, may also signify any other universal destruction or mortality.

(1) Al Brādawi, Jallāloddin. (2) Idem, Abulfez. (3) Al Brādawi.
nice, and frogs, and blood; distinct miracles: but they behaved proudly, and became a wicked people. And when the plague 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; because they charged our signs with falsehood, and neglested them. And we caufed the people, who had been rendered weak, to inherit the eastern parts of the earth and the western parts thereof, 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. And we caufed 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, and they said, O Moses! make us a god, in like

1. Some will have these insects to have been a larger sort of ticks, others, the young locusts before they have wings (1).
2. The plague; viz. Any of the plagues already mentioned, or the pestilence which God sent upon them afterwards.
3. See this wonderful event more particularly described in the tenth and twentieth chapters.
4. The eastern parts of the earth and the western parts thereof; That is, the land of Syria, of which the eastern geographers reckon Palaistine part, and wherein the commentators say, the children of Israel exceeded the kings of Egypt and the Amalekites (2).
5. And they destroyed the structures which Pharaoh and his people had made, &c. Particularly the lofty tower which Pharaoh caufed to be built, that he might attack the God of Moses (3).
6. And they came unto people who worshipped idols.] These people some will have to be of the tribe of Amalek, whom Moses was commanded to destroy, and others of the tribe of Lakhin. Their idols, it is said, were images of oxen, which gave the first hint to the making of the golden calf (4).

(1) Al Bifidawi. (2) Idem. (3) V. Kor. chap. xxviii and xl. (4) Al Bifidawi. P manner
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, and we completed them by adding of ten more; and the fated 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, 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, and if it stand firm in its place, then shalt thou see me. But when his Lord appeared with glory in the mount, he

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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 Dhul-Qa'da; but, not liking the favour 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 Dhul-Hijja. Others, however, suppose that Moses was commanded to fast and pray thirty days only, and that during the other ten God discourse 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 li

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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. GOD, saith 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. And we wrote for him on the tables an admonition concerning every matter, and a decision in every case, and said, Receive this with reverence; and command thy people that they live according to the most excellent precepts thereof. I will shew you the dwelling of the wicked. I will turn aside from my signs those who behave themselves proudly in the earth, without justice: and although they see every sign, yet they shall not believe therein; and although they see the way of righteousness, yet they shall not take that way; but if they see the way of error, they shall take that way. This shall come to

really, unto the mount. For some of the expositors pretend, that God caused the mountain with life and the sense of seeing.

I am the first of true believers.] This is not to be taken strictly. See the like expression in chap. vi. p. 19.

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 lay the victims at the pilgrimage of Mecca, which days are the ninth and tenth of Dhu'l-Hijja.

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 jet-tree, in paradise, called al sabra; or, whether they were chrysolates, 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.

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 will shew you the dwelling of the wicked.] Vis. the desolate habitations of the Egyptians, or those of the impious tribes of Ad and Thamud, or, perhaps, hell, the dwelling of the ungodly in the other world.

(1) Al Qaddawi. (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 re-
warded otherwise than according to what they shall have wrought? And the people of Moses, after his departure, took a corporeal calf, made of their ornaments, which lowed. 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, 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? And he threw down the tables, 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, 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. 70.

n Father Marracci seems not to have understood the meaning of this phrase, having literally translated the Arabic words, awa lamma sokita fi sidibim, without any manner of sense, Et cum cadere factus suisset 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.

give me and my brother, and receive us into thy mercy; for thou art the most merciful of those who exercis mercy. Verily as for them who took the calf for their god, indignation shall overtake them from their Lord, and ignominy in this life: thus will we reward those who imagine falsehood. But unto them who do evil, and afterwards repent, and believe in God, verily thy Lord will thereafter be clement and merciful. And when the anger of Moses was appeased, he took the tables; 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 form of thunder and lightening had taken them away, 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, whom they shall find written down 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

\* See chap. ii. p. 10.
\* The tables; or, the fragments of that which was left.
\* The illiterate prophet; that is, Mohammed. See the Prelim.
\* Written down; i.e. Both foretold by the name and certain description.
good things which were before forbidden, and will prohibit those which are bad; and he will ease them of their heavy burden, and of the yokes which were upon them. 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: 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 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 therefrom twelve fountains, and men knew their respective drinking place. And we caused clouds to overshadow them, and manna and quails to descend upon them, journey to heaven, and who believed on him.

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x See chap. iii. p. 64.
y And will prohibit those which are bad.] As the eating of blood and swine's flesh, and the taking of usury, &c.
z See chap. ii. p. 54.
a Unto you all.] That is, to all mankind in general, and not to one particular nation, as the former prophets were sent.
b Of the people of Moses there is a party who direct others with truth, &c.] Viz. those Jews who seemed better disposed than the rest of their brethren to receive Mohammed's law; or, perhaps, such of them as had actually received it. Some imagine they were a Jewish nation dwelling somewhere beyond China, which Mohammed saw the night he made his

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(1) Al Beidawi. (2) Idem.
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 laid unto them, Dwell in this city, 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 increale unto the well-doers. But they who were ungodly among them changed the expression into another, 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, which was situate on the sea, when they transgressed on the sabbath-day: when their fifth 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 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; and peradventure they will beware. But when they had forgotten the admonitions which had been given

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*See this passage explained, chap. ii. p. 11.

[1] Changed the expression into another, &c. Professor Sike says, that, being prone to leave spiritual for worldly matters, instead of Hittaton, they said Hintaion, which signifies wicked (1), and comes much nearer the true word than the expression I have in the place last quoted, set down from 'faddaladdin. 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.

[2] And ask them concerning the city, &c.] This city was Adlah, or Elaib, 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.

[3] 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.

[4] An excuse for us, &c.] That we have done our duty in difluading them from their wickedness.
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: 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, 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? Yet they diligently read that which is therein. But the enjoyment of the next life will be better for those who fear God than the wicked gains of these people; (Do ye not, therefore, understand?) and for those who hold fast the book of the law, and are constant at prayer: for we will, by no means, suffer the reward of the righteous to perish. And when we shook the mountain, of Sinai, over them, 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. s.
1 And received the temporal goods of this world: J 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; J Particularly by giving out, that God will forgive their corruption without sincere repentance and amendment.

n See chap. ii. p. 13, not. n.

(1) Al Ebidawi.
receive 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, 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, and

* And when thy Lord drew forth their posterity from the loins of the sons of Adam, &c.] This was done in the plain of Dabia, in India, or, as others imagine, in a valley near Mecca. The commentators tell us, that God stroked Adam's back, and extricated 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 endowed with understanding; and that after they had, in the presence of the angels, confessed their dependence 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 animalibus in femine varum.

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. Wherefore his likeness is as the likeness of a dog, which, if thou drive him away, putteth forth his tongue; or, if thou let him alone, putteth forth his tongue also. This is the likeness of the people, who accuse our signs of falsehood. Rehearfe, therefore, this history unto them, that they may consider. Evil is the similitude of those people who accuse our signs of falsehood and injure their own souls. Whomsoever God shall direct, he will be rightly directed; and whomsoever he shall lead astray, they shall perish. Moreover we have created for hell many of the genii and of men; they have hearts by which they understand not, and they have eyes by which they see not, and they have ears by which they hear not. These are like the brute beasts; yea, they go more astray: these are the negligent. God hath most excellent names; therefore, call on him by the same; and withdraw from those who use his names perversely: they shall be rewarded for that which they shall have wrought. And of those, whom we have created there, are a people who direct

9 But he inclined unto the earth, and followed his own desire; loving the wages of unrighteousness, and running greedily after error for reward (1).  
* 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).  
* Who use his names perversely; * As did Wathid Ebn al Mogbeva; who hearing Mohammed give God the title of Al Rukn, 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, Al-lah from Allah; Al-Uzza from Al Aziz, the mighty; and Manz from Al Mannan, the bountiful (4).


But those who devise lies against our signs, we will suffer them to fall gradually into ruin, by a method which they know not: 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? 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? 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: it shall come upon you no otherwise than suddenly. They will ask thee, as though thou wert 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

1 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).

2 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).

3 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).

4 After this; i. e. After they have rejected the Korán. For what more evident revelation can they hereafter expect (4)?

5 The expectation, thereof, is grievous in heaven and on earth;] Not only to men and genii, but to the angels also.

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, he carried a light burden for a time, wherefore, she walked easily therewith. But when it became more heavy, 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. But far be that from God, which they associated with him! Will they associate with him

* But when it became more heavy, &c.] That is, when the child grew bigger in her womb.
* 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 Abd'hareth, 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 adámáb, that is, a tiler of the ground, which might be translated into Arabic by Abd'alba- retb.

But al Beidawi, thinking it unlikely, that a prophet, (as Adam is by the Mohammedans supposed to have been,) should be guilty of such an action, imagines the Korán in this place means Kofai, one of Mohammed's ancestors, and his wife, who begged issue of God, and having four sons granted them, called their names Abd Menés, Abd Shams, Abd'el Uzza, and Abd'al Dár, after the names of four principal idols of the Koreib. And the following words also he supposes to relate to their idolatrous pastity.

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. 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, 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 affaileth 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

<i>See the Prelim. Disc. p. 20.</i>

say,
fay, Hast thou not put it together? 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.

* Hast thou not put it together? what to say; or canst thou obtain the revelation from God?*

**CHAP. VIII.**

*Intitled, The Spoils; revealed at Medina.*

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. Therefore fear God, and compose

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*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 fled 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.

The division of the spoils belongeth unto God and the apostle.] It is related, that Saad Ebn Abi Wakkas, one of the companions, whose brother Omair was slain in this battle, having killed Said Ebn al As, took his sword, and carrying it to Mohammed, desired that he might be permitted to keep it; but the prophet told him, that it was not his to give away, and ordered him to lay it with the other spoils.*

(1) See chap. iii. p. 56. (2) Al Beidaui, Jallaluddin.
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, with truth; and part of the believers were averse to thy directions: 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).

4 At thy Lord brought thee forth from thy house; i.e. From Medina. The particle at having nothing in the following words to answer it, Al Beidawi supposes the connexion to be, that the division of the spoils belonged to the prophet, notwithstanding his followers were averse to it, as they had been averse to the expedition itself.

* 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 Badr.

Mohammed having received private information (for which he pretended he was obliged to the angel Gabriel) of the approach of a caravan, belonging to the Koreish, which was on its return from Syria, with a large quantity of valuable merchandise, and was guarded by no more than thirty, or, as others say, forty men, set out with a party to intercept it. Abu Sofian, who commanded the little convoy, having notice of Mohammed's motions, sent to Mecca for succours; upon which Abu Jahl, and all the principal men of the city, except only Abu Lahab, marched to his assistance, with a body of nine hundred and fifty men. Mohammed had no sooner received advice of this, than Gabriel defended 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 interpolation of Abu Bekr, Omar,
truth, after it had been made known unto them; no otherwise than as if they had been led forth to death, and had seen it with their eyes. And call to mind when God promised you one of the two parties, that it should be delivered unto you; and ye desired that the party which was not furnished with arms 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; that he might verify the truth, and destroy falsity, although they had God's promise to encourage them.

They disputed with thee concerning the truth, &c.] That is concerning their success against Abu Jahl and the Koreish; notwithstanding

Saad Ebn Obadah, and Mokdad Ebn Amru, they, at length, acquiesced to his opinion. Mokdad, in particular, assured him they were all ready to obey his orders, and would not stay to him, as the children of Israel did to Moses, Go thou and thy Lord to fight, for we will fight with thee (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 Anfars, 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 Moaid, 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 succour, affording them of the victory (3).

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 horses (4).

When God promised you one of the two parties; That is, either the caravan, or the succours from Mecca. Father Marracci missetaking al 'Ir and al Nafir, which are appellatives, and signify the caravans and the troops, or body of succours, for proper names, has thence coined two families of the Koreish never heard of before, which he calls Areenjat and Naphirenjes (5).

The party which was not furnished with arms; viz. The caravan, which was guarded by no more than forty horses; whereas the other party was strong and well appointed.

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 exterminating its adversaries (6).

the wicked were averse thereto. When ye asked assistance of your Lord, and he answered you, Verily I will assist you with a thousand angels, following one another in order. And this God designed only as good tidings 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, 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; therefore 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. This shall they suffer, because they have

1. 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 prayers were answered with great earnestness, crying out, O God! fulfill that for which thou hast promised me: O God! if this party be cut off, thou wilt be no more worshipped on earth. And he continued to repeat these words till his cloak fell from off his back (1).

2. A thousand angels;] Which were afterwards reinforced with three thousand more (2). Wherefore make copies instead of a thousand, and thousands, in the plural.

3. See chap. iii. p. 78.

4. 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 sank 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 inconvenience of thirst, must be obliged to pray without washing, though they imagined themselves to be the favourites of God, and that they had his apostle among them. But in the night rain fell so plentifully, that it formed a little brook, and not only supplied them with water for all their uses, but made the sand between them and the infidel army firm enough to bear them; whereupon the diabolical suggestions ceased (3).

P Therefore strike off their heads, &c.] This is the punishment expressly assigned the enemies of the Mohammedan religion; though the Moghuls did not inflict it on the prisoners they took at Bedr, for which they are reprehended in this chapter.

refused 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 insidels 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 who so shall turn his back unto them on that day, unless he turneth aside to fight, or retreateth to another party of the faithful, shall draw on himself the indignation of God, and his abode shall be hell; an ill journey shall it be thither! And ye flew not those who were slain at B E D R yourselves, but God flew them. Neither didst thou, O Mohammed! cast the gravel into their eyes, when thou didst seem to cast it; but God cast it, 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: 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 fight of God, are the deaf

4 Unless he turneth aside to fight, or retreateth to another party, &c.
That is, if he be not downright running away, but doth either with design to rally and attack the enemy again, or by way of feint or stratagem, or tofccur a party which is hard pressed, &c. (1)
7 See chap. iii. p. 56, note d.
9 See ibid.

4 If ye desire a decision, &c.] These words are directed to the people of Mecca: whom Mohammed derides, because the Koreish, when they were ready to set out from Mecca, took hold of the curtains of the Caaba, saying, O God! grant the victory to the superior army, the party that is most rightly divided, and the most honourable (2).

(z) Al Berdawi. (z) Idem.

and
and the dumb, who understand not. If God had
known any good in them, he would certainly have
caued them to hear ¹: And if he had cauad them to
hear, they would surely have turned back, and have
mired afar off. O true believers! answer God and
his apostle, when he inviteth you unto that which
greeth you life; and know that God goeth between
a man and his heart ², and that before him ye shall
be assembled. Beware of sedition ³; it will not af-
fect those who are ungodly among you, particularly,at all of you in general; and know that God is se-
vere in punishing. And remember when ye were
few, and reputed weak in the land ⁴: ye feared left
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 ⁵, neither violate your faith,
against

¹ To hear; ² That is, to hearken to the remonstrances of the Korán.
² God goeth between a man and his heart; Not only knowing the
³ Sedition; The original word signifies any epidemical crime, which
directs the secrets of his heart; but also ruling a man's desgins, and
dising him either to belief or un
⁴ In the land; Viz. at Mecca,
⁵ Deceive not God and his apostle, &c. Al Besidawi mentions an in-

The persons here spoken to are the
Mohájerín, or refugees who fled from
thence to Medina.

against your own knowledge. And know that your wealth, and your children are a temptation unto you; and that with God is a great reward. O true believers! if ye fear God, he will grant you a distinction, 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; and they plotted against thee: but God laid a plot against them; 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. 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. 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 Lobāba.

b Distinction; i. e. A direction that you may distinguish between truth and falsehood, or success in battle; to distinguish the believers from the infidels; or the like.

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 assisteth in the likenes of an old man of Najd. The point under consideration being what they should do with Mohammed, Abu Bakr curi

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. Hishām ʿAmr ʿAmr 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 ʿAbda 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 Badr.

e See chap. vi. p. 160.

f This was the speech of Al Nyādar ʿAmr al Hareth (3).

(1) Al Bīdawī. See the Prelim Dis. p. 65, 56. (2) See ibid. (3) Al Bīdawī.
waft with them, nor was God disposed to punish them when they asked pardon. But they have nothing to offer in excuse why God should not punish them, since they hindered the believers from visiting the holy temple, although they are not the guardians thereof. 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.

Taste therefore, the punishment, for that ye have been unbelievers. They who believe not, expend their wealth to obstruct the way of God: 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 upon the other, and may gather them all in cheap, and cast them into hell. These are they who

1 When they asked pardon: some of the commentators, however, suppose the persons who asked pardon were true believers, who stayed among the infidels; and others think the meaning to be, that God would not punish them, provided they asked pardon.

2 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-Hudaybiyya.

3 Although they were not the guardians thereof: because of their idleness, and indecent deportment there; for otherwise the Kureish had a right to the guardianship of the Kaaba, and it was continued in their tribe and in the same family, even after the Treaty of Mecca.

4 Their prayer at the house of God was no other than whistling and clapping of the hands. It is said that they used to go round the Kaaba naked, 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 Muhammad when at his prayers, pretending to be at prayers also themselves.

5 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 Kureish, who gave each of them ten camels every day to be killed for provisions for their army in the expedition of Badr; 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 Obad, hired two thousand Arabs, who cost him a considerable sum, besides the auxiliaries which he had obtained gratis.
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 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 *: if ye believe in God, and that which we have sent down unto our servant on the day of distinction *, on the day wherein the two armies met: and God is almighty. When ye were incamped on the hithermost side of the valley °, and they were incamped on the further side, and the caravan was below you °; and if ye had mutually appointed to come to a battle, ye would certainly have declined the appointment °; but ye were brought to an engagement without any previous appointment, that God might accomplish the thing which was de-

*n 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 Bédr, yet there are some who suppose it was revealed in the expedition against the Jews tribe of Kainóká, which happened a little above a month after (2).

° The day of distinction: it is the day of the battle of Bédr, which is so called because it distinguished the true believers from the infidels.

° On the hithermost side: which was much more inconvenient that the other, because of the deep sand and want of water.

p And the caravan was below you: wiz. By the sea side, making the best of their way to Mecca.

° 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 Béidawi.
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; and if he had caused them to appear numerous unto thee, ye would have been disheartened, and would have disputed concerning the matter; but God preferred 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; and diminished your numbers in their eyes; 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, left 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

1 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).

2 With which vision Mohammed acquainted his companions for their encouragement.

3 And would have disputed.] Whether ye should attack the enemy, or fly.

4 And when he caused them to appear few of your eyes.] It is said, that Abu Mansul 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).

5 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 Bidaawi. (2) Idem. BAWI, JALLALO'DDIN, YAHYA.

(3) Pag. 96. (4) Al Bee-

oftentation
oftentation unto men, and turned aside from the way of God; for God comprehendeth that which they do. And remember when Satan prepared their works for them, and said, No man shall prevail against you to-day; and I will surely be near to offend 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. When the hypocrites, and those in whose hearts there was an infirmity, said, Their religion hath deceived these men; but whosoever confideth

*Who went out of their houses with intemence and oftentation, &c.] There were the Meccans, who, marching to the assistance of the caravan, and being as far as jobba, were there met by a messenger from Abu Sofian, to acquaint them, that he thought himself out of danger, and therefore they might return home; upon which Abu Jabl, 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 Badr, 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 Koreyes, and Abu Jabl, in particular, losing their lives in the expedition.

1 When Satan prepared their works for them; By inciting them to oppose the prophet.

2 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 Koreyes, on their march, beheld themselves of the enmity between them and the tribe of Kenana, who were masters of the country about Badr, that consideration would have prevailed on them to return, had not the devil appeared in the likeness of Soraka 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 shew the angels descending to the assistance of the Molems, he retired; and al Harun Ebn Hefham, who had him then by the hand, asking him whether 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 Koreyes, on their return, laid the blame of their overthrow on Soraka, he swore that he did not so much as know of their march till he heard they were routed; and, afterwards, when they embraced Mohammedin, they were satisfied it was the devil (2).

(1) Al Beldawi.

(2) Idem, Jalaloddin.
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, and say unto them, Taste ye the pain of burning: this shall ye suffer for that which your hands have sent before you; 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, 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.


d Who enter into a league with thee, and afterwards violate their league, &c.] As did the tribe of Korash (3).

(1) Al Beidawi, Jallalo'ddin. (2) See the Prelim. Disc. §, IV. p. 100, &c. (3) See before, p. 227, and chap. xxxiii.
with like treatment; for God loveth not the treacherous. And think not that the unbelievers have escaped God's vengeance, 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 couldst not have united their hearts, 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. 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

\[^6\] Think not, &c.] Some copies read it in the third person, Let not the unbelievers think, &c.
\[^9\] That the unbelievers have escaped God's vengeance; &c.] Wala. Those who made their escape from Bedr.
\[^8\] Thou couldst not have united their hearts; &c.] 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-Birda, between Mecca and Medina, during the expedition of Bedr; and, as others say, in the fifth year of the prophet's mission, on the occasion of Omar's embracing Mohammedan.
a thousand of you, they shall overcome two thousand, 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. 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. ¹

¹ See Leviticus xxvi. 8. John xxxiii. 10.

² Until he had made a great slaughter of infidels, &c.] Because severity ought to be used where circumstances require it, though clemency be more preferable where it may be exercised with safety. While the Mohammedans, therefore, were weak, and their religion in its infancy, God's pleasure was, that the oppressors 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.

¹ 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 finisheß, 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 Othâl the son of Abu Taleb and brother of Ali; when they were brought before Mohammed, he asking the advice of his companions what should be done with them, Abu Beer was for relieving 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 Beer reminded Abraham, who interceded for offenders, and that Omar was like Noah, who prayed for the utter extermination 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 Beer 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 Sa'ad, Abu Mâadh, 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; for, in the battle of Obed, 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. 82.
Eat, therefore, of what ye have acquired, 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; and he will forgive you, for God is gracious and merciful. But if they seek to deceive thee, 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 subsistence, and their persons, in fighting for the religion of God, and they who have given the prophet a refuge among them, and have afflicted him, these shall be deemed the one nearest of kin to the other. 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 Abbas, who, being obliged by Mohammed, though his uncle, to ransom both himself and his two nephews, Othil, and Nazifal Ebn al Hareth, complained that he should be reduced to beg alms of the Ka'bah as long as he lived. Whereupon Mohammed asked him what was become of the gold which he delivered to Omr al Feid when he left Mecca, telling him, that he knew not what might befall him in the expedition; and therefore if he left his life, she might keep it herself for the use of her and her children. Al Abbas demanded who told him this; to which Mohammed replied, that God had revealed it to him. And upon this al Abbas 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 Abbas, reflecting on this passage, confessed it to be fulfilled; for he was then not only possessed of a large subsistence, but had the custody of the well Zamzam, 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 subsistence, preferably to their relations by blood. And this, they say, was practised for some time, the Moha-
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.

Jerūn and Ansārs 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.

C H A P. IX.

Intitled, The Declaration of immunity a; revealed at Medina.

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 ausipatory 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. Go to and fro in the earth securely four months; 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, 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 Bajmilah 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 interpolate the distinction of the Bajmilah (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 Kenana, and a few others (3).

c Go to and fro in the earth securely four months;] These months were Shawwal, Dhu'kaada, Dhu'khajja, and Moharram; the chapter being revealed in Shawwal. Yet others compute them from the tenth of Dhu'khajja, when the chapter was published at Mecca, and consequently make them expire on the tenth of the former Robi (4).

d On the day of the greater pilgrimage;] viz. The tenth of Dhu'khajja, when they slay the victims at Mina; which day is their great feast, and completes the ceremonies of the pilgrimage. Some suppose the adjective greater is added here, to distinguish the pilgrimage made at the appointed time, from lesser pilgrimages, as they may be called, or visitations of the Caaba, which may be performed at any time of the year; or else, because the concourse at the pilgrimage this year was greater than ordinary, both Moslems and Idolaters being present at it.


The
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. 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, 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. 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 flint-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 erudition, 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; 3. That none but true believers shall enter paradise; and, 4. That public faith is to be kept.

(1) See before, chap. vii. p. 190.

(2) Al Beida\text{\texti}wi. P. Abul-
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? 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 fell 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 proclaim 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? 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 Korish in afflicting the tribe of Beer against those of Khozab (1), and laying a design to ruin Mohammed, without any just provocation; and as several of the Jerish 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 believe, 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. 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? They shall not be held equal with God: for God directeth not the unrighteous people. They who have believed, and fled their country, and employed their substance,
and their persons, in the defence of God's true 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 whatsoever among you shall take them for his friends, they will be unjust doers. Say, If your fathers, and your sons, and your brethren, and your wives, and your relations, and your substance which ye have acquired, and your merchandise which ye apprehend may not be sold off, and your dwellings wherein ye delight, be more dear unto you than God, and his apostle, and the advancement of his religion; wait, until God shall send his command: for God directeth not the ungodly people. Now hath God assisted you in many engagements, and particularly at the battle of Honein; when ye pleaf-

A Till God shall send his command;] Or shall punish you. Some suppose the taking of Mecca to be here intended (1).

6. The battle of Honein.] This battle was fought in the eighth year of the Hegira, in the valley of Honein, which lies about three miles from Mecca towards Thayif, between Mohammed, who had an army of twelve thousand men, and the tribes of Harawzen and Thabif, 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, trying out, These can never be overcome by so few. But God was so highly displeased with this confidence, that, in the first encounter, the Moors were put to flight (2), some of them running away quite to Mecca, so that none butd their ground except Mohammed himself, and some few of his family; and they say the prophet's courage was so great, that his uncle Ali, and his cousin Abu Sofan, Ebn al Havath, 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 Ali to fight, who had the voice of a Stentor, to recall his flying troops; upon which they rallied, and the prophet throwing a handful of dust against the enemy, they attacked them a second time, and, by the divine assistance, gained the victory (3).

ed yourselves in your multitude, but it was no manner of advantage unto you, and the earth became too strait for you; notwithstanding it was spacious; then did ye retreat, and turn your backs. Afterwards God sent down his security upon his apostle, and upon the faithful, and sent down troops of angels 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; 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. And if ye fear want, by the cutting off trade and communication with them, God will enrich you of his abundance, if he pleaseth; for God is knowing and wise. Fight against them who believe not in God, nor in the last day, and

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).

His security.] The original word is sakinat, which the commentators interpret in this sense; but it seems rather to signify the divine presence, or sherkhineh, appearing to aid the Mothems (2).

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).

Nevertheless, God will hereafter be turned unto whom he pleaseth: Besides a great number of portents, 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).

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.

God will enrich you of his abundance:] This promise, says al-Bidaawi, was fulfilled by God's sending plenty of rain, and disposing the inhabitants of Tébala and Joraj, two towns in Yaman, to embrace Islam, who thereupon brought sufficient provisions to Mohammed's men; and also by the subsequent coming in of the Arabs, from all quarters, to him.

Who believe not in God, nor

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, and they be reduced low. The Jews say, Ezra is the son of God; 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 Koran. For, as it appears by the following words, the Jews and Christians are the persons here chiefly meant.

* By right of subjection;* This I think the true meaning of the words ar 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 al-rahman Ebn Auf 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 suppos[e] to be of divine original. And it is the more received opinion, that these three religions only ought to be tolerated on the condition of paying tribute: others, however, admit the Sabians also. Abu Hanifa supposed people of any religion might be suffered, except the idolatrous Arabs; and Malek excepted only apostates from Mohammedan.

The least tribute that can be taken from every such person, is generally agreed to be a dinar, 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 dinar) a year; one in middle 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 being raised to life, after he had been dead one hundred years (5), dictated the whole anew to the scribes, out of his own memory;

God. This is their saying in their mouths: they imitate the saying of those who were unbelievers in former times. May God resile them. How are they infatuated? They take their priests, and their monks, for their lords, besides God, 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 averie 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 averie 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 Beidawi 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 Esdras 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.

many of the priests, and monks, devour the substance of men in vanity, 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, which were ordained in the book of God, on the day wherein he created the heavens and the earth: of these, four are sacred. 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; and know that God is with those who fear him. Verily the transferring of a sacred month to another month, is an additional infidelity. The unbelievers are led into an error thereby:

\[a\] The priests and monks devour the substance of men, mainly; By taking of bribes, says al-Beidawi; 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 preferred table.

\[d\] See the Prelim. Discourse, §. VII.

\[e\] Attack the idolaters in all the months, as they attack you in all; For it is not reasonable that you should observe the sacred months with regard to those who do not acknowledge them to be sacred, but make war against you therein (2).

\[f\] Verily the transferring of a sacred month to another month is an additional infidelity; This was an invention, or innovation, of the idolatrous Arabs, whereby they avoided keeping a sacred month, when it suited not their convenience, by keeping a prophane month in its stead; transferring, for example, the obsequy of Moharram to the succeeding month Safar. The first man who put this in practice, they

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(1) See Preliminary Discourse, §. IV. and VII.  
(2) See ib. ii. p. 34.
by: they allow a month to be violated one year, and declare it sacred another year, 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? 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. Unlefs 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, 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 when they were both in the cave; when he said unto

fay, was Fonada Ebu Aunf, of the tribe of Kenana (1).

These ordinances relating to the months were promulgated by Mohammed himself, at the pilgrimage of "Aufudu (2).

They allow a month to be violated one year, and declare it sacred another year; as did Fonada, 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).

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 Ta-

bâc, 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 Hijra. On this expedition the Moseans set out with great unwillingness, because it was undertaken in the midit 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 disfriessed army: besides, their fruits were just ripe, and they had much rather have flaid to have gathered them (4).

1 See chap. v. p. 142.

k The second of two That is, having only Abu Beeh with him.

his companion, Be not grieved, for God is with us. And God sent down his security upon him, and strengthened him with armies of angels, whom ye saw not. 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, 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 nearer advantage, and a moderate journey, they had surely followed thee; but the way seemed tedious unto them; and yet they will swear by God, saying, If we had been able, we had surely gone forth with you. They destroy their own souls; for God knoweth that they are liars. God forgive thee! why didst thou give them leave to stay at home, until they who speak the truth, when they excuse themselves, had become manifested unto thee, and thou hadst known the liars? They who believe in God, and the last day, will not ask leave of thee, to be excused from employing their substance, and their persons, for the advancement of God's true religion; and God knoweth those who fear him. Verily they only will ask leave of thee to stay behind, who believe not in God, and the last

\[1\] 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 encounters; as at Bedr, the war of the ditch, and the battle of Honein.
\[o\] Both light and heavy; i. e. Whether the expedition be agreeable or not; or whether ye have sufficient arms and provisions, or not; or whether ye be on herfeback, or on foot, &c.

\[p\] If it had been a nearer advantage and a moderate journey, &c.] That is, had there been no difficulties to turn mount in the expedition to Tabac, 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 Abdallah Ebn Obba, and his hypocritical adherents, and also three of the Ansars; for which he is here reprehended.
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. 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, 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 faith unto thee, Give me leave to stay behind, and expose me not to temptation. Have they not fallen into temptation at home? But hell will surely encompass the unbelievers. If good happen unto thee, it grieveth them; but if a misfortune befall thee, they say, We ordered our business before; and they turn their backs, and rejoice at thy mishap. Say, Nothing shall befall 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 befall us, than one of the two most excellent

\[1\] With those who sit still; i.e. With the women and children, and other impotent people.
[2] They formerly sought to raise a sedition, &c. As they did at the battle of Obad (1).
[3] 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 defect. It is related, that one Zaid Ibn Kais said, that the Anfaris 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).
[4] 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.
[5] 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 Baidawi.
things; either victory or martyrdom? But we expect concerning you, that God inflict a punishment on you, either from himself, or by our hands. 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; yet they are not of you, but are people who stand in fear. 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. But if they had been pleaf-

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 Abul'Fawlah the hypocrite, who said Mohammed gave them away among the keepers of sheep only; or, as others suppose, Ebu Dhi'khr Turajara, who found fault with the prophet's distribution of the spoils taken at Ho nein, because he gave them all among the Meccans, to reconcile and gain them over to his religion and interest (1).

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 only unto the poor, and the needy, and those who are employed in collecting and distributing the same, and unto those whose hearts are reconciled, 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: Answer, He is an ear of good unto you; 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-

— See what is said as to this point in the Prelim. Disc. § IV.

— The poor and the needy.] The commentators make a distinction between these two words in the original, fakir and moshin; 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.

— Whole hearts are reconciled;] That is, who were lately enemies to the faithful, but have now embraced Mohammedanism, 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 Korifs, 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 its support.

— He is an ear;] i.e. He hears everything that we say; and gives credit to all the stories that are carried to him.

— He is an ear of good unto you;] Giving credit to nothing that may do you hurt.

(1) Abdulc. Ibid.
five left a Sūra 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 jeering among ourselves. 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?

A Sūra,] So the Mohammedans call a chapter of the Korān (1).
1 They say, We were only engaged in discourse, &c.] It is related that, in the expedition of Tabākī, a company of hypocrites, passing near Muhammed, 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? whereunto they replied, with an oath, that they were not talking of what related to him, or his companions, but were only diverting themselves with indifferent discourse, to beguile the tediousness of the way (2).

(1) See the Prelim. Disc. § III. p. 73.
(2) Al Beidawi.
of the people of Noah, and of Ad, and of Thamud,
and of the people of Abraham, and of the inhabitants
of Midian, and of the cities which were overthrown?'
Their apostles came unto them with evident demon-
strations: and God was not disposed to treat them
unjustly; but they dealt unjustly with their own
souls. And the faithful men, and the faithful wo-
men 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 ap-
pointed 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 deli-
cious dwellings in gardens of perpetual abode:
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 be-
came unbelievers, after they had embraced Islam
And they desighned that which they could not effect as;
and

1 The cities which were over-
thrown: ] Namely, Sodom and Gomorrah, and the other cities which
shared their fate, and are thence called al Motakifat, or the subverted
(1).
2 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 ob-
served (2).
3 They swear by God that they
said not what they are charged with,
&c.] It is related, that al Jellâs Eden
Soueïd, hearing some passages of
this chapter, which sharply repre-
hend those who refused to go on the
abovementioned expedition of Ta-
bûc, declared, that if what Moham-
ded 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
release of this passage, he con-
fessed his fault, and his repentance
was accepted (3).

(1) See ch. xi. (2) See the Prelim. Dis. p. 128. (3) Al Bîdawî.

by
and they did not disapprove the design for any other reason, than because God, and his apostle, had enriched them, of his bounty. 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. 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-Makaba. But when they were going to execute their design, Hadibita, who followed, and drove the prophet’s camel, which was led by Anmar Ibn Yasser, 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).

(1) Al-Birkawi.

(2) Ibbri.
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, 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. 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

v. Who traduce such of the believers as are liberal, &c.] Al Baidawi relates, that Mohammed, exhorting his followers to voluntary alms, among others, Abda'arabman Ibn Asaf gave four thousand dirhems, which was one half of what he had; Asaf Ibn Asda gave an hundred beast's loads of dates; and Abu Okail a Sa'id, 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'arabman and Asaf gave what they did out of ostentation, and that God and his apostle might well have excluded Abu Okail's mite; which occasioned this passage.

I suppose this collection was made to defy the charge of the expedition of Taebe; towards which, as another writer tells us, Abu Bar contributed all that he had, and Ottman very largely, viz. as it is said, three hundred camels for slaughter, and a thousand dinars of gold (1).

q. Ask forgiveness for them, &c.] In the lastickness of Abda'llah Ebn Obba the hypocrite, (who died in the ninth year of the Hija) 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 seventy and seventy, and seven hundred, are frequently used by the eastern writers to signify, not too many prefectly, but only an indefinite number, either greater or lesser (2); several examples of which are to be met with in the scripture (3).

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 per-
fons, for the advancement of God's true religion;
and they said, Go not forth in the heat'. 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, 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 sit-
ting 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', neither stand
at his grave"; for that they believed not in God,
and his apostle, and die in their wickednesses. Let
not their riches, or their children, cause thee to mar-
vel: for God intendeth only to punish them there-
with in this world; and that their souls may depart,
while they are infidels. When a Surâ is sent down,
wherein it is said, Believe in God, and go forth to war
with his apostle; those who are in plentiful circum-
stances

1 Go not forth in the heat; This
they spoke in a scoffing manner to
one another; because, as has been
observed, the expedition of Tabuc
was undertaken in a very hot and
dry season.

2 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 raid behind, because
they were not all hypocrites. The
whole number is said to have been
twelve (1).

3 Neither do thou ever pray over
any of them who shall die. This
passage was also revealed on account
of Abdallah Ibn Ooba. In his last
days 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 hat
bit 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).

4 Neither stand at his grave. Either
by affixing his name at his funeral, or visiting
his sepulchre.

5 See before, p. 252. note g.

(1) Al Belardi. (2) Idem.
stances among them ask leave of thee to stay behind, and say, Suffer us to be of the number of those who fit at home. They are well pleaded 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 desert came to excuse themselves; 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, 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 wouldst 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. But there is reason

x Certain Arabs of the desert came to excuse themselves, &c. They were the tribes of Ajaj and Ghatfain, who excused themselves on account of the necessaries of their families, which their industry only maintained. But some write, they were the family of Amer Ibn al Tayfain, who said, that if they went with the army, the tribe of Lay would take advantage of their absence, and fall upon their wives and children, and their cattle.
y Who find not wherewith to contribute? By reason of their extreme poverty; as those of Joheina, Mokheina, and Bani Ufara.


(1) Al Beidawi.
(2) Lerm.

give
to blame those who ask leave of thee to sit at home, when they are rich. They are pleased to be with those who flay behind; and God hath sealed up their 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. Let them alone, therefore, for they are an abomination; and their dwelling shall be hell; a reward for that which they have deferved. 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 desert 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: and God is knowing and wise. Of the Arabs of the desert there is who reckoneth that which he expendeth for the service of God, to be as tribute; and waiteth that some change of fortune give them some patched boots and foiled 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 Mohren, and others, Abu Muja, and his companions (1).

* That ye may let them alone,] And not chaff them.

b The Arabs of the desert 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. Dis. p. 32 and 40.
may befall you. A change for evil shall happen unto them; for God both heareth and knoweth. And of the Arabs of the desert 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. As for the leaders, and the first of the Moha'jerin, and the Ansars, 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 desert who dwell round about you, there are hypocritical persons: 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; afterwards shall they be sent to a grievous torment. And others have acknowledged their crimes. They have mixed a good action with another.

* The Arabs meant in the former of these two passages, are said to have been the tribe of Asad, Ghaflan, and Banu Tamim; and those intended in the latter, Abi'lab, firmament Bhabajad, and his people (1).

† The leaders, and the first of the Moha'jerin and the Ansars: The Moha'jerin, or refugees, were those of Mecca, who fled thence on account of their religion; and the Ansars, or helpers, were those of Medina, who received Mahomet, and his followers, into their protection, and assisted them against their enemies. By the leaders of the Moha'jerin are meant, those who believed in Mahomet before the Hejra, or early enough to pray towards Jerusalem, from which the Kebira 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 Badr. The leaders of the Ansars were those who took the oath of fidelity to him at al-Akabah, either the first or the second time (2).

‡ Of the Arabs of the desert who dwell round about you, &c.] i.e. In the neighbourhood of Medina. There were the tribes of Jobaina, Mozeina, Aslam, Asfaha, and Ghafar (3).

§ We will punish them twice;] Either by expelling them to public shame, and putting them to death; or by either of those punishments and the torment of the sepulchres; or else by exacting alms of them by way of fine, and giving them corporal punishment (4).

(1) Al Bidaawi. (2) Idem. (3) Idem. (4) Idem. Others have acknowledged their crimes
other which is bad: 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; 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: 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, and for a lurking place for him who

crime:] Making no hypocritical excuse for them. These were certain men, who having slain at home instead of accompanying Mohammed to Tabuc, as soon as they heard the severe reprobations and threats of this chapter, against those who had slain behind, bound themselves to the pillars of the mosque, and swore that they would not leave 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 lose them without a particular command from God; whereupon this passage was revealed, and they were accordingly disfranchised (1).

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 slain 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).

There are others who wait, &c.] The persons here intended, were the three Ansars, whose pardon is granted a little below.

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.

There are some who have built a temple to hurt the faithful, &c.]

(1) Al Beidawi.  (2) Lk. 10: 25.

When
who hath fought against God, and his apostle, in
time past; 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, 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, for God loveth the

When Banu Amru Ebn Auf had
built the temple or mosque of Koba, which will be mentioned by and by,
they asked Mohammed to come and
pray in it, and he complied with
their request. This exciting the
envy of the brethren, Banu Gaum
Ebn Auf, they also built a mosque,
intending that the Imam, or priest,
should officiate there, should be
Abu Amer, a Christian monk; but
he dying in Syria, they came to Mo-
hammed, and desired he would con-
ferate, as it were, their mosque, by
praying in it. The prophet, ac-
cordingly, prepared himself to go
with them, but was forbidden by
the immediate revelation of this pa-
fage, discovering their hypocrisy and ill
sign: whereupon he sent Makk
Abu al Dokkis, Maan Ebn Addi,
Asmer Ebn al Secen, and al Wahfija,
the Ethiopian, to demolish and burn
it; which they performed, and made it
dunghil. According to another
account, this mosque was built a
little before the expedition of Tabuk,
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).

(1) Al Beidawi, Jallalo'ddin.

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 declar-
ed enemy to Mohammed, having
threatened him at Obod, that no par-
ty 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
with the battle of Homein, at which he
was present; and being put to flight
with those of Haswazen, he retreat-
ed into Syria, designing to obtain a
supply of troops from the Grecian
empire, to renew the war; but he
died at Kinnisrin. Others say, that
this monk was a confederate at the
war of the ditch, and that he fled
thence into Syria (2).

p There is a temple founded on
piety, &c.] viz. That of Koba, 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 Auf. But, according to a dif-
ferent tradition, the mosque here
meant, was that which Mohammed
built at Medina.

(2) Idem.

(3) Idem.

En Shohnah. V. Abulfed. cit. Mob. p. 52. Where the translator,
taking this passage of the Koran, which is there cited, for the words of his an-
thor, has misused 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; 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; 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 fasting: they told him, that in such a case they used three stones, and after that washed with water; upon which he repeated these words of the Koran to them.

1 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.

2 It is not allowed the prophet—to pray for idolaters, &c.] This passage was
known unto them, that they are inhabitants of hell. Neither did Abraham ask forgiveness for his father, otherwise than in pursuance of a promise which he had promised unto him: but when it became known unto him, that he was an enemy unto God, he declared himself clear of him. Verily Abraham was pitiful and compassionate. Nor is God disposed to lead people into error, 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 Muhajerins, and the Ansars, who followed him in the

was revealed, as some think, on account of Abu Taleb, Mohammed's uncle and great benefactor; who, on his deathbed, being pressed by his nephew to speak a word, which might enable him to plead his cause before God, that is, to profess Islam, absolutely refused. Mohammed, however, told him, that he would not cease to pray for him, till he should be forbidden by God; which he was by these words. Others suppose the occasion to have been Mohammed's visiting his mother Aminah's sepulchre at al Abruja, 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). 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.

w 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.\) Desiring to pray for him, when he was assured by insipiration 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 confound or punish them as transgressors. This passage was revealed to excute those who had prayed for such of their friends as had died idolaters, before it was forbidden; or else, to excute 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 Tabu; or, for the

(1) Al Baidawi.
the hour of distress, after that it had waited 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, 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 desert, who dwell around them, should stay behind the apostle of God, or should prefer themselves before him. This is unreason-

other sins which they might, through inadvertence, have been guilty of. For the best men have need of repentance (1).

2 In the hour of distress, it was in the expedition of Tabuk, 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).

3 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). There were three Ansars, named Caab Ebn Malek, Helal Ebn Omeysa and Marara Ebn Rabii, who went not with Mohammed to Tabuk, and were, therefore, on his return, excluded from the fellowship of the other Mefess; 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).

6 Or should prefer themselves before him? By not caring to share with him the dangers and fatigues of war. Al Beidawi tells us, that after Mohammed had set out for Tabuk, one Abu Khaitama sitting in his garden, where his wife, a very beautiful woman, had spread a mat for him in the shade, and had set new dates, and fresh water, before him, after a little reflection, cried out, This is not well, that I should thus take my ease and pleasure, while the apostle of God is exposed to the searching of the sun's beams, and the inclinations of the air; and immediately mounting his camel, took his sword and lance, and went to join the army.

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; 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; and let them find severity 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 causé to increase in faith? It will increase the faith of those who believe, and they shall rejoice:

---

* 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, comprehending those who had idled at home during the expedition of Tabiit, 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.

* 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 Koredeba and Nadhir, and those of Khakbar; or else the Greeks of Syria (1).

* Severity;] Or, fierceness in war.

(1) *Al Baidawi*
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? 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? 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, 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.

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.

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 Moflems.

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