

This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

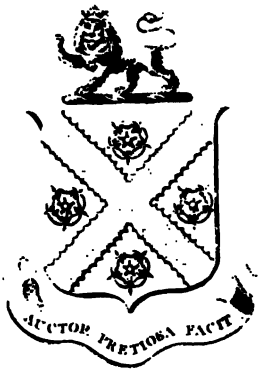
+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

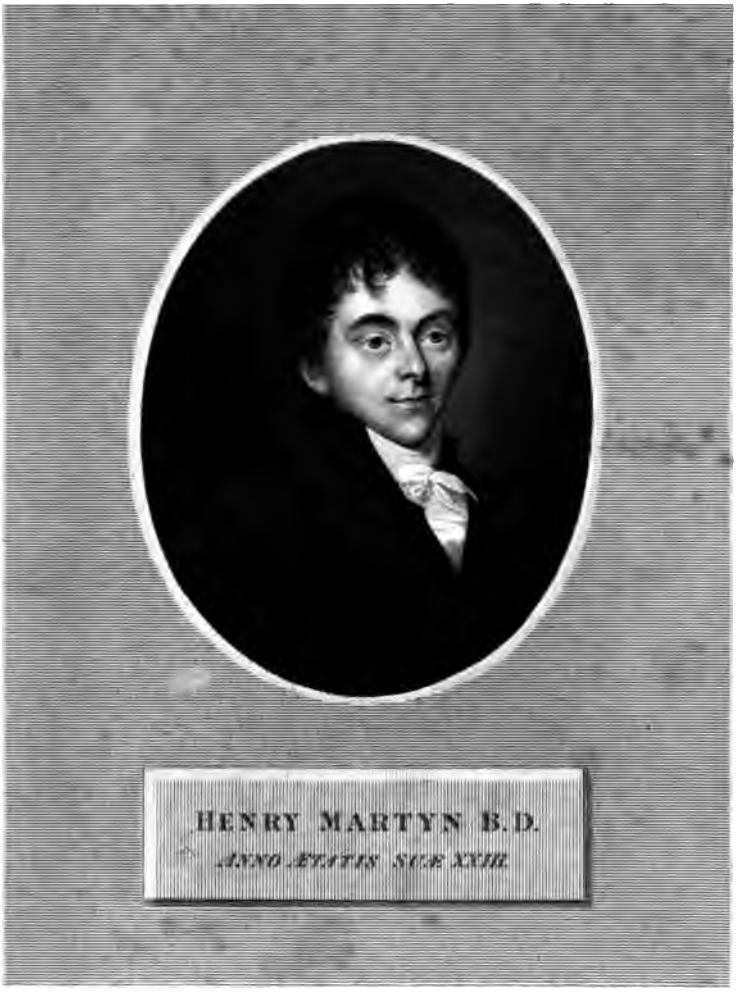
3433 06822818 2



James Lenox.






HENRY MARTYN B.D.
ANNO ÆTATIS SUÆ XXIII.

CONTROVERSIAL TRACTS

ON

Christianity and Mohammedanism.

BY

THE LATE REV. HENRY MARTYN, B. D.

OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,

AND SOME OF

THE MOST EMINENT WRITERS OF PERSIA

TRANSLATED AND EXPLAINED:

TO WHICH IS APPENDED

AN ADDITIONAL TRACT ON THE SAME QUESTION;

And, in a Preface, some Account given of a former Controversy on this Subject, with Extracts from it.

DEDICATED TO THE

RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL, K. G. &c.

BY THE REV. S. LEE, A.M.

D. D. OF THE UNIVERSITY OF HALLE, HONORARY MEMBER OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF PARIS, HONORARY ASSOCIATE OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF LITERATURE, M.R.A.S. &c. AND PROFESSOR OF ARABIC IN THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

With a Portrait of Mr. MARTYN.

CAMBRIDGE:

Printed by J. Smith, Printer to the University:

AND SOLD BY J. DEIGHTON & SONS, AND STEVENSON, CAMBRIDGE, ALSO BY C. AND J. RIVINGTON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD AND WATERLOO PLACE; AND HATCHARD & SON, PICCADILLY, LONDON.

1824


LENOX LIBRARY
NEW YORK

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL, K. G.

FIRST LORD OF HIS MAJESTY'S TREASURY,

&c. &c.

THIS ATTEMPT TO DEVELOPE AND REFUTE

THE RELIGIOUS OPINIONS OF THE MOHAMMEDANS

OF PERSIA,

AS A PUBLIC ACKNOWLEDGMENT

OF A GRANT OF ONE HUNDRED POUNDS PER ANNUM,

MADE FROM HIS MAJESTY'S TREASURY,

FOR THE PURPOSE OF ENABLING

THE ARABIC PROFESSOR OF THIS UNIVERSITY

TO DELIVER

A PUBLIC COURSE OF ARABIC AND HEBREW LECTURES

ANNUALLY,

IS MOST RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S MOST OBEDIENT

OBLIGED HUMBLE SERVANT

THE TRANSLATOR AND AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

As the following pages may perhaps be found useful to Missionaries and others, who wish to make themselves acquainted with this question, I have thought it might not be amiss to give some notices and extracts from the controversy as it existed prior to the times of Mr. Martyn; especially as that controversy was prosecuted to a much greater length than his, and contains much valuable matter on the subject. It may also be desirable to know where books treating on this question are to be found; because we hear it sometimes affirmed, that a Missionary has not the means, in this country, of acquiring a deep and accurate insight into the opinions of the Mohammedans:—that Grotius, Sale, and others, have left us in the dark, as to their metaphysics, mysticism, &c. and therefore, that it is necessary, not only to learn their language in the East, but also their opinions. As far, however, as my knowledge of this subject goes, I must be allowed to express a different opinion, having no doubt, that both the languages and

opinions of the Orientals, can be learned in thi country at as little expense, and in as little tim as they can in the East, and at a much less risk Our Public Libraries contain the very best book on every subject connected with Grammar, His tory, Ethics, Theology, Geography, and ever other science; and to which, even in the Eas itself, access is seldom to be had. Valuable a the labours of Mr. Martyn certainly were, ye I have no doubt, that if he had passed a shor time in this country in a preparatory course o Oriental reading, he would not only have don more than he has, but he would have done i better, and with far greater comfort to himself.

Time was when the student of Oriental Lite rature was almost a singularity in our Universities and such was the ascendancy obtained by clas sical and mathematical learning, that a young man must have had more than ordinary courage and self-denial, to engage in studies, which could afford him so little in prospect, with so much difficulty in their prosecution.

The state of the case is now considerably altered. A student may now commence the study of the Hebrew or Arabic without the fear of being cited as a monstrous singularity; or of being met at every turn with the appalling maxim, that Hebrew roots thrive best on barren ground. And,

if he persevere, he may hope not only that a generous public will applaud his endeavours, but that even posterity will allow him a place among those, who have been considered as benefactors to mankind, and the best ornaments of the ages in which they lived. Another consideration, and one which has the greatest weight with me is, a belief that no book, with which I am acquainted, stands so much in need of elucidation as the Hebrew Bible. From the times of Grotius to the present day, I believe we can find scarcely one original commentator. And many, even of his remarks, have been borrowed from the Jews. The Dutch and German Commentaries are the books most worthy of the scholar's regard; but many of these are such, as to make it a question whether they should be recommended or not. Nothing, if we except the dreams of Hutchinson, has come out in England for the last 100 years, in the shape of original investigation. Compilation has long been the order of the day; and names, respectable indeed and valuable in their time, are now appealed to as the only safeguards against innovation, or as instructors in the way of truth. In almost an universal dearth of Scriptural knowledge, this is not to be wondered at: nor is it to be condemned. It is without doubt the best and safest path. But it should not satisfy

the minds of those who have both ability and opportunity for making further progress. And, as the character of the times in which we live, calls for such exertion, it is to be hoped that the call will not be disregarded.

The object of these remarks, however, is not to disparage the institutions of this country: certainly not; I believe that they constitute one of its greatest excellencies, and best guardians; I would only turn them to a greater public account, by converting a portion of their provisions to a more extensive cultivation of those studies, which have ever been the glory of the Reformed Church; viz. the study of the holy Scriptures: which cannot well be done, without an extensive acquaintance with Oriental literature. The general attention too, that has of late been paid to Missionary exertions, both within and without the pale of the Church of England, constitutes a further motive for the prosecution of these studies; and, I am of opinion, that without an extensive cultivation of them, there is not much reason to anticipate the success, to which it is their object to attain. If I err then in presenting the reader with too much, I shall hope to be excused on the ground of good intention.—It was once, indeed, my determination to give, as a sort of prolegomenon, an account of the creed of the Shíah or Moham-

medan sect of Persia, followed by the principal tenets of their mysticism from the Dabistán of Mohsin Fáni* and other writers, to whom I have access; but, as this work is sufficiently extensive, and has occupied a much larger time than might have been wished in the publication, I shall reserve my materials on these subjects for a future work. We shall now proceed to our notices and extracts from the former controversy.

The books of this controversy which have come into my hands are three. One composed in the Persian language by Hieronymo Xavier, a Catholic missionary. Another, containing a reply to Xavier's work, by a Persian nobleman named Ahmed Ibn Zain Elábidín (احمد بن زين العابدين), written also in the Persian. And the third is a rejoinder in Latin, by Phillip Guadagnoli, one of the Professors attached to the College de propaganda fide, in defence of Xavier's work.

We shall first notice the book of Xavier, which has been preserved in the Library of Queen's College in this University, and which has been lent me by the kindness of the President and Fellows of that Society. Of this Xavier two

* Although Mohsin Fáni is usually cited as the author of this work, it is extremely probable that he is not, &c. See Sir Wm. Ouseley's Travels in Persia, Vol. III. p. 564.

works were published by the learned Ludovicus de Dieu;* one entitled داستان مسیح Historia Christi, to which the learned editor added اما آلوده *sed contaminata*; the other داستان سن پیدرو Historia S. Petri Persicè, to which the editor also took the liberty of adding اما آلوده *sed contaminata*. I shall merely remark, that our book was written after these, during the reign of the Emperor Jahángír; and shall refer the reader to the work of de Dieu for further particulars, as to the person of Xavier. The work in question is entitled آینهٔ حق نما "A mirror shewing the truth." To which is added, که در آن کذارش مي یابد آنچه دین عیسویان مي آموزد واسرار خاص انجیل بیان مي شود وبطلان دیکر دینها وا مي نماید تصنیف پادري زیرونیمو شویر است از صحبت حضرت عیسي از کووه آمده در دار الملك لاهور ملازمت نمود در سال هزار وپانصد ونود وشش از تولد حضرت عیسي بنام جهانکیر خلد الله ملکه وسلطانه پیرایهٔ اختتام یافت. "In which the doctrines of the Christian religion are discussed, the mysteries of the Gospel explained, and the vanity of (all) other religions is to be seen, by Hieronymo Xavier of the Society of Jesus, who, coming from Goa to the capital

* Lugduni Batavorum, A. D. 1639.

Lahore, A. D. 1596, presented his services to the Emperor Jahángír, to whom this book is dedicated, may his reign be perpetuated."

We then have a preface filling eight pages, entitled, اقرار باسرار خاص الهي بطور مناجات "An attestation of the mysteries of God, by way of prayer." In this prayer the different attributes of the Deity are laid down; namely, his wisdom, power, mercy, and goodness, as visible in the creation. In the third page we have the doctrine of the Trinity thus stated: باوجود اين كه ذات الهي واحد حقيقي است سه شخص است پدر وپسر وروح القدس يك خداي حقيقي بي انكه شخصها درهم امميزند وذات قسمت پذيرد واز وحدت بر آمده كثرت بكيرد واين خاصهٔ خداي بيحد است كه در غير او نتوان يافت "Although the essence is truly one, it consists, (nevertheless) of three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost: one true God, without confusion of persons, or division of essence, or (such as) leaving the unity, should assume a plurality. This property of the Deity is infinite, and such as can obtain in no other." The following is a specimen of the prayer contained in this preface, which, pious and feeling as it certainly is, must be confessed to approach in some degree to the effusions of mysticism. اي صاحب ببخش اكر نارضايتو ميكنم بداخل كردن خويش در كارها واوصاف تو مردم

در بحر عميق غواصي ميكنند تا ازو كوهرهاي كرامي وچيزهاي خوب بر كشند پس اي درياي كمالات رخصت ده تا در تو فرو شوم وخودرا وبرادران خودرا كه بندكان تو اند دولتمند سازم وايشان‌را به بيان كردن بزركيها ورحمتهاي تو دستياري نمايم كه اكر من سزاوار ان نه ام كه از تو بكويم تو لايق آني كه همكنان در كذاردن رحمتهاي تو بكوشند چون خوبي وجمال بيحد داري.

"Pardon, O Lord, should I do what is unpleasing in thy sight, by obtruding myself into the things and properties which belong to thee. Men plunge into the deep ocean thence to fetch pearls and other precious things. Therefore, *O Sea of perfections, suffer me to sink deep in thee,* and thence to enrich myself and brethren, who are thy servants; and, by describing thy greatness and mercies, may help them. For, although I am unworthy to speak of thee, thou art worthy that all should endeavour to praise thee; since thou art possessed of infinite *goodness and beauty.*"

The following is the conclusion of the prayer:

اي خدا صاحب من بيفايده خواهد بود اكر تو برحمت بي حد خويش مرا وايشان‌را دستكيري ننموده باشي مارا اي خداوند كليد شناسائي خويش ده وعقلهاي مارا نيروي بزركي بخش تا بزركي تو وعنايتهاي تو مارا سرمايهٔ شك نباشد وازين سبب از چندين خوبيهأ تو بي بهر نمانيم بر

ما آن نیاید که بر خفاش که بافتاب کور میشود وبروشنائي در تاریکي بده مارا چشمان دوربین وروشن تا اعتقاد کنیم از تو آن بسیاري که هستي وبراي ما کردي وباین کفتار وکردار ترا پیروي کنیم تا خدائیت ترا که دریغجهان بغیر با ایمان وتاریکي در نمي یابیم در بهشت بائیني (باینهٔ) روشن به بینیم آمین. "O Lord my God (this) will be fruitless, unless thou assist both me and them with thine infinite mercy. Give unto us, O Lord, the key of the knowledge of thee. Grant to our understandings the power of comprehending thy greatness, that thy majesty and grace may not be to us an occasion of stumbling, and hence remain unblessed by thy many favours. Let not that come upon us which happens to the bat, which is blinded by the light of the Sun; and which, in the midst of light, remains in darkness. Give us enlightened and far-discerning eyes, that we may believe in that greatness of which thou art, and which, for our sakes, thou hast revealed. And, that by these words and actions, we may so follow thee, that in Paradise we may see thy Godhead, in the mirror of light, which, in this world, we can only contemplate by faith, and (as in a glass) darkly. Amen."

We then have the dedication to the Emperor Jahángír, covering about ten pages. The following are a few extracts from it. The title is

در خطاب ظل الهي خلافت پناهي شاهنشاه بزرك جهانكير
خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه. Address to the shadow of
God, the Assylum of Empire, the great King of
kings Jahángír, may God perpetuate his king-
dom and power. آورده اند كه انكشمينش حكيم
بعزيمت اكتساب وآموختن حكمت آن استاد دانا يعني
سقراطرا ملازمت كرد وچون ديد كه از طالبان حكمت هركه
سعادت ملازمت در مي يابد تحفهٔ شايسته ميكذراند واين روش
رواج دارد بر تهي دستي خويش چشم انداخته كفت استاد من
آمده‌ام كه تمتعي از داناي وتعليم تو بر كيرم وجز خويشتن
چيزي ندارم مرا بپذير واز آن خويشتن بكن اكر لايق ميداني
سقراطرا اين جوانمردي بغايت خوش وقث كرد ودر يافت
كه بهترين تحفه از انچه ميتوانست بمن كذرانيد عطوفت
فراوان در تعليم او نمود واو فايدها كرفت وحكيم بزرك شد
وقتي كه اين اداي بخت افزاي كه موجب عز واقبال آن
حكيم كرديد ودر نظر اين فقير در آمد از تلاطم امواج درياي
غموم بسافل تسلي آرميد زيراكه اين فقير مدت دوازده سال
است كه بشرف تعتيل شده سنيه وعتبه عليه خلد الله ملكه
مشرف شده وبعنايات والتفاتات پادشاهانه سر افراز كشته
واجب دانست كه براي اداي شكر نعم خداوندي كه احصاي
آنها مقدور بشري نيست ومباركبادي جلوس سرير سلطنت
بالارث واستحقاق تحفه بكذراند اما تهي دستي اين بنده‌را
از سعادت اين خدمت محروم ميداشت &c. "They

have related, that when Anaximenes the philosopher attended on Socrates, with the view of augmenting his knowledge, and perceived that all the students who obtained admission usually made some present, contemplating his own want, he said, Master, I am come with the view of obtaining learning from you, but have nothing to offer but myself: accept of me and make me your own, if it should seem proper. Socrates was much pleased with the frankness of the offer; and, seeing that he had offered the best thing in his power, paid him considerable attention. Anaximenes made a great progress, and became a great philosopher. When this exhilarating circumstance occurred to the mind of the writer, he was relieved from his overwhelming anxieties. It now being a period of twelve years during which he has received the favours of your exalted Majesty, whose empire may God perpetuate, he thought that some return should be made for favours thus innumerable, some blessing conferred upon the throne which you possess both by hereditary right and merit. Hitherto, however, the want of something to offer has been a restraint, &c." A little farther on, speaking of the advantages of learning, we have an account of the siege of Athens, in which is given the following fable by Demosthenes: وقتي در سباع وشبابان جنك

بود سخنان آشتي در ميان آورده كركان گفتند علت آزار ما سگانند كه شما با خود ميداريد اينها مرا (مارا) پريشان ورنجيده ميدارند كاري كنيد كه سگان را بكشيد تا بصلح برادرانه زندگاني كنيم شبانان‌را از نابخردي اين سخن پسنديده آمد اينچنين كردند كه آن وفاداران وخادمان دولت انديش را مهجور ومقتول ساختند سباع انزمان دست تعدي بتاراج گوسپندان گشودند ويكان يكان را بي ترس ودغدغه ميربودند اينچنين بر شما واقعه خواهد شد اگر حكيمان را كه پاسباني شما ميكنند واز بهبود شمارا خبر ميدهند دور مي اندازيد شهريان صلاح خويش در يافته بفيلقوس جواب دادند كه سخني وجنك پيش ما عزيزتر است ازين كه فلاسفه را از خود دور كنيم. "Upon a time, a war happened between the beasts and the shepherds. The wolves, upon a parley taking place as to the terms of peace, said, These dogs, which you always have about you, are extremely offensive to us; if you would but kill them, we could then live as brothers together. The silly shepherds thought well of this speech, and either drove away or killed all their watchful and faithful animals. The beasts now destroyed the sheep one after another without the least molestation." "Precisely the same," said Demosthenes, "will be your lot, if ye drive away your philosophers, who are your best guards and admonishers. The citizens (of Athens) perceiving the wholesomeness of this advice, sent

to Phillip to say, that they had much rather sustain the warfare than part with their philosophers."

After the dedication, we come to the table of contents, which is as follows:

فهرست اين مباحث كرامي

اين مطلب اعلي ومقاصد اقصي در پنج باب كذارش مي
يابد باب اول در بيان احتياج ادميان بدين خدا بحكم وجوب
اين پنج فصل است فصل اول در شرافت آدمي بر ديكر
حيوانات بعقل ودر آرايش او بعلم خاصه بعلم دين حق
خدا ودر آنكه پيش از يك دين بر حق نتواند بود
فصل دويم در اثبات واجب الوجود ودر آنكه اختيار داره
آدمي براي نيكوكاري وبدكاري در طاعت خالق خويش
فصل سيوم در بدايت روح انساني وبيمركي او كه با جسم
نميميرد ودر ثواب وعقاب بعد از مرك فصل چهارم در
آنكه واجبست كه دين سلمتي ملهم وفرستاده خدا باشد
ودر آنكه عقل طبيعي براي رواج دادن دين كافي نتواند
بود ودر آنكه واجبست كه براي تعليم آن رسل باشند
ودر آنكه آمده اند فصل پنجم در علاماتي كه بان دين
حق خدا از ديكر دينها (دينهاي) دنيا توان شناخت.

TABLE OF THE DISCUSSIONS.

The important subject discussed will be divided into five chapters, the first of which will treat

on the want necessarily experienced by mankind of a religion taught by God. This will contain five sections. Section I. On the intellectual superiority of man over other living creatures,—on his being endued with a knowledge peculiar to himself; namely, of a religion sent from God :—and on the question, that more than one religion cannot be considered as true. Section II. Proving the existence of a first Cause :—and that man has the power to do either good or evil, with respect to the service of his Maker. Section III. On the origin and immortality of the human soul: that, it outlives the body ;—and on rewards and punishments after death. Section IV. Shewing that a religion capable of affording salvation must be sent from God; and, that human intellect is unequal to the task of giving currency to such a religion. Also, that prophets must be sent to teach it; and that such have actually come. Section V. On the criteria by which the religion of God might be distinguished from worldly religions. باب دويم در چيزهاي كه دين عيسويان از خدا مي آموزد در بيان معقوليت آن اين هشت فصل است. فصل اول در آنكه بسا چيزهاي الهي از مخلوقات شناخته ميشود ودر آنكه خدا واحد است وبسيط بي هيچ نوع تركيب ودرين كه صفات الهي عين ذات اوست فصل دويم در آنكه خدا با وجود انكه بسيط است سه شخص است

پدر وپسر وروح القدس ودر كذارش آن راز بلند فصل سيوم در آنكه چيزهاي الهي اقرار بر *مغيبات واجبست ودر آنكه خدا قادر مطلق است وفاعل باختيار ودر انچه عالم قديم نيست ودر انچه همه چيز بدانش خود ميكند ودر آنكه عالمرا از هيچ آفريد فصل چهارم در اثبات جواهر مجرد كه عقل وارادت دارند وآنكه فساد پذير نيستند در شمار بسيار اند ودر اطاعت فرشتكان وعصيان شيطان ودر كوناكوني آفرينش جسمانيات كه خدا در زير آسمان آفريد فصل پنجم در تجرد نفس انساني وامتيزش او بتن فصل ششم در بيان تعلق مخلوقات بخالق ودر تدبير استقامت امور عالم وعدم تيقن باحكام منجم فصل هفتم در خلقت آدم ودر عصيان او ودر سبب محنتها كه ميكشيم ودربي انتظامي ذات ما كه علت آن كناه موروثي است فصل هشتم در تدبير خدا بعالم ودر آنكه محنتهارا چرا ميكذارد كه بمردم عايد ميشود وچرا با وجود قدرت از كناه باز تميدارد ودر علاج كه كنهكاران‌را داد.

Chapter II. On those things relating to God which the Christian religion teaches; for the

* At the commencement of the Section the passage stands thus: تصديق بدانچه از دريافت ما بيرونست واجبست It is necessary, that we should bear testimony to the truth of those things which are placed beyond the reach of our knowledge.

better understanding of which the following eight Sections are given. Section I. Shewing that God may be known from the things of creation: that God is one simple and unmixed essence; and that his several attributes are not adscititious. Section II. Shewing, that although God be one simple essence, he nevertheless consists of three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost:—and on that exalted mystery. Section III. On the necessity of confessing the truth of those divine things which are concealed from us: that God is an Almighty and free agent: that the world is not eternal: that God does all things according to his own wisdom: and that he created the world out of nothing. Section IV. Shewing that there are unmixed existences, endued with intelligence and volition: that they are imperishable, and many in number: that, in a state of obedience, these are angels; of disobedience, devils. Shewing also, the great variety of earthly bodies created by God. Section V. On the independent existence of the human soul, and how it is compounded with the body. Section VI. On the dependence of the creature on the Creator. On the council discoverable in the disposition of earthly things. And on the falsehood of the principles of astrology. Section VII. On the creation and fall of man: on the cause of our

adversities, and irregularities, which is original sin. Section VIII. On God's providence,—why he suffers adversities to exercise mankind, and why, notwithstanding his power, he does not restrain them from sin: and on the remedy proposed to sinners.

باب سیوم در خدائیت عیسي کریستس صاحب ما این نه فصل است فصل اول در آنکه عیسي هم خداست برانستي وهم آدم فصل دوم در اسباب واغراض که براي آن خدا آدم شد فصل سیوم در آنکه باید که خدا آدمي شود نه فرشته وباید که فقیرانه زندکاني کند ودر محنتها کذراند نه در لطافت وبزرکانه فصل چهارم در آنکه خدا آدمي شده چند جفاها کشید وبچندان خواري ومذلت مصلوب شده فصل پنجم در آنکه عیسي سبب همه چیزهاست وچرا پیش ازین در دنیا نیامد ودر اطراف عالم نکشت فصل ششم در آنکه چرا بعضي‌ها کمراه میشوند وحال آنکه از آن کروه اند که اعتقاد مسیح دارند ودر آنکه نیکان چرا محنتها میکشند ودر آنکه واجبست که مردم ریاضت کشند ودر معجزات مسیح فصل هفتم در داشتن وعزیز کرفتن صورت حضرت عیسي ودیکران ودر فواید اینها که بما باز میکردند ودر حرمت نشانیها که از اولیاي خدا مانده باشند فصل هشتم در آنکه انجیل ودیکر کتابهاي مقدس که عیسویان دارند همان کتب است که از جانب خدا نوشته شده اند بي آنکه تحریف وتغیر در آن رفته

باشد فصل نهم در بیان آنکه انجیل بقران منسوخ نشده است ودر آنکه چرا دین موسي بانجیل منسوخ کشت.

Chapter III. On the Divinity of Jesus Christ our Lord, containing nine Sections. Section I. Shewing that Jesus is truly God and man. Section II. Shewing the reason and ends, why God became man. Section III. On the necessity of God, and not of an angel, becoming man: and, that he should live in a state of poverty and affliction, not of pomp and pleasure. Section IV. On God's becoming man; why, suffering pains, contempt, and reproach, he was crucified. Section V. Shewing that Jesus was the cause of all things, why he did not come earlier into the world, and did not traverse its different regions. Section VI. Shewing why some are in error, although professing a faith in Christ: why the good are subject to difficulties; and on the necessity of practising abstinence. Also, on the miracles of Christ. Section VII. On retaining and reverencing the image of Jesus and others: and on the advantages derived from them. Also on the reverence due to the reliques of the Saints. Section VIII. Shewing, that the Gospels and other sacred books in the hands of the Christians, are the same with those first written by the inspiration of God, and that they have undergone neither change nor cor-

ruption. Section IX. Shewing that the Gospel has not been abrogated by the Koran: and why the religion of Moses was abrogated by the Gospel.

باب چهارم در احکام دین انجیل ودر فرق احکام دین عیسي واحکام دین محمد این هشت فصل است فصل اول در ده حکم دین‌خدا ودر معقولیت آنها فصل دوم در تفاوت دین قران وانجیل در باب جنك وقتل وتاراج فصل سیوم در تفاوت دین قران وانجیل در عصمت وعفت فصل چهارم در عمادا ودیکر احکام عیسویان فصل پنجم در نماز ودیکر احکام دین محمدیان فصل ششم در تفاوت فضیلت عیسي با محمد فصل هفتم در باب معجزات محمد فصل هشتم در کیفیت رواج دین محمد ودین عیسي.

Chapter IV. On the precepts of the religion of the Gospel; and on the difference between the precepts of Christianity, and those of Mohammedanism, containing eight Sections. Section I. On the ten commandments of God's religion, and on their meaning. Section II. On the difference between the religion of the Koran, and that of the Gospel, as it respects war, slaughter, and plunder. Section III. On the difference between the religions of the Koran and the Gospel, as it respects chastity and purity. Section IV. On baptism and other Christian rites. Section V. On the prayers and other observances of Islamism.

Section VI. On the excellency of the character of Christ, when compared with that of Mohammed. Section VII. On Mohammed's miracles. Section VIII. On the propagation of the religions of Mohammed and Jesus.

باب پنجم در تاييداتي كه در دين حق عيسويان يافته ميشود براي بندكي خداي ودر تفاوت آن بدينهاء ديكر اين هشت فصل است فصل اول در بهشت ودوزخ در بعث مردكان ودر احوال اينها در بهشت ودوزخ ودر عنايتها كه زندكان بمردكان ميكنند فصل دوم در باز پرس هركدام بطريق خاص وعام وطور بعث اجسام ودر آمدن مسيح براي دادي همكنان فصل سيوم در انچه ميكويند محمديان در باب بهشت فصل چهارم در معلونت اعتقاديات عيسويان فصل پنجم در امداد عمليات عيسويان فصل ششم در اختلاف مراتب متصديان دين عيسويان ودر باب تاركان دنيا فصل هفتم در كدخداي عيسويان ودر مدد فقرا فصل هشتم خلاصه تمام كتاب. Chapter V. On the assistances to be found in true Christianity, as to the services of God; and on the difference between this and other religions. This contains eight Sections. Section I. On Paradise and Hell. On the resurrection of the dead; and on the situation of those in Paradise and Hell. Also, on the favours which the living may confer on the dead. Section II. On the ex-

amination of all, with respect to his religion and conduct: also how bodies are raised again: and on the coming of Christ to judge all. Section III. On what the Mohammedans say respecting Paradise. Section IV. On the advantages afforded by the Christian articles of faith. Section V. On the advantages derived from the good works of Christians. Section VI. On the different degrees of those who take the lead in spiritual affairs. Also on the state of those who retire from the world. Section VII. On the œconomy of the Christians; and on their charities to the poor. Section VIII. Recapitulation of the whole.

The following extract from the first chapter will give the reasons of Xavier's coming to the court of Jahángír, and why his book assumed the form of dialogue, which it continues throughout.

باب اول در بیان احتیاج ادمیان بدین خدا بحکم وجوب فصل اول در شرافت آدمي بر دیکر حیوانات بعقل وآرایش عقل بعلم خاصه بعلم دین حق خدا ودر آنکه بیش از یك دین بر حق نتواند بود (and in the margin)* سبب آمدن پادریان . . . روزي در ملازمت حضرت ظل آلهي

* Hence it will be seen that the table of contents differs a little from the contents as given at the heads of the chapters.

خلافت دستگاهي ارشاد پناهي خليفه بر حق سعادت حضور داشتم ناگاه پيري دانا كه از راه دور دست براي تماشاي آن بزرك كه حيرت افزاني پادشاهان دور و نزديك است آمده بود بمن نزديك شد ومارا ديده تعجب بنمود ولباس مخالف ديار خود در يافته روي بمن آورده گفت شما كيستيد واز كجا آمده ايد گفتم از ملك پرتكال بكوه آمده ام واز آنجا بحكم جهان مطاع بدار الملك رسيدم .... من وياران من در كوه زمين به بيخبري وغفلت ميگذرانديم ناگاه فرمان عالي كه سرمايهٔ آب روي كونين است در رسيد ومارا بذوق تمام آورد چنان كرد كه دوستان ومصاحبان خود وهر آنچه در امكان ما بود همه‌را گذاشته رو براه آورديم اعتقاد كنان كه هرانچه در ياران پراكنده ميگذاريم در ظل دولت روز افزون همه‌را يكجا خواهيم يافت . گفته شد كه از كجا آمدم اكنون ان ميگويم كه كيستم وچكاره ام مولد من فرنكست دين عيسوي دارم كار من تعليم عيسويان است آنم كه محض براي عبادت وخلوص پرستاري خداي خويش دنيارا بتمام لذتهاي وي از مالي وشهواتي كذاشتم تا مردم‌را راه سلامتي دايمي تعليم دهم از پرتكال بكوه آمده ام واز انجا بحكم سردار خويش بدار الملك رسيدم . او گفت سپاس مر خداي را كه شمارا شناختم واز ديركاه آرزو بود كه بداناي از فرنكستان سخن كنم وامبد كه آنچنان باشد تا غرض من برآيد ومقصود حاصل شود وكمتر ازين نتواند بود چون بطلب اين طور

پادشاه بزرك شمارا فرستاده اند . گفتم .... در گفت كوي شما منم كه فايده‌مند خواهم شد .... باز مي پرسيم كه خاطر ما تسلي كنيد واز خود نشان دهيد كه از كجائيد وكار شما چيست سپاهي كري يا بازركاني يا علم . گفت من حكيمم كه در جهان نوردي وخواندن كتاب هاي حكمت (In the margin) . وديكر علوم عمر خودرا خرچ كرده ام اختراع بحث در (ميان) پادري وحكيم Chapter I. On the want which men necessarily experience of a Religion from God. Section I. On the intellectual excellency of man above other creatures, and on his peculiar intellectual endowment in God's true religion: and shewing, that there cannot be more than one true religion, (in the margin). The reason of the arrival of the Padres.

Upon a certain day, being favoured with the presence of his sublime Majesty, a learned old man, who had come from a great distance to see the king, the astonishment of sovereigns far and near, suddenly appeared, and came up to me. He viewed us with astonishment; and, seeing that our clothing differed from that of his country, he turned to me and said, Who are you, and whence come ye? I replied, From the kingdom of Portugal I came to Goa, and, from thence, at the command of the king, I came to the capital....

I and my friends were passing our time in ignorance and inactivity at Goa, when, unexpectedly, the command of the king, who is the source of all eminence, arrived, which gave us so much pleasure, that we immediately left friends, companions, and all that we had, and commenced our journey; nothing doubting, that whatever we had left in a state of confusion among our friends, we should find collected within the shade of the court. Whence we came, then, has now been said. We shall now say, who we are, and what our occupation is. The place of my birth is Europe. I profess the Christian religion. My business is to teach the Christians. I am one of those who have left the world and all its lusts, wealth, and pleasures, with the view of teaching men the way of everlasting salvation. I came from Portugal to Goa; and thence, at the order of my General, I came to the capital. He replied, Thanks be to God that I have made your acquaintance. I have long been wishing to speak with a learned European. My hope now is, that my desire will be fulfilled, and that I shall obtain my end. But nothing less is at all likely, since you have been sent for by the king for a similar reason. I answered, I am ready to converse with you, that I may receive some advantage thereby. I ask in my turn, hoping that you will gratify us,

to give some account of yourself, whence you come, and what your occupation is: is it military, merchandise, or learning? He replied, I am a man of science, who have spent my life in travelling, and in reading books on philosophy and the sciences. (In the margin). The commencement of the discussion between the Padre and the Philosopher.

The discussion is now carried on between the Padre and the Philosopher in an interesting manner, on the characters of the different animals, &c. till the superiority of man is proved from the consideration of his intellectual capacities. In the first section of the second chapter, where the doctrine of the Trinity is introduced, a Mohammedan Doctor or Moola appears, who objects to the doctrine from a text of the Koran. The Padre then requests, that three days may be allowed him for preparation and prayer, after which he promises to explain the mystery. To this both the Philosopher and the Moola agree, as a reasonable request. At the appointed time the disputants meet; and now, the Padre, like Simonides, finds, that the longer he considers the question, the more difficult it appears; and he is afraid, that, like the vision afforded to Augustine when engaged in the same question, viz. of one who attempted to transfer the waters of the ocean

into a little ditch by means of a sea-shell, he shall be found to attempt impossibilities. He enters upon the question, however, by telling his hearers, that some properties are peculiar to God which are peculiar to no creature, just as kings and other great men have treasures peculiar to themselves; and, after a good deal of abstruse reasoning, he receives the following answer from the Philosopher, این تعلیم است بس بلند وبسیار نو براي من لیکن هیچ وجه ندارم تا بکویم باطلست خوش میداشتم اکر همین‌را مکرر میکفتید یا بعبارت دیکر تا بهتر فهمیده شد. "This doctrine is sufficiently high and very new to me. I have no reason to say, however, that it is false. I should be very glad if you would repeat it, or state it in some other way, that I may the better understand it." The Padre proceeds: As God knows himself, and is known of himself, it must follow that two persons or reasonable subsistencies (قایم عاقل) exist in his essence, which is one, &c. The Philosopher answers, اکنون روشنتر فهمیدم "I now understand it more clearly." The Moola, however, takes an exception. Man, says he, knows himself, and is known of himself, yet he is but one person. The Padre cuts this gordian knot by replying, that God is unlike his creatures. To which the Moola is made to answer, اکنون نزدیك است که بفهمم. "I almost

understand it now." The Padre next shews, that as the light proceeds from the sun, which constitutes the form and essence of that body; and, as the light is of equal antiquity with the sun, so does he who is called the Son of God proceed from God. After a good deal of explanation on the subject of generation, &c. the Padre proceeds to treat on the person of the Holy Ghost. God is infinitely good, says he, He is, therefore, the object of infinite love and desire. But this affection can proceed from God alone. Besides, this is accidental to man, but not to God; and, whatever subsists in God, is God. God, therefore, desires himself, and is desired of himself; and this desire constitutes another subsistency in his essence. There are consequently three, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The Padre then puts this question in another point of view, wherein he says, God is the *desirer,* and the *desired* of himself; and makes his conclusion accordingly. The Moola replies; By this mode of arguing, a quaternity is proved. God is the *knowing,* and *the known,* the *desiring,* and the *desired!* The Padre replies, No; This is not allowable, because we do not acknowledge a plurality in God. Besides, the other attributes of God such as power, goodness, and mercy, are the constant and inseparable properties of his essence, which is one; while those

of *desire*, and *knowledge*, may be said to be proceeding, &c. After some dispute on the propriety of names, the Moola asks, what this last person is called. The Padre answers, Espirito Santo. (اسپریت سانتو یعني) that is to say, (روح القدس) the Holy Ghost. After a good deal of *pro* and *con* on this question the Moola confesses that he has nothing very strong to object; and only requests a little further information on certain points mentioned in the former part of the dispute. With this the section ends; and the next begins with an avowal from the Philosopher, that he is quite satisfied on these subjects; and only wishes for a deeper enquiry into the nature of God. Upon which the Padre prudently informs him, that certain things are placed beyond the reach of man.

It will be almost endless to notice the contents of every chapter and section of this work, we shall, therefore, notice only such as may appear to be the most interesting. We shall now pass on, therefore, to the seventh section of the second chapter, which gives an account of the creation and fall of man. The contents given at the head of the section are as follows. فصل هفتم در خلقت آدم يعني در بيان آنكه چكونه كامل وتمام آفريده شد وچنان عاصي كشت ودر بيان سبب اين محنتهاي كه

میکشیم ودر بي انتظامي ذات ما که علت او گناه موروثي است . Section VII. On the creation of man, that is, a description of his being created perfect and entire, and of his becoming so great a sinner. Also on the reason why we suffer so many adversities: also on the derangement of our constitutions, which has been caused by hereditary (original) sin.*

We shall pass over the account of the creation, and come to that of the fall, which is as follows. After stating that Eve had been given to Adam as a companion, and that he had been adorned with every gift necessary for the situation of the ruler of all the world, it is said, فرمود که این چیز آسان بعمل آرید یعني میوهٔ این درخت خاص مخورید واگر میخورید آن عنایتها که شمارا ونسل شمارا کرده ام خواهم گرفت خصوصاً از آن زمان مرگ‌را خواهید دید ایشان فرمان برداري نکردند وعصیان نمودند وحکم خدا شکستند خدا غضب کرد واز بهشت که انجا نهاده بود بیرون انداخت وخودرا مورد صد هزار بلاي تن یافتند وبه بزرگ‌تر از همه که مرگست وبدتر آنکه در ناخوشنودي خدا ماندند وآن قابلیت بهشت از ایشان واز نسل ایشان بر گرفت .

---

* I have given the contents of the section in this and a former instance to shew, that they differ considerably from the table of contents given at the commencement of the work.

ایشان معاقب شدند همچون باغیان وهمه فرزندان ایشان همچون باغي پسر وازین است که از جانب روح بچندان ناتواني وناداني زاده میشویم واز جانب تن بچندان ضعیفي که مي توانیم گفتن که محتاج تر ودردمندتر از تمام حیوانات زاده میشویم مورد مرك وهمه دردها واحتیاجها . وچون ادم وحوا همچون سروران در کناه افتادند لاجرم همه مایان که درین عالم پیدائي میکیریم آلوده کناه وعقوبت آن میائیم وآن توبه که بعد از آن کردند وسبب آن بخشیده شدند همچون مردم سردار نکردند مکر همچو دیکر مردم بنابرین فایدهٔ خوبي ایشان تنها بایشان باز کردید وبدي ایشان جمیع فرزندانرا در کرفت . "God commanded, that they should obey this easy precept, namely: Eat not of the fruit of this particular tree; for if ye eat of it, those gifts which have been bestowed on you and your children, shall be taken away; and above all, from that time ye shall see death. They, however, disobeyed and rebelled: they broke God's commandment, who, becoming angry, expelled them from Paradise in which he had placed them. Hence they became liable to innumerable calamities, and to death which is the greatest of all. And, what is still worse, they remained under the displeasure of God, who took from them and their posterity the fitness for Paradise. Hence they, like rebels, and their children like the children of rebels, became the

objects of punishment. Hence also it is, that we are born so weak and ignorant in every thing belonging to the soul; and, with respect to the body, so infirm that we may truly say, that we are born subject to greater wants and pains than all the other animals, being subject to death and to every pain and want. Since, then, Adam and Eve, as the leaders of the human race, fell into sin, all we, who are born into the world, are necessarily defiled with sin, and liable to punishment. The repentance which they afterwards offered, and in consequence of which they were pardoned, was not tendered by them as the heads of the human race, but only as individuals. Hence it was, that their goodness extended to themselves alone: but that their sin implicated all their offspring."

The third chapter commences with a disputation on the divinity of Christ. The Philosopher objects, that neither he nor the Mohammedans can see, how Christ should be God and man. If he was God, how he could be born, suffer, and die. But, as he was born, suffered, and died, the probability is, that he was not God. The Padre replies, that however unanswerable this may seem, he will answer it by shewing, in the first place, in what sense Jesus is said to be God; and, in the second, by replying to

his objections. After God had created the world, says he, and saw that man had fallen into sin, and was on the way to hell, he sent many Prophets and holy men to teach them the way of salvation: but, finding that their instruction took but little effect, he determined himself to come into the world, and to bring that about which they could not. And then, just as the angels had assumed the form of a devotee with the view of teaching the Prophets, it was his determination to take the human shape, that men may both see and hear him, and learn from him what it was their duty to do. This shape was not merely apparent as that of the angels, but real. And thus he became a perfect man, while he also sustained his own proper Godhead. And God, thus becoming man, we call Jesus Christ. (Isa Kristo).

وچنانکه پیغامبران خودرا مي آموخت بواسطهٔ فرشتکان که پیش ایشان فرستاد بشکل زاهد تا بهتر شنود ودیده شوند خواست که خود بصورة بشري بیاید تا مردم اورا توانند دید وشنود واز وي آموخت انچه باید کرد وبیروي نمودن این صورت ظاهري آدمي نخواست که محض در نمایش بکیرد وبس همچون فرشتها بلکه براستي آدمیّت حقیقي کرفت واین طور آدم حقیقي شد بي آنکه خدائیت خود بکذارد واین خدا آدم شده‌را عیسي کرستو میخوانیم.

After this the miracles which he performed are ascribed to his Godhead, his sufferings and death to his manhood. The divine and human nature existing in the same person are then compared to a tree, into which a different scion has been grafted, both continuing to exist together.

The section concludes with an appeal to the Scriptures, stating, that the Prophets, who have written of these things, were daily in expectation of their fulfilment, and that hence it is that the Mohammedans and others, who have not read the Scriptures, cannot understand, why it should be the will of God, that such things should take place: but, that to one who has read and who understands them, all is plain and clear.

We shall now pass on to Section VII. in which the advantages arising from the use of images and reliques are fully discussed. But as nothing new is here generally advanced in favour of image worship, we shall notice only one argument, drawn from the favours which God is said to have bestowed on those, who have been particularly attentive to this part of Christian duty. It is this: وبطوري ظاهري مي بينيم كه خدا از تعظيم اين صورتها راضي ميشود چون بسيار مرتبه اينهارا عزت مي بخشد بمعجزها وكرامات كه بر كساني كه در تعظيم وحرمت ان هستند ظاهر ميكند چنانچه از قصهاي كذشتكان ظاهر ميشود

وبالفعل هست در ملك عيسويان در خانهٔ مريم مقدس در شهر لوريت كه در ملك ايتاليه است ودر صورت حضرت عيسي مصلوب در شهر پوركوس كه در ولايت اسپانيه هست ودر خانهٔ دختر مقدس در شهر مفسرات كه در ملك كتلونيه هست ودر شهر كواده لوپ نزديك پرتكال ودر ديكر جاها كه شمردن كرامت ها كه ظاهر شده اند ومي شوند هر روز تمامي ندارد. We have evident intimations that God approves of the worship of these images; and this he has evinced by the miracles which he has wrought in favour of those who have paid particular reverence to them; as it may be seen from past histories, and witnessed even now in Christian countries. In the church of the blessed Virgin, for instance, at Loretto in Italy:—with respect to the crucifix in the city of Burgos in Spain, and in the Church of the blessed Virgin in the city of Montserrat in Catalonia:—also in the city of Guadaloupe, near (the confines of) Portugal, and in other places, to recount the miracles of which, either already done or still doing, would be endless.

The following will perhaps suffice as to reliques:

وخدا آن مقدار محب عابدان خود است كه بسيار راضي ميشود ازين كه خاك وخاكستر وجامهٔ اينانرا عزت ميكنيم ومارا باعث ومحرك اين ميشود كرامات وعنايات

که بدارندگان بقیها و بزرگی دهندگان ایشان میکند چنانچه
توانید دریافت اگر قصهای عیسویان از کتب معتبره
بخوانید. God so loves his servants, that he is very desirous that we should do honour to their dust, ashes, and garments. The miracles wrought, and favours bestowed on those who have possessed and honoured such reliques, are sufficient to stimulate us to do so, as you would perceive upon reading the accounts found in respectable Christian authors.

We now pass on from this to the next section, which is to prove, that no corruption has taken place in the Scriptures. The argument here insisted upon principally, is founded on the consideration of those doctrines, which impose certain restraints on the will of men. And the conclusion is, that if the Scriptures had been corrupted, these restraints would have been taken off. Other arguments are grounded on the consideration of the different sects and disputes of the Christians, which must have made it impossible, that any party could have succeeded in corrupting the Scriptures: and another, that had Mohammed been predicted by name, there could have been no reason, why he should not have been received.

We now pass on to Chapter IV. on the difference between the Christian and Mohammedan

religions. The Padre, after shewing that man is a reasonable creature, proceeds to lay down the ten commandments, which God had given for the regulation of his conduct. These are as follows: اول پرستش کن خداي واحدرا ووي‌را عزيز دار بر همه چيز دويم قسم نخوريم بنام خداي بر باطل سيوم پاك دار عيدهارا چهارم كرامي دار والدين‌را كه موجب مزيد حياتست پنجم كسي‌را نا حق مكش ششم زنا مكن هفتم دزدي مكن هشتم تهمت مكن ودروغ مكوي نهم ميلان زنا مكن دهم حريص نبايستي بر مال ديكران واين ده حكم داخلند درين دو حكم يعني خدارا عزيز دار بر جميع ما سواي او ودوست دار خويشاوندان خودرا چنانچه خودرا, &c. First, Worship one God, and love him above every thing. Second, Let us not swear in God's name in vain. Third, Keep the holy-days holy. Fourth, Honour your parents, which is the cause of lengthening life. Fifth, Kill no one unjustly. Sixth, Commit no whoredom. Seventh, Steal not. Eighth, Neither accuse nor lie. Ninth, Incline not to whoredom. Tenth, It is not allowable to desire the wealth of others. These ten commandments are contained in the two following: 1. Love God above all things, and 2. Love your own relations as yourself. The Padre proceeds, ميكويم كه سه حكم ازين احكام عشره منسوب اند بعبوديت كه نسبت بخداوند خود

داريم وهفت ديكر نسبت بخلق الله, &c. "We say, that three of these ten commandments relate to the service which we owe to God, and the seven others to that of man.

In the account given of the Christian religion in the fifth section of the Dabistán, the resemblance is such, I think, as to make it very probable, that the whole was taken from this work of Xavier. The following may suffice as a specimen: ده حكم است كه در انجيل مكرر امد ازين سه اولين تعلق دارد بعزت خدا وهفت ديكر به بندكان خداي نخستين خدايتعالي‌را دوست دار بر همه چيز دوم قسم مخور بنام خدا بي حاجتي يعني عادت كن براستي ... سيوم پاكدار عيدهارا يعني روز يكشنبه‌را وديكر ايام ستوده‌را چهارم عزت كن وكرامي دار پدر ومادررا پنجم مكش كوسپند (كويند al.)* .. ششم زنا مكن ..

* This is perhaps an erroneous reading. How it stands in the printed edition I know not, as I have not that copy. Two MSS. in my possession, one of which was formerly Sir Wm. Jones's, give it as above. A little farther on in Xavier's book, we have this explanation of the 5th commandment: پنجم فرمود كه كسي‌را مكش مقصود از آن اينست كه هيچ حيوان‌را نكشيم چونكه حق تعالي ايشان را براي حوايج بندكان مخلوق كردانيده است چنانچه سواري وكوشت وامثال آن ليكن مراد ازو منع قتل اقرباست كه ايشان را نكشيم بلك نرنجانيم بهيچ وجه قولاً وفعلاً. The

هفتم دزدي مکن هشتم تهمت ودروغ مکو ... نهم آرزوي زن بيکانه مکن دهم آرزوي مال بيکانه مکن

Ten commandments are often mentioned in the Gospel, of which the three first relate to the glory of God, the other seven to God's servants. I. Thou

---

fifth says, Kill no one. The meaning of which is this: That we should kill *no animal*, since God has created them to supply the wants of his servants, either with their flesh, in riding, or the like. The real scope of the precept, however, is, to deter from slaying one's neighbour, that we should neither put them to death, nor pain them in any way, either by word or deed. The comment given in the Dabistán is this: انچه ظاهر اين سخن است آنست که هيچ نوع جانور مکشيد وتاويل کرده اند که آنچه در ملك خود بود آنرا بکشيد (I read مکشيد) چه درو سودهاست وخلق را فوايد در حيات وممات پس اين مکش اشارت بدانست که برادر خودرا که بني آدم باشد نا حق نکشيم ونرنجانيم نه بکردار ونه بگفتار. The scope of which is, that you should slay no animal. Which they interpret by saying, Slay no animal in your possession, because much advantage may be derived from it, whether alive or dead. The scope, therefore, of "slay no one," is, that we should not unjustly put to death our own brother, who is a son of Adam, nor put him to pain, either by word or deed. The other additions to the commandments found in the Dabistán are found in Xavier's comments, whence I am led to conclude, that the account in the Dabistán, has been copied from Xavier's book. Other coincidences may easily be pointed out were it necessary. The reader need not be informed, that in both instances the Roman Catholic division of the commandments is followed.

shalt love God above every thing. II. Swear not in the name of God without necessity, that is, accustom yourself to speak the truth. III. Keep the holy-days holy, that is, the Sunday and other notable days. IV. Honour and love your father and mother. V. Kill no sheep. VI. Commit no whoredom. VII. Steal not. VIII. Neither accuse nor lie. IX. Have no desire for a strange woman. X. Have no desire for the wealth of another.

In the remainder of this section, the Christian and Mohammedan religions are compared. The facility of Islamism is compared to the production of a cook, who studies the palate of his master; while the less inviting character of Christianity is compared to that of a physician, who administers nothing but salutary medicine to his patient, however disagreeable it may be to his taste. The abrogation and suspension of certain Mohammedan precepts are also compared with the unbending character of Christianity; whence a conclusion is drawn, that Christianity is to be preferred.

A little before this section concludes, the following reasons are given for keeping the first day of the week holy: "God did on this day create both the heaven and the earth. On this he also created the angels, and the light. This

is also the first day which God created. On this day he brought the Israelites forth from Egypt with great wonders by the hand of Moses. On this day too Jesus was born. On this day he received the name of Saviour. On this day also, he finished the work of salvation, by rising from the grave, after having suffered so many afflictions for sinners. On this day the Holy Ghost was sent down upon the Apostles. It is also said in the traditions, that the general judgment shall take place on this day. Hence it is, that Jesus has commanded this day to be kept more holy than any other. The section closes with a panegyric on the advantages arising from observing the days of the Saints and of the Holy Virgin; and stating that Islamism can boast of no such ordinances. In the sixth section of the last chapter we have a curious account of the election of the Pope, which is intended to shew, that he is the regular descendant of St. Peter, and vicar of Jesus Christ on earth; and that he is both the spiritual and temporal ruler on earth: that it is in his power to dethrone or set up kings at his pleasure, and to bind or loose both in earth and heaven.

After what has been said, a pretty good opinion may be formed of the character of Xavier's work; it may, therefore, be unnecessary to give

any more extracts. It is very evident, that the writer was a man of considerable ability and energy, and that he has spared no pains to recommend his religion to the Mohammedan or heathen reader; but, that he has trusted much more to his own ingenuity, than to the plain and unsophisticated declarations of the Holy Scriptures. His style is, upon the whole, correct, though occasionally interspersed with Europeanisms, but it never makes the most distant approach to what may be termed elegance. The book, which consists of about eight or nine hundred leaves in small folio, ends with the following words: باتمام رسید وانصرام انجامید بعون عنایت ملك الوهاب مبحث این کتاب ربّاني ومذاکرهٔ این خطاب حقاني بهمته وتوفیقه وکمال کرمه در هزار وششصد ونه از تولد حضرت مسیح صاحب, &c. "The discussions of this holy book, and the memorial of its contents were brought to a conclusion by the grace and goodness of God in the year 1609, from the birth of Jesus Christ our Lord, &c."

NOTICE OF THE REPLY TO XAVIER'S BOOK.

After finding this book in the Library of Queen's College, I had the good fortune to lay my hand on the reply which was written to it a few years after its appearance. This reply consists of about

350 pages in duodecimo, written in a very careless and incorrect manner by some European. It bears the class mark of the Public Library Ll. 6. 28—29. We are informed, in the outset, that it was written in answer to a book which had appeared written by some European priest against the mission of Mohammed, and with the view of proving that no corruption had taken place in the Gospels. The writer, who styles himself اقل المحتاجين الي رحمة الله الملك الغني احمد ابن زين العابدين العلوي. "The most mean of those who stand in need of the mercy of a bounteous God, Ahmed Ibn Zain Elábidín Elálooi," declares his intention of refuting his opponent by proof drawn from the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, John; the Pentateuch, and the Psalms; and then gives the title of his work, اللوامع الربانيه في رد الشبه النصرانيه "The divine rays in refutation of Christian error." In the same page he gives the date, which he fixes in the month Moharram and the year of the Hejira 1031, which answers to the month of November, A. D. 1621.

The first argument combated by this writer is, an assertion on the part of Xavier, that Christians could not receive Mohammed because Christ had warned them of false prophets, who should here-

ter come and deceive many. In reply to this, e hackneyed argument of Mohammed's being e Paraclete is adduced, and the conclusion is, at the Christians disobey Christ in rejecting lohammed. It will be unnecessary to cite par-culars, as we have them over and over in the llowing tracts.

" We then have فرستادن فارقليطرا از جهت تعليم نمودن او مردمانرا بانك مسيح فرزند انسانست چنانچ در زبور نيز واقعست وبعد ازين مذكور خواهد كرديد 'hat God sent the Paraclete in order to teach men, at the Messiah was the Son of Man, as it also ccurs in the Psalms, and will be cited hereafter.*

Our Author proceeds, "We have no difficulty 1 allowing, that false prophets appeared after the me of the Messiah, without affecting the reality f Mohammed's claim. ميكويم كه بعضي مردمان دروغ كوي بعد از مسيح آمده دعوي نبوت نموده اند مانند مسيلمه كذاب وغير ان وبعضي از مردمان كمراه كردند با خود بجهنم بردند ودر مقابل بعضي از سور قران مجيد فارقليط كه در اقتضاي مراتب بلاغت وفصاحت بعضي از عبارات دكيكه مانند الفيل ما الفيل وما ادريك ما الفيل له ذنب وثيل وخرطوم طويل وغير اين آورده اند

* The passage pointed out at page 331, of the contro-ersies.

'I affirm, that many liars came after the Messiah, and made a claim to prophecy, such as Moseilema the false and others, who turned many out of the true way, and carried them to hell in their company. In opposition to several chapters of the glorious Koran of the Paraclete too, elegant as it is in the extreme, they produced certain weak compositions, as (Moseilema)' "The elephant, what is the elephant? Why should I tell thee what the elephant is? he has a flaccid tail and a long trunk."*

The Author adds: وانچه در فصل چهل (و) دويم انجيل مرقس ونهاد وهشتم (هشتاد وهفتم) متي وهفتاد وپنجم لوقا ودر بعضي از فصول انجيل يوحنا واقعست كه مسيح بعد از سوال نمودن بعضي از شاگردانش مانند بطرس ويعقوب ويوحنا واندراوس از كيفيت حال در جواب ايشان فرمود كه نظر نمائيد كه بسيار آيندكان بوده باشند كه دعوي مسيح بودن نموده جميعرا كمراه نمايند پس بايد كه اخبار جنك وحرب نموده مضطرب نكرديد منافات با نبوت محمد صلي ندارد. 'As to to the 42nd section of St. Mark's Gospel, (chap. xiii. 3, &c.) the 98th (87th) of Matthew (chap. xxvi. 17.), the 75th of Luke (chap xxi. 7.), some

* This passage is also given in the 32nd page of Aga Ali Acber's book, which will be noticed hereafter.

sections of St. John, in which Christ, after being asked by some of his disciples, Peter, James, John, and Andrew, as to the nature of the case, replied, "Observe, many shall come claiming to be the Christ, and shall deceive many. When therefore ye hear of wars and battles be not disturbed." This by no means militates against the claim made by Mohammed.'

The writer next proceeds to shew, that some mention of Mohammed is to be found in the Pentateuch. يا معشر النصاري اكر ميل آن داريد كه ذكر نمائيم بواسطهٔ شما شهادت توراتيرا نبوت (بنبوت) محمد صلي الله عليه واله وسلم پس بدانيد واكاه باشيد كه واقعست در انجا جاءُ النور من جبل طور سينا واضاءُ لنا من جبل ساعير واستعلمن (واستعلن) علينا من جبل فاران چه معلومست كه جاءُ النور من جبل طور سينا اشارتست بوحي الهي بحضرت موسي كه از كوه طور سينا واقع شده است و قوله اضاءُ لنا من جبل ساعر اشارت بوحي الهيت بحضرت مسيح در كوه ساعر وساعر اشارتست از زمين خليل (جليل) كه مسيح ساكن قريه از آن كه اورا ناصره ميكفتند بود وازين جهت امتنان (امتان) مسيحرا نصاري كويند واما قوله واستعلن (استعلن) علينا من جبل فاران اشارت بوحي الهيت بحضرت محمد مصطفي صلي الله عليه واله در كوه فاران وان كوهست در حوالي مكه مشرفه كه ميانه مكه وآن مسافت يوميست

وظاهر است که ابراهیم اسمعیلرا ساکن مکه گردانید وحضرت فارقلیط از نسل ایشانست . 'If it be the wish of you Christians, that I should cite the Pentateuch in proof of the mission of Mohammed, observe and bear in mind what has been said in the passage; "A light came from Mount Sinai, and it shone upon us from Mount Seir, and it was revealed to us from Mount Paran." For it is well known that the passage, "A light came from Mount Sinai," alludes to the revelation received by Moses on Mount Sinai: and, that the passage, "It shone upon us from Mount Seir," alludes to the revelation received by the Messiah from Mount Seir; for by Seir is meant Galilee, in a village of which, called Nazareth, the Messiah dwelt, whence his followers have been called Nazarenes. As to the passage, "It was revealed to us from Mount Paran," the meaning is, the revelation of Mohammed received on Mount Paran, which is a mountain in the neighbourhood of Mecca, between which and Mecca there is a journey of two days. It is also well known, that Abraham made Mecca the residence of Ishmael, and that Mohammed is descended from him.'* Another passage of the Pentateuch

* See pages 269, 270, 271, &c. to 279. Where this argument is taken upon in the reply to Mr. Martyn.

aid to be this : اذا جاءت الامة الاخيرة اتباع راكب
البعير يسبحون الرب جداً جداً تسبيحاً جديداً . .
فليفرغ بنو اسرائيل اليهم والي ملكهم ليطمئن قلوبهم
بايديهم سيوفا ينتقمون بها من الامم الكافرة في اقطار الارض
Behold the latter people shall come following
n who rideth upon a camel; they shall praise
: Lord exceedingly, with a new song.... Then
ll the children of Israel march out against
:m and against their king, for the safety of their
n hearts: for in their hands are their swords,
th which they shall avenge themselves upon
: infidels in the different parts of the earth."
is is probably taken from the song of Moses,
todus, chap. xv. but how unlike to the original
the reader judge.

Then follows وباز فرموده است حبقوق النبي عليه
السلم ان كتابهم ينطق بما جاءُ به الله بالبان (بالبيا
من جبل فاران وامتلات السموات من تسبيح احمد . .
gain, the Prophet Habakkuk has said, Their
ok shall speak of that which God has brought
· a revelation from Mount Paran, and the hea-
ns shall be filled with the praise of Ahmed,
lohammed), &c.'* Again, وباز واقعست كه شعيا

* See Hab. iii. 3, &c. and page 279, of the following
cts, where Mr. Martyn's opponent has not cited the name
احمد Ahmed.

عليه السلم فرموده كه رايت راكبين اضاء لهما الرض احدهما علي حمار والاخر (والاخر) علي جمل يا معشر النصاري مخفي نخواهد بود بر شما كه راكب حمار اشارت بمسيح است وراكب الجمل بمحمد صلي الله عليه واله وباز فرموده است كه يا قوم اني رايت صورة راكب الحمار.... وريت راكب البعير ضوه مثل ضو الفجر. "Isaiah has said, I saw two persons riding, the earth gave them light. One of them was upon an ass, and the other upon a camel. You Christians must know, that he who rode upon the ass represented Jesus, and he who rode upon the camel, Mohammed. He has also said, O People, I saw a form riding upon an ass.... And I saw one riding upon a camel, his splendor was as the splendor of the morning." After citing Gen. xvii. 20. in Hebrew, he goes on to shew, that Mohammed is there promised; and that the twelve princes there mentioned should be the twelve Imáms, which he proves by a cabalistic method of computing the numerical value of the letters, from which the names of them all are deduced.

The next charge advanced against the Christians is, that they consider Christ as a God, whereas the Psalmist had plainly forewarned them against entertaining any such opinion. The passage cited, with its translation and comment, is the following:

اللهم ابعث جاعل السنة يجي يعلم الناس انه بشر چ
ظاهر است ازين عبارت كه خداي تعالي داودرا مطلع
گردانيده بر انچيزي كه نصاري در بارهٔ مسيح خواهند
گفت وداود بعد ازين مرتبت علم نموده از خداي تعالي
بفرستادن كسي از جهت زنده گردانيدن سنت وطريقت
حق وشناسانيدن مردمان‌را بانكه مسيح از جنس بش
است پس صلاحيت معبوديت ندارد فضلا عن الالوهية

O God send a lawgiver, that he may come and
each men that he is a man." Hence it is plain,
hat God informed David of what the Christians
would say respecting Christ. After which David
s informed, that God would send some one who
would establish a law, and teach mankind the
right way; and that the Messiah would be a man.
Hence, to worship him is inexcusable, much more
to consider him as a God.* Ps. l. ver. 2. is next
cited, and we are told, that Zion means Mecca,
and that اكليلاً محمودًا a desirable crown (put there
for "perfection of beauty") means Mohammed.
In the next place we have Daniel, chap. ii. 31,
&c. cited, and are told that this prophecy relates
to Mohammed's times.† After this the miracles
of Mohammed and Jesus are discussed, and the

* See page 331 where this passage is again cited.
† See also page 319.

evidence upon which they are received pointed out, just as it is in the following tracts. We then have the mirracle of the Koran asserted, from the circumstance of its being inimitable. After this we have the miracles which attended Mohammed's birth, preaching, and wars for the faith, with which all are familiar.

A little farther on we have the following extract from the book of Xavier, which affords abundant matter for animadversion. وقتي كه مي بينيم محمد مي آيد بنفس خود كويان كه من پيغمبرم وقرانرا مي نهد ودر قران او سخنان بسيار خلاف سخن حضرت عيسي وخلاف سخن جميع پيغمبران قديم مي يابيم چون ميشود كه باو ايمان بياوريم انتهي. That is, Mohammed comes at the time which we have seen, and says in his own person, that he is a prophet; he gives his Koran, in which we find many things contrary to the words of Jesus and of all the former prophets. How then can we believe in him? So far the Padre.

In reply to this it is said, يا معشر النصاري استبعاد در مقابل برهان قاطع نه از اداب ارباب معرفت وعرفانست وبعد از اشعار اخبار واقعه در كتب سماويه نسر بارهٔ الحضرت چنانچه اشارة بان رفت ظاهر كرديد سخافت آنچه كفته باين عبارت وقتي كه مي بينيم

محمد مي آيد بنفس خود گويان من پيغمبرم وباز آنچه
گفته كه سخن بسيار خلاف سخن حضرت عيسي وخلاف
سخن همه پيغمبران قديم مي آورد اگر صحيح بوده باشد
لزم آيد كه مسيح نيز بنفس خود گويان بوده باشد كه من
پيغمبرم پس صاحبيت (صلاحيت) نبوت نداشته باشد چه
بعضي از سخنان ايشان مخالف ناموس موسي است چنانچه
مذكور شده خواهد شد و مجملش اينست كه در فصل
نهم انجيل متي واقعست كه مسيح خطاب يهودان نموده
گفت شما شنيده ايد كه گفته شده است اولين را كه
خلاف قسم خود نموده (ننموده) وفا قسم خود بخدا نمائيد
ومن كه مسيحم (مسيح هستم) ميگويم كه قسم خوردن
بهيچ وجه روا نيست نه بحق آسمان زيراكه كرسي الهيست
ونه بزمين زيراكه موطي قدم خداست ونه بشهري يا روشليم
زيراكه شهر بادشاه بزرگست وباز قسم نبايد خوردن بسر
خويش زيراكه قدرت بافريدن موسي (موي) نداريد سياه
وسفيد ومانند اين وباز در فصل نوزدهم انجيل يوحنا
واقعست كه فريسيون زني را كه زنا از او بظهور آمده بود
گرفته پيش مسيح آوردن (آوردند) بعد از آنكه از كوه
زيتون بهيكل تشريف آورده بود بواسطه تعليم نمودن
مردمان پس آن جماعت كه آن زناكاررا آورده بودند
خطاب بمسيح نمودند كه اي معلم اين زن را ديديم كه
زنا ميكرد ودر ناموس موسي واقعست وصيت بر رجم
زاني پس چه ميفرمائيد در بارهٔ اين وچگونه حكم مي

توریة وزبور وانجیل نموده باشد بلکه انچه مسیح فرموده است مکذب شماست بلکه این تکذیب اکر اصحیح بوده باشد لازم آید انسداد باب اثبات جمیع نبوات.

You Christians should remember, that an apparent improbability is never opposed to a demonstration by those who are truly learned. And when we know the contents of the divine books, manifestly pointing out his (Mohammed's) person, as it has already been shewn, the weakness of such allegations as the following is sufficiently apparent, viz. "Mohammed comes at the time which we have seen, saying of himself that he is a prophet." And again where it has been said: "His words are directly contrary to those of Christ, and to those of all the Prophets." Now, if this be true, it must follow that, as Christ has also said of his own person that he was a Prophet; and, as his words are directly opposed to the law of Moses, his claim to prophecy cannot be established. Of this we shall give proof. It is said in the 9th Section of St. Matthew's Gospel, in which Christ addresses the Jews, (chap. v. 33, &c.) "Ye have heard that it was said to the ancients, Act not contrary to your oath, but fulfil your oath to God. But I, who am the Messiah, say, It is not allowable to swear at all, neither by Heaven, for it is God's throne, nor by the earth,

for it is his footstool: nor by the city of Jerusalem, for it is the city of the great King. And again, it is not proper to swear by your own head, for ye have not the power to create one hair white or black; and the like. Again, in the 19th Section of St. John, (chap. vii. 37, &c.) it is said, that the Pharisees, having taken a woman in adultery, brought her before Jesus, after he had come down from the Mount of Olives to the Temple in order to teach the people. Those then who had brought the adulteress, addressed Christ thus: Master, we found this woman committing adultery. It is laid down in the law of Moses, that an adulteress should be stoned; but what sayest thou respecting her, and what is thy judgment? Christ, hearing this, stooped down, and with his sacred hand wrote on the ground. An hour afterwards he lifted up his head and said to the company, Is there any one among you without sin, who could stone this woman? After this he stooped down, and again wrote upon the ground. When the Jews discovered Christ's intention, they, with all the men and elders who had come to hear his instructions, went out of the Temple and left him alone, because he had not commanded that the woman should be stoned; and because this was contrary to the law and usage of Moses. After this, Christ lifted up

his head, and seeing none but the woman said to her, Where are thy accusers? The woman replied: O God, there is no one before me. Christ answered; I appoint not the punishment due to thy fault. Go, and sin no more.

It is also found in the 20th Section of this Gospel, (chap. viii. 12, &c.) that Christ, meeting the Jews some time after, said: My judgment is right and true, but ye know not whence I am come, nor whither I shall go. Among your people retribution is laid down; but not so among my people. But I, who am the Messiah, and my Father, who has presented me with the garment of prophecy, attest this: It is written in your law, that the testimony of two men is to be heard on any question. I then, and my Father, bear testimony to this, and it is proper also for you to receive it.

You Christians may therefore see, how Christ proves from the very law itself, that his precepts differed from that of Moses. How then can you say, that Mohammed opposes the former Prophets, but that Christ does not? Again, in the 21st Section of this Gospel, (chap. viii. 21, &c.) it is said: I have much to judge of you, how then is it, that you who speak the truth do not believe? After this, the Jews coming together, accused Christ of being a Samaritan, and of having a devil. He denied and said: It is not so: but my Father

honoureth me, and you dishonour me. Upon which the Jews took up stones to injure him. He however left them and escaped. If then the language of the Gospel is, that the Jews resisted Christ, because he opposed the law of Moses; it must follow, according to your principles, that Christ was no Prophet. When the reader knows, therefore, what the testimony of the divine books is, in favour of Mohammed, the weakness of the following assertions must plainly appear: viz. "Every criterion which Jesus has given us from the Prophets, goes to prove the falsehood both of Mohammed and of his Koran. And Jesus himself has warned us, not to place our faith in any such person as Mohammed was, nor in any such book as his Koran.

But you Christians must know that it plainly appears from the Holy Scriptures, that Christ's denial of the mission of Mohammed is all a fabrication; otherwise he must also have denied the authenticity of the Law, Psalms, and the Gospel. But, what Christ has said directly opposes your assertions. And indeed, if such denial were true, there would be an end of proof for the establishment of any prophetic mission whatsoever."

After this we have several other discrepancies between the teaching of Christ, the Apostles, and the Law of Moses, pointed out: such, for

instance, as divorce being disallowed by our Lord, but allowed by Moses :—Christ's healing the man who had the withered hand on the Sabbath day, and ordering him to carry his bed. Peter's allowing swine's flesh to be eaten in consequence of his vision, and St. Paul's writing against circumcision, and the like; from which a conclusion is drawn, that the Christians are ignorant of the contents of their own Scriptures, and therefore, not qualified to argue against the mission of Mohammed.

Xavier's next objection is this : سبب دويم از قبول نكردن ما محمدرا اينست كه پيش از محمد بسيار پيغمبران بودن (بودند) وبسيار كتاب دين نوشته بودند كه همه دنيا ميكويند كه پيغمبران راست بودند وكتابهاي ايشان كتابهاي خدا بود مثل توريه وزبور وانجيل وديكر كتابها در يك زمان ودر يك مكان نوشته نبودند فاما هر يك بديكر جا وبديكر زمان واز يكديكر بسيار سال وبسيار راه زمين دور بودند فاما اين كتابهاي مقدس ميتواند ديد هر كسي كه آنهارا بخواند كه در دين ودر حكم شرع وشريعت همه يك راه تنها مي نمايند يك سخن تنها برابر ميكويند والبته يك امر ونهي مي فرمايند حالا بعد از آنها وبعد ازين قدر سخنان معقول كه چند هزار سال همه دينها (دنيا) قبول داشت يك محمد تنها آمد كه همه سخنان قديمرا بر داشت بي آنكه كتابهاي ديكررا

بخواند بي انكه اول‌را به بيند چنانچه شما اورا امي ميدانيد انتهي. The second reason why we do not receive Mohammed is this: Many Prophets appeared before his times, who left behind them many religious books. These have universally been acknowledged as true Prophets, and their writings to have come from God; such, for instance, as the Law, the Psalms, the Gospels, and other books, which have been written at different times and places; and, although these books were thus composed at places and times far removed from one another, yet any one who will examine them will find, that they all give the same law, the same precepts, and teach the same religion: they speak the same sentiments, and lay down the same commands and prohibitions. After all this, and after such precepts, which all the world have received for so many thousand years, comes Mohammed alone, and abrogates all that had been laid down by them, without so much as having read any one book,—without having even seen the first revelations, insomuch that you yourselves have styled him an idiot, (illiterate man).

Zain Elábidín replies: يا معشر النصاري مكر ندانسته ايد مخالفت شريعت مسيح را با شريعت موسي در بسياري چيزها تا آنكه بعجز كفتهٔ بالس

ختانرا حرام گردانیده اورا بمسیح نسبت دادید که گفته
است ختان در توریة واقعست اگر کسي اورا بجاي آورد
من اورا نافع نبوده باشم واگر بجاي نیاورد من اورا
نافع بوده باشم اگرچه مخالفت توریة درین باب نموده
باشد پس ظاهر گردید که مسیح نیز مرد تنهاست چنانچه
محمد واگر تنها آمدن سبب نفي نبوت گردید باید که
مسیح نیز مشرف بخلعت نبوت نبوده باشد بان وجهي
که ذکر نمودي .... مکرر مذکور ساختیم مخالفت مسیح
را با موسي وبگفتهٔ شما لازم آید که امر بختان نهي از
ختان بوده باشد وهمچنین حلال بودن گوشت خوك
وحلال نبودن آن وحلال بودن طلاق وحلال نبودند
(نبودن) طلاق وامر برجم زن زناکار ونهي از آن
وخوابانیدن میت در قبر ونخوابانیدن ومانند ان یکي
بوده باشد .... پس گویم اگر این حق بوده باشد لازم
آید که زمین آسمان بوده باشد ودر ان ممثلات وحوامل
وتداویر وتهممات حاوي ومحوي وثوابت وسیارات بوده
باشد وحرکات شرقي وغربي در حول خویش نموده
باوجود این ساکن بوده باشد .... یا معشر النصاري چه
اراده نموده اید از تنها آمدن محمد اگر خواسته باشد
(باشید) که آن حضرت آمده است بشریعت که
مخالف شریعت مسیح است وشریعت مسیح با شرایع
سایر انبیا یکیست پس محمد تنها خواهد بود پس گویم
که مسیح مخالفت شریعت موسي نموده است در

بسیاري از چیزها واعتقاد وشما (شما) یا معشر النصاري اینست که انبیا اتفاق در شرایع دارند پس لازم آید که مسیح پیغمبر نبوده باشد بواسطهٔ انکه تنها آمده است وموافقت با انبیا نموده (ننموده) پس روا بوده باشد که کویم یك مسیح تنها آمد که جمیع سخنان قدیم را (انبیاءُ قدیم را) بر دارد پس شایستهٔ نبوت نبوده باشد وباز لازم آید که یوشع نیز نبي نبوده باشد چراکه نص توریة واقعست که بموسي وحي آمده بود که امتان هفتکانه که از ساکنان فلسطین واز دان اند نکذارد یکي از ایشان را غیر انکه تقبل (بقتل) در آورد پس چون امتي از ایشان که موسوم بعنادون (بجبعون) بودند اظهار نموده کفتند که ما از بلاد دوریم تا انکه ایشان‌را معاهده کرده کشش بجاي نیاورند وبعد از آن که ظاهر کردید که این جماعت از ساکنان آن موضع بوده اند امر نمود بکشتن ایشان وبعد از آن حرام کردید کشتن ایشان بکفتهٔ یوشع نبي بنص کتاب او وحکم نمود بر ایشان بنقل نمودن هیزم بمکان مقدس پس لازم اید بکفتهٔ شما که یوشع نبي نبوده باشد چه معلومست که حکم او مخالفت ناموس موسي است پس مرد تنهاست بلکه لازم آید که شعیا که در انجیل شما واقعست که او از انبیاست نبي نبوده باشد چراکه مخالفت توریة نموده است زیراکه واقعست در انجا که خادم بیث المقدس روا نیست که بوده باشد مکر از فرزندان لاو بن یعقوب بحسب

مراتب وحال انکه شعیا تجویز غیر از فرزندان او نموده
است پس مرد تنهاست بلکه لازم آیه که موسي نیز نبي
نبوده باشد چراکه شریعت او مخالفت شریعت یعقوبست
زیراکه در شریعت یعقوب واقعست حلال بودن نکاح
اختین چنانچه انحضرت تزویج نمود لیا وراخل دختران
ابان را (لبان را) واین نیز خلاف ناموس موسي
(است) .... یا معشر النصاري شمارا چاره نیست از
یکي ازین دو چیز نفي نبوت مسیح خواهید نمود
یا قایل بمخالفت نمودن مسیح موسي را خواهید شد.

'You Christians seem to be ignorant of the discrepancies observable between the law of Christ and that of Moses in very many things, to mention one only: viz. Where Paul pronounces circumcision unlawful, and this you refer to Christ, as saying: Circumcision is laid down in the Law; but if any one submit to it, I shall be of no use to him: but, if he submit not, I shall be profitable to him;* although in this very instance he opposes the Law. Now, it is well known, that Messiah came alone, just as Mohammed did. If then the circumstance of one's coming alone be sufficient to annul his claim to prophecy, surely the claim of Christ must fall to the ground, by your own shewing. ... We have often shewn

* Alluding probably to Gal. v. 2.

the opposition of Messiah's law to that of Moses: but, according to what you say, the command to circumcise involves the prohibition from doing so. And, in like manner, that it is both lawful and unlawful to eat swine's flesh:—that it is both lawful and unlawful to divorce any one:—that it has been both commanded and forbidden to stone an adulteress:—that a corpse is asleep in the grave, and not so: and the like, all of which being one and the same thing. If then this be true, Heaven and Earth are one and the same thing; and their several motions, bearings, revolutions, operations, comprehending and comprehended orbits, moveable and fixed bodies, eastern or western directions, in their several orbits, do exist, and yet the whole is at rest.

What you Christians mean by Mohammed's "coming alone" it is difficult to say. The utmost you can contend for must be, that Mohammed has given a law different from that of the Messiah; while Messiah's law was the same with that of the former prophets: but still this does not affect the question of Mohammed's having come alone. We contend, however, that Christ opposed the law of Moses in many respects; while you hold, that the law of the former Prophets was one and the same. Hence it must follow, that Christ was no prophet, not only because he came alone,

but also, because his law is at variance with that of the former Prophets. We may now reply, in our turn, therefore, That as Christ came alone, opposing all that had been said by former Prophets, he was unworthy to sustain the office of a Prophet. But further, it will also follow (by this reasoning) that Joshua was no prophet; for it is stated in the Pentateuch that it was revealed to Moses, that he should spare not so much as one of the seven nations of Palestine even from Dan. A tribe of them, however called Gibeonites, made a pretence by saying, that they had come from a distant country with the view of making a contract with the Israelites, for the purpose of securing their own lives. But, when it was known that they belonged to the nations of Canaan, Joshua commanded that they should be put to death: which, however, he afterwards forbade, as it appears from a passage in his book; and his order was, that they should carry wood for the use of the Temple. By your reasoning, therefore, it must follow that Joshua was no Prophet, both because he opposed the Law of Moses, and came alone. In the same way it may be shewn, that Isaiah was not a prophet, although he is said to be a prophet in the Gospels, because he opposed the law of Moses. It is said in the law, that none but a Levite can officiate in the Temple: while Isaiah

llows other tribes to do so; and, it should be emembered, Isaiah stood alone. But further, ve can shew that Moses himself was no prophet, ecause he opposed the law as given by Jacob. n the law of Jacob it was allowable to marry two isters: for he married both Leah and Rachel, he daughters of Laban; which is contrary to the Law of Moses.... You Christians are reduced, herefore, to this alternative, either you must deny he mission of Jesus; or must allow that he op- osed Moses.

After this, polygamy is defended from the xamples of the Patriarchs, and a conclusion rawn that Mohammed's law agrees with that of Moses, while the Gospel enforces another. In the ext place, the discrepancies observable in the enealogies of Matthew and Luke's Gospels are ointed out, with some other variations already ientioned; and then the writer proceeds to con- der Xavier's assertions, as to the genuineness of ie Christian Scriptures, which are given as follows:

باب دويم در آنكه محمديه ميكويند كه انجيل وتوراة (توريه) وديكر كتابهاي مقدس نزد مسيحيان درست نيستند زيراكه متغير شده اند.... اكر انجيل وتوريه وديكر كتابهاي ما درست نيستند شما يك انجيل ديكر يا يك توريه ديكر كه درست باشد در ميان بياوريد وهمه غلطها كه ما در انها كرديم بكوئيد ومارا بنمائيد انتهي

"Chap. II. On the assertions of the Mohammedans who say, that the Law, Gospels, and other sacred books in the hands of the Christians, are not genuine, because they have undergone certain corruptions. .... If then the Law, Gospels, and other sacred books in our hands are not genuine, you have only to produce the genuine copies, and to shew wherein the corruptions consist."

Our writer replies, اعتقاد ما علماء اسلام كه فارقليط ايم آنست كه انجيل مسيح كه كتاب آسماني بوده در وقتي كه او از عالم خاك روانه اقليم پاك شد ان كتاب از ميان مفقود كرديد .... كه بعد ازين مذكور خواهد كرديد پس نصاري جمع آمده اراده داشتند كه كنايس ومعبدهاي خودرا خالي سازند زيراكه مسيح كتاب او كه انجيل بود در ميان نبود بعد از ان پيش علماء نصاري ماندن (مانند) مارقس ولوقا آمده عرض حالات خودرا بايشان نمودند ايشان بعد ازان متوجه جواب اين كروه كرديده كفتند كه انجيل در سينهاي ما وبر لوح ارواح ما نكاشتا (نكاشته) است حرفًا حرفًا پس اندوهكين نكرديد كنايس را خالي سكردانيد تا انكه فراهم اورا اورده جمع نمائيم انجيلرا بواسطه شما بعد از ان چهار كس مرقس ولوقا كه از شاكردان بطرس ند با يوحنا ومتي متوجه بترتيب دادن انجيل كرديدن كرديدند) بترتيبي كه بعد ازين مذكور خواهد شد وايشان نزد شما بسيار معتبر اند ونهايت بزركي بايشان سپرده

غايت دانش ومعرفت بايشان كمان داريد وكذب را بهيچ
وجهٔ از وجود (وجوه) بايشان نسبت نداده روا نمي داريد
بلكه ايشان را مطالع انوار وسر چشمهٔ جويبار هدايت ميدانيد
وسخنان ايشان را نمونهٔ جنات تجري من تحتها الانهار مي
شمريد با وجود انكه ايشان غاليان وفاسد عقيدكان (عقيدهكان)
بمسيح اند ولواي منافات ميانهٔ خود برافراشته اند
چنانچه بعد ازين بر لواح خاطر شريف وضيع نكاشته
خواهد كرديد يا معشر النصاري بدانيد واكاه باشيد كه هريك
از ايشان بمسيح اعتقاد فاسدي دارند چنانچه مذكور شده
ومجملش اينست كه متي مسيح را ولد داود ميداند ومرقس
كلمهٔ خداش ميداند كه حلول در جسد آدمي نموده بعد
از ان انسان كرديده ولوقا اورا ومادرش كه مريم است دو
انسان ميداند از كوشت وخون وبعد از آن روح القدس در
ايشان ورود نموده . . . . وبالجمله واضعان اين اناجيل متي
اللوي مرقس الهاروني شاكرد شمعون بن يونا موسوم ببطروس
كه بمعني صفا بوده ولوقا الطبيب الانطاكي شاكرد شمعون
بطرس ويوحنا بن سبداي اند وما اهل اسلام چون ملاحظه
مينمائيم در اناجيل شما مي بينيم كه متناقض اند وبا
يكديكر مطلقا جمع نمي آيند حكم مي نمايند (نمائيم)
بانكه كتاب آسماني نيست بلكه محرفند وراههاي كج
وطريقهاي معوج اند وبيان انرا از لوح ضمير باعانت كلك
تحرير تصوّر نموده ميكوئيم كه حكم ايشان يكبار اينست كه
مسيح پسر خداست چنانچه در فصل بيستم متي مذكور

است ویکبار پسر یوسف ویکبار پسر داود چنانچه در فصل
بیست وپنجم انجیل متي واقعست ویکبار پسر انسان
چنانچه در اخر فصل بیست وهفتم متي است وباز در
فصل سي ونهم ازین انجیل واقعست که مسیح فرموده
پسر انسان ملایکه خودرا ارسال خواهد نمود تا انکه جمع
نمایند از مملکت او جمیع شکوك وگناهانرا تا ان که
ایشانرا در آتش اندازد ویکبار خداي جهانیان وپروردگار
عالمیان خالق ورازق انچیزي که در زمین وآسمانست
بوده باشد چنانچه در فصل پانزدهم انجیل متي واقعست
که مسیح را صاحب برصي خطاب کرد بانکه اي خداي مرا
شفا ده ازین مرضي که دارم چه که قدرت داري بر خلاصي
من از برص وسکوت مسیح بان خطاب خصوصًا در وقتي که
ان مریض سجده او نموده باشد ومانند این در آخر فصل
هجدهم ودر اول فصل نوزدهم ودر فصل بیست وپنجم
انجیل متي واقعست ویکبار خدا ویکبار در خدا وخدا
درو ویکبار در شاگردان درو (وشاگردان در او) ازین دو مقدمه
لازم آید که شاگردانش نیز در خدا بوده باشند وخدا در
شاگردان ویکبار علم خدا چنانچه در اوایل انجیل یوحنا
واقعست ویکبار کلمهٔ الله است وحلول در جسد آدمي
نموده پس انسان گردیده است چنانچه در انجیل مرقس
واقعست ویکبار بودن او مریم (ومریم) از گوشت وخون
پس دخول نمودن روح القدس در ایشان چنانچه در انجیل
لوقا واقعست ویکبار علم خدا ویکبار بودن او معزول از

حکم کردن وارادهٔ او نافذ نبودن ویکبار نبي است ویکبار غلام پدر است ویکبار باعدا تسلیم نمودن چنانچه در فصل پنجاه وپنجم از انجیل متي واقعست که چون شاگرد مسیح (شاگردان مسیح) رجوع کرده نزد او امدن (امدند) فرمود بایشان که پسر انسان داده خواهد شد بدست مردمان واورا بقتل خواهند اورد بعد از سه روز بر خواهد خواست ویکبار بودن او خدا ویکبار خدا از ملك خود معزل (معزول) بودن ووالي امر وحکومت مسیح شدن وکلیدهاي آسمانرا به بطرس دادن ویکبار بر حمار سوار شدن وطبانچه بروي خود زدن ودست بر سر او زدن ومانند ان ویکبار مصلوب بودن میان دزدان ودستهایش بمسمار مستحکم بودن ویکبار مردن ودفنش نمودن وبعد از ان حیات یافتن وعروج باسمان نمودن ومانند ان یا معشر النصاري بعد ازین مراتب اختلاف کزیري ندارد از حکم کردن بتحرف وانحراف وانچه گفته اید که انجیل دیکر یا توریة دیکر که درست باشد در میان بیاورید وهمه غلطهاي که ما در ان کردیم بگوئید وما بنمائید یا معشر النصاري ما فارقلیط شمارا مي نمائیم وظاهر میکردانیم غلطهاي که در انها واقعست وبرکت سید انام جمع مقاصد این فقیر که در بیان تحریف وتغییر این اناجیل است از ممکن غیب چهره کشاید واز آینهٔ ضمیر شما زنك کفر وکدورت بزداید بي انکه انجیل دیکر در میان اورده شود چه معلومست که مانند این سخنان که با یکدیکر راست نمي آیند ومخالف طور واقع اند معقول

ينست (اينست) كه از خدا ورسول خدا بظهور امده (نيامده) باشند پس متعين شد كه از صاحبان اناجيل بظهور امده اند وانكه ميكويند كه محفوظ است در سينهاي ما انجيل مسيح كذب بوده است والا بايستي كه اين سخنان متناقض ومتنافي نبوده باشد وانچه كفته كه ديكر كتابهاي مقدس پيش مسيحيان هست اشارت اينست بكتاب لوقا الطبيب در اخبار حواريين واخبار بولس وكشته شدن او واين كتاب نزديك به پنجاه ورق متوسط است وبكتاب وحي .... يوحنا بن سبداي ورسايل قانونيه كه عبارت اند از هفت رساله سه رساله يوحنا ودو رساله بطرس ويك رساله يعقوب بن يوسف نجار ورساله از يهوداي برادر او وهريك ازين رسايل نزديك بيك ورق يا دو ورق اند وباز رسايل بالس شاكرد شمعون بطرس كه پانزده رساله اند وجمع انها چهل ورق متوسط اند.

"We, who are the followers of the Paraclete, believe, that the book which came from above containing the Gospel of the Messiah was lost, at the time in which he ascended to heaven, of which some mention will be made hereafter. After this, the Christians coming together had an intention of deserting their places of worship, because they had lost the Gospel of Christ. Upon this, they presented themselves to their teachers, Mark and Luke, for instance, representing their case to them, who replied to the following

effect: The Gospel is treasured up in our minds word for word. Be not disturbed, therefore, nor forsake the churches, until we shall have assembled and collected the Gospel for your use. After this, four persons, viz. Mark and Luke (who were the disciples of Peter) with John and Matthew, betook themselves to the compilation of the Gospels, and performed it in the way which will hereafter be mentioned. These persons are held in the greatest estimation by you Christians, who believe, that no honour, as it respects their truth and knowledge, is too great for them; and that nothing like falsehood can be attached to them. Nay, you believe them to be the very sources of all light and instruction, and the emblems of that Paradise, beneath which alone the streams of true religion are found to roll; although they were extravagant and corrupt as it respects the faith of Christ, and are irreconcilable with each other in their statements, as it will be shewn hereafter. Let the Christians, therefore, bear in mind, that the faith of every one of them was corrupt, as already mentioned; the proof is this, viz. Matthew, in his Gospel, calls Christ the son of David. Mark believes him to have been the *word* of God, which, descending into a human body, became man. Luke believes both him and his mother Mary to have been two human per-

sons, consisting of flesh and blood, and that the Holy Ghost came down upon them .... The authors, then, of these Gospels were Matthew the Levite, Mark a descendant of Aaron, and disciple of Simon the son of Jona, who was named Peter or Cepas, Luke the physician of Antioch, a disciple of Simon Peter, and John the son of Zebedee. But we, who profess Islamism, looking into the Gospels, and seeing their irreconcileable discordance, cannot but come to the conclusion, that they are not divine books; but, that they are mere corruptions, teaching crooked and perverse ways, and we now proceed to state our proofs.

They say at one time, then, that Christ is the 'Son of God,' as we find it in the twentieth Section of St. Matthew, (chap. viii. verses 28—34.) At another they say, he is 'the son of Joseph,' and at another 'the son of David,' as we find it in 25th Section of St. Matthew, (chap. ix. verses 27—35.) At another he is called 'the Son of Man,' as we find in the latter part of the 27th Section of St. Matthew, (chap. x. 23.) Again in the 39th Section of the same Gospel it is stated, as said by Christ, that the Son of Man would send his angels, who should collect all offences and sins out of his kingdom, in order to cast them into the fire, (chap. xiii. 41.) At

another time he is called the God and Supporter of all men, the Creator and Provider of all things both in heaven and earth, as in the 15th Section of St. Matthew, where the leper addresses Christ thus: O God heal me of this disease which I have: for thou art able to heal me of my leprosy, (chap. viii. verses 1—4.) Christ was silent upon being thus addressed, and, what is more remarkable, at the very time when this leper was worshipping him. Similar to this is the latter part of the 18th Section (ib. verses 19—22); also the former part of the 19th Section, (ib. verses 23—34); and again in the 25th Section of the same Gospel, (chap. ix. verses 27—35.) At one time he is called *God*. At another he is said to be in God, and God in him. At another he is said to be in the Disciples, and the Disciples in him. Whence it must follow, that the Disciples are also in God, and God in the Disciples. At another time he is called the *Wisdom of God*, as in the former part of St. John's Gospel. At another he is the *Word of God*, which came down into a human body, and became a man, as it is said in the Gospel of St. Mark. At one time both the Virgin Mary and he consist of flesh and blood, and the Holy Ghost is said to inspire them, as in the Gospel of St. Luke. At one time, he is *the wisdom of God*. At another he "judges not," nor is "his will"

to be done. At one time he is a prophet; at another he is the servant (غلام) of the Father. At one time he is delivered up to his enemies, as we find it in the 55th Section of St. Matthew: that when the disciples returned and came near to him, he said: The Son of Man shall be delivered up into the hands of men, and they shall put him to death; but after three days he shall rise again. (chap. xvii. 22—27.) At one time he is God, and at another, that God has given up all command, and that this has been committed to the Son.—That he gave the keys of heaven to Peter. At another time he rides upon an ass, or is struck upon the face and head, and the like. At another he is crucified between two thieves, and his hands made fast by nails. At another he dies and is buried, and afterwards comes again to life, and ascends into heaven, and the like. Now, after the exhibition of such discrepancies as these, to what other conclusion can we come, but that these Gospels have been corrupted? As to what you Christians have said, that we should bring the true copies of the Law and Gospels, and shew you wherein the corruptions have been made, no reply is wanting. We, who are the followers of the Paraclete, can shew you the errors to be found in these books; and, by the blessing and assistance of our Prophet, convince you of the mistakes which

have obscured your minds in consequence, without the assistance of such correct exemplars. For, sentiments such as these, totally irreconcileable with one another, never could have come either from God, or from a prophet of God. Whence it must follow, that they proceeded from the fabricators of these Gospels. As to what they had said, that they had retained the Gospels in their memories, nothing can be more false: otherwise their different testimonies could be reconciled. By the other books which are said to be in the hands of the Christians, are meant these: The history of the Apostles written by Luke the physician: The history of Paul, and how he was put to death, which consists of about fifty leaves of moderate size: The book of the revelation of John the son of Zebedee, and the Canonic Epistles which are seven in number: three of John, two of Peter, one of James the son of Joseph the carpenter; and one of Jude his brother. Each of these epistles cover one or two leaves. Besides, there are the epistles of Paul, who was the disciple of Simon Peter, which are fifteen. The whole of all which covers about forty moderate sized leaves."

After stating the discrepancies observable between the Law and the Gospel on the subject of divorce, circumcision, and the like, as already

mentioned, the writer proceeds thus to determine the fate and character of some of the Apostles: وباز در بعضي از فصول اين انجيل (متي) واقعست كه حكم توريۃ ابديست تا انكه فنائي اسمان وزمين از بر طرف كشتن حكم توريۃ خواهد بود ودر توريۃ واقعست كه خداي تعالي لعن نموده است جماعت را كه در خشبه مصلوب خواهند كشت ونصاري را شك نيست كه بطرس وشمعون اخا يوسف واندراوس اخا بطرس وفليبس وبولس مصلوب شده اند بر خشبه پس بگفتهٔ مسيح كه فاني نكرده (نكردد) چيزي از توريۃ تا انكه تمام شود لازم آيد كه اين جماعت ملعون ومطرود بوده باشند. "Again, in the same Gospel (Matthew) it is said, that the Law is eternal, so that heaven and earth shall pass away, before one precept of it shall fail. But it is written in the Law, that God has cursed every one who is hanged on a tree. The Christians, however, have no doubt that Peter and Simon the brother of Joseph, and Andrew the brother of Peter, Phillip, and Paul, were all crucified on a tree. According to the sentiment of Christ, therefore, that nothing should fail of the Law until all had been fulfilled, this whole company of his followers were both accursed and reprobate."

The next discrepancies, pointed out by the writer, are those which are found in the different

statements of the same events, as given in the different Gospels. وباز واقع است درين اناجيل اختلاف ومنافات در باب حكايات كه متعلق به احكام شريعت ايشان نبوده باشد چه در انجيل يوحنا واقعست كه مسيح ميفرموده من حكم نميفرمايم بر كسي واكر انكه حكم بفرمايم حق وعدلست . . . وباز درين انجيل واقعست كه خداي تعالي حكم نميفرمايد بر كسي چراكه حكمرا بفرزند خود مسيح كذاشته است وباز در فصل بيست وچهارم انجيل متي واقعست كه مسيح عليه السلامرا يكي از مردمان بزرك ان مكان نزد دختر خود برده بودند كه اورا زنده نمايد بعد از انكه انحضرت تشريف شريف ارزاني داشت بر سر ان دختر فرمود كه بهوش (بيهوش) است وروح از بدن او مفارقت ننموده است ودر فصل شانزدهم انجيل مرقس ودر فصل سي ويكم انجيل لوقا مذكور است كه رئيس ان جماعت كه نامش يايرس بود عرض نمود بمسيح كه دخترش نزديك بمردنست ومجدده مسيح را بجاي آورد بواسطهٔ شفا دادن ان دختر پس ان حضرت ملتمس اورا در معرض انجاح در آورده متوجه خانهٔ وي كرديد در راه خبر بايشان رسيد كه دختر وفات يافته است پس انحضرت بر سر ان دختر رفته فرمود كه برخيز يا دختر پس نفي نباشد منافات ميانه انكه پدر ان دختر حكم فرمود نمردن (بمردن) او چنانچه در انجيل متي است ونمردن ان دختر بلكه در راه شنيدن خبر

فوت او چنانچه درین انجیل واقعست وباز اکر کفتهٔ مسیح
که دختر نمرده است صحیح بوده باشد پس صلاحیت
معجزه بودن ندارد واکر کوئي که صحیح نمودن مریض معجزه
است کویم که منافات دارد بانکه مسیح خطاب به پدر
ان دختر نموده که ایمان بیاور تا انکه زنده کردانم
دخترترا چنانچه درین فصل از انجیل لوقا واقعست وازین
کلام ظاهر شد بطلان انچه میکوئید که اثبات نبوت به
معجزات نیست بلکه باخبار کتابهاي انبیاست چه
معلومست که مسیح اثبات نبوت خودرا بان نمینمود
بلکه بزنده کردانیدن آن دختر واکر تسلیم ان نمائیم پس
کوئیم که نبوت محمدرا صلعم نیز رواست که اثبات
نمائیم بکتابهاي اسماني چنانچه مذکور شد وبالجمله منافات
میانه این وان ظاهر است چه که متي ذکر نموده که پدر
ان دختر مسیحرا طلبیده بود بواسطهٔ شفا دادن ان
دختر (و) صحت بخشیدن اورا از بیماري که داشت
ومسیح اورا در راه ملاقات نموده فرمود که دختر شما
فوت شده است پس ظاهر است که کفتهٔ مسیح
بحسب مضمون این دو انجیل متناقض است.
"Again, discrepancies are found in the Gospels, as to the accounts of events which have no connection with the doctrines there laid down. For we find Christ saying, in the Gospel of St. John, "I judge no man, but if I judge, my judgment is true and just." ... And again in the same

Gospel, "God judges no man, but has given all judgment to Christ his Son."

Again, in the 24th Section of St. Matthew, (chap. ix. 18, &c.) it is stated, that one of the great men of that place brought Christ to his daughter, that he may restore her to life. When Christ came to her he said, She fainteth: her spirit has not left her body. But, in the 16th Section of Mark, (chap. v. 21, &c.) and the 31st of Luke, (chap. viii. 40, &c.) it is stated, that the chief of the synagogue, named Jaïrus, represented to Christ, that his daughter was near dying; and that he worshipped him in order to obtain her cure. Christ heard his petition, and went with him towards his house, but they were informed on the road, that his daughter was dead. After this he came to her and said, "Young woman arise." The discrepancy, therefore, observable between the statement found in St. Matthew, in which the father had said, that his daughter was dead, and here, in which it is said that she was not dead, is undeniable: and especially when we are here told, that they received intelligence on the road of her being dead. Again, if Christ's assertion of the young woman's not being dead was true, how can this passage be cited as a miracle, unless it be also said, that to cure a sick person is miraculous? But even

then, Christ's address to her father, as found in Luke, in which he said, Have faith, that I may restore thy daughter to life, will present a discrepancy equally great. Hence, also, will appear the futility of the assertion, that a claim to prophecy is not established by miracles, but by an appeal to the books of the Prophets. For we know, that Christ made no such appeal, but cited this miracle as a proof of the truth of his mission. But, suppose we allow that a claim to prophecy is thus to be established, we can then affirm that Mohammed's claim can thus be established; and of this, proof has already been given. At any rate the discrepancies of the Gospels are evident: for, according to Matthew, the father of the young woman sent for Christ to heal his daughter: but Christ, when he met him on the way, said, Thy daughter is dead. Hence it appears, that the declarations of Christ, according to these two Gospels, are irreconcileable."

After comparing the accounts of Peter's denying Christ as found in the Gospels,—of Christ's suffering and being in the bowels of the earth three days and three nights, as Jonah was in the belly of the whale, while it appears that he rose again before that period had been completed,—his telling Peter, in one case, that he gave to him the keys of heaven, and calling him a devil in another,

&c. we have the following passage: وباز از جملهٔ
دوازده کسیست که بعضي از ایشان یهوداي اسخریوطي
است که خداي تعالي زمام امر ونهي‌را بدست ایشان
داده است چه معلومست در فصل بیست وششم انجیل
متي که ایشان‌را سلطنت است بر ارواح وشفا دادن از
کل امراض واوجاع واسامي این دوازده کس اینست شمعون
الدعو (المدعو) ببطرس واندراوس برادر او ویعقوب بن
زبدي ویوحنا برادر او فلیبس وبرثولوماوس وثوما ومتاوس
حابي المعشر ویعقوب خلفي ولباوس مشهور بتداوس
وسمعان القناني ویهودا الاسخریوطي وامر فرموده است
بایشان که طریق امم‌را پیش (مکیرید) کیرید وباز در فصل
بیست وهفتم همین انجیل واقعست که مسیح خطاب
بایشان فرموده بانکه روح پدر شما حرف میزند در شما
وشما باید که ساکت بوده باشید پس ازین سخن ظاهر
کردید که ایشان‌را اولاد الله کفته باشد یا معشر النصاري
اکر کوئید که ایشان علمایند (که) خداي تعالي رواج
دادن حکم اناجیل را بدست ایشان داده است نه انکه
اصل امر ونهي‌را پس کوئیم خالي نبوده باشد حال از انکه
این جماعت بوحي عمل مي نموده اند تا انکه براي
خویشتن* با انکه در بارهٔ یهودا اسخریوطي واقع است
که سي درهم رشوه کرفته بود پس لازم اید بنابر انچه

* There appears to me to be some omission here.

اشاره بدان رفت که رشوه حلال بوده باشد زیراکه حکم
الهي تابع حکم ایشانست چه واقع است در فصل
هشتاد وششم از انجیل متي که یکي ازین دوازده کس
که زمام امر ونهي بدست ایشان داده است یهودا
الاسخریوطي (است) واو پیش روسأ کهنه رفته سوال
نموده از ایشان که چه چیز میدهید مرا تا انکه مسیحرا
تسلیم نمایم پس اورا سي درهم رشوه دادند تا انکه
مسیحرا بایشان تسلیم نماید واو از ابتداي کرفتن رشوه
کید وحیله مینمود که مسیحرا تسلیم ایشان کند تا انکه
شهیدش نمایند وباز در فصل هشتاد وهشتم این انجیل
ودر فصل چهل وششم انجیل مرقس واقعست (که)
مسیح (خطاب) بشاکردان خود نموده میکفت که شمارا
حق وصدق بکویم بدانید که یکي از شما مرا تسلیم اعدا
خواهد کرد پس شاکردان اندوکین کردیده هریك از ایشان
میکفتن (میکفتند) شاید که من بوده باشم یا رب ومسیح
در جواب ایشان بفرمود که انکس که دست خودرا با
دست من در صفحه نهاده است مرا تسلیم اعدا خواهد
نمود بعد از ان یهودا بصدد جواب در امده کفت شاید
که من انکس بوده باشم پس مسیح خطاب با او نموده
فرمود که توئي یا معشر النصاري پس این جماعت
قابلیت این ندارند که زمام امر ونهيرا بدست ایشان
توان دادن بلکه اناجیل شما بنابرین محرف بوده باشند
والا لازم اید تجویز رشوه کرفتن ومسیحرا بدست دشمنان

ویهودان دادن بنابر بودن زمام امر ونهي مسیح بدست ایشان وحکم خدا تابع حکم ایشان. " Again, he (i. e. Peter,) was one of the twelve, into whose hands God had put the power of issuing either commands or prohibitions, and of these Judas Iscariot was another. For, it appears from the 26th Section of St. Matthew's Gospel, (chap. x. 1, &c.) that they had power over spirits, and of healing all diseases. The names of these twelve persons are: Simon who was called Peter, and Andrew his brother; James the son of Zebedee, and John his brother; Philip and Bartholomew; Thomas and Matthew the publican; James (the son of) Alpheus; and Lebbeus, whose surname was Thaddeus; Simon the Canaanite, and Judas Iscariot. And he commanded them that they should (not) take the way of the Gentiles. Again, it is said in the 27th Section of the same Gospel, (chap. x. 11, &c.) that Christ, addressing his disciples, said, The spirit of your Father speaketh within you, and you ought to be silent. Hence it must appear, that they were termed sons of God by him. If, however, you Christians should say, that they were only learned men, by whose instrumentality God appointed the Gospels to be made known, but, that they ought not to be considered as the authors of the precepts

themselves, We answer: We must then consider their acts, at least, as guided by inspiration, as far as it respects themselves. It is related then of Judas Iscariot, that he received thirty pieces of silver as a bribe. Hence it must follow, that it is lawful to take a bribe; because the precept of God, forsooth, may be collected from their practice! Now, it is related in the 86th Section of St. Matthew, (chap. xxvi. 14, &c.) that one of these twelve, in whose hands the power of originating new precepts had been placed, namely, Judas Iscariot, went to the chief priests and said, What will you give me, that I may deliver Christ to you? They then gave him thirty pieces of silver to do so: and he, from the time in which he received the bribe, tried every artifice to betray him, in order that he may suffer martyrdom. Again, in the 88th Section of the same Gospel, (chap. xxvi. 20, &c.) and in the 46th of Mark, (chap. xiv. 12, &c.) it is stated, that Christ said to his disciples, Verily, verily, I say unto you; Observe, one of you shall betray me to my enemies. The disciples then became sorrowful; and every one of them said, Perhaps it is I Lord. He answered them saying: He that places his hand with mine in the dish shall betray me to my enemies. Judas answering said, Perhaps it is I. Christ, addressing him, said, Thou art he.—

You Christians must see, then, that these persons were not worthy to be considered as authors of the precepts of religion: Your Gospels are, consequently, mere corruptions; otherwise, it must be allowable to take bribes, and to betray Christ to his enemies the Jews; because these disciples are to be considered as the sources of the precepts; and because their practice may be cited as resulting from the appointment of God."

After adverting to Peter's want of faith when walking on the sea, the discrepancies observable in the different accounts of the calling of Andrew and Peter, some saying that it happened before John was put in prison, some after; others that it took place upon the occasion of casting their nets into the sea and taking a great draught of fishes, it is concluded, that these circumstances are sufficient proof with the Mohammedans, that the Gospels have been corrupted.

We now proceed to the fourth cause of the corruptions, which is mentioned as follows: سبب چهارم اینست که بعضي از سخنان واقع است در انها که في انفسها صلاحیت ان ندارد که از خدا ومسیح بظهور امده باشد ومجملش اینست که در فصل ششم انجیل متي ودر فصل یازدهم انجیل لوقا واقعست اطاعت وانقیاد نمودن مسیح شیطان‌را یکبار بکوه شدن یکبار بالاي

by St. Peter. Again, it is said that God, who is the Father, thus addressed Christ. The Son knows none but the Father, and the Father knows no one except the Son. Whence it must follow, that you Christians can know neither the Father nor the Son. You are therefore ignorant of both. And those who are thus ignorant can have no faith, and must be infidels. Now, in this case, Christ must either have told the truth, or not: neither of which you can allow. Whence it must follow, that the authors of the Gospels, and Peter, who was the teacher of some of them, Mark and Luke, for example, were both liars and infidels; and, that the Gospels themselves have been altered and corrupted, we want no further document or testimony in proof."

In support of this conclusion several passages are cited, in which the disciples were reproved by our Lord for being defective in faith: after which an objection is answered which might be founded upon the Koran, viz. that Mohammed allows the Apostles to have been faithful men. The answer is, that the Mohammedans allow the faithfulness of the Apostles as stated in the Koran: but not as found in the Gospels, &c. because no reliance can be placed on these documents.

In the next place we are presented with the in-

consistency of Christ's being at the same time God, and the word of God: of his creating all things, and becoming flesh:—of no one having seen the Father, and yet that those who had seen him had seen the Father: to which several of the passages already mentioned are added. After this, some metaphysical proofs are offered on the impossibility of God having a Son, becoming flesh, and descending upon the Messiah and the disciples; suffering death, &c. and being at the same time, the First Cause. And the conclusion is, that such sentiments as these are proofs sufficient, that the Gospels are not divine. We then have the impossibility of union with the Deity stated as follows, with the views of the Soofee Doctors on this subject. ظاهر است که دو يکي شدن از جملهٔ محالات است واستحاله ان اختصاصي بوجوب وجود بالذات ندارد وغافل کردیده از انکه ابطال اتحاد واجب بممکن از ان حیثیت محض بوجوب وجود بالذات است و طایفهٔ از شما یا معشر النصاري قایلند بمتحد کردیدن ویکي شدن واجب بالذات با ممکن بالذات بظهور روحاني بصورت جسماني ویقوبیه (یعقوبیه) از شما قایلند بممازجت او مثل ممازجت شیر باب ومانند این سخنان کثیر الهذیان که بطلانشان متفرع بر وجوب بالذات است واما اتحادي که واقعست از علماي صوفیه که مشام جان از اشتمام روایح

ان معطر است محمول بر معني ديكر است ومجملش اينست كه هركاه عارف رباني خودرا در بوتهٔ محبت وتعب كذارد واز جهت مجاهدات وريأضات خودرا از عشق تعلقات بذات وصفات خويش پاك سازد تا بمرتبهٔ كه خودرا از خود غايب ديده وبمجلب دوستي جامهٔ هستي خودرا از هم دريده پس نبيند مكر جناب الهي‌را ونسبت خداي‌را بخود داده خواجه عبد الله انصاري عليه الرحمه اشاره باين مضمون نموده كفته است توحيد نه اينست كه اورا يكانه داني . توحيد انست كه اورا يكانه ماني . . . . چنانچه نفس بعد از تعلق ببدن خودرا فراموش نموده صفات بدن‌را بخود نسبت داده ميكويد انا جالس انا قايم چه معلوم است كه چون بدن خودرا درميان ديده ونفس را فراموش نموده از جهت شدت اتصال باين صورت جسماني وكمال اشتغال بدين پيكر هيولاني تصورش اينست كه غير از بدن چيز ديكر نيست وازين‌جا لازم نيايد كه بدن ناسوتي جوهر ناطقه ملكوتي بوده باشد همچنين عارف هركاه خودرا فراموش كرده جناب واجب الوجودرا ملاحظه نمايد صفات خويش‌را باو نسبت دهد چنانچه واقعست از اصحاب قلوب . . . . ومولانا معنوي اشاره باين مقام نموده است شعر . قرب (او) بالا وپستي رفتن است قرب او از جنس هستي رستن است .&c

"It is clear, that two substances cannot be one; which holds good with respect to the First Cause,

as well as with any thing else: not to mention the impossibility of this taking place between the first, and a secondary Cause. But some of your Christian sects hold, that the First Cause may be united with a secondary one, by a spiritual essence assuming the human form. The Jacobites,* for example, say, that such essence may mix with another just as milk mixes with water; and many other similarly ludicrous and vain sentiments, with respect to the person of the Deity. The union, however, mentioned by the Soofee Doctors, refreshing as its savour must be even to the Genii themselves, has a very different bearing; and which may thus be briefly explained. Whenever a divinely taught person places himself in the crucible of love and exertion, and purifies himself by means of trials and abstinence from the love of those things, which belong to his own person and properties, so that, shut up as it were from himself, and advanced by the attractions of love beyond the boundaries of his own existence, he perceives nothing but God, and thus ascribes to himself a sort of relationship to him. Khájah Abd Allah Ansári speaking to this effect, has said; That is not the doctrine of the unity, by which you

* The Monophysites or Eutychians.

suppose him to be one. That is the unity, by which you exist for him alone.... Just as the soul, after it has remained some time in the body, forgets itself, and applying the properties of the body to itself, says, I sit, or I stand. It is also well known, that the body, contemplating its own intermediate existence alone, forgets the soul, on account of the very close union by which they are joined in this bodily shape, and in which their joint exertions are carried on, by supposing that the body is the only thing in existence. It will not hence follow, however, that the mortal character of the body becomes changed into the immortal one of the soul. In the same manner, whenever a divinely instructed person forgets himself, he contemplates the First Cause alone, speaking of his own properties as his, as it happens with those who have arrived at the degree of *Masters of Hearts.* (اصحاب قلوب), sometimes termed صاحب دلان*) Our Moola Maánawí has spoken on this subject to the following effect: "Approach to him is both height and depth. Approach to him is deliverance from the state of mortality."

A little lower down we have وباز بولس گفته است

* See the Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society, Vol. III. p. 101.

در يكي از رسايل خويش كه يوحنا ابن سبداي ويعقوب پسر يوسف النجار وبطرس مبالغه مينمودند ودعوت ميكردند بترك نمودن ختان وباز ايشان دعوت مينمودند بان وباز كفته است در بعضي از رسايلش كه يهودان طالبان اياتند ويونانيون طالب حكمت وما طالب شريعت انكه مسيح صليب (است) اين نيز صريحست كه شريعت مسيح غير ناموسي است وباز كفته است كه محكمترين چيزهاي مردمان جهل است نزد خدا محصلش اينست كه ترك نمائيد عقل ومقتضاي اورا وطلب نمائيد حمق (و) نزديكي اورا يا معشر النصاري چنانچه مذكور شد شما مخالفت جميع انبيا نموده ايد بكفتهٔ بولس كه قايلست بمانند اين سخنان .... پس شمارا حاجت بتعب كشيدن در راهٔ خدا نيست وطعنه بر انكليزان وحكم بارتداد ايشان بهيچ وجه روا نيست ....ميكويد وقتي كه بعضي كس ملعون امدند كه انجيل وديكر كتابهاي مقدس‌را تغير دهند نتوانستند واما تغير انجيل وديكر كتابهاي مقدس كه نوشته اند كرده معلمان مرتد فرنكستان كه ايشان‌را انكليز ميكويند ودر اصفهان حالا حاضر اند &c. "Again, Paul has said in one of his epistles, that John the son of Zebedee, James the son of Joseph the carpenter, and Peter, made the greatest efforts to dissuade people from the practice of circumcision, and also persuaded them to it. It is also said in some of his epistles, that the Jews seek after signs, and the Greeks

كل او وانسان تامست كل او ونيست كه از انها ديكري بوده باشد وانسان ازو مصلوب ومقتولست نه اله ازو ومريم متولد كرديده است از خدا وانسان وايشان يك چيز اند واما نسطوريه قايلند بمثل اين وغير اين كه كفته اند مريم الهرا تولد ننموده بلكه انسانرا تولد نموده است وخداي تعالي توليد انسان نكرده بلكه توليد اله كرده است .&c

"As to what has been said, that you have Europeans, and Arabs, you should bear in mind, that we also are acquainted with the different tribes and sects of the Christians; the Jacobites, for instance, and Melchites, which last take their name from one Melkáï (Melchite perhaps) who appeared in Roum and acquired considerable power.* There are the Nestorians also, the followers of Nestorius the philosopher, who appeared in the times of Mámoon.† All of whom believe that God is one in essence, but three in person. The Melchites, however, when they separated from the others, held, that a part of the divinity descending upon the humanity united in the person of the Messiah, which became

* The truth is, however, they were called Melchites because they followed the religion of the court of Constantinople, and not after any particular leader.

† Nestorius must have died 300 years at least before Mámoon was born.

rmed, as it were, with the divinity. The hu-
ıanity, before this descent had taken place, they
ılled the Messiah; and, after it, the Son of God.
hey also say, that a mixture of both took place,
ıst as wine is found to mix with water.... And
ɜain, they affirm, that the Messiah is entirely,
ot partly, human: and that the crucifixion
ffected the manhood alone, and not the Deity.
'he Jacobites, however, separated on the question
f Christ's divinity; namely, that the word was
ıanged into flesh and blood, and that Messiah
ecame God, and appeared in the flesh.... Their
eed is this, that the word was united with a
ɜing partly, but not entirely, human. They also
ıy, that the Messiah is one both in essence and
ɜrson; and not, that he consists of two natures.*
he Nestorians, again, say that the divinity arose
ɔon the humanity, like the rising of the sun
ɔon a body of crystal; and that it appears in
m, like the impression made by the graver on
seal. It is clear, then, that we, who are the
llowers of Mohammed, are well acquainted with
e creed of the Europeans, Armenians, Nesto-
ıns, Melchites, Jacobites, and others; and that
ɜ know their perverse and wicked disputes. But

* Hence they have been called Monophysites.

let us further inform you Christians, that these Melchites believe in the divinity of the Messiah and of the Virgin Mary, in addition to that of the Creator. . . . In a word, the Christians of Africa, Russia, and Spain, hold, that he is perfect God and perfect man: but, that there is no other:—that the manhood alone suffered, and not the Godhead:—that the Virgin Mary was born both of God and man: and that they are one. The Nestorians agree in these and some other things: viz. that the Virgin Mary did not bring forth a God, but only a man: and that God did not beget a man, but a God."

We then have the following remarks on this subject: يا معشر النصاري عقلاي از فارقليط را رسد كويند در بطلان اين مذهب كه اگرچه روي تصور نتوان كرد كه خداي تعالي سه چيز بوده باشد پدر وپسر وروح القدس ايا اين سه چيز هميشه سه چيز اند وبا وجود اينكه سه چيز اند يك چيز اند پس اكر اينچنين بوده باشد چكونه يكي صلاحيت پدريت وديكري صلاحيت پسريت داشته باشد چه ظاهر است كه شما اين سه چيزرا يكي دانسته ايد پدررا پسر وپسررا پدر وايشانرا روح القدس وروح القدسرا ايشان واناجيل شما ابطال اين كفته نموده اند &c. "Intelligent followers of the Paraclete cannot but come to the conclusion, that such a religion as that professed by you Christians must be false.

For, although no one can be brought to imagine, that God consists of three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost: yet allowing this, How, it may be asked, can these persons always continue to be three, and at the same time be only one? Again, if this be the case, how can one be supposed to be the Father, and another the Son? For, according to your belief, the whole is but one. The Father, for example, is the Son; and the Son the Father: and both these are the Holy Ghost, and *vice versa*; which, after all, the Gospels deny." After stating the common infidel objections, as to the impossibility of God being born into the world, of his eating, drinking, agonizing in the garden, dying on the cross, and leaving the world without a governour, we come to the doctrine of the resurrection, which is stated according to the different opinions of the Mohammedan doctors: some holding, that the body alone rises again; others, the spirit; and others, both body and soul united; upon which the author gives his own opinion, agreeing with the latter. We then have the image-worship of the Catholics briefly noticed as follows: بعد ازين التفاتي نيست بسجده نمودن شما بصور مجسمه مريم وعيسي كه از پارهاي چوب ساخته ايد يا سجده نمودن خواه كه از روي كرامت بوده باشد وخواه از روي

عبادت . . . وچون عاقلرا اشارتي كفايت است ما نيز شمارا عاقل بندشته (پنداشته) مسك اختصار اختيار نموديم . We need not now notice your worshipping wooden images of the Virgin Mary and Jesus, whether such worship be intended as respectful to their persons, or for the purpose of paying them divine honours. . . . And, as a word is enough for the wise, believing as we do that you are such, we shall content ourselves with the mere hint.

We then have the character and miracles of Mohammed enlarged upon, and his law described as one which should continue to the day of judgment: with the assertion, that he had been foretold by all the Prophets; all of which is supported by some text or other cited from the Koran. We then have the excellency of Mohammed's character contrasted with the perfidy of Judas, and the desertion of the disciples, at the time of our Lord's trial. The book then closes with some remarks on the dispersion of the Jews in consequence of our Lord's crucifixion, and because they rejected Mohammed. We then have some verses so composed as to give the date of the tract, by adding together the numerical values of the letters in which they are written: the following is one of the couplets.

پرتو یابد لوامع ربّاني
از دولت ایمان علي عمراني

"These divine rays receive light from the prosperity of the faith of Ali of Amrán. The sum of the letters in the last line being added together, makes the number 1031, for the date of the Hejira, which answers to A. D. 1621. We then have this epigraphe. تمام شد این نسخهٔ شریف في یوم الاربعاء ٥ شهر شعبان المعظم سنه ١٠٣١ حرره العبد صدر الدین ابن جعفر علي معمار تم. This manuscript was finished on Thursday the fifth day of the month Shabán A. H. 1031, by Sadr Oddeen Ibn Jaafar Ali Maamár. The date of the tract, therefore, is A. D. 1621-2. This tract was written, consequently, twelve years after the book of Xavier had been published, and was completed in the 8th month after its commencement.

REMARKS ON THE PRECEDING EXTRACTS.

Before we proceed to notice Guadagnoli's reply to this tract, which enters into the question at too great a length to be transcribed here, it may be proper briefly to consider a few of the Persian's objections; especially as Guadagnoli's book is scarce.

The first objection, viz. that the original Gospel had been lost, and that the Evangelists assembled in order to fabricate four new ones, is not only without the least foundation in history, but is altogether improbable. The objector thinks, that the discrepancies, as he calls them, which he has found in the different books, are proof sufficient of this fact. I cannot help thinking, that they constitute a much stronger proof to the contrary. If the Evangelists had conspired for the purpose of forging new Gospels, surely they would have made their copies agree, supposing they had published more than one: but, in such a case, the probability is, they would have published one only. It is rather extraordinary that Dr. Marsh, and some others, should have formed a similar hypothesis, not from the *disagreement*, but the *agreement* observable in the text of the different Gospels. The merits of the Bishop of Peterborough's hypothesis have been sufficiently discussed. Those of our author are too futile to need a moment's consideration.

The objection that our Lord's precepts apparently oppose those of Moses is grounded on a mistaken view of the subject. The judicial and ceremonial parts of the Law of Moses, were manifestly temporary. It was, therefore, to be expected that they would cease to be binding,

when that Prophet should arise from among his brethren, to whose injunctions he commanded the Israelites particularly to attend.* Besides, our Lord's commission had nothing to do with temporalities. The sentiments which he delivered in his sermon on the mount, had nothing to do, either with the authority of the Sanhedrim, or with that of Pilate. His law, therefore, was not intended to affect their jurisdiction, but for individual edification: not for the statutes of the country, but to be written in the hearts of his followers. Divorce, as allowed by Moses, was a temporal enactment, and allowed only on account of the hardness of the hearts of the Jews. Our Lord's declaration, therefore, on that subject, was intended to restore to its original purity, the law which had existed prior to that of Moses. His forbearing to give sentence against the woman taken in adultery, was only a forbearance to interfere with the duties of the Sanhedrim; and to meddle with a question, which, he must have known, was intended to involve him in difficulties.

The rite of circumcision, again, was merely temporary; and, as far as we know, it had no existence prior to the call of Abraham. There could be no reason, therefore, why it should con-

* Deut. xviii. 18, 19.

tinue, when the Jews should cease to be the peculiar people of God; or, that inspiration which had originated it, should not command its cessation. The same may be said of all the other particulars adverted to by our author, it will, therefore, be unnecessary to notice them severally.

But, supposing the whole to be unanswerable, it would not hence follow that Islamism is right. Prophecy knows nothing of it. The passages cited by our objector have either been totally misunderstood, or erroneously cited; and it will be found, that Mohammed opposes, not only Moses, but Jesus, and all the Prophets. If then the Scriptures, as we now have them, should propose difficulties infinitely greater than those alluded to, it would by no means follow, that Mohammed was a Prophet: and, as we have abundant reason for believing that he was an impostor, it is our duty to reject him.

As to the objection of Christ's being occasionally called the Son of God, the Son of Man, or the like, this, we shall perceive, is nothing more than might have been expected, when we consider his character.

With respect to the discrepancies found in the different accounts of the same events, however irreconcileable they may appear, it will not hence

follow, either that Christianity is false, or that the Scriptures have been corrupted. But, the far greater part of the passages pointed out, are not irreconcileable. The daughter of Jaïrus, for instance, is said in one place to have been in the agonies of death, and in another to be dead;* and, in either case we are informed, that she certainly was dead before our Lord came to her father's house. It is true, our Lord said that she slept, but this is nothing more than a common expression among the Jews, which seems to have originated from their belief in the resurrection. Our Lord also said that Lazarus slept, when it is certain that his disciples misunderstood him, by supposing that he meant the taking of rest in sleep. The discrepancy, therefore, remarked on this occasion, vanishes upon a little consideration: and, there can be no doubt, that others, on the differences observable in the genealogies as given of our Lord by Matthew and Luke, on the different accounts of the calling of Peter,—of his denying Christ, and the like, had we all the particulars of each case before us, would also vanish. Such apparent discrepancies, therefore, affect neither the veracity nor the inspiration of the Evangelists; and are nothing more than would

* Mark v. 23. εσχατως εχει. Luke viii. 42. απεθνησκεν.

be found in the accounts of any two or more persons, recording the same events in any age or country. It should be remembered too, that neither veracity nor inspiration consists in the adoption of an identity of words. Neither the Prophets nor Apostles contend for words. Their object is to present to our consideration *things* of mighty import, which they do in the simplest and plainest manner, sometimes adding additional circumstances, and sometimes forbearing to do so.

The objection grounded on the consideration of the Apostles having been weak in the faith,—having denied or forsaken Christ previous to their mission, amounts to nothing. We are told that they were to be endued with power from on high for their undertaking; and we are also told that they received it.*

The objections taken to the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, from the circumstance of its being inexplicable, or from the consideration of the disputes of the Jacobites, Nestorians and others, must fall to the ground when we remember, that what God reveals it is our duty to believe, however inexplicable the thing revealed may be. There are things in nature, of the existence of

* Acts, chap. i. 2, &c.

which none doubt, but which all are unable to explain. The same may be true of the Trinity. In the Scripture, we know, God is represented as the Creator of mankind, and of all things visible and invisible: Christ as God, the *word* of God, the *express image* of his person, and as the *Redeemer* of mankind: and the Holy Ghost as the comforter and sanctifier of believers. This has been revealed for our instruction and encouragement, and it is quite sufficient for us. We have nothing to do with the disputes of Christians, whether Nestorians, Jacobites, or the like; it is our duty to search the Scripture for ourselves, and to obey its commands.

Nearly the same may be said, with respect to the gift of the Holy Ghost. With metaphysics and the doctrines about a first Cause we have but little to do in religion. It must rest on Revelation alone. And Revelation has declared, that God will give his Holy Spirit to them that ask him. The authenticity of such declarations as these, can never be made to depend on our knowledge or ignorance, as to the manner of their fulfilment. This we must leave to him, who is all-wise, and at the same time all-powerful.

It will not be necessary, I believe, to enter more particularly into these questions. The reader, who wishes to do so, may consult the

work of Guadagnoli, of which we shall now give a short notice.

NOTICE OF THE WORK OF GUADAGNOLI.

The title is, "Apologia pro Christiana Religione qua A. R. P. Philippo Guadagnolo Malleanensi, Clericorum Regul. Minorum S. Theologiæ et Arabicæ linguæ Professore, respondetur ad objectiones Ahmed filii Zin Alabadin, Persæ Asphanensis, contentas in Libro inscripto *Politor Speculi.* Romæ, Typis Sac. Congreg. de Prop. Fide. MDCXXXI. *Superiorum Permissu.*" On the following page we have the approbation and imprimatur, and in the next a dedication to Pope Urban the eighth. The preface which follows the dedication fills nearly four pages. The body of the work contains 557 small quarto pages, to which are added two indexes, one of titles, &c. the other of things. The following is taken from the preface "Scripserat devotus Christianæ Religionis Professor, ex venerabili Jesuitarum Societate, ejusdem Christianæ fidei documenta, libroque sacra mysteria continenti præfixerat titulum *Speculum verum ostendens.* Libri titulum, et doctrinam pariter, admiratus Nobilis quidam Persa, nomine Ahmed, filius Zin Alabadin, cùm Mahometo fidem præstaret, nequiens inter antiquas, in

quibus jacuerat, tenebras improvisi luminis radios sustinere, videbatur sibi, speculum illud, non de Sole Divinitatis reflexam veritatis lucem in ejus mentem ingerere, sed potius de tenebris falsitatis ementitas umbras: unde plura objecit speculo, et, quasi illud expoliturus, suarum objectionum congeriem, *Palitorem Speculi*, nominavit: in quo universa Catholicæ fidei documenta evertere conatur, præcipue Divinæ Trinitatis, et Divinitatis Christi mysteria, eorum loco substituens Mahometi mendacia. Nos autem pro modulo nostro in præsenti libro nostræ fidei rationem reddentes, Apostolorum Principis nitimur obsequi præcepto, Epistola prima mandantis: *ut simus parati semper ad satisfactionem omni poscenti nos rationem de ea, quæ in nobis est spe.*

Et quoniam a Persis in contrarium allata in quatuor partes divisa objiciuntur, nempe: Primò circa Sacrosanctum Trinitatis Mysterium. Secundò circa Ineffabile Incarnationis Sacramentum. Tertiò circa Sacrarum Scripturarum auctoritatem. Quartò circa Alchoranum, ejusque Legislatorem Mahometum. Propterea in quatuor etiam tractatus Responsio disposita est; diverso tamen ordine: Sacrosanctæ enim Trinitatis, et Divinæ Incarnationis, mysteria nequeunt principiis naturalibus comprobari, sed eorum probatio altiùs petenda est, et ex divinis sacrarum Scripturarum testimoniis,

which points out the line of argument taken by him, it may be unnecessary to make any extracts from it, because the book is to be found in almost every large library; those, therefore, who wish to consult it, can do so at any time. We shall content ourselves with offering a few remarks on it, and on Zain Alábadin's work, and then proceed with our account of Mr. Martyn's controversy.

I do not very clearly see why Guadagnoli gave the title of Zain Alábadin's work *Politor Speculi*, the title of the book, from which the foregoing extracts are taken, being كتاب اللوامع الربّانيه في ردّ شبه النّصرانيه. "A book of divine rays in refutation of Christian error;" unless indeed he had only seen an Arabic translation of it, to which such title might have been prefixed. Of this, however, I have not the means of judging, as no extracts are given in the work of Guadagnoli in the language of his original, whether that was Arabic or Persic.

It might be suggested, perhaps, that this was not the work to which Guadagnoli replied. I should think that scarcely possible, because the objections in this work are those to which his replies are made; and because its date corresponds sufficiently near with that of Xavier and Guadagnoli, to make it extremely probable, that

this was the work to which he gave the title of *Politor Speculi*. I do not think it will be necessary to detain the reader with his replies to the objections of the Persian writer, as the work itself may be consulted by those who wish to follow out the question. Should it be necessary to prosecute this subject in future, it would be well to translate into the Persian some of our standard books on the apparent contradictions of the Scriptures, with Paley's evidences of Christianity, or the recent work of Mr. Sumner, which is perhaps the best adapted to Oriental readers. Grotius de Veritate Religionis Christianæ was translated into the Arabic by the very learned Dr. Pococke; which might be circulated with advantage in the mean time. That work, however, is rather too short, and could only be considered as a substitute for a more extensive one.

NOTICE OF OTHER WORKS ON THE GENERAL CONTROVERSY.

It would be difficult to say how many books have been written by the Mohammedans on this subject. In Marracci's refutations of the Koran we find mention of one Ahmedus filius Abdholhalimus, (p. 26.) who urges several of the arguments detailed in these tracts. In Hottinger's Thesaurus Philologicus (p. 126. Ed. 1659.) we find

one Ahmed Ibn Edris, asserting that the Scriptures have been corrupted. In the life of Abdollatif edited by Mouseley,* page 59, we find that a tract against the Jews and Christians had been written by that celebrated author. We find another cited by Abraham Ecchellensis in Labbe's edition of the Councils. (Tom. II. p. 393.)

In the collection of Mr. Burkhardt, now preserved in the Public Library of Cambridge, there is another against both the Jews and Christians, by علي المنير الشافعي Ali, surnamed Elmunír, of the Sect of Shâfia.

The principal, and indeed almost only, arguments urged on this question by the Mohammedans are also to be found in Pococke's specimen of Arabian History, pp. 14, 188, &c. which have also been given in the following tracts in reply to Mr. Martyn. Other books may probably be found in the different libraries of Europe: but, as there is no probability of their affording any thing new on the subject, we may be excused in not making the enquiry.

NOTICE OF THE CONTROVERSY WITH MR. MARTYN, &c.

We shall now give some account of the con-

* Oxon. 1808.

troversy held by Mr. Martyn. It appears from his Memoirs,* that he left the Bay of Bengal in January 1811, and arrived at Shíráz in the June following. After disputing several times with the Literati of that place, he was informed on July 3, that *Mirza Ibrahim*, the preceptor of all the Moolas, was then writing a book in defence of Mohammedanism; which appeared accordingly on the 26th of the same month.† "A considerable time had been spent," it is said, "in its preparation; and, on its seeing the light, it obtained the credit of surpassing all former treatises upon Islam." The epigraphe to this tract, given in Mr. Martyn's memoirs, does not occur in the manuscript which has come to my hands; it is this: "This was finished by Ibraheem ben al Hosyn, after the evening of the second day of the week, the 23rd of the month Jemadi the second, in the year 1223 of the Hegira of the prophet. On him who fled be a thousand salutations!" There is a very extraordinary mistake made here, not by the compiler of the Memoirs, but by Mr. Martyn himself, whose manuscript now lies before me. According to the Tables of Gravius, the year 1223, of the Hejira, corresponds to A. D. 1808,

* Page 354. first edition. † Page 401.

just three years before Mr. Martyn had arrived in Persia. He should have given, therefore, 1226 of the Hejira, and not 1223. But there is another mistake in this date, the 26th of July according to my calculation must fall on the 7th of the month Rejeb, and not on the 23rd of the first Jemádi. Mr. Martyn's date of the completion of the tract is, therefore, about a fortnight later than the time of its publication. It is most probable that he has, in both cases, mistaken the Oriental dates; and, as he kept a journal dated after the European manner, his European dates are probably correct.

"His answer," says Mr. Martyn's Biographer, (p. 403.) "was divided into two parts: the first was devoted *principally* to an attack upon Mahometanism: the second was intended to display the evidences and establish the authority of the Christian faith. It was written in Persian, and from a translation of the first part, which has been found, we perceive that Mr. Martyn, 'having such hope,' used great plainness of speech, whilst, at the same time, he treated his opponent with meekness and courtesy, &c."

This is not quite correct. Mr. Martyn's replies consisted not of two, but of three parts, as the reader will perceive from the following translations. Nor do they treat of the evidences

of Christianity, at least in the sense in which that word is usually received. Towards the end of the third tract, indeed, some of the evidences in favour of Christianity are proposed: but with this Mr. Martyn's Biographer seems not to have been acquainted.

It will not be necessary for me to say any thing on the merits of these tracts: the reader is at liberty to form his own opinion respecting them. I can only say, that, in translating them, I have endeavoured to give the sense and spirit of their author without confining myself to a merely verbal rendering of the originals. Mr. Martyn's translation of the Arabic tract of Mirza Ibrahim, as also of two of his own, I had before me: but, they are written with so many erasures and cancels, and are, in other respects, so difficult to decipher, that I made very little use of them. I have adopted the same principle of translation in other instances, giving as I conceived what the author himself would have given, had he written in English. If I have erred, in any respect, I shall be much obliged to any one who will take the pains to set me right. I could only wish such remarks to be communicated in the language of the gentleman and the scholar, which, it is to be regretted, does not always adorn the pages of our modern Reviews.

Of the reply to Mr. Martyn's tracts by the Mirza Mohammed of Hamadán, the Biographer had probably not heard, I shall therefore proceed to give the best account of its author, which has come to my hands. Hearing, a little more than twelve months ago, that his Excellency Mirza Sálih had come to this country in the character of Envoy extraordinary from the Crown Prince of Persia to his Britannic Majesty; and, having made his acquaintance during a former residence in this country, I addressed a Persian note to him, requesting he would do me the favour to give me a short account of the Mirza Ruzá of Hamadán. The following is my note, to which is appended the Mirza's reply.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY MIRZA SÁLIH, &c.

Great Coram Street, London.

جناب محبّت مآب عقیدت وحقیقت انتساب
سلّمه الله تعالي اما بعد باید دانست که بنده کمترین
جد تام وجهد تمام چند سال بجاي اورده تا آنکه
مباحثاتي که اعلم العلماء المسیحیه اعني هنري مارتن
قسیس انکریزي وافاضل اسلام در دار العلم شیراز هر یك
در اثبات حقیقت دین خود ایشان تصنیف نمودند

ترجمه وتشريح بنمايد بنابرين اين حقير اميدوار كه حضرت بعضي از سوالات وي جواب ارزاني فرمايند اين دو كلمه‌را معروضداشت تحرير نموده است ومجمل آن اينست كه حضرت شمهٔ كلك بيان عطر بيزش از كيفيت اوصاف ارجمند حضرت مرزا محمد بن محمد امين الهمداني كه يكي از مصنفين اين رسالات ميباشد بنده‌را اعلام نمايند وبس باقي الايام بكام باد والسلام

از فدوي كمترين اسمويل لي
در دار السلطنة لندن تحرير يافت
سنه ١٨٢٣ مسيحيه

The Mirza's Reply.

صاحب من

در باب جناب حاجي الحرمين حاجي ملا رضا سوالي كرده بوديد معزي اليه از اجله وبزركان همدانست ودر اوايل عمر اوقات خودرا صرف تحصيل علوم بخصوصه حكمت فرموده در بين تحصيل بجناب معصوم عليشاه بزرك وسلسله جنبان سلسله نعمت الله بر خورده ومدتها در خدمت معظم اليه بتزكيه نفس وتجليه (تحليه) قلب مشغول بوده واز آن پس در خدمت نور عليشاه اوقات بسر برده چندي در خدمت سلطان هذا العصر جليس

ومدت پنجسال است که در دار السلطنة تبریز بسر میبرد اوقات معزي الیه بتربیت اهل تحقیق مصروف است وخود در علوم حکمت محقق ومجمعي دارد وشاگردان‌را تربیت حکمت میفرماید واهالي تحقیق از خدمت او مستفیض مي شوند اما با خلق در نهایت ارام ومدارا رفتار میکند وبعلت اینکه در خدمت نایب السلطنة ووزیر معظم الیه ربطي دارد همیشه بکار ضعفا ودر ماندهکان ودستگیري انها نهایت ساعي است انچه عرض نموده اید شمهٔ از اوصاف حمیدهٔ اوست.

It will be unnecessary to trouble the reader with a translation of the first, the object of it having been already mentioned. The second may be translated as follows.

Dear Sir,

You have asked me of the Háji Elharamein,* the Hají Moola Ruzà. He is of the illustrious of Hamadán, who, during his youth, spent the whole of his time in the study of the sciences, and particularly those which may be called Theoretic. He attended on Ali Sháh Boozorg,† and others

* That is, one who has made the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina.

† It is much to be regretted that Mr. Martyn's Biographer did not consult some one conversant with Oriental literature before he printed *Boozong* for *Boozorg*, the *Munari* of Mowluwee Room, instead of the *Musnavi*, &c. which disfigure the Memoirs.

whose peculiar study was that of divinity: and on him he attended for a considerable time in the practice of those things, which are necessary for the improvement of both the head and the heart. After this he attended on Noor Ali Shah. For some time he was in the confidential service of the present king. During the last five years he has been at Tebríz, the present capital of the empire, which he has spent in bringing up those who are destined for the offices of religion. And, as he ranks high in the profession of the sciences, his employment is in teaching them, which is attended with great success. With the people, in general, he maintains the character of being polite and agreeable. And, as he is connected with the Vizier, he is continually and strenuously employed in redressing the aggrievances of those, who have no other means of obtaining a hearing. This is a summary of his laudable character, of which you required to be informed.

If I understand this aright, the author of the last tract is at the head of the Soofees or Mystics of Persia, that he is a good moral character, and high in favour at Court. That he is liable to the charge of bigotry is, I think, apparent on the face of his tract, and that he has more than once expressed himself in a very unbecoming manner is also clear. His style is, as it will be seen here-

after, correct and elegant, while his arguments are, in most instances, weak and futile. In acuteness and learning he is very far inferior to Zain Elábadin, and in both, as much the superior of Aga Acber, another writer on this subject, of whom we shall have some account hereafter. In ancient History and Scripture the Persians are necessarily very ignorant, the best means they have of obtaining either being, the fragments found in the Koran or the traditions: nor is there much probability of their improving, in this respect, until they shall possess a good translation of the whole Bible, with some such works as the Connections of the Old and New Testament by Prideaux, The Connections of Sacred and Profane History by Shuckford, and some good Commentary on the Text of Scripture

With respect to the manuscripts of which the following tracts are translations, those which contain the four first tracts are written on forty-five small 24to leaves in the Niskhi hand, neatly, but not correctly, written. The first tract is that of Mirza Ibrahim in Arabic, the three following ones are Mr. Martyn's replies in the Persian. The rejoinder of Hamadáni is written in a very neat Niskhi hand, but incorrectly, particularly in the Hebrew citations, as noticed in the pages of the translation. The size is octavo,

The text covers 90 leaves very closely written on highly polished paper. The whole of these tracts I have copied out for the press, and intend to print them for circulation as early as circumstances will allow, with a translation of the reply subjoined to the translation of the last tract. But whether the translation will retain exactly that form and matter, I am not yet quite determined, and shall be glad to receive any suggestions likely to render it more effectual for the end for which it has been designed. Perhaps it would be adviseable to add a Section on the discordances found between the Koran and the Scriptures,—on the inconsistency of the text of the Koran, and the like, incorporating at the same time as much of the matter found in Appendix B, p. 124, &c. as may be found convenient. But this must stand over for the present.

Of another manuscript of this controversy, viz. that of Aga Acber, a notice with some extracts is given at page 22. And again, in Appendix A, at page 40. It will be necessary here only to say, that this MS. is neatly written in the Niskhi hand on fine blue paper. It is of the 12mo. form, and covers about 70 leaves not very closely written, with remarks occasionally occurring in the margin. The style is neat, and in some instances florid. The matter which it contains, however, as may be

seen from the extracts given in Appendix A, is of the most trifling and ludicrous description: and, as it has already been remarked, is as much inferior to the work of Hamadáni, as that of Hamadáni is to the work of Zain Elábadin. A book to which occasional reference has been made in the following pages is, the Káfi of Kuleini; and, in one instance, a commentary upon it has been quoted. This book, according to the author of the Dabistán, is of high authority among the sect of the Shiah, which prevails in Persia. The words of the author of the Dabistán are, وكتاب كافي كه ثقة الاسلام محمد بن يعقوب الكليني قدس سره تاليف آن كرده اند مشتمل بر فنون ثلثه است. "The book entitled the Káfi, which was published by Mohammed Ibn Yáakoob Elkuleini, contains the three sciences." This he mentions as a book to which the Shiah have constant recourse, as containing the rules by which they can determine the mind of their Prophet, either by tradition, the express text of the Koran, or by investigation. The copy which I have used, consists of about a thousand leaves of large quarto, correctly and elegantly written. The language is Arabic; the style pure and perspicuous. To those, who wish to make themselves acquainted with the opinions of the Shiah, this book is almost invaluable.

Whether there is another copy of it in England I know not; that which I have used was lent to me by a kind friend, Jonathan Scott, Esq. of Shrewsbury, Author of many valuable works on Oriental literature, to whom I owe almost every thing with regard to my Oriental studies.

The Commentary is incomplete, not extending to a fourth part of the matter found in the original work. It contains, however, much valuable information on the tenets of the Shiah, and some good grammatical remarks on the text of Kuleini. These are books which it is almost indispensable should be studied by Missionaries. And it would be adviseable to print some pretty large extracts from them for that purpose.

The Dabistán, the Habeeb Alasáyar, the Rauzat, Assafá, the Hakkul Yakeen, and other books occasionally mentioned, are too well known to need any description here. For an account of the work entitled تعريفات *Definitions*, the reader is referred to the tenth Tome *des Notices et Extraits des MSS. de la Bibliotheque du Roi*, where he will find all he can want on its use and character, from the pen of the learned M. de Sacy. The copy I have used is one of the two found in the collection of Mr. Burkhardt, in the Public Library of this University. It would be a great advantage to the student of Oriental literature,

if some one who has sufficient means and leisure, would collate the copies of this work, and print a correct edition of it, with such additions and improvements in notes, as his own experience might enable him to give. This would be an excellent supplement to the Kamoos, in which we find scarcely any of the terms used in the different sciences.

Having stated every thing that occurs to me as necessary, with reference to the manuscripts, &c. to which recourse has been had in compiling the following work, I now take the opportunity of presenting my sincere thanks to the Right Honourable Lord Teignmouth for the trouble he was so good as to take in making enquiry after the MSS. relating to Mr. Martyn's controversy, and to Sir Gore Ouseley for his kindness in lending them for the purpose of being translated and published. I have also to thank the Rev. Mr. Simeon for the miniature from which the portrait of Mr. Martyn has been engraved for the present work. There is indeed another portrait published, taken from a painting made in India, and which is now to be had at the booksellers; but, as the present one was taken before Mr. Martyn left the University, I thought I should be justified in endeavouring to perpetuate the likeness at that period.

I have now to apologize for the length of

time which has elapsed during the progress of this work through the press. Much ill-health, official duties, and some previous engagements, have been the cause. In future, perhaps, I may be able to contribute something more on this subject: and, if I can do so, in a way likely to advance the glory of God, and the good of man, I shall not shrink from the task.

CONTENTS.

PREFACE, Preliminary Remarks ..... Page i—v
Notice of Xavier's Persian Treatise on the Christian Religion, with extracts from it ..... v—xli
Notice of a Reply to Xavier's work by Zain Elábidín, a Persian Nobleman, with extracts from it ..... xli—ci
Remarks on the Extracts from Zain Elábidín's work . ci—cviii
Notice of the Rejoinder of Philip Guadagnoli in defence of Xavier's work ..... cviii—cxiii
Notice of other Works on the general Controversy. cxiii—cxiv
Notice of the Controversy with Mr. Martyn..... cxiv—cxxii
Notice of the MSS. &c. used in this work..... cxxii—cxxvii

TRANSLATIONS OF THE CONTROVERSY WITH MR. MARTYN.

Translation of the Arabic Tract of Mirza Ibrahim in defence of Islamism ..... Page 1—39
APPENDIX A, containing an Extract from the Tract of Aga Acber, on the Miracles of Mohammed..... 40—69
Notes on the same ..... 69—71
Additional notes referred to in the preceding Extract 72—79
Translation of Mr. Martyn's first Reply to Mirza Ibrahim ..... 80—101
Translation of second ditto..... 102—123
APPENDIX B, referred to in the preceding Tract ... 124—138
Translation of Mr. Martyn's third Tract in reply to Mirza Ibrahim ..... 139—160

TRANSLATION OF THE REJOINDER OF MOHAMMED RUZA OF HAMADAN IN REPLY TO MR. MARTYN.

Preliminary Remarks ..... 161—164
The Preface, in which is shewn the necessity of having the mind free from Doubt and Scepticism, &c. ..... 164—165
Section 1. On the necessity of Benignity, and a disposition to pardon, in the character of the Deity ..... 166—191
Section 2. On the Padre's (Mr. Martyn's) replies to Mirza Ibrahim ..... 191—260
Section 3. In refutation of the Principles of the Padre as exemplified in another of his Tracts..... 260—269
Section 4. On the Passages which relate to Mohammed which occur in the Pentateuch..... 269—280
Section 5. On Passages occurring in the Prophecy of Isaiah..... 280—300
Section 6. On certain Passages occurring in the Book of Zephaniah..... 301—302
Section 7. On the Revelation of the Hebrew Child 302—326
Section 8. On those Passages of the Gospels which relate to the coming of Mohammed, &c. ..... 326—450

THE QUESTION RESUMED BY THE TRANSLATOR.

Prefatory Remarks..... 451—455
CHAP. I. The Principles adopted by the Mohammedans shewn to be false. Others proposed on which reliance may be placed..... 455—473
CHAP. II. *Section* 1. Examination of the Question, Whether any corruption of the Scriptures took place during the Babylonian Captivity ..... 474—480
Section 2. The Question examined, Whether any corruption of the Scriptures took place soon after the Birth of our Lord. The nature of the Arguments drawn from a consideration of the different Versions stated, &c... 481—516

Section 3. The Opinions of Dr. Kennicott and others on the general corruption of the Hebrew Scriptures examined. The testimony of Capellus as to the Versions. The principal varieties discoverable in the MSS. do not affect the general declarations of the Scriptures on points relating to Religion ..... 516—533

CHAP. III. The usual definitions of Miracles difficult of application in our present question. The Statements of the Scriptures on this subject, the surest criteria by which any one might be known to be a true Prophet: namely, the prediction of future events, in support of doctrines conformable with those already revealed. Mohammed's Claim tried by these criteria. Some statements of the Moola considered and refuted ..... 533—548

CHAP. IV. Man's general Character as detailed in the Scriptures. The provisions both temporal and spiritual provided for him by his Maker. Objections of the Mohammedans answered, &c. with some Remarks on the whole 548—584

ERRATA.

Page	Line	Read	Page	Line	Read
viii	16	to help, &c.	x	3	Asylum
Ib.	15	بهجت	xi	28	وشبانان
xii	3	ميدارند	Ib.	8	اينچنين
xiv	22	چيزهاي	xv	16	نميدارد
xvi	25	counsel	xlv	11	معشر
lx	18	وجود	lxxxvi	17	خدا
xciii	2	النجار	cxii	7 & 11	Elábidín
cxvii	3	second and third	Ib.	4	this last tract
52	4	عالميان	Ib.	24	عظمت
60—62	14—4	فرمود	62	6	زر
64	23	زوجه	66	4	الحضرت
75	17	رجل	Ib.	29	خاص
108	7	ناكزير	121	18	would have done
139-141	3—27	Soofee-s	164	9	two tracts
254	22	Kamoos	260	28	Tract II.
301	2	occurring	349	16	الائمة
374	22	the ascribing	433	26	اليقين
481	18	We shall	570	4	Soofeeism

Notula addenda p. vi (*Preface.*)

Xavier, it should seem, came to Lahore during the reign of the Emperor Acber. We are told at page xxiv, that he left Goa at the request of the king. If I am not mistaken, the letter which brought him from Goa is preserved among the letters of Abul Fazl, and, in the copy of that work which I possess, it is the seventh from the beginning, commencing with حضرت بارگاه نثار بيقياس سپاس &c. بادشاه حقيقي كه مملكتش مصيون از صدمهٔ زوالست

Page cxviii. It appears from page 223, that the Rejoinder of Mirza Ruzá was written A. H. 1228, i. e. A. D. 1813, the year after Mr. Martyn's death.

TRANSLATION

OF

THE ARABIC TRACT

OF

Mirza Ibrahim.

In the name of the compassionate and merciful God.

Praise be to God the Lord of created beings, and benediction and peace upon the person chosen for his Messenger, and particularly upon our Prophet Mohammed the seal of Prophets and Apostles, and upon all his posterity and companions.—But to proceed; since a certain Christian Priest has requested me to set down the proofs upon which I rely respecting the mission of our Prophet Mohammed after Christ (upon our Prophet and upon him be peace) it became my wish to write the following pages, hoping they may be of advantage to him, or to others who are in quest of the truth: and should he think proper to reply, it is hoped he will refrain from a mere strife about words, which is, at best, but the offspring of folly:* "for God

* Sale's Koran, Vol. II. p. 5.

directeth whom he pleaseth into the right way." And may he grant to both him and us a disposition to justice, as well as an aversion to prejudice and mere dispute.

I say then (and from him I ask assistance) that the reality of a prophetic mission cannot be established, in the estimation of those who are not Prophets, but by the production of a miracle*; that is, by an effect exceeding common expe-

* This definition of a miracle is also given in the كتاب التعريفات. or, *book of definitions,* thus: المعجزة امر خارق للعادة داعية الي الخير والسعادة مقرونة بدعوي النّبوّة قصد بها اظهار صدق من ادعي انه رسول من الله. "A miracle is an event exceeding experience, calculated to excite men to virtue and happiness, accompanied by a claim to prophecy: the object of which is to afford proof of the truth of one, who says that he is a Prophet, being sent from God." But, as there are other miracles spoken of occasionally by the Mohammedans, it might be proper to notice them in this place. In the same work we have the following account of them. الكرامة هي ظهور امر خارق للعادة من قبل شخص غير مقارن لدعوي النّبوّة فما لا يكون مقرونا بالايمان والعمل الصالح يكون استدراجا وما يكون مقرونا بدعوي النّبوّة يكون معجزة. "Elkarámat (or a wonder, as I shall translate it wherever it occurs in this work) is the production of an event, exceeding common experience, by some person who makes no claim to prophecy. But, such extraordinary event, brought about without faith and good works, is called Istidraj (or prodigy): but that which is accompanied by a claim to prophecy is a miracle." This has been cited by Pococke, Specimen Hist. Arab. p. 191.

rience, corresponding to a claim of prophecy made, and accompanied by a challenge to produce the like.*

It is not here intended to dwell upon the propriety of this definition; but to proceed to shew, that the question at issue must be determined by three considerations. First, that it be known, that this extraordinary event, upon which the miracle is founded, be not necessarily confined to any one art or thing exclusive of others; but only, that every thing which man, considered merely as such, cannot perform, may constitute such extraordinary event, whether it be brought about by art, craft, sound, writing, or any thing else, provided that no other can do the same. Such must be the extraordinary event. In the next place, it must be accompanied with a chal-

---

* المقرون بالتحدي. The latter of these words, which is ather of unusual occurrence, is thus explained in the كنز اللغات. تحدي از كسي در خواستن كسي كه با او برابري كند د كاري ويا معترف شود بعجز خود i. e. تحدي is the requesting ome one to do something equal to what has been done by nother, or to confess his inability to do so. Again in the ioorah, تحدي برابري كردن در كاري وپيش خواندن خصم را وغلبه جستن. i. e. تحدي. To do something equal to another n any affair: also to challenge any one, and to endeavour to vercome him.

lenge to produce the like. It is then a miracle; otherwise, it is only a wonder.

We have said, that such extraordinary event is not necessarily confined to one thing, exclusive of others; since the proof (as to its constituting a miracle) does not depend upon particularity, in which case preference would be absurd. Besides, we see a great variety in the miracles of the Prophets, whence we may infer that particularity was excluded. And indeed, the question itself rests upon grounds entirely different.

In the second place, it may be observed, that the knowledge of the event in question being a miracle, depends on two considerations. One of which is, that the person himself (who is desirous of obtaining this information) be of the art or calling, (to which the miracle naturally attaches itself) as, for example, that he be a magician, as it respects the miracles of Moses: or, that he be a physician, with respect to the greater part of the miracles of Jesus: or, that he be skilled in the science of music, as it respects the miracles of David*. And the second is, that this knowledge be obtained by the instrumentality of those who are skilled in such art; that is, that

* See Sale's Koran, Vol. II. pp. 155, and 276-7, and the Notes. Marracci Prod. Part IV. p. 107.

he (who brings about such event) be not a magician, from the attestation of persons skilled in magic, and from their denial that the event in question can be brought about by that art. Such, for example, as the turning of a rod into a serpent: so that it be known that this is a miracle and not magic;—to the magicians, in the first place, from their knowledge of magic; and to others, in the second, from their confession that it has not been effected by that art; provided their number be such as to preclude the possibility of conspiring for the propagation of falsehood.

But, losing sight of both these considerations, how could the difference possibly be known? Since any person, ignorant of magic, would suppose every miracle to be mere magic; which indeed can only effect a change in the forms of things. And, in like manner, any one ignorant of physic would refer every miracle to its operation; which, again, is nothing more than the science of affecting other bodies. And thus, should any one have the power of bringing down the Heavens to the Earth; or, on the contrary, of elevating the Earth to the Heavens, there would be no possibility of persuading such that this had not been effected by art. But any Magician or Physician would, without the least difficulty, determine that such an event was a miracle, and not the effect of either magic or

physic. And, further, should such a number of Magicians or Physicians as would preclude the possibility of their conspiring for the propagation of falsehood, join in attesting the same thing, assurance would be obtained to the same effect.

Now, the first of these methods of obtaining assurance on this point, is not more satisfactory than the second: but, in fact, each has a force peculiar to itself. For, in the first case, assurance being obtained without the intervention of another, the result should seem more satisfactory than in the second. But in the second, as assurance is obtained by the concurrence of so many as to preclude the possibility of their conspiring for the propagation of falsehood, we have a more satisfactory result than in the first. The assurance then, of those who are neither Magicians nor Physicians, as it respects the missions of Moses and Jesus, is necessarily obtained by the second method. And, when we know that the Magicians and Physicians concurred in attesting, that what had proceeded from Moses and Jesus was the effect of neither magic nor physic, we obtain assurance of the reality of their missions. But, were we not sure of this, we might suppose the one to have been a Magician, the other a Physician, just as we now believe them to have been Prophets. Besides, had not the Magicians first believed in Moses, after contemplating the miracles he per-

formed, the judgment of God could not properly have fallen upon Pharaoh; nor could he have become the object of divine punishment, either in this world or the next, in consequence of his refusing to believe in the miracles of Moses; because they must have appeared to him as the effects of mere magic. But when the Magicians themselves first believed, the judgment upon Pharaoh was just: because good sense could not have supposed that they conspired in attesting these miracles, with a view to the propagation of falsehood. And hence Pharaoh became a proper object of punishment in both worlds*.

In the third place, it should be remembered that it is not usual with God to permit the performance of miracles by the Prophets to absolute sufficiency, as noticed in the first place: for if this had been the case, it would have followed, that the Prophets must have wrought miracles for every individual according to his own art or calling; and hence, the miracles of Moses would have effected the Magicians alone:—those of Jesus, the Physicians. And as these Prophets were sent to others besides the Magicians and Physicians, they must have wrought miracles for the satisfaction of every scientific person, referrible to his particular science. But this has never been the case: and hence we are assured, that

* See Sale's Koran, Vol. II. p. 138. &c.

God did consider as sufficient, the manifestation of such miracles by the Prophets, as would produce conviction, whether known to be such immediately, or mediately by the intervention of the learned, making no difference, as it respected the object of such mission; which was, that it should be known that he who performed such act was a Prophet, and not a pretender: and that what he did was a miracle, and not the effect of art or profession.

Now, there can be no doubt, that, for the most part, the knowledge of any miracle's being real is to be obtained by the means mentioned in the second place: and hence will appear the necessity, that the miracles performed by every Prophet should be referrible to such art or science, as was known and practised in his times; which was actually the case in the instances already mentioned. The miracles of Moses, for example, were such as to be referrible to the art of magic, on account of the prevalence of magic in his times; and because the real difference between his miracles and magic would be known to the Magicians from their knowledge of magic; and to others from the confession of these learned men: and hence, the declarations of God became binding upon all, whether learned or unlearned: contrary to what would have been the case had not magic been then generally known; and in which it could not have been ascertained that such

performances were miracles and not magic, so as to have tended in any measure to the establishment of his mission.

The same might be said, with respect to the miracles of Jesus. But if you invert the order of things, and ascribe the miracles of Moses to Jesus, and *vice versa*, you will perceive that they will be useless to both; and utterly ineffectual in making their missions binding upon any one; contrary to what was really the fact: in which case the declarations of God could have been binding on no one.

These things then being premised, we now affirm that there appeared an Arab among us, who, making a claim to prophecy, proposed as his miracle the production of a certain written composition, and then asserted that mankind were unable to produce the like, by any effort of rhetoric, or any thing else. And since we have shewn, that a miracle is not necessarily confined to any one science, to the exclusion of another, provided it be such as comport with the dignity of a Prophet, there can be no impropriety in his making this the miracle, upon which he would establish his prophetic mission. And since we have also shewn, that an assurance of the reality of the miracle is to be obtained either from a knowledge of the science, &c. to which the alleged miracle is referrible; or, by the attestation of those skilled in such science, that

it is impossible to produce the like. And as we have also shewn that an absolute sufficiency in the assurance of inability is not to be expected, as laid down in the first place; we now affirm, that the mission of Mohammed has been established with the Arabs, Persians, Turks, and the inhabitants of Dailam*. With the Arabs, on account of their knowledge of the Arabic language, and of the science of eloquence. Had therefore his production originated in this science, they could have produced its equal. But they have not, notwithstanding the great numbers of their orators and preachers, and the prevalence of these professions, at that time: to which may be added, the extreme enmity they would exercise towards him, as is always the case, when such claims are advanced. His mission too is established with others, by the confession of the learned among the Arabs (numerous as they were, and extensive as were their territories) of their utter inability to produce the like. So that, in fact, no one of them, during the space of twelve hundred years, has yet produced the like, notwithstanding the continued allegations of the

* *Dilem et Deilem,* Province du Royaume de Perse, qui s' étend le long de la côte méridionale de la mer Caspienne, à laquelle elle a donné son nom; car on appelle en Persien cette mer, la *mer de Dilem,* aussi-bien que la *mer de Giorgián,* et la *mer de Ghilán.* D'Herbelot. Bib. Orientale.

preachers of Islamism, that the Koran holds out a challenge to all. Now, in the matter of a prophetic mission, nothing less than assurance can be admitted as of any weight: and therefore, assurance is of the first importance. But assurance has here been obtained in the most satisfactory manner: namely, from the inability of men to produce the like; just as the claim had been made by Mohammed; his mission has therefore been thus established with those also, who were not Arabs.

Nor can it be said, that he laid claim to inimitability in sciences long ago forgotten; but in the sciences of eloquence as taught in the Arabic language. We, however, who are Persians may disregard such a conclusion, with respect to ourselves; for we may answer, that we are unacquainted with the subtleties of the Arabic language, just as any individual might be of physic, and the sciences which it comprehends. It might then be rejoined that it is possible too, that what Jesus did by way of challenge: viz. his curing the leper, the man who had been blind from his birth, and raising the dead, might also have resulted from his knowledge of physic, and not from the power of working miracles; and that the circumstance of others not having done the like, cannot be construed as sufficient to refute this supposition, as he might have been the most skilful amongst them; and that no other,

on this account, had sufficient ability to oppose him. In the same manner, may the miracles of Moses be met; and thus both their missions still be questioned, notwithstanding all they did. Which is absurd; for their miracles were manifestly intended to establish their missions with all. We answer, in the second place, directly, that the object of these performances was the establishment of prophetic missions; and for the assurance that they proceeded from God, and not from human proficiency.

This assurance is then to be obtained from an acquaintance with the sciences of eloquence, which must be founded upon a knowledge of the elements of language, just as it is from the unanimous confession of the learned; viz. that it is a miracle, and not the effect of eloquence alone:—an assurance, in which there can remain no doubt; and no less convincing than that of the miracles of the other Prophets. Nay, it is more so; for the impossibility of imitation is now just what it was at the first performance of the miracle, on account of its perpetuity, and its utter incapability of decay*. And further, it will for ever remain just what it was at the first propagation of Islamism, contrary to the character of the miracles of other Prophets, of which

* This argument is to be found in Pococke's Specimen Hist. Arab. p. 195. and Marracci's Prod. Part II. p. 30.

re have now nothing remaining but mere rela-
ions, as Moses or Jesus, for instance, did this
r that; or it is thus preserved by tradition. But
o relation can have the evidence of an eye-
ritness. The miracles of other Prophets, more-
ver, in addition to their want of evidence, as
lready noticed, when compared with that of the
Koran, will by length of time become less and
ess convincing; because in process of time any
elation must become less impressive. But the
niracle of the Koran, on the contrary, will, in
process of time, become more so, because the
earned who have confessed their inability to
produce the like, will have been more numerous,
hough the miracle itself will remain exactly what
t was at the first: and the conviction of its
being a miracle will thus become more powerful.
Hence will the mystery be explained, why this
Prophet was, to the exclusion of all others,
termed the seal of prophecy: because, as the
evidence of their miracles is daily becoming
weaker, a time must at last arrive, when it will
fail of affording assurance, that they were miracles
at all; whence would arise the necessity of the
mission of another prophet and other miracles,
"lest men should have an argument of excuse
against God after the Apostles had been sent to
them*:" contrary to what is the fact, as it respects

* Sale's Koran, Vol. I. p. 117.

this Prophet and his miracle; which will remain to the day of judgment, not only what it was at the first, but more convincing. And hence there will be no necessity for another Prophet, or for other miracles to all eternity.

Nor is this miracle like the miracles of other Prophets; for he who should assert his own ability to produce the like, might be compared to any one, who should be absurd enough to hold the possibility of imitating other miracles, which he himself had witnessed: nay he would be more so, as has already been shewn. And hence will also appear the necessity, that the miracle of the last Prophet should consist in written composition, and in nothing else; because it is necessary that it should be permanent. Now any thing which is intended to be permanent must be of this specific description, every thing else being subject to decay, and therefore unfit to constitute his miracle. From this consideration we may also see, why his miracle was of a kind different from those of other Prophets; and why this miracle would have been unsuitable to them; for otherwise they must have been the seals of prophecy. And, in like manner, would the miracles of other Prophets have been unsuitable to him; for, in this case, he could not have been the seal of prophecy *. " Observe

* Alkoran Serv. 59. Sale, Vol. II. p. 415.

therefore ye who are endued with perception;" for the decision of God is in full force against you, till the day of judgment.

The utmost that can be urged in reply must be, that we may not know that the learned among the Arabs did concur in confessing their inability to produce the like; which is, in the first place, absurd; because it may also be urged, that those who were unacquainted with magic or physic, may have said that they too were ignorant of the concurrence of the Magicians and Physicians in confessing their inability to produce the like, with respect to the miracles of Moses and Jesus. And in the second place, any one, who can come to the conclusion, that such concurrence was not feigned for the purpose of propagating falsehood, cannot require a more satisfactory method of assurance than such concurrence; and which was deemed quite sufficient for our ancestors. Now as this knowledge is to be obtained by little research, it is the duty of every one to enquire; in order that he may obtain the necessary assurance; and this he ought to do, although what has been said might appear to him to be far removed from the truth. The wrangling disposition of the Arabs was, we know, more apparent than the mid-day sun; and the challenge constantly held out by the learned of Islamism to produce an equal to the Koran, is more certain than that yesterday is past. Notwithstanding this

reed in believing in Mohammed, and this very miracle. If this then be the n any one continue longer to doubt, or refuse to place his faith in Mohammed and his miracle? "Place your confidence in God, therefore, that you may become happy*."

Again, the miracles of Mohammed are conversant about subjects purely intellectual, and directed to those who can comprehend such subjects; while, on the contrary, those of Moses and Jesus had respect only to objects of sense, and were directed to those who were conversant with such objects. And, generally, their miracles would have had no force had not the generality of people been more conversant with the objects of sense, than with those of intellect. Now there can be no doubt, that the better informed form a much higher estimate of miracles purely intellectual, than they can of those which respect the mere objects of sense. The miracles of the former Prophets, therefore, would have more force with the vulgar; those of the last Prophet with the better informed.

The miracle of the Koran is therefore established several ways, in reference to the miracles of other Prophets; and should not this satisfy the unreasonable demands of some, who still require

* The last verse of Chap. III. of the Koran. Sale, Vol. I. p. 87.

miracles like those of the former Prophets, I can only say; "These are they who would change the better for the worse; from such it is best to turn away." But should the Prophet* turn from them, leaving them and their object to the will of the Almighty, no blame could be attached to him; since they may be compared to those who ask for light at noon-day. But the truth is, their object is nothing but perverseness and contumely even against God. And, further, should he grant them their desire, still they would neither believe nor follow him; but go on to make greater and greater demands. Now as no real advantage could accrue from the granting of such requests, no sensible man would ever think of complying with them, much less would he who is infinitely wise and good.

In the third place, we shall descend to particulars. Losing sight then, of the second and third considerations, we have no hesitation in affirming, that the first is sufficient. We say, therefore, there can be no doubt that a miracle is not necessarily confined to one art or thing, to the exclusion of others; but that every thing which another person cannot effect, provided it be accompanied by a challenge to produce the

* Allusions to passages in the Koran, Chap. II. v. 60. VI. v. 67.

like, is a miracle. Now there is no doubt that Mohammed made a claim to prophecy; and that he produced a written composition, which he affirmed could not be equalled. Those then, who were not skilled in sciences of this kind, and not able to perceive wherein the miracle consisted, would not be bound to receive it; and hence, his mission could not affect them. But when he produced that which the Arabs could not; and they confessed their inability to do so, the reality of his claim was made out; and his mission established with the Arabs by virtue of this miracle*. And, again, when his mission was established with them, it was, at the same time, established with all other nations, from the consideration of this text. "We have not sent thee, but to all mankind†." The same may be shewn from other passages, in which it is plainly declared, that it is the duty of all to follow him: and no one will suppose his word to be false, after the reality of his mission has been proved in general.

Again, it should be observed, that waving

* It is a little unfortunate for this conclusion, however, that some of the Arabs have confessed, that the Koran could not only be equalled, but surpassed in elegance. See Marracci de Alcorano, p. 44—5. And that this has been done, no one will doubt, who can read the Makamát of Hamadáni and Haríri.

† Surat 34. v. 28. Sale, Vol. II. p. 280.

the two last considerations, there will be no possibility of establishing the mission of any one of the Prophets with mankind in general, except in this way: namely, that what they have revealed, and received credit for, should again be established by some subsequent revelation, which must also be generally received, and thus must the mission of the former be established by that of the latter Prophet, however difficult that may be.

Nor let it be said that the concurrence of the generality of the Arabs, as to the impossibility of producing an equal to the Koran, was unknown; or, that their concurrence in what they believed, is of no value, because, we may not know that they have spoken the truth. For in this, as in a former case, we reply, first, by shewing the absurdity of such a supposition, thus: Then was the agreement of the Magicians and Physicians respecting the miracles of Moses and Jesus unknown; and the accordance of those, who believed in those two Prophets, useless. And secondly, directly, that their agreement, in the estimation of those who believed that they had not conspired for the propagation of falsehood was sufficient, however few they might have been: since the object in view was, to obtain an assurance, that no one could produce the like. When, however, we have come to the conclusion that the Arabs did

not conspire for the propagation of falsehood, we can then also come to a conclusion from the revelation itself, as to its authenticity, which will be drawn from the numerous predictions of future events which it contains, and which every attentive reader of it must observe.

It will, moreover, be of no small weight in establishing the divine origin of the Koran, to contemplate the mysteries and scientific subtilties which it contains, and the precepts founded thereupon: — to consider also its fundamental laws, the object of which is, the glory and praise of God, obedience to him, conversion from the love of the world, and an ardent desire for the enjoyment of that which is to come. Nor is there any other way to come to God, but this. So much for the miracle which Mohammed wrought for the foundation of Islamism.

But as it respects his other miracles, whether performed on animate or inanimate beings, whether great or small, they almost exceed enumeration, so that some of the Doctors of Islamism have computed them at four thousand four hundred and forty. Others have held, that the more remarkable miracles amounted to not fewer than a thousand, some of which are almost universally accredited*: as his dividing the moon into two

---

* يبلغ بعضها حد التواتر. As it is of the utmost importance clearly to understand the technical terms used by the

parts, the singing of the gravel in his hand, the flowing of the water from between his fingers,

---

the Eastern Theologians, the insertion of some remarks on the above phraseology may perhaps be allowed. Pococke, I think, has entirely misunderstood it. In his Specimen Hist. Arab. occurs this passage, (new edit. p. 16.) ولما لم يبلغ رواة هذه الغرايب حد التواتر بل انما نقلت علي سبيل الاحاد كان اعتماد العلما من المسلمين في اثبات نبوته علي القران وادعوا فيه الاعجاز لانه تحدي الفصحا لمعارضته. Which he thus translates. At cum non ad eum numerum pervenerint qui hæc narrarunt, *ut frequenter facta prodantur*, sed ut *semel patrata recenseantur*, innituntur magis *Islamitarum* docti, ad prophetiam ejus confirmandam, uni *Alcorano;* in quo ipso hoc pro miraculo habent, quod cum conati sint eloquentissimi quique ei par aliquid elaborare, &c." Which is erroneous in more instances than one. In page 195, Pococke has given in his note an explanation of the word تواتر, which has been taken from the كتاب التعريفات which is this, التواتر الخبر الثابت علي السنة قوم لا يتصور تواطيهم علي الكذب . التوتر (explicante *Al Kassaio*) est.—*Narratio constanter tradita ab hominibus quos nemo suspicetur in mendacium conspiraturos,* scilicet لكثرتهم (ut idem alibi loquitur) *ob multitudinem eorum.* I very much doubt whether this too has not been totally misunderstood by Pococke. The literal translation of the definition is this, التواتر *is an account established by the confession of a people, who are not supposed to have conspired for* (*the propagation of*) *falsehood.* On account, as he has truly added, *of their number.* The other miracles, which are opposed to these, are those which are said to be related علي سبيل الاحاد i. e. by individual narration. The first, therefore, are those which have been related by a number sufficiently great to make it probable that they are true, the second are those which have not been so generally received: and not

as

the animals addressing him, and complaining before him, his satisfying a great multitude with a small quantity of food, and many others †. But

---

as Pococke has said: " ut *frequenter facta* prodantur, sed ut *semel patrata* recenseantur. It should be remarked that in page 198 of the Specimen, the word متواتر is properly translated. The other part of the passage already cited, to which allusion has been made as to its inaccuracy, is this: " *quod cum conati sint eloquentissimi quique ei par aliquid elaborare*, &c." This, I apprehend, has happened from a misunderstanding of the word تحدي, the meaning of which has already been given. The translation should be. For in it (i. e. the Koran) they assert rests the impossibility of imitation: because he challenged the most eloquent to oppose it (by producing an equal) but they were unable to produce even one chapter like it. This has been noticed to shew the necessity of understanding the precise import of the technical terms.

† For a good account of the principal miracles ascribed to Mohammed, see Marracci's Prodromus, Part II. p. 30, &c. See also Pococke's Specimen, p. 192.

In Mr. Martyn's Memoirs, (1st edition, p. 411.) we have the following account of a book, which it may be necessary to notice. " Amongst the others who came and sat with us, was my tetric adversary, Aga Acber, who came for the very purpose of presenting the Minister with a little book he had written in answer to mine. After presenting it in due form he sat down, and told me he meant to bring me a copy that day—a promise he did not perform, through Seid Ali's persuasion, who told him it was a performance that would do him no credit. Aga Acber gave me a hint respecting its contents, namely, that there were four answers to my objections to Mahometans using the sword." (This I apprehend should be, " to Mohammed's using the sword") A copy of this work has been found among Mr. Martyn's papers, and very kindly communicated to me by his

it is true that many of these have not obtained universal credence, so as to be wholly relied

---

his Executors. It is my intention to give some extracts from it, as the subject may require. Respecting the words above noticed, the author of this little book gives the following account. در بیان تواتر. بدانکه خبر بر دو کونه بود احاد ومتواتر متواتر خبر جماعتي است که افاده کند بنفس خبر صدق مخبرٌ بهرا یا بعینه یا بقدر مشترك واکر نه چنین باشد احاد بود وخبر متواتر بر دو نوع بود متواتر لفظي ومعنوي متواتر لفظي ان بود که قطع حاصل شود بصدق مخبرٌ به بعینه چون اخبار جماعتي بوجود مکّه وشام بحیثیتي که عقل قطع کند از اتفاق ایشان بوجود ان بلدان وشك نیست در امکان وقوع چنین خبري زیراکه بجهة ما قطع حاصل است ببلدن بعیده وفتن شدیده بسبب اخبار مخبرین واکر کسي منکر باشد تعرض از قول او لایق است چه مکابرهٔ محض وعناد صرف است دوم متواتر معنوي است وان خبري بود که قطع حاصل شود بقدر مشترك ما بین چنانکه کسي کوید که زید فلن کتاب فقهرا در نهایت خوبي درس میکفت ودیکري کتاب دیکریرا در فقه اسم برد که زید خوب درس میکفت وهمچنین جمعي خبر دهند که زید کتب فقهرا خوب درس میکفت لیکن هریك کتابي علیحده نام برند پس از هر یك ان اخبار ظن بعلم زید بهم رسد واز مجموع قطع بقدر مشترك میان ان اخبار که فضیلت زید در علم فقه باشد بهم رسد چنانکه در شجاعت حیدر صفدر وکنندهٔ در خیبر ودرندهٔ اژدر وکرم حاتم و شجاعت

upon. And the probable reason why the companions of Mohammed did not pay so much

.....

رستم و معجزات جمیع انبیاست ونیز شك نیست در امکان ووقوع این قسم وافادهٔ ان قطعرا ومنکر ان با عقل خود مکابر ومنازع است وبدانکه مطلق تواتر مشروط به پنج شرط است که قطع نظر از انها مفید قطع نباشد. اوّل اینکه مخبرین بمرتبهٔ باشند که عقل امتناع کند از اتفاق ایشان بر کذب ومناط در عدد ان حکم عقل غیر مشوب بشبهه است دوم اینکه مستند باشد علم مخبرین بحس نه بعقل سیم اینکه هریك از طبقات مخبرین بمرتبه تواتر باشند چه اگر یك نفر خبری کوید وهزار نفر ثقه ان خبررا از قول همان یکنفر نقل کنند بهیچ وجه مفید قطع نباشد وزیاده از خبر خودش به تنهائی افاده نکند چهارم ایکنه مستمعین عالم مخبرٌ به نبوده باشند تا حصول حاصل لازم نیاید پنجم اینکه ذهن سامع مشوب بشبهه وشك وتقلید مخالف ان خبر نباشد چه چون اینهٔ خاطر بزنك شبهه مکدر شود بصیقل اخبار متواتره صافی نشود چنانکه تجربه بر این معنی کواه وذهن مشکك ازین مدعا آکاه است واین عمدهٔ شرایط تواتر است فاحفظه. "On the meaning of the word تواتر. It may be observed, that accounts are of two kinds احاد *ahád*, and متواتر *Mutawátir*. Mutawátir is an account, which comes from a number sufficiently large to make the truth of it probable, either considered in itself, or, from an induction of particulars. Accounts not of this kind are called احاد Ahád, individual. Now an account said to be Mutawátir, is of two kinds, *expressed*, and *understood*. *Expressed* Mutawátir, is that which produces conviction, when considered

ıttention to these as to record them, is, that hey had the Koran with them, and that they

idered in itself alone: as, for instance, when the existence of uch places as Mecca or Syria is asserted by a number of eople sufficiently large to make the truth of such assertion robable: provided there be no apparent impossibility in the elation itself: for it is by such accounts alone, that we arrive t the knowledge of distant places; and of any distressing ast events. Any one, therefore, who shall refuse his assent o such relations, will be wholly unworthy of regard, and roperly treated as a mere wrangler. The second kind of *Mutawâtir* is said to be *understood*. This is an account ob-ained by an induction of several particulars: as, for instance, hen any one says, that such an one has made himself horoughly acquainted with a certain book of Mohammedan aw. Another, in alluding to the same person, mentions ome other book on the same subject. And so on: so that everal persons may assert the same thing of the same person, ut every one mention a different book. Hence it becomes robable from each of these relations, that such a person is hus skilled. And thus from an induction of such particulars, here can remain no doubt of the skill of such a person in the Mohammedan law. In this way it is that we become acquainted vith the bravery of Hyder who broke through the ranks, ore up the gate of Chaibar, and destroyed the serpent.— With the liberality of Hátim, the bravery of Rustam, and he miracles of all the Prophets. Now there can be no doubt f the possibility of such events coming to pass, nor again of he validity of such evidence respecting them. He therefore who refuses his assent from opinion is a mere wrangler. But t should be further observed, that five conditions are abso-lutely necessary to the establishment of this kind of evidence, nd, without which, it can have no force. First, that those who have delivered the account be such, that good sense could not come to the conclusion that they had conspired for the propagation of falsehood: and, that the number be such that

perfect

were daily receiving some new revelation in it. Hence they were less careful about things which

perfect dependance may be placed upon them. Secondly, that the knowledge of the relaters be founded upon the evidence of the senses, and not upon inference. Thirdly, that each successive generation of the relaters should have been in possession of universally received accounts: for should one person have made any relation, and a thousand others in consequence have believed and related it, such account cannot produce conviction, any farther than as having come from one single narrator. Fourthly, that the hearer of such relation have no previous knowledge of the fact related, so that conviction as to its truth be unnecessary. Fifthly, that the hearer be not previously prejudiced against such relation: for, as experience has sufficiently proved, and, as every one who has been thus circumstanced very well knows, such relation, under such circumstances, will have no force. These then are the fundamental conditions of accounts called tawátar." See also D'Ohsson's Tableau de l'Empire Ottoman, Vol. I. p. 2, 3. Notwithstanding all this effort to make the above definition perfect, it is still subject to much uncertainty, which has not escaped the sagacity of the Arabian writers. In the first place, the number of witnesses is undefined: it is only said, the number must be such that perfect dependance may be placed upon them, so that no one could suppose they had conspired for the propagation of falsehood. In a grammatical work by Soyuti, entitled كتاب الزهر في اللغة, which is preserved in the Public Library at Cambridge among the books of the late Mr. Burkhardt, we have the following passage to this effect, said to have been taken from a work by Ambári. واعلم ان اكثر العلما ذهبوا الي ان شرط التواتر ان يبلغ عدد النقلة الي حد لا يجوز علي مثلهم الاتفاق علي الكذب كنقله لغة القران وما تواتر من السنة وكلام العرب فانهم انتهوا الي حد يستحيل علي مثلهم

they knew to be of inferior moment. They were, let it be observed, some of the most elo-

الاتفاق علي الكذب وذهب قوم الي ان شرطه ان يبلغوا سبعين وذهب اخرون الي ان شرطه ان يبلغوا اربعين وذهب اخرون الي ان شرطه ان يبلغوا اثني عشر وذهب اخرون الي ان شرطه ان يبلغوا خمسة والصحيح هو الول واما تعيين تلك الاعداد فانما اعتمدوا فيها علي قصص ليس بينهما وبين حصول العلم باخبار التواتر مناسبة وانما اتفق وجودها مع هذه الاعداد فلا يكون فيها حجة. Observe, that most of the learned have laid it down as their opinion, that the condition, whereby any thing can be said to be generally received, is, that the number of those who hold it must be such, as to make it improbable that they have conspired for the propagation of falsehood: such, for instance, as those who have retained the meaning of the Koran, the general accounts of the practice of the Prophet, and the meaning of Arabic phraseology: for in these cases the numbers are such, as to make it impossible they could have conspired for the propagation of falsehood. Some, however, hold that the number must amount to seventy: others that it must be forty: others again, that it must be twelve at least: and others, that it must not be less than five. The first opinion, however, is the true one. (That is, I suppose, that the number must be left undefined.) For the accounts in which such determination has been attempted have usually been such, as to have no relation to those, which are said to produce assurance by being generally received: and consequently, considered in connexion with such numbers, can never produce conviction: (i. e. in these cases the evidence has been greatly inferior to that found in the matter of the Koran.)

In the same work and immediately following this extract occurs another from a work by the Imám Fakhar Eddín.

quent among the Arabs; and were fully satisfied of the miraculous character of the Koran, in

---

الامام فخر الدين, noticing some other difficulties attending this kind of accounts: and the first is, the uncertainty of language. نجد الناس مختلفين في معاني الالفاظ التي هي اكثر الالفاظ تداولا ودورانا علي السنة المسلمين اختلافا شديدا لا يمكن فيه القطع مما هو الحق كلفظة الله فان بعضهم زعم انها عبرية وقال قوم سريانية والذي (الذين I read) جعلوها عبرية اختلفوا هل هي مشتقة او لا والقايلون بالاشتقاق اختلفوا اختلافا شديدا. "We find, says he, men differing most widely as to the meaning of the most common words, so that no conclusion can possibly be drawn as to the truth of the matter in debate. Such, for instance, is the word *God*. Some supposing it to be Hebrew, others Syriac. Those who suppose it to be Hebrew, differ again most widely, whether it is a primitive or a derived word. Those again, who say it is derived, differ as widely as the others."—The second difficulty arising from such accounts is that of ascertaining, whether the words in which they are couched, do now retain their original meanings or not. فهب انا علمنا حصول شرط التواتر جهلنا في حفاظ اللغة والنحو والتصريف في زماننا فكيف نعلم حصولها في ساير الازمنة واذا جهلنا شرط التواتر جهلنا التواتر ضرورة لان الجهل بالشرط يوجب الجهل بالمشروط فان قيل الطريق اليه امران احدهما ان الذين شاهدناهم اخبرونا ان الذين اخبروهم بهذه اللغات كانوا موصوفين بالصفات المعتبرة في التواتر وان الذين اخبروا من اخبروهم كانوا كذلك الي ان يتصل النقل من زمان الرسول &c. .... قلنا اما الاول فغير صحيح لان كل واحد حين سمع لغة مخصوصة من انسان فانه لم يسمع منه انه سمعه من اهل التواتر. "Allowing that

consequence of their perfect knowledge of rhetoric. Every verse was with them a demonstra-

that we have assurance that any account is accompanied by the necessary conditions of having been universally received, still we may now be ignorant of the meaning of the words, in which it is couched, as well as the syntax, and the modes of grammatical inflexion. How then can we be sure that in other times, the account itself was at all understood? If then we are ignorant of the necessary conditions, (namely, a knowledge of the fact related) we must necessarily be ignorant as to the thing itself having been generally received: for ignorance of the requisite conditions must imply ignorance also of the fact requiring such conditions to make it credible. It is said however, that this may be met two ways. One is, that those, with whom we have been conversant must have informed us, that they who delivered to them such and such words, were universally described as respectable: and that they again, who had informed them, were of the same description, and so on till they come to the Prophet himself, &c. As it respects the first we say: it is not true; for every one of the relaters when he heard a word, in the first instance, did not understand it, as having obtained it from people in possession of general credibility, &c.

The third difficulty is انه قد اشتهر بل بلغ المبلغ التواتر ان هذه اللغات انما اخذت عن جميع مخصوص كالخليل وابي عمرو والاصمعي واقرانهم ولا شك ان هولا ما كانوا معصومين ولا بالغين حد التواتر واذا كان كذلك لم يحصل القطع واليقين بقولهم اقصي ما في الباب ان يقال نعم قطعا ان هذه اللغات باسرها منقولة علي سبيل الكذب ونقطع بان فيها ماهو صدق. It is very well known, and indeed generally received, that such words have been received from certain persons, as Khalil, Abi Amru, or Alasmai and their companions. Now there can be no doubt that such persons were far from being pure, and that they were not considered as worthy of general credit.

This

tion; every chapter an undeniable miracle*; and every relation no less convincing than the leprous

---

This then being the case, no reliance can be placed on their relations; we may indeed come to the conclusion, that all they have said is unworthy of credit.

The whole of this, it is true, was not intended to affect the question of evidence in favour of the Mohammedan religion, derived by these means; but only to be applied in questions of grammar. It affects the principle, however, and that is enough for our present purpose: for if the principle itself is precarious in one case, (its mode of application continuing the same) it cannot be relied upon in any other: which the Arabs would long ago have discovered, had they not conspired for the propagation and continuation of falsehood. There is no unintelligible hint to this effect in the very next paragraph of the work already cited, which is this. والعجب من الاصوليين انهم قالوا الدلايل علي خبر الواحد له حجة في الشرع ولم يقيموا الدلالة علي ذلك في اللغة وهذا اولي. It is strange enough, that those who are conversant about the fundamentals of religion, should allow the validity of individual accounts in matters of law: but not in establishing the meaning of words, which is certainly of the first importance.

* وكل سورة في نظرهم ثعبان مبين وكل قصة وحكاية عندهم بيضاء للناظرين. This phraseology is taken from the passage in the Koran which alludes to the miracles of Moses, which is this, Sur. 26. v. 32. فالقي عصاه فاذا هو ثعبان مبين ونزع يده فاذا هي بيضاء للناظرين. "Then he threw down his rod, and behold it was evidently a serpent: and he took out his hand (from his bosom) and behold it was white to the beholders." Hence المعجزة البيضاء, بيضاء للناظرين, ثعبان مبين and the like, are often found in the sense of conclusive or unanswerable arguments.

hand of Moses was to the beholders. Now they were fully occupied in the matter of the Koran, and in endeavouring to comprehend what was revealed in it; and hence it is related, that many among them made daily records of the revelation. They were not aware that Persians and many others would hereafter come, who could not be sensible of the miracle of the Koran: if, therefore, they had been careful in recording the other miracles, it would have been of the greatest value to them. Still the accounts of the other miracles of Mohammed, are by no means inferior to the accounts of those of other Prophets, as will be readily seen, since none of them have been universally relied upon. For they who preserved the miracles of Jesus, do not exceed two or three persons. Nor did there remain among the Jews, in the times of Nebuchadnezzar, so much as one who could have any assurance of the miracles of Moses. And, as to the other Prophets, the fact is too well known to need further notice. It is not to be said by Christians, however, that we can have assurance of the miracles of other Prophets, by means of the Koran, which we believe to have come from God: so that we may judge of the difference between the other miracles of Mohammed, and the miracles of other Prophets, without having recourse to any thing else. For we say, we are not sure of the miracles of that Moses and Jesus of whom the Jews and

Christians speak: and who, as they say, did not believe in the mission of our Prophet: but, we speak of the miracles of that Moses and Jesus, who have given their testimony to the mission of Mohammed: and how great is the difference between them when viewed in these different lights? Let it not here be said, that the persons are the same in both cases; and that the difference consists merely in the circumstances, in which the different accounts have placed them: for we persist in affirming that the circumstance of their not having borne testimony to the mission of Mohammed, in the first place, is sufficient to warrant our denial of their identity, in the second: although we may not be disposed to argue, that the different circumstances under which they may be viewed, may always suffice to prove them to have been different persons, as in the present case it appears to do. But this we say, Moses was a believer in Mohammed: and, as he was able to perform miracles, this is sufficient to establish his testimony, as to the mission of Mohammed. But had he not been able to perform miracles, his testimony would not have been worth any thing. Hence may be seen the propriety of the Jews and Christians giving proofs of the missions of their respective Prophets; and not taking them for granted, as they usually do. The fact, however, is, that neither Jews nor Christians have universally accredited accounts

: the miracles of any one of the Prophets: and, surance, on this point, is to be had by no other eans. The nature of the question, too, is such to demand assurance. We are willing indeed allow, that any accounts, accompanied with llateral evidence, may be considered as true, id that they will afford assurance. Had the ews and Christians however accounts of this nd, they would be certain of the miracles of loses and Jesus; and consequently irreproach- le for believing in them. But now will they r ever be subject to reproach, because they do t rely on that which is capable of affording surance. The Mohammedans, on the contrary, lace their faith in Moses and Jesus, through e Koran: for by it are they convinced of their veral miracles. Our belief then, in Moses and esus, is founded on universally accredited ac- unts: and these are found in the Koran. Our counts are not individual ones, such as to stand need of collateral evidence; but we believe these Prophets, in consequence of their being scribed in the Koran, and not as described by e Jews and Christians. And again, what has en believed by these two sects cannot be ceived by us, but must ever be rejected, r this reason: because we can have no as- rance of its truth; for where there is no surance, there can be no faith. So much for e explanation of our sentiments.

Now, as it respects the establishment of Mohammed's mission from the accounts of his other miracles, we say, that since this is a question which demands assurance, such accounts are wholly insufficient: as reliance can only be placed on such as will afford assurance. Individual accounts therefore, or even those of competent witnesses, if insufficient to produce conviction, are not to be adduced as evidence. But individual accounts, when accompanied by collateral evidence, as well as accounts universally received, will be sufficient. Now, the universally received accounts are of two kinds, *expressed* and *understood:* the latter of these is of the following description. A number of people, for instance, may speak of the death of some individual; but each may relate the particulars differently. One may say, one killed him; another another, and so on. Still the fact will be ascertained, that this individual has been killed; and of this there will be no doubt, although there may be considerable doubt as to the person who perpetrated the crime. Again, different persons may give different accounts of the bravery or generosity of such an one. In this case, there will be no doubt of the bravery or generosity of the person so described, although there may be much as to the truth of the several particulars.

We now affirm, that proofs of the mission of Mohammed may be made out by either of

the ways above-mentioned, provided justice be done to the question. As it respects the accounts which are accompanied by collateral evidence, we say, This Prophet has in his book given particular accounts of all the former Prophets; viz. that they performed many miracles not referrible to the science of rhetoric: and these he has laid down as the proofs of their several missions. Of Moses he has said, "That he performed nine miracles in the sight of Pharaoh and his nobles*." And in the same manner has he spoken of Jesus. Still had not Mohammed been able to perform some miracle, no one would have allowed his claim to a prophetic mission. Again, there can be no doubt of the existence of individual accounts among the followers of Mohammed, relating to his miracles. Adding, therefore, to these the certainty of his mission, we are fairly compelled to acknowledge, that the result will produce conviction.

As it respects the *expressed* accounts which are universally accredited, we say, there can be no doubt either with us or others, that the Koran came from Mohammed; and that what it contains

* I have not been able to find this in the Koran. In Surat. 17. v. 101. Sale's Koran, Vol. II. p. 105. we have something to the same effect. "We heretofore gave unto Moses the power of working nine evident signs." Which some interpret as meaning commandments. It is certain, however, that the miracles performed by Moses were more than nine.

was publicly taught by him. That this is held by us there can be no doubt; and, that it is held by others, is also true: which must have resulted from the general belief of the Mohammedans, and the great improbability that they could have conspired for the propagation of falsehood. We have then a conclusion on this head, in which there can be no doubt.

We now say, as the Arabs have agreed in giving these accounts, they have, at the same time, agreed, that Mohammed wrought miracles upon the whole: for they have all spoken to this effect, without the least difference of opinion. Now, as assurance may be obtained from their consent respecting the accounts, there can be no reason whatever, why we should dispute the validity of their consent, as to the miracles, in producing the same assurance; since there can be no difference in the authority of two different accounts proceeding from the same narrators. Some, however, although they may be disposed to give credit to the accounts themselves, may not be so disposed to allow the truth of the miracles. In which case, we can only say, it is their duty not to be swayed by prejudice. With regard to the *understood*, and generally received accounts, we say, that the miracles and wonders, which the companions of the Prophet have preserved in their various relations, amount to not fewer than four thousand four hundred and

rty; and that many of these relations have arly obtained universal credence*. From these rious accounts then, may assurance be obtained, cording to the combined force of them all, hich is; that this Prophet was, upon the whole, idued with miraculous powers. And this is fficient to establish his claim to prophecy, alough the particulars may remain unknown: for has already been shewn, that particularity has thing to do with the question. When therere the conviction of his having wrought miraes is added to his claim to prophecy, the result ust be the establishment of his mission; alough, as it has already been shewn, the particurs of the miracles be unknown.

Again, accounts, considered merely as such, e of no avail in affording assurance, unless

* In the little book of Aga Acber already referred to, we re the following passage to the same effect. اگر كوئي كه اينها اخبار احاد ومفيد قطع نيستند جواب اينكه بعضي انها متواتر لفظي است وقطع نظر از ان مجموع انها متو معنوي است كه مفيد قطع است چنانكه در مقدمه مذكور ش it should be said that these are all nothing more than the ounts of individuals, and therefore inadequate to produce nviction, the answer is this: Many of them are universally eived accounts of the class termed *expressed:* but losing ht of that, they are all universally received accounts of the ss termed *understood,* and which produce conviction, as it already been shewn.

they be accompanied by collateral evidence; or, unless they be universally accredited, either as *expressed* or *understood*. But all these conspire in establishing the miracles of Mohammed.

Again, should no assurance be obtained from each of these considerations taken singly, if you unite the forces of them all, you will obtain an assurance far surpassing any that can be obtained in favour of the miracles of other Prophets: for those, to be any thing like perfect, must, at least, have the advantage of collateral evidence.

You will do well, therefore, in conformity with your acknowledged intelligence and judgement, to observe impartially how God has left you without excuse, with respect to the prophetic mission of Mohammed. If, however, you would examine this question for yourself, turn to the illustrious Koran, there you will find his miraculous powers so established as to remain unimpaired till the day of judgment. But, if you would see miracles like those of the former Prophets, look into the books compiled by his companions; for any thing short of earnestness in a matter thus important, cannot for a moment be suffered to exist. It is therefore the duty of such as are in quest of the truth to obtain it from those who are in possession of it. Observe too, of what kind the accounts of the miracles of other Prophets are,—they

are, in fact, nothing more than mere relations, such for the most part as will scarcely suffice to establish an opinion, much less to produce conviction. Judge then, how any sensible man can leave that which is true, to embrace what is manifestly implicated in doubt. May God now be praised, who has led us thus far: for hitherto should we not have come, had he not afforded us his assistance.—It was our intention to write so much by way of compendium, sufficiently extensive however for the satisfaction of any candid enquirer. They who desire more detailed accounts, must have recourse to the writings of the Prophet's companions, who have treated these matters more at length.

The writer now retires from this work, which is one of the publications of our great Moola and teacher of the traditions of the learned, &c. the descendant of the illustrious Prophet, Mohammed Ibrahim Ibn Al Hoseini Al Hasani Al Hoseini.

THE END OF THE FIRST TRACT.

APPENDIX (A.)

An Extract from the Book of AGA ACBER *on the Miracles of* MOHAMMED.

بدانکه خبر دادن ان جناب از مغیبات واظهار خارق عادات از حیز تحریر بیرون واز هزاران افزون است واین اختصاص بخود ان حضرت ندارد چه جانشینان انجناب زیاده از حصر وحساب از امور نهان ومعجزات اخبار وخارق عادات انقدر اظهار میفرمودند که از سر حدّ متواتر بالمعنی که مفید قطع است گذشته وبمنزلهٔ محسوس مشاهد شده چنانکه در ذکر مجملی از ان ارباب سیر کتب مفصله مرتب ساخته اند که ذکر هزار یك انها درین مختصر غیر مناسبه است شعر. کو نویسم وصف ان بیحد شود * مثنوي هفتاد من کاغذ شود * واکر کسي‌را میلي بشنیدن مجملي از مفصل ان باشد رجوع نماید بکتاب حیوة القلوب محقق مجلسي که در حیوة بخشي دلهاي مرده معجز عیسوي از او ظاهر وباهر است لیکن بذکر معجزي چند تیمنّا وتبرکًا اکتفا کنیم مثل قصه موسي وفرعون وابراهیم وعیسي وغیرهم که انجناب بر وجه تفصیل اخبار فرموده وحال انکه انجناب امي بود واز ممارست کتب ومطالعهٔ رسایل ونیز با علما وفضلا معاشر نبود واز شهر خود زیاده از دو بار بزمان قلیل که قابل تعلیم وتعلّم نبود بیرون نرفت فان هو الا وحي یوحي ومثل

TRANSLATION.

It should be observed, that to give an account of all the predictions of future events, and other miracles performed by Mohammed would exceed the limits of this tract. Nor were miracles peculiar to Mohammed only; for his successors also have performed so many, both secretly and openly, which have been attested, and consequently have become universally accredited, that they almost exceed description, as it appears from those who have touched upon them in their works of general biography: so that to attempt to give a thousandth part of them in this tract would be in vain. Verse. To attempt a mere description would exceed all limits. Seventy* mans of paper would scarcely suffice. But if any one should be desirous of reading them at length, he may turn to the Book entitled, The Life of Hearts, which was published by the Doctor surnamed Majlisi; and which, from the delight it affords the reader, may be well compared to any one of the miracles of Jesus. We shall however, Deo volente, recount a few, such, for instance, as was the miracle of Moses, Pharaoh, Abraham, Jesus and others, of which that writer has given a full account. Now as Mohammed was illiterate, and had read neither books nor tracts, nor had access to any learned man; and further, as he had not left his own city more than once or twice, and that for too short a time to acquire any learning†, we are compelled to allow, that what he left must have been a revelation from God. Such were his

* A weight of about ten pounds.

† The same is said by Al Ghazali, Pococke Spec. Hist. Arab. p. 196.

خبر دادن انحضرت بامور مستقبل که بعضي از ان در قران مبين مبين است مثل الم غلبت الروم تا اخر داستان ويستخلفنهم في الارض لتدخلن المسجد الحرام ولا ياتون بمثله وان الذي فرض عليك القران لرادك الي معاد وغير اينها وبعضي ديكر كه در ان كلام معجز نظام نيست مثل انكه فرمود بعمار مي كشند تورا كروه كمراه وچنانكه ان جناب بوصي خود علي ابن ابي طالب عم مكرر خبر دادند كه تورا شهيد خواهد نمود بدترين خلايق وريش مبارك تورا بخون سرت خضاب خواهد نمود وهم چنين بمرات وكرات چنانكه باسانيد مختلف وطرق متعدد منقولست شهادت فرزند دل بند خود امام حسن وامام حسين را بعلي وفاطمه وديكران خبر دادند چنانكه اكثري از اصحاب حضرت امام حسين علم بر شهادت داشتند واز مشايخ ما معنعن از امام حسن عسكري از ابا واجداد كرامش منقولست كه خدمت حضرت امير عرض نمودند كه آيا محمدرا صم معجزهٔ بود مانند معجزهٔ موسي در بلند كردن كوه بر سر انها كه قبول توراة نكردند ان حضرت فرمود بلي بحق ان خداوندي كه انجناب را براستي مبعوث كردانيده است كه هيچ معجزهٔ خدا به پيغمبري نداده است از ادم تا اخر پيغمبران مكر انكه بانحضرت داده است مثل انرا يا بهتر از انرا وبدرستي كه نظير اين معجزه كه پرسيدي خدا باو داده است با معجزات بيشمار ديكر وانچنان بود كه چون حضرت رسول صم در مكه اظهار دين خود نمود تمام عرب براي ان حضرت تيرهاي عداوت در كمان نهادند وبهر حيله در دفع ان جناب تدبير مي نمودند ومن اول كسي بودم كه بانحضرت ايمان آورد واو در روز دو شنبه مبعوث شد ومن

predictions of future events, some of which are to be found in the Koran, as for instance, A.L.M. "The Greeks have been overcome," &c. to the end of the subject*. (Chap. 30. Sale, Vol. II. p. 243.) And again, "He will cause them to succeed the unbelievers in the earth"†. (Sale, Vol. II. p. 190.) And, "Ye shall surely enter the holy temple of Mecca‡." (Ibid. p. 374.) And again, "They could not produce one like unto it." (Ib. p. 104.) And again, "Verily he who hath given thee the Koran for a rule of faith and practice, will certainly bring thee back home unto Mecca." (Ib. p. 234—5.) And many others, which are not to be found in that incomparable book: as for instance, when he said to Omar, that those who had lost the right way, should put him to death. And again to Ali, that the worst of mortals should make him a martyr, and stain his holy beard with his own blood. And, in like manner, is it frequently related in the traditions, how he predicted to Ali, Fatima, and others, that both the Imams Hasan and Hosein should also be martyred, as many of the companions of Hosein very well knew||. It has also been related by our elders, as received from Imam Hasan Askari, and again from his noble ancestors, who had waited upon Ali personally, that when they asked him, whether Mohammed had performed any miracle like that of Moses, when he held Mount Sinai in suspension over them who refused to believe, he answered; certainly. Nor had God afforded any miracle to the Prophets, from first to last, which he did not afford to Mohammed: and, in some instances, the miracle of Mohammed was the more illustrious. Such a miracle as that which you have mentioned, was certainly afforded to him, among many others. For it happened, that when Mohammed was in Mecca, and began to make his religion known, that the Arabs opposed him by every possible contrivance which malice could invent. I was the first person, continued Ali, who was

* See Note (A). † See Note (B).
‡ See Note (C). || See Note (D).

در روز سه شنبه با او نماز کردم وهفت سال من تنها با ان جناب نماز میکردم تا انکه جمعي در اسلام داخل شدند وحق تع دین خودرا تقویت فرمود پس روزي نزد ان حضرت رفتم ناگاه گروهي از مشرکان نزد انجناب آمدند وگفتند اي محمد صم تو دعوي میکني که رسول پروردگار عالمیاني وباین راضي نشده بلکه ادعا مینمائي که سید وافضل پیغمبراني اگر راست میگوئي معجزهٔ چند مانند معجزهٔ پیغمبران گذشته که از تو سوال میکنیم بیاور پس ایشان چهار فرقه شدند فرقهٔ اول گفتند که ما مانند معجزهٔ نوح از تو میخواهیم که قوم خودرا غرق کرد وخود با مومنان در کشتي نجات یافت وفرقهٔ دوم گفتند براي ما آیتي ظاهر گردان مانند آیت موسي که کوهرا بر سر اصحاب خود بلند کرد تا انقیاد او نمودند وفرقهٔ سیم گفتند معجزهٔ مانند معجزهٔ ابراهیم بنما که اورا در آتش انداختند وآتش بر او سرد شد وفرقهٔ چهارم گفتند که معجزهٔ مثل معجزهٔ عیسي بنما که مردمرا خبر میداد بانچه خورده بودند یا در خانها ذخیره کرده بودند حضرت رسول صم فرمود که من از براي شما پیغمبر ترساننده ام ومعجزهٔ ظاهر مانند قران براي شما آورده ام که شما وجمیع عرب وساير امتها عاجز شدید از معارضهٔ ان پس آن حجة خدا ورسول اوست بر شما ومرا نیست که جرات نمایم بر جناب مقدس الهي وایتها اختراع نمایم واز او سوال کنم وبر من نیست مکر تبلیغ رسالتهاي او وبعد از تمام شدن حجة وظهور حقیت من بسا باشد که اگر آیتي بطلبم شما ایمان نیاورید وباعث نزول عذاب شود بر شما پس در انوقت جبرائیل نازل شد وگفت اي محمد خداوند علي اعلا تورا سلام میرساند ومیفرماید که من بزودي ظاهر میگردانم از

converted to his faith. He received his commission on the Monday, and I joined him in prayer on the Tuesday following. And for seven years after was I his only associate in prayer, until numbers joined his religion, and it pleased God to establish it. Upon a certain day I went to Mohammed, when all on a sudden appeared a company of the pagans, who said, Ho, you, Mohammed! you say you are a Prophet come from God: but not content with this, you further say that you are the most illustrious, and indeed, Lord of all that have gone before you. Now, if this be the case, shew us some of the miracles of former Prophets, which we shall name. These, it must be observed, were in four companies. The first said, We require a miracle like that of Noah, who had all the people of his time drowned; while he and the faithful alone were saved in the ark. The second company said, Let us have a sign like that of Moses, who suspended Mount Sinai over the heads of his followers, till they became obedient*. The third company said, Give us the miracle of Abraham, who, when he was thrown in the fire, had not the least perception of any thing like heat. The fourth company said, Shew us one of the miracles of Jesus, who told certain people what they had eaten, and what they had laid up in their houses. The Prophet replied, for your sakes I am a terrifying Prophet; and have produced the Koran as a miracle, which may satisfy you, the Arabs, and all other people, as to the impossibility of producing its equal. This then is sufficient to confirm the judgment of God and his Prophet against you. For my own part, I dare not either originate or request miracles from him on my own account: nor is it my duty in any way to exceed the commission with which he has charged me. Now, when his sentence, as well as the reality of my mission has been vindicated, enough has been done: for should I request, and even perform another miracle, you will not be convinced; and then the miracle will only aggravate your condemnation. At the same

* Sale's Koran, Vol. I. p. 115. &c.

براي ايشان اين آيات ومعجزات‌را كه طلب كردند وبدرستي كه ايشان بعد از ديدن انها بر كفر خود خواهند ماند مكر انرا كه من نكاه دارم وليكن مينمايم بايشان انچه‌را از تو طلب نمودند براي اتمام حجة بر ايشان پس بكو بانها كه معجزهٔ نوح‌را طلب كردند برويد بسوي كوه ابو قبيس وچون بدامان كوه رسيدند آيت نوح‌را مشاهده خواهند كرد وچون مشرف بر هلاك شويد توسّل جوئيد بعلي ودو فرزند او كه بعد ازين بهم خواهند رسيد تا نجات يابيد وبكو بانها كه معجزهٔ ابراهيم‌را طلبيدند كه برويد بهر جا كه خواهيد از صحراي مكّه كه آتش ابراهيم‌را مشاهده خواهيد نمود وچون آتش شمارا فرو كيرد در هوا صورت زني را خواهيد ديد كه دو طرف مقنعه اش‌را آويخته است پس باو متوسّل شويد تا نجات يابيد واو آتش‌را از شما دور كرداند وبكو بانها كه معجزهٔ موسي‌را خواستند كه برويد بنزديك كعبه تا آيت موسي‌را به بينيد وعموي من حمزه ايشان‌را نجات خواهد داد وبكو بكروه چهارم كه رئيس ايشان ابو جهل است كه باشيد نزد من تا خبر معجزهٔ انهارا بشنويد وبعد از ان انچه طلبيده ايد در حضور خود بشما بنمايم.

چون انحضرت رسالت الهي را بايشان رسانيد ابو جهل لعين با ان سه كروه كفت كه پراكنده شويد بسوي ان مواضع كه محمد كفته است تا بطلان قول او ظاهر كردد پس فرقهٔ اوّل بدامنهٔ ابو قبيس رفتند ناكاه از زير پاي

moment, down comes Gabriel, and says, Ho, you, Mohammed! God has commissioned me with a most glorious salutation for you; and he says, that he will immediately afford the very miracles which these people require. But there is not a doubt that they will remain infidels, just as much as they now are, after these miracles have been afforded, except only such as I myself shall preserve. Now, what they have requested shall be granted merely that the sentence of the Almighty may descend upon them in full force. Tell them then that they may now ask for the miracle of Noah. Let them go, said the Prophet, to the mountain of Abu Kabis*, and when they are come to the foot of it, they shall see the miracle of Noah. But, when they shall perceive themselves to be in danger, let them betake themselves to Ali and his two sons Hasan and Hosein, who shall hereafter appear to deliver you. Say to those who wish to see the miracle of Abraham, that they may go to any part of the plain of Mecca to see the fire of Abraham. When they perceive the fire begin to affect them, let them look up and they shall see the form of a woman in the air, having her veil suspended by the two corners. Let no time then be lost in making supplication to her, and all shall be safe, so that the fire shall have no power on any one.

Those who have requested to see the miracle of Moses may then be told to go to the Caaba, in order to be satisfied; and there my uncle Hamza† shall take care of them. To the fourth company say that they may come to me with Abu Jahl† at their head, that they may hear the account of these miracles: and then, whatsoever further they may require shall be done when all are present.

No sooner had the Prophet communicated the Divine will to them, than the cursed Abu Jahl said to these three companies, Disperse yourselves, and make for the places mentioned by Mohammed, that you may the better be convinced of the vanity of what he has said. Upon this the first company betook

---

* A mountain near Mecca. † Annales Moslem. Vol. I. p. 36-7. &c.

ایشان چشمها بجوشید واز بالاي سر ایشان بي ابر باران فرو ریخت وباندك زماني آب بنزدیك دهنهاي ایشان رسید وبسوي کوه کریختند وهرچند بکوه بالا میرفتند آب بلند میشد تا بقلهٔ کوه رسیدند وآب بنزدیك دهانهاي ایشان رسید دانستند که غرق میشوند ناگاه علي را دیدند که بر روي آب ایستاده وصورت دو طفل را دیدند که در جانب راست وچپ او ایستاده اند پس علي ندا کرد که بگیرید دست مرا یا یکي ازین دو طفلرا تا نجات یابید پس ناچار بعضي دست انحضرترا گرفتند وبعضي دست یکي از ان دو طفلرا وبرخي دست ان طفل دیگررا.

پس از کوه بزیر مي آمدند وآب فرو مینشست پارهٔ بزمین فرو میرفت وپارهٔ باسمان بالا میرفت وچون به پائین کوه رسیدند هیچ آب نماند پس حضرت امیر المؤمنین عم با ایشان بنزد حضرت رسول صم آمد وایشان میگریستند ومیگفتند که شهادت میدهیم که توئي سیّد پیغمبران وبهترین جمیع خلایق ما دیدیم مانند طوفان نوحرا ومارا خلاصي دادند علي ودو طفل که با او بودند که الحال ایشانرا نمي بینیم حضرت فرمود ایشان بعد ازین بهم خواهند رسید از برادر من علي ونام ایشان حسن وحسین است وبهترین جوانان بهشتند وپدر ایشان بهتر است از ایشان بدانید که دنیا دریائست عمیق وخلق بسیاري در آن غریق وکشتي نجات آل محمد اند یعني علي ودو فرزند او که صورت ایشانرا دیدید وسایر افاضل اهل بیت من که اوصیاي منند پس هر که در آن کشتي سوار شود نجات یابد

themselves to the foot of the Abu Kabís, when all on a sudden several fountains boiled up from under their feet, and the rain fell in torrents, though not so much as a cloud was to be seen. In a very short time the water rose to the chin. They of course then fled to the mountain, and although they ascended it to the very top, the water, even there, soon reached the chin. They accordingly made up their minds that they must be drowned. But in this juncture, Ali, with two children, one standing on his right hand, and the other on his left, appeared on the surface of the water: who exclaimed, Take hold, either of my hand, or of the hand of one of these children, and you shall be safe. Now, as this was the only source of hope, some, of course seized the hand of Ali, others that of one or other of the children.

They then came down from the mountain, and the water gradually subsided; some sinking into the ground; the rest being absorbed by the atmosphere. As soon as they had reached the bottom of the mountain, they found that the water had entirely disappeared. Ali then accompanied them to the presence of Mohammed. When they came before him, they wept and said, We now do attest that thou art the Lord of the Prophets, and the best part of the creation of God. We have now seen a deluge no less terrible than that of Noah, from which we have been saved by the intervention of Ali and his two children. But these two children have now ceased to be visible. The Prophet replied, they shall be born hereafter as sons of my brother Ali, and be called Hasan and Hosein. They are now the sweetest youths of Paradise: still their Father is their superior. Mark me, this world is a deep ocean, in which many are drowned. My descendants are as the ark of Noah: that is, Ali and his two children, whom you have just seen; to whom may be added those illustrious branches of my family, who shall succeed me in the Divine mission. Those who can get into

وهركه تخلف كند غرق مي شود پس رسول صم فرمود كه اي ابو جهل آيا شنيدي آنچه كفتند كفت بلي تا به بينيم كه فرقهاي ديكر چه ميكويند پس فرقهٔ دوم كريان آمدند وكفتند شهادت ميدهيم كه توئي رسول پروردكار عالميان وبهتر از جميع خلق ما رفتيم بصحراي هموارى وخبري كه دادي ياد ميكرديم ناكاه ديديم كه آسمان شكافته شد وپارهاي آتش فرو ريخت وزمين شكافته شد وزبانهاي آتش از آن بلند شد وچنان زياد ميشد كه تمام زمين را فرو كرفت وآتش در ما افتاد وبدنهاي ما از شدت حرارت بجوش آمد ويقين كرديم كه بريان خواهيم شد وخواهيم سوخت ناكاه در هوا صورت زني‌را ديديم كه اطراف مقنعه اش اويخته بود بسوي ما كه دستهاي ما بريشهايش مي رسيد ومنادي از آسمان ندا كرد كه اكر نجات ميخواهيد پس چنك زنيد بريشهٔ از ريشهاي اين مقنعه پس هريك از ما بريشهٔ از ريشهاي ان چسپيديم ومارا در هوا بلند كرد وما مي ديديم اخكرهاي وزبانهاي آتش‌را وضرر كرمي وشرر آن بما نميرسيد وان ريشهاي باريك كسيخته نمي شد از سنكيني ما پس مارا از ان آتش نجات داد وهريك‌را در صحن خانهٔ خود انداخت بسلامت وعافيت پس از خانها بيرون آمديم وبخدمت تو شتافتيم و دانستيم كه مارا چاره نيست از اختيار كردن دين تو وتو بهتر كسي كه باو ملتجي شوند وبعد از خدا بر او اعتماد كنند وراست كوئي وحكيمي در كفتار وكردار خود پس حضرت رسول بابو جهل فرمود اين فرقهٔ دوم‌را حضرت حق معجزهٔ ابراهيم نمود ابو جهل كفت تا به بينيم فرقهٔ سيم‌را وبشنويم سخن ايشان‌را پس انحضرت با فرقهٔ دوم فرمود كه اي بندكان خدا حق تع شمارا بان زن نجات داد

this ark, shall be saved: but those who resist, shall be drowned. The Prophet then, turning to Abu Jahl, said, Do you hear what these say? He answered, Yes, I do: but let us wait and hear what the other companies shall report. Upon this, in came the second company, weeping and saying, We attest that thou art the Prophet of him who sustains and nourishes all created beings: and, that of these, thou art the best. We took our way, as directed, towards a level plain, and no sooner had what we had heard occurred to our minds, than the heavens were cleft asunder, and fire came down. The earth also opening emitted flames of fire which ascended upwards: and such was its spread, that the whole earth seemed enveloped. The fire now began to fall upon us to such a degree that we became exceedingly hot, well knowing that in a very short time we should be scorched and consumed. Upon this we saw the form of a woman in the air, having the parts of her veil so suspended, that we could lay our hands on some of the threads which composed it. A voice was now heard from heaven, which said, If you wish for safety, take fast hold of the threads of this veil. We immediately laid hold of the threads, and were borne up into the air, so that we could now see coals and flames of fire, without experiencing the least difficulty from their heat. During this time not so much as one of those fine threads was broken by our weight. Thus were we saved from the fire; and then let down, each one of us, in the court yard of his own house, safe and sound. We immediately left our houses, and are now come to present our services to thee. And we are convinced that we should be inexcusable in refusing to accept thy religion. Thou art of men, the best refuge; and, after God, the only one on whom reliance can be placed. Thy word is truth: thy actions and sayings, wisdom itself.

The Prophet then, turning to Abu Jahl, said, God has afforded to this second company, the miracle of Abraham. Abu Jahl replied, Stop; let us hear what the third company will say. The Prophet went on, Servants of the Most High,

وان دختر من است فاطمه وبهترین زنان است وچون حق تعالي خلایق اوّلین واخرینرا مبعوث کرداند منادي از زیر عرش ندا کند که اي کروه خلایق پوشانید دیدهاي خودرا تا بکذرد فاطمه دختر محمد صم سیّده زنان عاملیان بر صراط پس همه خلایق دیدهاي خودرا بپوشانند مکر محمد وعلي وحسن وحسین وامامان فرزندان ایشان که محرم ویند پس از صراط بکذرد ودامان چادرش بر صراط کشیده باشد پس ندا کند منادي پروردکار ما که اي دوستان فاطمه بچسپید بریشهاي چادر فاطمه بهترین زنان عالمیان پس هرکه دوست آن باشد بریشهٔ از ریشهاي ان چنك زند تا انکه بچسپد بان زیاده از هزار کروه وهزار کروه وهزار کروه که هر کروهي هزار هزار کس باشند پس ببرکت چادر عصمت آن حضرت از آتش جهنم نجات یابند.

پس فرقهٔ سیم آمدند کریه کنان ومیکفتند شهادت میدهیم اي محمد که توئي رسول پروردکار عالمیان وبهترین ادمیان واصحاب تو وامت تو بهترند از اصحاب وامت جمیع پیغمبران دیدیم از آیات ومعجزات تو آنمقدار که چارهٔ بجز از اذعان واقرار نداریم حضرت فرمود که بکوئید انچه را دیدید کفتند در پناهٔ کعبه نشسته بودیم واستهزا بکفتهاي تو میکردیم ودعوي معجزهٔ تورا دروغ مي پنداشتیم ناکاه دیدیم که کعبه از جاي خود کنده شد وبلند کردید وبالاي سر ما ایستاد وما در جاي خود خشك شدیم ویاراي حرکت نداشتیم پس عم تو حمزه آمد ونیزهٔ خودرا در زیر کعبه استوار کرد وکعبهرا بان غطمت به نیزهٔ خود نکاه داشت وکفت بیرون روید ودور شوید چون ما دور شدیم کعبه بر کشت وبجاي خود قرار کرفت پس مسلمان شدیم وبسوي تو آمدیم.

it is he that has saved you by the intervention of that woman, who is no other than my daughter Fatima, and the best of women. Now observe. When both the ancients and their posterity shall be raised again at the last day, one shall cry from beneath the throne: Multitudes of created beings, cover your eyes while Fatima the daughter of Mohammed, and the Lady of all her sex shall pass the bridge. Then shall all cover their eyes, except Mohammed, Ali, Hasan, Hosein, and the Imams their children, who are her particular friends. She shall then pass over the bridge, and the skirt of her mantle shall be spread over it. The herald of heaven shall then cry: Friends of Fatima, seize upon the threads of her mantle—she is the best of earthly women. Those who are her Friends to the number of thousands of millions of tribes, each of which will exceed a million, will take hold of one or other of these threads: and, by virtue of the mantle which had enclosed the chastity of that Lady, shall they be freed from hell.

About this time the third company arrived, who wept and said, We attest, Mohammed, that thou art the Apostle of God, and the best of men. Thy companions and people are superior to those of any other Prophet. Such are the miracles which thou hast wrought, and which we have witnessed, that we cannot but submit, and tender our evidence. The Prophet replied: Relate what you have seen. They said: As we were sitting under the shade of the Kaaba, and making sport of what thou hadst said, and calling thy miracles in question as illusory and false, the Kaaba was suddenly torn up from its foundations, and suspended over our heads, and there it stood. We, of course, were shrivelled up with fear, and without power to move. Upon this came thy uncle Hamza, who fixing his spear under the Kaaba, and, notwithstanding its greatness, held it up, and said; Get out, and go far away; which we did. The Kaaba then came quietly down and fixed itself in its proper place. The consequence was, we became Moslems; and have now come hither to say so.

پس انحضرت خطاب بابو جهل فرمود که اینك فرقهٔ سیم آمدند وتورا خبر دادند بانچه دیده بودند ابو جهل گفت نمیدانم که راست میگویند یا دروغ ونمیدانم که درست تحقیق کرده اند یا خیالي در نظر ایشان آمده اگر بمن آنچه طلب کرده ام بنمائي لازم است که ایمان بیاورم والا لازم نباشد که من تصدیق اینجماعت نمایم حضرت فرمود که هرگاه اینجماعت را باین وفور وکثرت واعتقادي که بعقل ودیانت ایشان داري تصدیق ننمائي پس چگونه تصدیق مینمائي بمآثر ومفاخر آبا واجداد خود وبدیهاي پدران دشمنان خود که پیوسته یاد میکني وچگونه تصدیق مینمائي که ولایت عراق وشام هست وحال انکه هیچ یك‌را ندیده وبخبرهاي مردم باور کردهٔ بدرستي که حجة خدا بر ایشان تمام شد بانچه دیدند وتمام شد بر تو بانچه شنیدي از ایشان پس انحضرت رو کردانید بجانب فرقهٔ سیم وفرمود که آن حمزة که کعبه را از بالاي سر شما کردانید عم رسول خداست حق تعالي اورا بمنازل رفیعه ودرجات شریفه رسانیده است واورا بفضایل بسیار کرامي داشته بسبب محبت محمد وعلي بدرستي که حمزة عم محمد صم جهنّم را در روز قیامت از محبانش دور میکند چنانچه امروز کعبه را نگذاشت که بر سر شما فرود آید واز شما دور کردانید بدرستي که او خواهد دید در پهلوي صراط گروه بسیار از مردم‌را که عدد ایشان را بغیر از خدا کسي نمیداند وایشان از دوستان‌حمزة باشند وگناه بسیار کرده باشند وبسبب گناهان خود که مانع ایشان شده نتوانند از صراط گذشت پس چون حمزة‌را به بینند میگویند اي حمزة مي بیني که ما در چه حال مانده ایم حمزة با رسول خدا وامیر

The Prophet then addressed Abu Jahl and said: The third company is now come, and what they have seen they have related to you. Abu Jahl replied: Still I am not sure whether they have told the truth, or a falsehood: nor can I tell, whether they have assured themselves of the reality of what they have seen, or whether it was mere illusion. If, however, you will exhibit to me that which I require, I shall, of course believe: but, if you do not, it is but reasonable that I should refuse my assent to the accounts of these people. The Prophet said: You refuse to give credence to a number so great and respectable as you allow the present to be, yet how is it that you believe the accounts relating to the achievements of your ancestors, and the ill fortune of their adversaries, which are always present to your recollection? And, further, how can you believe in the existence of such places as Irak or Syria, since you have seen neither of them, but have merely relied on the accounts of others? The truth is, the sentence of God has become liable to them, on account of what they have seen; and on you in consequence of what you have heard from them. The Prophet then turned to this third company and said: That Hamza who kept the Kaaba from falling upon your heads, is the uncle of the Apostle of God. In consequence of his friendship for Mohammed and Ali, he has been favoured with Divine endowments of the first order: and it is a fact, that he shall, at the day of judgement, remove the fire of hell far away from his own friends; just as he has, this day, kept the Kaaba from falling upon your heads, removing it far away from you. He shall then see upon the side of the bridge such numbers of his friends as none but the Almighty can count; and, who on account of their numerous sins, have it not in their power to pass it. Upon seeing Hamza, they shall exclaim, Hamza! seest thou how we are situated? Hamza shall then address the Prophet and Ali thus: Do you see how my friends require my assistance? The Prophet shall then say to

المؤمنين ميكويد كه مي بينيد كه دوستان من طلب ياري
از من مينمايند پس رسول خدا بولي خدا ميكويد كه يا
علي اعانت كن عم خودرا در خلاص كردن ايشان‌از آتش جهنم
پس امير المومنين نيزه حمزه را كه در دنيا باو جهاد ميكرده
در راه خدا مي آورد وبدست حمزه ميدهد وميكويد كه اي
عم رسول واي عم برادر رسول دفع كن جهنم را از دوستان
خود باين نيزه چنانكه دفع مينمودي در دنيا دشمنان خدارا
از دوستانش باين نيزه پس حمزه نيزه را بكيرد وسنان‌آنرا
بكذارد بر ان ديوارهاي آتش كه ميان دوستانش وميان
صراط مانع شده اند وبقوت الهي پانصد سال راه آتش‌را از ايشان
دور كند پس دوستان خودرا كويد كه بكذريد وايشان‌را ايمن
وسالم از صراط بكذراند وداخل بهشت شوند پس انجناب
بابو جهل لعين خطاب فرمود كه اي ابو جهل اين فرقه سيم كه
معجزات خدارا ديدند اكنون تو چه معجزه ميخواهي كفت
ان معجزه‌را ميخواهم كه تو ميكوئي كه عيسي داشته وخبر
ميداد مردمرا بانچه در خانهاي خود خورده بودند وذخيره
نموده بودند پس مرا خبر ده كه امروز چه خورده ام وبعد از
ان چه كرده ام.

حضرت فرمود كه خبر ميدهم تورا بانچه خورده
وذخيره كرده وبانچه در اثناي خوردن كرده كه باعث فضيحت
ورسوائي تو كردد بسبب لجاجي كه با پيغمبر خدا مينمائي
واكر ايمان نياوري با فضيحت دنيا رسوائي وخواري وعذاب
ابدي اخرت خواهي يافت وهركز از عذاب نجات نخواهي
داشت.

اي ابو جهل در خانه نشستي كه بخوري از مرغي
كه براي تو بريان كرده بودند وچون لقمه برداشتي ابو البختري

Ali, Ali go and assist your uncle in saving his friends from the fire of hell. Ali shall, upon this, bring the spear of Hamza, with which he fought the battles of religion in this world, and shall place it in the hands of Hamza, and say: Uncle of the Apostle of God, and of his brother, remove far away from thy friends the fire of hell, with this spear, as thou didst the foes from the friends of God, when in the world. Hamza shall then take the spear, and pass it through the wall of fire which stopt up the passage of his friends to the bridge, and by the divine assistance shall remove the fire out of the way of his friends, for the period of five hundred years. He shall then say to his friends, Pass on: and they shall accordingly proceed on without the least molestation, and so enter paradise. The Prophet now addressed himself to the execrable Abu Jahl, and said, Thus much for the third company, who have seen the miracles of God. What miracle do you now require for your own satisfaction? He replied: I require that which thou hast said was performed by Jesus, when he told some persons what they had eaten in their own houses, and what they had laid up. Now tell me what I have eaten to-day; and what I did afterwards.

The Prophet answered, I will now tell you what you have eaten, what you have laid up, and what you did while you were eating, which shall only become the means of your disgrace and infamy; because you have had the assurance to dispute with the Prophet of God. And if you refuse to believe, in addition to the contempt and infamy of this world, you shall find everlasting perdition and torment in the next; and shall by no means be saved. Observe, Abu Jahl, as you were sitting in your house, and had just taken a mouthful of a fowl which had been roasted for you, your brother Abul Bachtari came to the door and desired admittance. Upon this

برادر تو بدر خانه آمد ورخصت طلبید که داخل شود پس تو ترسیدي که مبادا در ان مرغ شریك تو شود وبخل کردي وانمرغ را در زیر دامن خود پنهان ساختي واورا رخصت دخول دادي وچون بیرون رفت نصف آن مرغرا خوردي ونصف دیکررا ذخیره کردي ابو جهل گفت دروغ گفتي اینها هیچ نبود ومن امروز مرغ نخوردم وچیزیرا از ان ذخیره نکردم اکنون خبر خودرا تمام کن که دیکر چه کردم حضرت فرمود که سیصد اشرفي از خود داشتي ودة هزار درهم امانت مردم نزد تو بود واز یکي صد اشرفي واز دیکري دویست واز دیکري پانصد واز دیکري هفتصد واز دیکري هزار ومال هر یك در کیسهٔ بود تو عزم کردة بودي که خیانت نمائي در اموال ایشان وپس ندهي واموال مردمرا دفن کردي که پس ندهي بایشان وتقدیر خدا درین باب خلاف تدبیر تو است ابو جهل ملعون گفت اینرا نیز دروغ میکوئي من چیزیرا دفن نکردم وان امانت مردمرا دزد برد حضرت فرمود که من اینرا از خود نمیکویم که مرا بدروغ نسبت میدهي بلکه جبرائیل حاضر است واز جانب پروردکار عالم چنین خبر میدهد.

پس حضرت فرمود که اي جبرائیل بیاور باقي ماندة مرغیرا که از ان خوردة است ناکاه مرغ نزد انحضرت حاضر شد حضرت فرمود که اي ابو جهل مي شناسي این مرغ را ابو جهل گفت نمیشناسم ومن از این مرغ نخوردة ام ومرغ نیم خوردة در عالم بسیار است حضرت فرمود اي مرغ ابو جهل بمن نسبت میدهد که بر جبرئیل دروغ میکویم وبجبرئیل نسبب میدهد که بر پروردکار عالمیان دروغ مي بندد پس کواهي بدة بتصدیق من وتکذیب ابو جهل ناکاه

you began to be mightily alarmed, lest he should partake of this fowl. Your greedy disposition however suggested an expedient: you hid the fowl under your skirt, and then let in your brother. As soon as he was gone you dispatched one half of the fowl, and laid up the other for another occasion. The whole of this is false, said Abu Jahl, nor have I so much as touched a fowl this day, much less laid up a remainder of it. But finish your story, and let us hear what else I did.

The Prophet proceeded, Abu Jahl, you have had two hundred ashrafs* of your own; and ten thousand Dirhems belonging to others have been deposited with you. From one you received a hundred ashrafs; from another two hundred; from another five hundred; from another seven hundred; and from another a thousand. Now all this was put into one bag; and, as it was your intention to cheat them all in order to avoid the repayment, you buried the whole in the earth. But in this case the determination of God is contrary to your plan. This too is all false, said the execrable Abu Jahl, I buried nothing; and as to the deposit you mention, it was carried off by a thief. I say not this of myself, replied the Prophet, you cannot therefore charge me with falsehood. Gabriel is at hand, and the relation comes from above. Gabriel, continues the Prophet, bring forth the remainder of the said fowl. In a moment the fowl appeared. Now, says the Prophet, Abu Jahl, do you know any thing of this fowl? Not a syllable, said Abu Jahl: nor have I touched a bit of it. Besides there are many half eaten fowls in the world. Abu Jahl, says the Prophet, addressing himself to the fowl, will have it, that I have told a lie, which I have referred to the Angel Gabriel, and that Gabriel has done the same thing, which he has referred to God. Now

---

* The name of an old Spanish coin, worth about four shillings. The name has also been applied to the golden Mohur of Hindustan, value about two pounds sterling.

بامر خدا آن مرغ بسخن آمد وگفت گواهي ميدهم اي
محمد صم که تويي رسول خدا وسيد وبهتر جميع خلايق
وشهادت ميدهم که ابو جهل دشمن خداست ودانسته با
حق معاندت ميکند از من خورده است وباقي مرا ذخيره
کرده است پس بر او باد لعنت خدا ولعنت جميع لعنت
کنندگان واين ملعون با وجود کفر بخيل است برادرش رخصت
طلبيد که بنزد او رود ومرا زير دامن خود پنهان کرد از
بيم انکه مبادا برادرش از من بخورد پس تو يا رسول
الله راست کوتر از جميع راست کوياني وابو جهل دروغ
گو وافترا کننده وملعون است حضرت فرمود که اي ابو جهل
آيا بس نيست ترا انچه ديدي از معجزات پس ايمان بياور
تا ايمن گردي از عذاب خدا ابو جهل گفت من گمان
ميکنم که اينها چيزي چند است که بخيال مردم مي
افکني وبوهم مردم مي اندازي واصلي ندارد حضرت فرمود
که آيا هيچ فرق مي يابي ميان ديدن تو اين مرغرا و شنيدن
سخن آن وميان ديدن خود وساير قريش وشنيدن تو سخنان
ايشانرا ابو جهل گفت نه حضرت فرمود پس احتمال
ميدهي که هرچه بحواس خود ادراک نمائي همه محض
خيال باشد ابو جهل گفت نه اينهارا ميدانم که خيال
نيست حضرت فرمود هرگاه فرقي ميان اين وآنها نمي يابي
پس بدان که اينهم خيال نيست پس آنحضرت دست
مبارک خودرا کشيد بر موضعي که آن ملعون خورده بود
وکوشتش بحال خود برگشت واعضاي مرغ درست شد
وفرمود که اين معجزهرا ديدي گفت توهم چيزي ميکنم
ويقين نميدانم اي کاش آن لعين و ساير منکرين بتبيين
اين معني را مي نمود که فرق ميان معجزات انجناب

speak out—clear me, and convict Abu Jahl. A command immediately came down and the fowl spoke. I attest, it said, that thou Mohammed art God's Apostle—the Lord and the best of mortals. I also attest that this Abu Jahl is a rebel, and that he is, both wittingly and willingly, God's determined enemy. A part of me he has certainly eaten, the rest he laid up for another occasion: and may the curse of God, and of all those who can curse, fall upon him; for he is not only an execrable infidel, but a miser too. When his brother wished to enter his house, me he concealed under his skirt, lest, forsooth, he should have partaken of me. But as for thee, O Apostle of God, of all who speak the truth, thou art the most true; while Abu Jahl is both a liar and a prevaricator, and is accursed.—The Prophet proceeded: Abu Jahl, does the miracle you have seen satisfy you? If it does, believe, that you may escape everlasting punishment. I cannot help thinking, replied Abu Jahl, that all this is nothing more than mere illusion, with which it has been thy practice to gull mankind. The Prophet answered: Do you perceive no difference between what you have seen and heard of this fowl, and between what you and the rest of the tribe of the Koreish have seen and heard? No, returned Abu Jahl. Whatever you perceive then, continued the Prophet, by the medium of your senses, you believe to be mere illusion. No, says Abu Jahl, I know that what I have seen elsewhere is not mere illusion. But, returned the Prophet, as you perceive no difference between what you have now seen, and what you then saw, it must follow, that what you have now seen must be real. He then stretched out his hand and touched that part of the fowl from which Abu Jahl had taken his dinner, and the flesh returned just as it was before, so that it became perfect in every limb: and he then said: Abu Jahl, have you seen this miracle? The appearance of something of that kind

ومعجزهٔ سایر انبیا چیست که انهارا معجزه مي دانند واینهارا
سحر وچشم بند مي پندارند وحال انکه عصاي موسي
واحیاي موتاي مر عیسي بغیر از این نحو نبود باري پس
ان حضرت فرمرد که اي جبرئیل بیاور نزد ما ان مالهارا
که معاند حق در خانهٔ خود دفن کرده شاید ایمان بیاورد
ناگاه کیسهاي رز نزد برگزیدهٔ خالق اکبر حاضر شدند وهمه
موافق بود بانچه انحضرت فرموده بودند پس حضرت یك
کیسه را گرفت وفرمود که بطلبید فلان مردرا که او صاحب
این کیسه است چون حاضر شد کیسهرا باو داد وفرمود که
این مال تو است که ابو جهل خیانت کرده بود و همچنین
یك یك از صاحبان مال را مي طلبید ومال ایشانرا میداد
تا تمام شد وابو جهل متحیر ورسوا ماند و سیصد اشرفي
او باقي بود پس آن حضرت فرمود که ایمان بیاور تا سیصد
دینار خودرا بگیري وخدا برکت دهد براي تو در این مال
تا مال دارتر از جمیع قریش شوي وبر ایشان امیر گردي
گفت ایمان نمي آورم ولیکن مال خودرا میگیرم چون دست
دراز کرد که کیسهرا بردارد حضرت صدا زد بان مرغ بریان که بگیر
ابو جهلرا ومگذار که دست بکیسه برساند پس آن مرغ
بقدرت خدا بر جست وابو جهلرا بچنگال خود گرفت ودر
هوا بلند کرد واورا برد وبر بام خانه اش گذاشت وحضرت ان
زررا بفقراي مومنان قسمت فرمود پس حضرت فرمود که ایکروه
اصحاب محمد این معجزه بود که پروردگار ما براي ابو جهل
ظاهر گردانید واو معانده کرد واین مرغ که زنده شد از مرغهاي
بهشت است که براي شما در بهشت پرواز خواهد کرد
بدرستي که در بهشت انواع مرغان هستند هریك بقدر

I do see, said Abu Jahl; but I am not convinced of its reality.—Alas, alas! for this wretch, and others who follow his example! By exhibiting miracles such as these, Mohammed plainly shewed wherein the difference between his and the miracles of other Prophets consisted. Yet, strange to say, those can be believed as miracles; but his are supposed to have been either illusion or magic! Nor was that of the rod of Moses, or the raising of the dead by Jesus, of any other kind.—But, the Prophet thus proceeds; Gabriel, says he, bring hither the money that this rebel has buried in his house; perhaps this may bring him to the faith. In a moment came all the bags before the Prophet; when it appeared that the matter was just as the Prophet had said it was. He then took up one of the bags and said, call such an one, who is the real owner of this purse. When the man came, he said, Take this purse, which is your own, and of which Abu Jahl intended to defraud you. In the same manner he dispensed with the other purses, giving each to its rightful owner. At this Abu Jahl was both astonished and ashamed. Still he had three hundred Ashrafs left. Now, says the Prophet, believe, that you may take home with you the three hundred dinars, with God's blessing; and so become the richest, and consequently, the chief of all the Koreish. I shall never believe, said Abu Jahl: nevertheless I mean to have my money. He then made an effort to get possession of the purse; upon which Mohammed says to the roasted fowl, seize upon Abu Jahl, and do not allow him to touch the purse. The fowl instantly seized upon Abu Jahl, and mounting up in the air, carried him away, and placed him upon the roof of his own house. The Prophet then divided the money among the poor of the faithful. He then addressed his followers thus:—Friends and companions of Mohammed, your God has afforded you this miracle through the perverseness of Abu Jahl. As for this bird which has been restored to life, it is one of the birds of Paradise; and which, for your sakes, shall for ever fly about in that delicious place: for you must know, that in Paradise there are many

شتري ودر فضاي بهشت پرواز خواهند كرد پس هركاه مؤمن دوست محمد وآل محمد ارزوي خوردن يكي از انها بكند فرو مي آيند در پيش روي او وبالهاي وپرهايش ريخته ميشود وپخته ميشود براي او بي آتش ويكطرف كباب ميشود ويكطرف آن بريان ميشود وچون بقدر خواهش خود خورد وكفت الحمد لله رب العالمين باز زنده ميشود ودر هوا پرواز ميكند وفخر ميكند بر ساير مرغان بهشت ومي كويد كيست مثل من كه دوست خدا بامر الهي از من خورده است ودر حديث معتبر از حضرت موسي بن جعفر عليه السلام منقول است كه اصحاب حضرت رسول نشسته بودند وحضرت امير المومنين عليه السلام در ميان ايشان بود ناكاه مردي از يهودان آمد وكفت اي امت محمد صم شما هيچ درجه پيغمبري نكذاشتيد مكر انكه از براي پيغمبر خود انرا اثبات ميكنيد

پس حضرت امير المومنين عم فرمود كه چنين است اكر خدا با موسي در طور سينا سخن كفت با پيغمبر ما در آسمان سخن كفت واكر عيسي كوررا روشن ومرده‌را زنده كردانيد بدرستي كه قريش از محمد صم سوال كردند كه مرده‌را براي ايشان زنده كند پس مرا طلبيد وبا ايشان فرستاد بسوي قبرستان وچون دعا كردم مردكان از قبرها بيرون آمدند وخاك از سرهاي ايشان ميريخت وبدرستي كه در جنك احد نيزهٔ بر ديدهٔ ابو قتاده انصاري خورد وحدقه‌اش بيرون آمد پس حدقهٔ خودرا بدست كرفت ونزد حضرت رسول آمد وكفت يا رسول الله بعد ازين زوجهٔ من مرا دوست نخواهد داشت حضرت حدقه‌را از دست او كرفت وبجاي خود كذاشت وچنان باصلاح آمد كه هيچ فرق

kinds of birds, each of which is as large as a camel; and these shall fly about its delightful plains. Now, should any one of the faithful, who sincerely loves Mohammed and his posterity, wish to eat of one of these birds, it shall instantly come down; its wings and feathers shall immediately be well plucked, and the flesh cooked for him without fire. One part shall be dressed with eggs, onions, &c. the other nicely roasted. And when he has eaten as much as he wishes, and has said, "Praise to God, the Lord of created beings," the bird shall be restored to life, and again fly about in Paradise. Besides, the bird shall now plume himself upon his superior privileges, and shall say: Which of you is like me, of whom one of God's friends has eaten a part?

It is related in a respectable tradition by Moosa Ibn Jaafer, that the companions of the Prophet were assembled on a certain occasion, and Ali in the midst of them. All on a sudden in came a Jew, who said: People of Mohammed, there is no kind of Prophecy which you have not established as true, with a view to give credit to your own Prophet. The matter, said Ali, is thus: if God spoke with Moses on mount Sinai, he spoke with Mohammed in Heaven: and if Jesus restored a blind man to sight, or raised one from the dead, it is no more than Mohammed has done. For when the Koreish requested him to restore a dead man to life, in order to satisfy their curiosity, he called for me, and sent me with them to a certain burying-place. When I had finished my prayers, the dead came out of their graves, and the dust fell from their heads. Again, at the battle of Ohod, when a spear had pierced through one of the eye-balls of Abu Kotáda, which accordingly fell out; and when he had taken it in his hand to the Prophet and said, Prophet of God, hereafter I shall lose the love of my wife; the Prophet took the eye-ball from him and placed it in its socket: and so complete was the cure, that not the least difference was discernible between that and the other, except only that it was the better and more brilliant. Again, in the same battle, the hand of Abd Allah Ibn Atík happened to

نميكردند ميان اين ديده ودیدهٔ ديكر او مكر اينكه اين نيكوتر وروشنتر از آن ديكر بود.

ودر همان جنك دست عبد الله ابن عتيك جدا شد ودر شب بخدمت ان حضرت آمد انحضرت دست اورا كرفت وبجاي خود كذاشت پس درست شد واثر بريدن پيدا نبود ودر حديث معتبر از مشايخ ما رضوان الله عليهم معنعن از صادق آل محمد صم منقول است كه چهارده نفر از آن منافقان كه در عقبه خواستند كه حضرت رسول را هلاك كنند در شب چهاردهم ماه ذي حجة نزد انحضرت آمدند وكفتند هر پيغمبري را معجزه نمايائي بود امشب از تو معجزهٔ بزرگي ميخواهيم حضرت فرمود كه چه معجزه مي خواهيد بكوئيد تا براي شما ظاهر كردانم كفتند كه اكر تورا نزد خداي تعالي قدري است امر كن ماه را كه بدو نيم شود پس جبرئيل فرود آمد وكفت اي محمد صم خدا تورا سلام ميرساند ومیفرماید كه من همه چيزرا امر فرمودم كه مطيع تو باشند پس ان حضرت سر بسوي آسمان بلند كرد وامر فرمود ماه را كه بدو نيم شو پس بدو حصه شد وانحضرت براي شكر خدا بسجده رفت وشيعيان بسجده رفتند وچون سر بر داشتند كفتند يا محمد امر كن كه بحال خود بر كردد حضرت امر فرمود وبحال خود عود نمود كفتند بفرما كه يك جانبش شق شود وجانب ديكر بحال خود باشد وانحضرت امر فرمود وچنان شد وسجده كرد وشيعيان سجده كردند منافقان كفتند اي محمد مسافران ما كه از شام ويمن مي آيند از ايشان مي پرسيم اكر در اين شب انها ديده اند انچه ما ديديم باور ميكنيم والّا خواهيم دانست

be cut off. The same night he came to the Prophet, who, taking hold of the hand, applied it to its place; after which it became a perfect cure, so that not so much as a mark of its having been cut off remained.

It is also related in the Hadíth by our elders, as they have received it from the Imám Jaafer Sádik, that fourteen of the infidels of Acabah * wishing to destroy the Prophet, went to him on the fourteenth evening of the month Dhul Hijjat, and said: Every Prophet before thy time wrought miracles, we now require of thee some great and notable one. The Prophet replied, What is the miracle that you require? only say, and it shall be done. They said, If thou hast any influence at all with God, say the word, and the moon shall be divided into two parts†. Upon this Gabriel came down and said, Mohammed, I bear the salutation of the Almighty to thee with these further orders, that I command all things to obey thee. The Prophet then raised his head towards heaven, and commanded the moon to be divided into two parts: and it was divided accordingly. He then knelt down with his followers to give thanks. When they had lifted up their heads they said: O Mohammed, command the moon that it again become as it was before. He gave the command, which was obeyed. They then said; Command that one side of it only lose a part, and that the other remain unaltered. He gave the command; and it was obeyed. Upon this, all again gave thanks upon their knees. The infidels said in reply to this; Some of our fellers will shortly arrive from Syria and Yemen; we shall them, whether on this night they may have seen what we . If they have, we shall believe; and if not, we shall know his is mere magic. Now the generality of the compilers of adith have stated, upon the authority of the companions of

---

* Annales Muslemici. Vol. I. p. 50, &c.

† The truth of this miracle has been objected to by the See Pococke's Specimen Hist. Arab. p. 192. and the g note.

که جادو کردهٔ وعامّه اهل حدیث شق شدن ماهرا از بسیاري از صحابه نقل نموده اند مانند ابن مسعود وانس وخذیفه وعبد الله عمر وعبد الله ابن عباس وجبیر ابن مطعم وجبیر روایت کند که چون مسافران ایشان آمدند همه گفتند که ما ماهرا در ان شب چنان دیدیم وضحاك روایت کند که ابو جهل گفت این جادوست مي باید فرستاد واز اهل شهرهاي دیگر سوال کرد پس خبر آوردند که اهل شهرهاي دیگر در انشب چنین دیده اند.

پس کافران گفتند که این جادوئي بوده که در شهرها همه مستمر گردیده ودر شق قمر وهم چنین در رد * شمس اشکالي چند وارد مي آید که جواب ان مبني بود بر ذکر بعضي از قواعد حکمت وهیئت است واین مختصر گنجایش بسط ان ندارد پس اگر خالق اکبر خواهد رساله علیحده مشتمله بر تنقیح مدعا بر وجه بسیط تحریر نماید که راه شبهه وشك باقي نماند و بمقاد ما لا یدرك کله لا یترك کله بذکر این یك دو حدیث اکتفا نمود وتفصیل محول بکتب مفصل است.

---

* The Persian writers give accounts of two miracles of this description, both performed to accommodate Ali. In the Rauzat Assafá we have this account of the former.

در منزل صهبا حضرت باري سبحانه وتعالي آفتابرا باز گردانید تا امیر المومنین علي ادا صلوة عصر قیام نمود بیان این سخن آنکه روزي درین منزل حضرت مقدس نبوي سر مبارك بر کنار حضرت امیر المومنین نهاده که آثار

the Prophet, that upon the night in question, the moon was divided. And of these the principal are, Ibn Masood, Ins, Hadíka, Abd Allah Omar, Abd Allah Ibn Abás, and Habír Ibn Matam. The latter of whom has further stated, that when these travellers returned, they all agreed in saying, that they saw the moon divided on that night, just as it has been described. It is also related by Zohák, that Abu Jahl persevered in declaring, that all this was mere magic, and proposed that messengers be dispatched to other places to enquire, whether any such thing had taken place or not. These, however, brought back the intelligence, that the inhabitants of such places had seen the phenomenon on the night specified. Still the infidels persisted in saying, that this was mere magic; which has found its way into various cities, and gained credit. And hence it is, that doubts respecting the dividing of the moon have originated, no less than on the sun's being turned back in its course*; the answers to all of which depend so much upon the principles of natural philosophy, as not to admit of being introduced into this Tract. But if it should be the will of Providence that these questions should be considered more at length, the Author of this Tract has no hesitation in promising so to conduct the investigation, that no further doubt shall remain on the subject. Upon the principle, then, that where we cannot obtain all we wish, it is laudable to obtain all we can, the above accounts have been introduced from the Hadíth, which it has been hoped may suffice on this occasion. They who wish for more must have recourse to the Hadíth itself.

وحي بر آن سرور ظاهر شد وزمان نزول چندان امتداد
يافت كه آفتاب بديار مغرب شتافت وچون وحي منجلي
كشت رسول صلي از امير المومنين علي عليه السلام پرسيد
كه نماز عصر كذارده امير المومنين كفت ني يا رسول الله
وحضرت پيغمبر مناجات كرد كه الهي اكر علي در طاعت تو

وطاعت رسول تو بوده آفتاب‌را بجهت او باز کردان تا بادا
صلوة عصر قیام نماید واز اسما بنت عمیس مرویست که
گفت بعد از آنکه آفتاب غروب شده بود دیدم که طلوع نمود
وبر کوه تافت چنانچه لمعان چشمهٔ خورشید را خلایق براي
العین مشاهده کردند. In the station of Sahba (a place near Khaibar) the Almighty turned the sun back in its course in order to enable Ali to perform his evening's devotions. The circumstances are these. Upon a certain day, when the Prophet was in this place, he reclined his sacred head upon the bosom of Ali, in order to enable Ali to observe what impression a revelation should make upon the Prophet. But as the revelation delayed in coming, the sun went down. When the revelation had been made, the Prophet asked Ali, whether he had said his evening prayers or not. Ali said, No. The Prophet then prayed thus: O God, if Ali be thy and my servant, grant that the sun may turn back, to enable him to say his evening prayers. Now, it has been related by Asma the daughter of Amís, that after the sun had gone down, she saw it rise and pass over the mountain, so that people beheld its rays with their own eyes."

In the second volume of the Habeeb Alasáyar (a work containing accounts of the twelve Imáms, by Khondemir) we have the following account of the other miracle.

واز جملهٔ کرامات امیر المومنین حیدر دیکري آنست
که آفرینندهٔ سپهر مدور دو بار جهت انحضرت رد آفتاب
کرد کرت اول در زمان حیات حضرت سید کاینات بود
&c. ... ونوبت ثاني بعد از وفات انحضرت وکیفیت
آن چنان است که در زماني که اختر برج ولایت متوجه
کوفه بود چون خواست که از فرات عبور نماید وقت نماز
عصر در رسید آنحضرت با بعضي از اصحاب باداي نماز قیام
نموده طایفهٔ از لشکریان بگذرانیدن چهار پایان مشغول

بوده نماز دیگر از ایشان فوت شد ودر آن باب سخنان بر زبان آوردند چون شاه مقالات ایشان استماع نمود از قادر مختار مسئلت فرمود که آفتابرا باز گرداند تا انجماعت نمازرا بوقت نمایند واین مسئلت اجابت یافته خورشید بجاي نماز دیگر باز آمد تا سایر مردم نماز گذارده آنگاه غروب کرد. &c. It is related among the other wonders of Ali, that the Almighty turned the sun back in its course twice on his account. The first time was, during the life time of Mohammed, &c. The second, after his death. The way in which it happened was this: When Ali was marching towards Cúfa, and had an intention of crossing the Euphrates, the time for evening prayers arrived. Ali and some of his companions performed their devotions. Some of the soldiers, who were busy in sending over the beasts, missed the time of evening prayer; and, in consequence, made some words about the matter. But when Ali heard this, he prayed to the Almighty that the sun might be turned back in its course, to enable these men to perform their devotions in due time. The prayer was answered; for the sun came back to the place corresponding to the time of the evening prayer, and there it stood till the devotions were finished: it then went down.

In the second part of the Prodromus of Maracci, p. 42—3. accounts of both these miracles are given, together with the assertion of Ahmed Ibn Abd Olhalím that they are false; and that they are to be found in no respectable writer whatever.

NOTES

(Referred to in Page 43.)

(A) As this is one of the most famous proofs adduced by the Mohammedans for the mission of their Prophet, it may be worth while briefly to consider it. I shall not take advantage of the variety of reading, namely, whether we should read, "The Greeks have been overcome," or "The Greeks have overcome," nor of the still greater variety of ways in which the Arabian commentators attempt to make out its meaning; which may be seen in Sale and Maracci. But supposing the text to have been written at first as we now have it; and that it was written upon the occasion of the Greeks having suffered several defeats by the Persians, which might have happened about the time when this was written, still I affirm, that such prediction, allowing it to have come to pass, would not be sufficient to establish its author's claim to prophecy. For a very little sagacity might have enabled Mohammed to foresee, that a powerful empire like that which was then enjoyed by the Greeks, with the unanimity which must have prevailed where the national religion was Christian, would soon be able to overcome its enemies, harassed as they had for some time been with political dissensions, and weakened by the existence of many Christian communities actually residing among them. The prophecy itself too is allowed to extend to not more than ten years after its delivery: which certainly argues better for the politics of Mohammed, than for a claim to prophecy. Among the Jews the Prophets foretold circumstances which should take place at five hundred or a thousand years' distance of time from their prediction; and, in many instances, defined both the times and circumstances with such accuracy, as to preclude the possibility of conjecture having at all been employed: this is what a prophet, in any prediction, ought to do. But here, we have nothing more than political prudence. Mohammed sees that his followers

must be encouraged: he consequently predicts what he plainly perceives will come to pass, in two, three, or ten years at the farthest. It comes to pass, and the delusion which had first arisen out of mere policy, is by a similar policy now urged as a proof that a man, who was really a good general and statesman, must have been a prophet. But, supposing it had not come to pass, what must have been done in this case? The answer is, the prophecy is sufficiently indefinite for evasion. For first, neither time nor place is defined, when or where the Greeks are to conquer; for the word here said to designate any number from three to ten, would then have been explained in a very different way. And, as to place, it may be seen in Maracci, that the commentators differ considerably: and further, that they are unable to assign the precise time or place, when or where, the event did take place. In the second place, the compilers of the Koran would probably have pointed the text differently, which would have admitted a most splendid interpretation; and which I am rather surprised they have not adopted. Let us see how this might be done, آلم. غلبت الروم .... وهم من بعد غلبهم سيغلبون. i. e. 'The Greeks have conquered: but they, after their victory, shall certainly be overcome.' Now in this case the passage might allude to the victory obtained by the Greeks over the Persians, in the first instance, which we know took place; and to the final overthrow of the Greeks by the Mohammedans in the second, which is also true. I do not know that any Mohammedan has thought of this explanation; but I have no doubt, were they pressed with the variety of reading, which actually exists, giving this sense, they would make no scruple in adopting it.

(Note B. *Ib.*) This prediction is also too vague to prove any thing like a prophetical mission in its author: nor has it any thing more prophetical in it, than may be gathered from the speech of almost every General, who takes upon him to harangue his army.

(Note C. *Ib.*) This prediction partakes very much of the nature of the last, with this additional disadvantage, that the truth of its fulfilment depends solely upon the traditions, which, the Mohammedans themselves allow, are, in many instances, contra-

dictory to each other, opposed to the Koran itself, and unworthy of credit. In the Káfí, a work of great authority among the Persians, we have the following particulars to this effect:

باب اختلاف الحديث . علي بن ابراهيم بن هاشم .... &c. قال قلت لامير المومنين عليه السلام اني سمعت من سليمان والمقداد وابي ذر شيا من تفسير القرآن واحاديث عن نبي الله صلي الله عليه وآله غير ما في ايدي الناس ثم سمعت منك تصديق ما سمعت منهم ورايت في ايدي الناس اشياء كثيرة من تفسير القرآن ومن الاحاديث عن نبي الله صلي الله عليه وآله انتم تخالفونهم فيها تزعمون ان ذلك كله باطل افتري الناس يكذبون علي رسول الله صلي الله عليه وآله متعمدين ويفترون القرآن بارايهم قال فاقبل علي فقال قد سالت فافهم الجواب ان في ايدي الناس حقا وباطلا وصدقا وكذبا وناسخا ومنسوخا وعاما وخاصا ومحكما ومتشابها وحفظا ووهما قد كذب علي رسول الله صلي الله عليه وآله علي عهده حتي قام خطيبا فقال ايها الناس قد كثرت علي الكذابة فمن كذب علي متعمدا فليتبوء مقعده من النار ثم كذب عليه من بعده وانما اتاكم الحديث من اربعة ليس لهم خامس. "Chapter on the varieties of the traditions. Ali Ibn Ibráhím Ibn Háshim, &c. has said, that he once said to Ali, I have heard from Soliman, Mickdad, and Abi Dhar, explanations of the Koran and the traditions as coming from the Prophet different from those generally known. I have also heard from thee things to the same effect. But I have known explanations of the Koran, and traditions, generally received as coming from the Prophet, which you oppose, supposing them to be mere fictions, and forged with the view of opposing the Prophet, and of perverting the Koran, upon the authority of mere opinion. He then drew near and said, You have asked a question: now, mark the answer. There is, generally be-

lieved, both that which has foundation in truth, and that which has not,—that which is truly or falsely related—that which abrogates, and that which is abrogated—that which is commonly received, and that which is only received by the better informed—that of which no doubt can be entertained, and that which is doubtful—that which has really been preserved by tradition, and that which is the effect of mere fancy. Many false statements were circulated respecting the Prophet until he arose and thus addressed their authors:—Sirs, many are those who have traduced me: but mark, they who do so obstinately shall have their dwelling in hell. After this too he was belied in many respects. Now, the traditions have come to you from four kinds of persons, and no more." The first of these is the hypocrite, رجل المنافق يظهر الايمان, who makes a show of the faith, &c. The second is he who hears a saying from the Prophet himself رجله سمع من رسول الله .... شيا لم يحفظه علي وجه ووهم فيه, but does not retain it in the sense intended by him; but mixes it up with his own opinions. The third is, he who hears a saying from the Prophet شيا امر به ثم نهي عنه وهو لا يعلم او سمعه ينهي عن شي &c. containing a positive command; but which he afterwards revoked: the hearer not knowing that the command had been suspended, &c.

رابع لم يكذب علي رسول الله .... خوفا من الله وتعظيما لرسول الله لم ينسه بل حفظ ما سمع علي وجه فجاء به كما سمع لم يزد فيه ولم ينقص منه .... فعمل بالناسخ ورفض المنسوخ فان امر النبي مثل القرآن ناسخ ومنسوخ خاص وعام ومحكم ومتشابهه قد كان يكون من رسول الله .... الكلام له وجهان وكلام عام وكلام خاص مثل القرآن.

The fourth is the man, who lies not against God's Prophet; neither does he forget or misapply what he has heard, but relates it just as it has come to him; and this he does in the fear of God, and in order to magnify the Prophet. Nor does he add any thing or take any thing away. That which has abrogated any

former command he embraces: and such former command he rejects. For the Prophet has, in his sayings, as it is the case in the Koran, observed the same law, with regard to the abrogating and abrogated precepts—to those adapted to vulgar reception, and those to the better informed—those about which no doubt can arise; and those which are otherwise. And it should be remembered, that his sayings are thus capable of two meanings,—one adapted to the vulgar, and another to the better informed, just as in the case of the Koran.

Such are the sources of the variety to be found in the traditions. Let us now see what is to be done, when the authorities appear to be respectable. فان كان كل واحد اختار رجلا من اصحابنا فرضيا ان يكونا الناظرين في حقهما واختلفا فيما حكما وكلاهما اختلف في حديثكم قال الحكم ما حكم به اعدلهما وافقهما واصدقهما في الحديث واورعهما ولا يلتفت الي ما يحكم به الاخر قال فانهما عدلان مرضيان عند اصحابنا لا يفضل واحد منهما علي صاحبه قال فقال ينظر الي ما كان من روايتهم عنا في ذلك الذي حكما به المجمع عليه من اصحابك فيوخذ به من حكمنا ويترك الشاذ ليس بمشهور عند اصحابك فان المجمع عليه لا ريب فيه وانما الامور ثلثة امر بين رشده فيتبع وامر بين غيه فيجتنب وامر مشكل يرد علمه الي الله والي رسوله . . . قال رسول الله . . . حلال بين ذلك فمن ترك الشبهات نجا من المحرمات ومن اخذ بالشبهات ارتكب المحرمات وهلك من حيث لا يعلم قلت فان كان الخبران عنكما مشهورين قد رواهما الثقات عنكم قال ينظروا فما وافق حكمه حكم الكتاب والسنه وخالف العامة فيوخذ به ويترك ما خالف حكمه حكم الكتاب والسنة ووافق العامة قلت جعلت فداك ارايت ان كان الفقيهان عرفا حكمه من الكتاب والسنه ووجدنا احد الخبرين

موافقا للعامة والاخر مخالفا لهم بأي الخبرين يؤخذ قال ما خالف العامة ففيه الرشاد فقلت جعلت فداك فان وافقها الخبران جميعا قال ينظر الي ما هم اليه اميل حكامهم وقضاتهم فيترك ويوخذ بالاخر قلت فان وافق حكامهم الخبرين جميعا قال اذا كان فارجه حتي تلقي امامكم فان الوقوف عند الشبهات خير من الاقتحام في الهلكات. But supposing each of the disputants should choose one of our companions, and these should agree to examine their different positions, but should give different judgments, from the different traditions which they have held. What is then to be done? It was replied: The decision of the most just, learned, true, and abstemious of the two, is to be followed: the other disregarded. But, supposing both of these to be equally respectable with us; what then? He replied, Observe which holds the most generally received tradition, and then follow his judgment; but the other who holds the more doubtful is not to be regarded. In that, in which the majority agree, there can be no doubt. Upon the whole, there are three things to be observed. ONE, the truth of which is apparent. Let this be followed. ANOTHER, doubtful. Let this be avoided. A THIRD, difficult. Let this be left to God and his Prophet—The Prophet has said: That which is lawful is clear, (in the Commentary by حسام الدين . وشبهات بين وحرام بين, what is unlawful is clear, and so is what is doubtful), he who gives up what is doubtful, shall escape what is unlawful: but, he who embraces what is doubtful, shall be implicated in sin, and perish; because he acts in ignorance. But supposing both accounts to be equally respectable, and those who have given them worthy of credit. It was replied, In this case let it be seen which agrees best with the Koran, and the general practice of the Prophet, but contrary to vulgar opinion; and then take that: but what is contrary to the Koran, and the general practice of the Prophet, as well as what accords with vulgar opinion, is to be rejected. I am

greatly indebted to you, said the enquirer. But again, suppose the decision of both to agree with the Koran, and the practice of the Prophet, but one of them to fall in with vulgar opinion, but the other to be opposed to it, what is to be done then? It was replied, That which opposes vulgar opinion contains the truth. The enquirer expressed his obligations, and continued: But suppose both have equal authority in every respect, what then? Observe, it was replied, to which of the two the magistrates and judges are most inclined, and let that be rejected, the other received. But it was suggested, Suppose the magistrates are equally inclined to both. Then, said he, wait till your Imám shall make his appearance: for it is better to wait in doubtful cases, than to be hasty where there is danger of destruction.

(Note D. *Ib.*) If it could be shown that any reliance at all is to be placed upon the traditions, the next point, as in the above Notes, would be to enquire, which of the traditions are to be taken: for there can be no doubt that they differ very considerably on these points. And as it will be difficult to say to which the greatest authority is to be attached, true wisdom must suggest, as above, that the matter be deferred, and that the accounts for the present be not received.

As the word سنّة has occurred in the above extracts, and has there been translated *practice*, it will be necessary here to ascertain its precise meaning. Pococke, and others, who have followed him, have translated it by *tradition*. See Specim. Hist. Arab. p. 201. In the كتاب التعريفات or book of definitions, we have this account of the word in question.

السنة.... في الشريعة هي الطريقة المسلوكة في الدين من غير افتراض ولا وجوب فالسنة ما واظب النبي عليه السلام عليها مع الترك احياناً فان كانت المواظبة المذكورة علي سبيل العبادة فسنن الهدي وان كان علي سبيل العادة فسنن الزوارد فسنة الهدي ما يكون اقامتها تكميلا للدين وهي التي تتعلق بتركها كراهة او اساة وسنن الزوائد هي التي اخذها

هدي اي اقامتها حسنة ولا يتعلق بتركها كراهة ولا اساءة كسير النبي عليه السلام في قيامه وقعوده ولباسه. Al Sonna is, in law, the observance of religion in matters, respecting which there is no positive and necessary command: also the general practice of the Prophet, with some few exceptions. Now this general practice in matters of religion, is called, the *Sonna* of guidance; but in those of common occurrence, the *Sonna* of excess*. The Sonna of guidance is that, by the due performance of which, religion is rendered complete; and the dereliction of which is either detestable or sinful. The Sonna of excess is that, to embrace which constitutes guidance; that is, its performance insures good works, but the dereliction of which is neither detestable nor sinful; as for instance, the custom of the Prophet in his rising, sitting, or putting on his clothes, (i. e.) the Prophet's practice in these respects is not binding.

In the margin we have this note. السنة ما واظب النبي عليه السلام والواجب ما شرع لاكمال الفرض والسنة لاكمال الواجب والادب لاكمال السنة. "The Sonna is that which was constantly practised by the Prophet. That which is of canonical obligation, has been legislated for the fulfilment of the positive precepts. The Sonna, therefore, is for the fulfilment of that which is of canonical obligation: and *discipline* is for the fulfilment of the *Sonna*." I understand the Sonna, therefore, to mean, the general practice of Mohammed; and the حديث, *Hadith*, to signify the accounts in which a description of that practice is said to be preserved. See also D'Ohsson's Tableau de l'empire Ottoman, Introd. pp. 2. 11—12.

* These are called by D'Ohsson the *constant* and *inconstant Sonna*.

TRANSLATION

OF

MR. MARTYN'S FIRST REPLY

TO THE FOREGOING TRACT.

THE Christian Minister thanks the celebrated Professor of Islamism for the favour he has done him in writing an answer to his enquiries; but confesses, that after reading it a few doubts occurred to him, on account of which, and not for the mere purpose of dispute, he has taken upon himself to write the following pages.

That a miracle is something which exceeds common experience is certainly true: for the very object of a miracle is to shew, that he who performs it has been sent from God: and this cannot be known except by some act exceeding human power: nor can human power be known but by human experience. Human experience, however, is not confined to any particular tribe or people, to the exclusion of any individual: for there may be something which one man may do, which others cannot, and yet not exceed human

power. But if it be said, that the power of one community is sufficient to determine that of mankind, why may not the same be said of any one family? or of three, two, or even one individual?

If again it be said, that when learned communities are unable to produce an equal, much less can those who are ill informed, we reply; The inability of the ignorant to perform such acts, consists not in incapacity, but in want of experience: for should others, who have greater experience, make the attempt it is possible they may succeed. And hence it appears, that a miracle must exceed universal and not particular experience.

Should it be asked, how then are we to know what universal experience is? or, consequently, whether any given performance is miraculous or not, since it may be common with some, even to walk upon the water? we reply: By such reasoning it might be made doubtful, whether the sun's rising in the east be usual or not, until every part of the world shall have been visited, and enquiry made on the subject. But if any one will give himself the trouble to consider, that as the sun's rising in the east is very well known to be usual, he will have no difficulty in coming to the conclusion, that its rising in the west is a circumstance which never takes place. The general silence, therefore, observable on this point, will be sufficiently convincing, that

the sun's rising in the east is conformable to common experience.

Again, what has been said, in the outset, viz. that a miracle is not necessarily confined to any one art to the exclusion of others, is generally true; but not wholly so; for some strange act, which really comes from God, may be performed in a science now unknown, such, for instance, as Alchymy, but could not be said to exceed common experience. And not only so, but even in some art, in which men have experience, but of which they have no necessity: for where there is no necessity, there is generally no effort: and, where there is no effort, human power must remain unknown; contrary to what would be the case, wherein every one makes an effort: or, in which he knows, effort would be fruitless. In such case then there would be no doubt, whether such act exceeded human power or not.

But with regard to what has been said in the second place, (p. 4.) namely, that a miracle must be known to be such by the confession of the learned, who affirm that they are unable to produce its equal, we reply: Their confession in this place must be understood as applying to themselves alone, and not to all mankind: for it is impossible they can know the power of all mankind; and consequently, their own inability to produce an equal, can by no means be construed as affording proof that such act is really

a miracle. The utmost that can be enquired of the learned in this case is, whether such act, to which they are unable to produce an equal, belong to the science which they profess or not. Now, if it belong to the science which they profess, and they are unable to produce its equal, it will not therefore follow, that it must be a miracle: for nothing is more common, than to find one Professor of some science, so far excel others, as to put it completely out of their power to equal him. But if it do not belong to their science, or such Professors confess their ignorance on this point: but persist in declaring their inability to produce an equal, we then affirm that it cannot hence follow, that such extraordinary act is really a miracle: for whether it be without the compass of the sciences, or not, but the Professors of science unable to produce an equal, the next supposition may be, that it has been produced by magic: or, that the Professors have, by the influence of magic, been disabled from producing its equal: this being the species of magic most commonly believed to take effect.

In this case it might be asked, how then are we to know, that the works of Jesus and Moses are not to be referred to the influence of physic and magic, unless we believe the attestations of the Physicians and Magicians to this point, because it might otherwise be supposed, that

these miracles were performed by no other means? we reply: As to the far greater part of the miracles of Jesus, they were of such a nature, as to make it impossible they could be produced by the science of physic (medicine). For it has never yet been heard, seen, or recorded, that any Physician has, by the mere effort of word or will, been able to cure so much as the head-ache: much less can it be supposed that any one can, by such means, be restored to life. Nor, in fact, has any one ever supposed, or will suppose, that if he carry a corpse to some clever Physician he will restore it to life. Every one very well knows, that the science of physic has no other means of affecting the body, than by regimen and medicine; and that a mere word, or volition, can have no effect*. The supposition then, that physic had any thing to do with the miracles of Jesus, is entirely groundless.

This supposition having been shewn to be

* Imagination has however sometimes the effect of bringing about a cure: and there can be no doubt that a great number of Popish miracles have been performed in this way. The story of the metalic attractors, to this point, is too well known to need repetition here. The miracles of our Lord however were, for the most part, of such a description as not to be effected in this way. The raising of a dead man to life—the calming of a troubled sea—or the feeding of 5000 persons with a few loaves and fishes, must have been effected by a power more than human.

groundless, it may perhaps next be supposed, that (as was the case with the miracles of Moses) those of Jesus may have been brought about by the art of magic. To this we reply: first. If the attestation of Magicians be necessary to the establishment of every miracle, surely it must be necessary in that ascribed to Mohammed. And secondly, as the miracles of both Moses and Jesus cannot be ascribed to the effect of any science, neither can they be ascribed to that of magic. For it has never yet been seen, written, or heard, that any Magician has either restored a dead man to life, or divided the waters of the sea: so that such miracle could be compared with theirs. These miracles then, as they exceed the experience of others, so do they that of Magicians: because no one acquainted with that art has ever been able, either to restore a corpse to life, or to divide the waters of the sea. We affirm therefore, that so long as no other can perform these works, they are miracles according to our definition, and surpass universal experience; which is sufficient for us: contrary to what is the case in those particular acts, which cannot be shewn to be universally inimitable: for none can have experience in that, which exceeds the experience of all.

It has been said, in the third place, (p. 8.) that the miracle of every Prophet must be referrible to such sciences as were generally known in his

day: as, for instance, the sciences of physic and magic in the times of Jesus and Moses, respectively, to which their miracles were referrible. We answer, this method of treating the subject has probably arisen from the want of precision in the Historians: for among the Mohammedans there is not so much as one ancient history, from which credible information can be drawn: and, in the ancient histories now in the hands of Europeans, it is no where said that in the times of Moses and Jesus, respectively, the sciences of magic and physic were generally known. Besides, there is no book now extant which can be said to have come down from the times of Moses: nor any account excepting that which he himself has given in the Pentateuch: and in this it is only said that certain Magicians were in the court of Pharaoh, whose rods, when cast on the ground, became serpents. Other things too, which Moses did they did: but, when at last he did what they could not, they confessed that he was sent from God. What has come down to us respecting the times of Jesus amounts to this, that magic was then known and practised among the Jews; and eloquence among the Greeks: but it has no where been said that the science of physic was either known or practised in Jerusalem, or even in Judea. What has been said therefore, either on this or any former occasion on magic, as

applicable to this question; as well as the *reductio ad absurdum* in the Professor's tract, has now been effectually answered. (p. 12.)

It has been said, (p. 10.) that the Koran's being a miracle has been established with those who are not Arabs, by the Arabs' confession of inability to produce its equal. We reply: that, waving what has already been said, the confession of the Arabs can have no weight with us; because, in this case, they are parties concerned: and no one is absurd enough to make the same party, both opponent and judge. If it be asked, how then can we satisfy ourselves whether the Koran is a miracle or not, if we are not to believe what the Arabs say on that point, ignorant as we are of the peculiarities of the language? We answer: In cases where no judge can be found, decision must necessarily be suspended. Besides, let it not be said, that to withhold our assent to what the Arabs affirm, is merely for the sake of dispute; because, forsooth, no one can suppose they would be so much swayed by partiality, as to sacrifice the truth: for we must ask, in the first place, how then can it be supposed that all the Magi, Jews, and Christians, who so much exceed the Arabs in number, can at once believe that Mohammed was a Prophet, and at the same time refuse to accept his religion, from a mere disposition to dispute and wrangle?—That the Jews and Christians

could, for the same reason, have corrupted their scriptures? — That the Arabs themselves could, in like manner, before they had generally become converts to Islamism, have disputed and wrangled, notwithstanding their witnessing the very miracle itself,—that they could have refused to tender their belief until the question was determined by the point of the sword, as the Mohammedan histories abundantly testify? But now it is said, no one can suppose, that the Arabs are now of this wrangling character!

We answer, in the second place, that had not the Arabs a violent motive for what they say, it is probable they would give a different testimony. But the truth is, they have a violent motive, in which is implicated the necessity of changing their religion, of confessing the folly and error of their forefathers, and of denying the truth of what both they and their forefathers, have hitherto advanced on the subject of religion. It is possible, therefore, that they may not be very scrupulous, as to the truth in these matters. And, if they are conscious of the truth of what has been said, that may perhaps be an additional motive to silence. But supposing the utmost, viz. that some should from time to time have let out the truth; or have produced an equal to the Koran, who, in this case, should have been judge, or have determined that such production was equal to the Koran? If it be

said, that this could have been determined by the rules of rhetoric, we answer, first: This would be contrary to the supposition that the Koran's being a miracle is determined from its exceeding the rules hitherto laid down in that science. And, secondly, that as all the rules of rhetoric are taken from the Koran, and every rule in that science is established by a citation from it, it must follow, that the rules of rhetoric are to be tried by the Koran, and not the Koran by the rules of rhetoric; as it therefore is agreed among the Arabs, that the Koran possesses the highest degree of elegance, every thing, not perfectly accordant with it, will of course be deemed inelegant.

If it be said that at the time of Mohammed there were many Professors of eloquence, who, notwithstanding their endeavours to produce an equal to the Koran, found it impossible to do so, and that this is proof sufficient for them. We reply; we are not quite satisfied that the Professors of eloquence were at all numerous in those times; for it appears from several passages both of the Koran and the traditions, that Mohammed was raised up from among an illiterate nation. And, again, both the commentators and historians call the Arabs an illiterate people in consequence of their ignorance of writing and want of wealth, in those times. And as the learned affirm, that to be illiterate does not necessarily preclude the possibility

of being eloquent, (it being possible that some one may at the same time be both illiterate and eloquent) upon what principle is it, that they also affirm, that Mohammed's being illiterate constitutes one of the miracles of the Koran, unless they could have first shewn, that to be illiterate necessarily precludes the possibility of being eloquent? And, as to the existence of one or two poets in those times, we affirm, that circumstance can avail but little; according to the adage: "What is rare, is as nothing." Besides, if we even allow that they were many, still we are not prepared also to allow that they did not produce an equal to the Koran; because this wants proof. And again, should we allow that they did not produce an equal, still we do not therefore also allow, that if they had made the attempt they could not have succeeded. Because, as long as Mohammed remained in Mecca, and it was not known how his affair would end, people would not be very anxious on this subject; and particularly the more sober, who saw that his object was to call the Arabs from the worship of idols to that of the true God: and if a few idolaters had really been unable, during so short a period of time, to produce an equal, no very great stress can be laid on that. But after Mohammed got to Medina, and from that day to this, no one among the Arabs has dared to say that he could prove the Koran not to be a miracle, or that Mohammed

was not a Prophet; or that he could produce, or had produced, an equal to his book*. But, further, should we allow that the attempt had been made, and failed, still it would not follow that the Koran is miraculous. For, it is well known that ancient books are to be found in some languages, to which no one can now produce equals. Such, for example, as the writings of Homer in the Greek, or those of Virgil in the Latin; or some others in other languages, which might here be mentioned. The same may be said too of many productions of art, which have come down from former times; to which, notwithstanding the efforts of the moderns, no equal has yet been produced: contrary to the case of the Koran, to which, on account either of superstition or fear, few have thought of opposing their skill in composition.—Hence it will appear how the repeated challenges in the Koran to produce its equal are to be understood: and also, that the Koran itself, although no one might have been able to produce its equal, is no miracle. Again, should it be objected: That hitherto we know that no equal to the Koran has been produced, although the challenge to do so has repeatedly been made; and, that if Mohammed had not been a Prophet, it was

* It has already been noticed, however, that some have been bold enough to make this assertion. See note to p. 18.

incumbent on God, either not to have allowed the production of such a book; or, to have caused some other to produce its equal, since it is impossible that a false Prophet should work a miracle: we answer, This takes for granted that however people may be circumstanced, it is incumbent on God not to allow them to remain in error*. We deny this, however, in the first place; because we know that the religions of false Prophets, such as Zoroaster was, have been allowed to prevail: and that idolatry does still prevail to a great extent. And, in the second, as it respects Mohammed that no such thing as a miracle has been performed by a false Prophet; for, should we allow the Koran to be inimitable in some parts, yet there are others in which this can by no means be said: and, in these instances, the challenge to produce the like, has been made where universal experience has not been exceeded: in such cases, therefore, God has not allowed a miracle to be performed by a false Prophet.

It has been said (p. 13.) that the miracle of Mohammed is more convincing than those of other Prophets, because his remains, when theirs do not; and which in process of time become weaker and weaker. We reply, this would be

* The Mohammedans generally hold, that there is no people to whom some Prophet or other has not been sent: and hence they conclude that all have been made accountable both for their faith and practice.

true, had not their miracles been recorded by themselves, as well as established and attested in their own times; but had, through a long period of time, been preserved by tradition only, and then been recorded, without sufficient evidence as to their truth. But this is not the case. Whatever, therefore, may have been their want of force in ancient times, under the same defect must they labour to this very day. And, again, if the conviction of a fact loses force by length of time, any one coming to the knowledge of any fact at the age of twenty, must be said, at the age of sixty, to have lost part of that conviction (which is sufficiently absurd), and, that the conviction attending the accounts of the miracles of Moses and Jesus must be essentially different.

With respect to the assertion, (p. 16.) that the Koran's being more conversant about intellectual than sensible objects makes its miracle the more convincing, we answer: That for any thing to be more convincing must depend upon the power which it possesses to produce conviction. A miracle, therefore, to be more convincing must be such, as to be more generally understood and felt. But here, the far greater part are supposed to be incapable of appreciating the force of the miracle, and the better informed alone endued with the necessary perception. Must not then this generally unintelligible character of the Koran's miracle be considered as a defect, because any miracle not

capable of being generally understood, must lose part of its force?

It has been said, (p. 20.) that the miracle of the Koran is further established from the consideration of its containing certain predictions, sciences, precepts, and well founded laws. Our answer is, that although it has not been said where these predictions are to be found, yet it is certain that they do not occur in more than six or seven places. Such, for instance, as "A. L. M. The Greeks have been overcome*, &c." (Chap. 30. v. 1). And again, "God promiseth unto such of you as believe, and do good works, that he will cause them to succeed the unbelievers in the earth." (Chap. 24. Sale, Vol. II. p. 190.) and a few other passages. In these, however, such is the difference of opinion held by the commentators, as to the manner in which they should be read, the circumstances attending their revelation, and their object, that their true meaning does not yet appear to have been discovered; which is sufficient to shew that no reliance can be placed upon them. But as to the sciences, precepts, &c. which are said to be found in the Koran, every one very well knows, that the books of heathens and other philosophers contain great numbers of sciences and precepts no less valuable. No one, therefore, can say that these are proofs of the divinity of the Koran.

* See the Appendix to the first Tract, p. 43. and 72-3.

It has also been asserted, (p. 31.) that there is a considerable difference observable between the other miracles of Mohammed, and the miracles of the other Prophets, which is this; that their miracles have not the advantage of having been generally received. To this we say: All the miracles that are believed to have been performed by Moses are recorded in the Pentateuch: and, as the Pentateuch is generally received, so also must the miracles recorded in it. In the same manner are the miracles of the other Prophets recorded in their several writings; and that in places too numerous to admit of dispute.

Again, respecting the assertion, viz. that in the times of Nebuchadnezzar no assurance could have remained as to the miracles of the Prophets: we say; It is clear, that excepting in Jerusalem and a few of the adjoining parts, no general carnage took place under him: and, as to those whom he carried away captive, they were in a short time released and sent back by him to their own country. But the invasion of Nebuchadnezzar had no effect whatever on the religion and Scriptures of the Jews; nor had he any thing of that kind in view. The remaining part of their country then, as well as their Scriptures, remained after this expedition just as they were before it.

Besides, after this time there were many Prophets among the Jews, who, had any part of the Scriptures been lost, would have restored it.

With respect to the miracles of Jesus, it has been said (p. 31.) that not more than three persons have recorded them. By these three or four persons is clearly meant the Evangelists, who have delivered down to us the particulars of his ministry. The Apostles, however, who had nothing to do in writing the Gospels, have, in their writings, also borne testimony to the miracles of Jesus; and have further attested, that they themselves were eye-witnesses to the facts. Now, as these accounts are wholly unimpeachable, Europeans universally receive them. Among the Roman Catholics, it is true, there are long accounts of other miracles, which have been handed down by tradition. But as these have not the testimony of the Apostles, they are not generally received.

It has been said, (p. 34—5.) that in establishing the other miracles of Mohammed, we have accounts accompanied with collateral evidence, in addition to those which are generally received, and which are termed, by way of distinction, *the expressed*, and *the understood*.

As it respects the accounts attended by collateral evidence, he is said to have described the miracles of the other Prophets, and at the same time to have made a claim to prophecy; and that it is therefore improbable that he wrought no miracles. To this we reply, in the first place, that having affirmed the Koran to be his miracle; he could have had no occasion for another.

And, in the second, that it appears from the Koran itself, that he laid claim to no other miracle; and to this effect are the following passages: "Nothing hindered us from sending thee with miracles, except that former nations have charged them with imposture*." And again: "They have sworn by God by the most solemn oath, that if a sign came unto them, they would certainly believe therein: Say, Verily signs are in the power of God alone; and he permitteth you not to understand that when they come, they will not believe. And we will turn aside their hearts, and their sight from the truth†." And again: "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 God. God best knoweth whom he will appoint for his Messenger‡." And again, when he was asked for a miracle, he said by way of excuse, "My Lord be praised! Am I other than a man, sent as an Apostle§?" Again, in the chapter on cattle, when it was said that the Koran was made up of nothing but patched up stories, dreams, and poetry, it was added, "Let him come unto us therefore

* Sale, Vol. II. p. 99. † Ibid. Vol. I. p. 162-3.
‡ Ibid. Vol. I. p. 164-5. § Ibid. Vol. II. p. 105.

with some miracle, in like manner as the former Prophets were sent." He replied: "None of the cities which we have destroyed, believed the miracles which they saw performed before them: will these therefore believe if they see a miracle?" (This does not occur in the chapter mentioned by Mr. Martyn; but in that on the Prophets. Sale, Vol. II. p. 147.) Of this kind several others might be adduced, which, according to the Commentators, go to prove that his not working miracles, in these instances, was rather a mercy than the contrary; for he knew, as they say, that if he had, still these men would not have believed, and would consequently have been subject to the greater condemnation.

With respect to the generally received *expressed* accounts we say: Our assurance of the Koran having come from Mohammed is obtained, not from the histories written by Mohammedans, but from accounts which have been preserved among ourselves since his times. But had our accounts come from them, we should have nothing to object to on this head, as the authors are almost innumerable. On the question, however, of his other miracles we have strong reason to object, because, in this case, they are parties concerned: and their object is no less than that of universal proselytism, which cannot be submitted to from the mere concurrence of those who wish to make proselytes.

As to the accounts, which are said to be generally received, but which are termed *the understood*; and from which, it is said, we are enabled to come to the conclusion that Mohammed is a Prophet, although we may not be in possession of any of the particulars, we observe: That if it be true that people may arrive at the truth by means of accounts which vary, it must follow, that what the Hindoos have written, in their endless accounts of the miracles of Rama and Lachman, as well as what the Chinese have written respecting their idolatrous Prophet, must at least prove that all these pretenders were Prophets.

If it be replied, that, unless this be allowed, the mission of no Prophet can be established, we answer: Accounts of miracles to be worthy of credit, must be subject to the two following conditions: First, that either the Prophet himself, or his companions, must write down an account of his miracles and publish it. It should also be known from collateral circumstances, that such a person appeared at the time, at which such account is said to have been written, as is the case with Moses and Jesus. Mohammed too has in many places spoken of the Koran as his miracle. But by no means should such accounts be written at any considerable time from that in which the facts referred to are said to have taken place: much less should they be variable or contra-

dictory. Because, had such accounts been written and published immediately after the facts to which they referred had taken place, it is impossible they could have been made public without being refuted by some one or other. Now, upon enquiry, we shall find that what has been related among the Hindoos of Rama and Lachman, is supported by no such condition: but, that the miracles of the other Prophets among the Jews, are.

The second condition is, that force should not be resorted to in matters of religion: but, that every one should be at liberty to write a refutation to such accounts of miracles, &c. as he knows to be false. Among the Mohammedans, however, this has never been tolerated: for if any one should write or say any thing to this effect, allowing that the judge may so far connive at his conduct as not to condemn him to death; yet such would be the threats held out to his wife, children, and others, that no one would think of having any intercourse with him; and thus would his future silence on these points be effectually insured: contrary to what is the practice among people professing other religions.

It has been said too, that allowing these particular accounts not to be such as to produce conviction, yet, from the aggregate testimony of the whole, the result will be sufficient for that purpose. We ask, has it ever yet been supposed

that a certain number of madmen may be reckoned upon as one sane person? Or, that so many dead men may stand for one living one? If it be replied that we may obtain something from the whole, which we cannot from every particular considered separately, we answer; If indeed each particular were true in the main, then would the conjoint testimony of several to the same point, give a force not to be found in each alone. But this is not the case in the accounts referred to: the result of such must therefore be, what it usually is upon the addition of nothing to nothing. The Christian Minister Henry Martyn.

THE END OF THE FIRST REPLY.

TRANSLATION

OF THE SECOND

PERSIAN TRACT OF Mr. MARTYN,

IN REPLY TO MIRZA IBRAHIM.

It must have appeared from the preceding Tract, that no good reason can be offered, why any one should place his faith in Mohammed; though it was not there shewn positively why a person ought not so to place his faith: when however the former of these has been proved the latter must follow of course. Now, with respect to this question, there are certain considerations which, when taken separately, may perhaps be so glossed over as to lose their force: but, when taken in the aggregate, must lead to the unavoidable conclusion, that the person whom they affect is no Prophet. The first of these considerations is this: That in the ancient Prophecies there occurs no mention whatever of Mohammed. If it be replied that the ancient Prophecies have been corrupted, we say, this is a mere pretence, which ought not to be regarded, unless it can be shewn, by whom, by what means, and for what end, such corruptions have been made: for it appears from the Koran itself, that up to the time of Mohammed

no such corruption had taken place. In the chapter entitled 'The Evidence,' we have this passage.—"The unbelievers among those to whom the Scriptures were given, and among the idolaters, did not stagger, until the clear evidence had come unto them: an Apostle from God, rehearsing unto them *pure books* of revelations*." Where the Commentators are unanimous in declaring, that the *evidence* here mentioned relates to Mohammed. Again in the Chapter on Jonas: "If thou art in a doubt concerning any part of that which we have sent down unto thee, ask them who have read the book of the Law before thee†." And again in the Chapter on the Prophets: "Ask those who are acquainted with the scripture, if ye know not this‡."

Now, after Mohammed had appeared, it was impossible any such corruption could take place: because, from the times of Jesus to those of Mohammed, a period of six hundred years at least had elapsed; every State too which is now in the possession of the Christians was then so; although some, on account of the spread of Islamism, have since passed into the hands of the Mohammedans. In all these States, we know, the Holy Scriptures had been circulated; and had, besides, been translated into most of the languages of those times. Again,

---

* Sale, Vol. II. p. 494. See the note D.

† Sale, ib. p. 13. ‡ Ib. p. 147.

such was the difference of opinion then on matters of religion among the Christians, as scarcely to admit of any parallel. Is it possible we ask, that the innumerable copies of the Scriptures then in circulation, that the countless tribes and sects of Christians which, we know, then existed, could have been made to conspire for the furtherance of any one object whatsoever? Is it possible, that even the Koran itself, after it had been in existence for six hundred years, allowing too, that no translation whatever had been made from it, could have thus been corrupted? But if it be said, that mention is really made of Mohammed in these Prophecies, we answer; this ought to be shewn in such a way as to leave no doubt of the fact.

It was shewn in the former Tract, that Mohammed wrought no miracle: we now say that those who have recorded his miracles are not to be believed: because many of the miracles which they have recorded are said to have been performed while he was an infidel: and for any one to work miracles in a state of infidelity is absurd. The accounts of such miracles are, therefore, false*.

That Mohammed was in a state of infidelity may be shewn from the Koran itself. In the

* See Prod. Marracci, vita et res gestæ a Mahumeto, pp. 10, 11, &c.

chapter entitled "Consultation," we have: "Thus have we revealed unto thee a revelation, by our command. Thou didst not understand, before this, what the book of the Koran was, nor what the faith was*." And again, in the chapter entitled "Brightness:" "And did he not find thee wandering in error, and hath he not guided thee into the truth †?" And again, in the chapter entitled "Have we not opened:" "Have we not eased thee of thy burden, which galled thy back ‡?" This, the Commentators say, alludes to the sins, which rested upon him during the times of ignorance (or infidelity). Again, in the chapter of "victory:" Verily we have granted thee a manifest victory; that God may forgive thee thy preceding, and thy subsequent sin §." Mocátil || says, this relates to what he had formerly done in a state of idolatry, and after he had left that state. Zamakhshari says ¶ in his Commentary on the passage, that it relates, in the first place, to Mohammed's affair with Mary the Copt**; and, in the

---

* Sale, Vol. II. p. 343. † Ib. p. 489.

‡ Ib. p. 490. see also the note.

§ Sale, Vol. II. p. 369. notes N and O.

|| See D'Herbelot. Art. Mocatel.

¶ "Il est l'auteur de plusieurs grands Ouvrages, qui sont tous fort estimés par les Musulmans. Le principal de tous, selon eux, est celui qui porte le titre de *Keschaf*, le plus considérable de tous les Commentaires faits sur l'Alcoran.

** See the notes in Sale's Koran, Vol. II. pp. 432-3-4.

second, to that with the wife of Zaid*. Hence it must appear, that, as those who recorded his miracles after his mission is said to have taken place, also recorded those which are said to have been performed while he was an idolater, no reliance whatever can be placed upon them.

Another consideration is, his having propagated his religion by human, and not by divine means; namely, either by the sword, or by giving rewards, contrary to the practice of former Prophets†: and another is, that all the precepts of his

---

* Ib. p. 268.

† In the small Tract of Aga Acber, already noticed, it has been said, that there are four answers to Mr. Martyn's objections that Mohammed had used the sword. (See p. 22. first Tract, note.) It may, perhaps, not be amiss to give those answers here. اگر گوئي كه چنانكه در اخبار مذكور ودر ميان خاص وعام مشهور ودر كلام حق مسطور است آن جناب رحمت للعالمين است وحال انكه كثيري از بندكان خدارا بضرب شمشير آبدار از پاي در آورد واموال ايشان را بغارت واطفال ونسوان آنهارا باسارت امر فرمود جواب اينكه چنانكه كفتي انحضرت رحمت للعالمين بود واكر ايشانرا بقتل نميرسانيد واموال ايشانرا تاراج واسراي ايشانرا اسير نمي فرمود تمام عالم بر كفر وشقاق اتفاق مي نمودند ونور رحمت انحضرت بر احدي نميتابيد وعرب بر عباده اوثان وعجم بر وطي امهات وپرستش نيران وترك بر تخريب بلاد وتعذيب عباد وهند بر بندكي بقر وسجود شجر ويهود بر جحود ونصاري بر توالد وتناسل در

religion have been given in conformity with his own lustful disposition. And, as there was no end

---

شان کسیکه نبود ونیست پدر وپسر باقي میماندند وظهور آن حضرت در چنین وقتي ودعوت مردم براهٔ حق نیز ادلّ دلیلي است بر معجزه ورسالت ان حضرت چه چون خلایق اتفاق بر کفر کنند بر حضرت الهي از باب لطف واجب ولازم است که سروري را بمرتبه رسالت مبعوث کرداند تا مردم را براهٔ راست هدایت کند جواب دیکر شرّ قلیل بجهة خیر کثیر عند الخالق والخلایق ممدوح است چنانکه جمیع انبیا ورسل چنین میفرمودند چه هیچ پیغمبري مبعوث نشد مکر انکه دار دنیا از لوث وجود جمعي نا پاك پاك شد شعر صد هزاران طفل سر بریده شد تا کلیم الله صاحب دیده شد فان هو الّا رحمت للعالمین اکر کوني انبیاي سلف بشمشیر دعوت ننمودند والحضرت بغیر بشمشیر دعوت نفرمود واین خلاف طریقهٔ انبیاست جواب اینکه الحضرت هرکز بشمشیر دعوت نفرمود مکر انکه اول بوعد ووعید وارسال رسل ورسایل مرة بعد اخري وکرة بعد اولي دعوت میفرمود وچون بهیچ وجه اثري نمیبخشید لا علاج بجهاد میکوشید ونیز کاهي بدعا عذاب خدا بر ان قوم بیحیا مي فرستاد چنانکه بر عتبه پسر ابو لهب نفرین فرمود که اَللّٰهُمَّ سَلِّطْ عَلَیْهِ کَلْبًا مِنْ کِلَابِكَ وشیر اورا درید وبر خسرو پرویز بعد از انکه نامهٔ الحضرترا درید نفرین فرمود که خداوندا اورا در رخت خواب پهلو بشکاف ورسید بانچه رسید ودیکر انکه پیغمبران بدعاي تنها عذاب بر مخالفین نازل

to his lust, according to his own confession: "That God had made his delight to consist in women and

---

ننمودند بلکه به بدتر از شمشیر نیز دعوت مینمودند چنانکه موسي در دفعه اول یك نفررا بضرب مشت بکشت وجمعي کثیررا خوراك اژدري آتش فشان وماري بیجان فرمود وفرعون‌را با جمعي غفیر در رود نیل غرق نمود ودیکر انکه اهلاك با شمشیر بمراتب بهتر از بلاي ناکریز است چه چون بدعوت پیغمبران بلا نازل شدي کاه بودي که موافق ومخالف درهم سوختي وبجهة احدي از تایب وعاصي راهٔ نجات نبودي شعر. آتش چو بنیستان فرو زد. باهم تر وخشك‌را بسوزد. ولیکن دعوت بشمشیر رحمتي است دل پذیر چه کاه باشد که در حین قتال شخصي از راي کج خود منحرف وبصراط المستقیم دین قویم مقیم شود واز هلاك خلاص شود ونیز بغیر از خصم باحدي ضرري نرسد چه هرکه در هر وقت دست بیعت دراز مینمود بپاي مزدان تاج مراد بر سر مینهاد. "If it be said; It has been recorded, and believed by both great and small, that Mohammed was sent in mercy to mankind: if then this be the case, how did it come to pass, that he put many of the servants of God to death by the sword, seized their property, and took their wives and children as captives? The answer is this: Mohammed was, as has been rightly said, sent in mercy to mankind: but had he not put some to death, seized upon their property, and carried away the rest captives, the whole world must have remained in infidelity and discord, so that the light which he came to bestow, would have fallen on none. The Arabs, therefore, would have remained idolaters—the Persians have rested in their doctrines of principles, and continued to worship the

perfumes," he passed a law, that he himself should have nine wives, but that others should not

---

sun and moon. The Turks would have continued to spread devastation and woe—the Hindoos to worship cows and trees—the Jews in their obstinacy—and the Christians to dispute on the genealogies of persons, who neither were nor are Father or Son. Now the appearance of Mohammed happening at such a time, and his calling such to the way of truth, is no less miraculous, than demonstrative of the reality of his mission: because, when men were conspiring for the furtherance of infidelity, it was incumbent on the Almighty to send some one, and to charge him with such a mission as would be most likely to bring them to the truth. A second answer is: It has been thought right by both God and man, to allow the existence of smaller evils, with the view of bringing about the greater good; as all the Apostles and Prophets have attested: for there has no Prophet been sent who has not cleared the world, in some degree, of its impious inhabjtants. Verse. "Hundreds of thousands of infants lost their heads that Moses might be permitted to see light." All of which was done in mercy to mankind. If it be said, that the ancient Prophets never had recourse to the sword in order to force people to embrace their religion, but that Mohammed had recourse to nothing else, and therefore acted contrary to them, the answer is this: Mohammed never had recourse to the sword, until he had first tried both promises and threats, and urged repeatedly both the missions and messages of former Prophets; but when he saw that these had no effect, he had no other resource than to appeal to the sword. Sometimes too, he resorted to prayer that the wrath of God may fall upon such and such a people, as in the case of Abu Lahab's son, when he said, "O God, let loose one of thy dogs upon him;" and he was accordingly torn to pieces by a lion. And again, in the case of Chosru Parviz, when he had torn the Prophet's letter, he prayed that God would tear open his side, as he lay in his bed; and accordingly, what took place, took place. And again, the ancient Prophets did not only pray that judgments

exceed four. The story of Zaid's wife too, is very well known: namely, that he was violently

should fall on those who opposed them: but they had recourse to expedients more cruel than even the use of the sword: such, for instance, was the act of Moses when he killed a man with his fist; and again, when he caused a great number to die in the wilderness by snakes and fiery serpents: and again, when he drowned Pharaoh with a great number of his people in the Nile. Again, the use of the sword is certainly preferable to those calamities which people have it not in their power to avoid. For the Prophets, in enforcing their religion, frequently brought down such divine visitations as destroyed both good and bad together; so that he who repented no less than he who remained in his sin, had no means of escape left. Verse. "When the fire descends on a plantation of reeds, both moist and dry are consumed together." Besides, to make proselytes to religion by the sword, should be considered as a mercy, and therefore desirable: for it may sometimes happen, that a person, at the very time of fighting, may turn from his evil way, embrace the true faith, and so be saved. Nor can any one be reduced to this necessity by any other means. It must follow, therefore, that such means cannot but be followed by the necessary success."

It may be worth while briefly to consider the nature of these statements. The first answer takes for granted, that true religion can be propagated by no other means than by the sword, which has perhaps resulted from the erroneous accounts which Mohammedans have of the missions of the ancient Prophets. The fact however is, the ancient Prophets had recourse to no such means. In the case of Moses killing the Egyptian, religion was not the object had in view. It is said, Exodus, Chap. ii. that Moses saw an Egyptian smiting an Hebrew, one of his brethren, and when he looked this way and that way, and when he saw that there was no man, he slew the Egyptian, &c. The object of Moses here was not to enforce the Jewish religion, but to protect one of his countrymen from the unjust severity of the

in love with her, and that when some obstacles stood in his way, he immediately removed them by

Egyptian. Besides, Moses had not at this time received his commission to plead the cause of his countrymen at the court of Pharaoh, much less to enforce those religious observances, with which he was charged several years afterwards. That Moses caused the Israelites to die by fiery serpents in the wilderness is not true. The only thing Moses had to do in that affair was, to set up the brazen serpent, by which many were saved. Nor had Moses any thing to do with the drowning of Pharaoh. This is expressly ascribed to God himself; not with a view of propagating the religion of the Hebrews, but merely to stop the progress of an impious king. It has often, indeed, been referred to by the Israelites as an instance of mercy, and particularly in the fifteenth chapter of Exodus, where it is made the theme of one of the most admirable songs of thanksgiving that can well be imagined. In the case of Elijah (2 Kings, chap. i.) when fire came down from heaven, the propagation of religion was totally out of the question; the only object it had in view was, to save the life of the Prophet from the unjust tyranny of the king of Israel. The destruction of the Prophets of Baal, may be referred to the same principle (1 Kings, chap. xviii.) We are here told that Jezebel had slain the Prophets of the Lord, and it was doubtful whether Elijah was not the only one which now remained. I think there can be no doubt, that the followers of Baal, as is mostly the case in false religions, inculcated the necessity of destroying the professors of all other religions with the sword, which may perhaps account for the cruelty of Jezebel on this occasion. Elijah seems to have been well aware, that if these Prophets were suffered to live, his own life, with that of others, must still be in jeopardy; and as God had afforded a manifest proof of their falsehood, he did nothing more than consult the general welfare of the state, by ordering them to be slain; and only visited the blood of others upon their heads, of which they were most likely guilty. It is true Elijah inculcates on this occasion the duty of following the

a pretended revelation. Again, in the story of Mary the Copt, when his wife Hafsa had seen him with her, he took an oath that he would go near her no more; but, as his desires gave him some uneasiness on this subject, he obtained a revela-

---

God of their Fathers; but this was not teaching any new religion: it was only bringing to their recollection the precepts which they had formerly received from the hands of the Almighty himself; and in which they had been positively commanded to destroy every false Prophet.

The other answer, in which it is said, that God allows the smaller evil to exist in order to bring about the greater good, may thus be dispensed with. It cannot be shewn that the existence of evil is necessary for the production of good. God, it is true, can, and does, bring good out of evil; but this results solely from his sovereign power and mercy; and not because it is necessary for the production of good that evil must exist. The evil, which does exist, if we may believe the word of God, comes from the perverse disposition of man alone, and is the source of every sorrow which has harassed the world since its first introduction. Good is most naturally produced from good: and hence it is, that the inculcation and reception of true religion, which never fails to produce a virtuous life, is the source of every real happiness of which the nature of man is capable.—Again, that both good and bad have fallen under such Divine temporary judgements as have been recorded in the Scriptures, is too glaringly false to need a moment's consideration. No good reason therefore can be offered, as founded upon the practice of former Prophets, that Mohammed should have had recourse to the sword. Nor could his appearance, at any period whatever, be adduced as a proof that he came from God, unless it could previously be shewn, which cannot be done, that he actually wrought miracles, and established a religion conformable to the will of God, which had been formerly revealed.

tion which released him from his oath. And again, no one was allowed to take, or even to speak with, any one of his wives, contrary to what was allowed in the cases of others: nor was any one permitted to enter his house by any chance. His wives too were not permitted to speak kindly to any one: and of this kind is a great part of his revelation, savouring most strongly of the lustful disposition of its author.

Another consideration is, that he bequeathed his power to his relations. And another, the contents of the Koran itself, to which we shall now briefly advert. It is very well known that it possesses nothing like real elegance, for it contains neither poetry nor arrangement, but abounds with useless repetitions, and in many instances has nothing to recommend it but the mere Rhythmus. It contains moreover many low and vulgar expressions, as well as many stories which are altogether unnecessary, because they are to be found in the books of the Jews and Christians*. Add to these many such unmeaning passages as the following. In the chapter of Lockman†, we have; "And (he) hath thrown on the earth

* See the Appendix to this Tract.

† In the MS. a mistake has been made, in giving the title of the Chapter called the Cave, to the extract which is taken from the Chapter of Lockman, and *vice versa*. In the translation I have made the necessary correction. Sale, Vol. II. p. 252. See the note.

mountains firmly rooted, lest it should move with you." And again, in the chapter of the Cave: "And he followed his way until he came to the place where the sun setteth; and he found it to set in a spring of black mud: and he found near the same a certain people." In the same chapter it is said that Alexander believed in God, although it is well known from the books of the Greeks his companions, as well as his own history, that he was an idolater. Again, the contradictions which occur in the Koran, such, for instance, as those precepts which stood in need of others to abrogate them*, are sufficient to convince any one that such a book could not have come from God; for although such changes may be allowable in human laws, where the Lawgivers are not acquainted with the future, yet in the divine laws they cannot; because in this case the Legislator is equally well acquainted with the past and future: accordingly, in the Law and the Gospel, nothing of this kind

* By this is meant the rescinding of certain precepts of the Koran some time after they had been given; and in some instances, if we may believe Maracci, before they had been given. See his Alcoran, p. 46-8, where there are some interesting notes on this subject. The Mohammedans hold, that as the Gospel superseded the Law, being a more perfect dispensation, so did the Koran, supersede or abrogate the Gospel: and, in like manner, have some of the later precepts of the Koran superseded or abrogated others which had been before revealed. For further information on this subject see Sale's Preliminary Discourse, p. 87.

occurs: for the Gospel does not abrogate but fulfil the Law.

Upon the whole then, the scope of what has been said is this: Any one believing in the mission of another, and seeing one or other of these properties peculiar to him, may feel disposed to account for it, by having recourse to a forced interpretation; but another, not being a proselyte to his creed, and seeing all these things concur in him, cannot but come to the conclusion that he is no Prophet: and that should he have performed some miraculous act, he never could have come from God.

Another consideration is, that in the Mohammedan religion salvation is made to depend on one or other of the two following means. The one is that of good works; the other repentance and pardon. But no one of these, nor indeed the both taken together, is sufficient for this object. For, in the first case, these works must either be conformable to the Law of God or not. If they are not conformable to his law, they are useless; but if they are, they can only be entitled to their own proper reward; and can by no means compensate for other works which are bad: because these good works themselves were necessary. But if they be made to compensate for others which are bad, the consequence will be the same as it would, had such good works never been performed.

Now, there is no one who has done all that God has commanded; nay, not so much as this which is mentioned in the Law: Thou shalt not covet, neither the wealth, nor the wife, nor any other thing belonging to any one. Whence it must appear, that no one can be saved by his own good works.

But, as it respects repentance and pardon, we say, this pardon must not be such as to falsify God's own word, who has said, that "he will by no means clear the guilty*," as common sense alone is sufficient to determine: for sin is an act contrary to some existing law: and no law is without its penalties: but, in this case, should sin go unpunished, the word of God itself must be falsified.

Nor is repentance sufficient to afford an assurance of pardon. For, suppose any one to have contracted a debt with another: and, again, suppose him to repent, and to promise that he will do so no more, will this necessarily cancel the debt? And again, suppose any rebel to repent before a Magistrate and to say he will rebel no more, would it become such Magistrate to pardon the offender, and thus to transgress the law? Now we know that God is a just Judge. And although a Father or Master may pardon any crime in a son or a slave, yet no

* Exod. xxxiv. 7.

such latitude can be allowed to a Judge, although he were the Father of such son, or the Master of such slave: that is, that he should thus connive at the offence, and so transgress the law. Since then the administration of justice in God implies the necessity of punishment upon those that offend: and as his best servants must by this means, be implicated, it will follow that salvation cannot be obtained by repentance. And hence also it will appear that some one must, by way of atonement, suffer for them, in order to afford assurance of salvation. Let us now enquire who is worthy to make such an atonement for all mankind. The sins of mankind, we affirm, must be infinitely odious in the sight of God: because, we know, that to act contrary to the wishes of a friend, is ingrateful—to those of a brother, more so—to those of a father still more so, and so on till we come to God, who is the great ruler and benefactor of all. The person then, who could make atonement for the sins of all, must be infinitely great in dignity: and no one has arrived at this, but he who has been called *God*, the *Word* of God, or the *Spirit* of God.

If it be asked how it can be possible that three persons can be possessed of a dignity which belongs to none but God, we answer; the Spirit of God and the Word of God have the same relation to God himself, as the spirit

and word of a man have to him, which in fact constitute the same person; but which, when considered with respect to others, are more than one. It is not, however, our intention to speak of more than one God.

Now the Word of God has given himself as an atonement, in order to obtain salvation for others. But, that he might become such atonement, it was necessary that he should be so constituted as to be capable of being put to death. Again, as it was necessary such a person should appear, some notices were given both of his appearance and character: and this was done by the appointment of sacrifices for sins, which have been found to exist in all countries: for by these was pointed out his atonement for the sins of the world. From the time of Moses, therefore, every sin and defilement was atoned for by some sacrifice, which was typical of the death of Christ. Again, it is clear that between the shedding of blood and the pardon of sin, there can be no relation whatever; such appointment, therefore, can be understood in no other way, than as typical of the shedding of the blood of Christ, whereby every sin was to be pardoned.

Again, there is in the ancient prophecies every intimation given of the coming and works of Christ, as may clearly be shewn from many parts of the Pentateuch: but as it would be to

enlarge too much to select every particular in this place, we shall think it sufficient to select a few passages only from each of the Prophets.

In the Pentateuch it is said, that the seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head; but that he shall bruise his heel. (Gen. iii. 15.) Again, the promise made to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob was, that he who should be a blessing to all mankind, should appear among their offspring. Now, of the posterity of Jacob, was Judah chosen; of Judah, David; and Christ was of the line of David.

In the Psalms again; "Thou shalt not leave my soul in hell, neither shalt thou suffer thine Holy One to see corruption." (Ps. xvi. 10.) And again; "Be ye lift up ye everlasting doors, and the King of glory shall come in." (Ps. xxiv. 7.) Again, in the prophecy of Micah: "But thou Bethlehem, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah, yet out of thee shall he come forth unto me that is to be ruler in Israel; whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting." (Chap. v. 2.) Again, in the book of Isaiah: "A virgin shall be with child, and shall bear a son." (Chap. vii. 14.) And again: "He was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities; the chastisement of our peace was upon him; and with his stripes are we healed."—"He poured out his soul unto death: and he was numbered

with the transgressors; and he bare the sins of many, and made intercession for the transgressors." (Chap. liii. 5. 12.) Again, in the book of Daniel: "Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people, and upon thy Holy City, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophecy, and to anoint the Most Holy." (Chap. ix. 24.) And again: "After threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off, but not for himself." (Ibid. v. 26.)

At length, after John the son of Zacharias had made his appearance, who was, according to the Scriptures, to be Christ's forerunner, he himself came, born of a virgin of the house of David, in the city of Bethlehem, and wrought many miracles. The Jews also, who were in expectation of him, hoped that he would appear in great worldly pomp and splendour: the consequence was, they rejected him and put him to death; and thus unintentionally fulfilled their own Scriptures. Three days after his death, however, he rose from the dead, according to the Scriptures, shewed himself several times to his disciples, in the presence of whom he ate, and, at last he ascended into heaven.

Of the life of Christ we have four histories; two written by those who had attended his

ministry, and two by those who were their contemporaries. We have also another history of the miracles of his companions (the Acts of the Apostles) which was written by one who had been an eye-witness of the facts themselves; and in these we are told, that he commanded the Apostles to go into every part of the world, and to preach the forgiveness of sins, through the atonement of his blood—to give the promise of the Holy Ghost to believers for their sanctification—to admit converts into his religion by the washing of baptism—and to observe the Lord's Supper in memory of his death, until his second coming.

If it be objected, that we cannot be sure that this is not all a mere fabrication of the Apostles, we answer; if this had been the case, they would not have done what no one ever does under such circumstances: for they have asserted, that they had neither reputation, pleasure, nor ease in view; but had they obtained any one of these, that would have been sufficient to refute all their pretensions. Besides, had they spoken falsely in these instances, it was the duty of the Jews of those times to have refuted them, and not to have suffered the Christian Religion to have spread, taking its rise, as it did, in Jerusalem, where Christ himself had been put to death.

Nor can the infidelity of the Jews be construed as any reasonable cause for doubt on

these points; but rather as tending to their confirmation: because it is now in our power to refute them from their own Scriptures, and from them to prove the reality of the mission of Jesus.

The spread of the Christian Religion may likewise be considered as one of its greatest miracles; because all its precepts are directly opposed to the lusts and passions of men. Its progress also was not furthered, either by the sword, power, eloquence, or any human means whatever, but merely by the efforts of a few poor men. By means such as these then, was the religion of the Cæsars overturned, notwithstanding every effort on their part to the contrary, and their having actually put many of the Christians to death.

The reason why Christians believe Jesus to have been the last Prophet is this: because he himself has said; "the Law and Prophets were until John*." Henceforth let the Gospel of the kingdom be preached, and behold I am always with you, even to the end of the world†." And again, "The Gospel of the kingdom must be preached in all the world, and then cometh the end‡."

It is now the prayer of the humble Henry Martyn, that these things may be considered with

‡ Matt. xi. 13. † Ib. xxviii. 19, 20. ‡ Ib. xxiv. 14.

impartiality. If they become the means of producing conviction, let not the fear of death or punishment operate for a moment to the contrary; but let this conviction have its legitimate effect: for the world, we know, passes away like the wind of the desert. But, if what has here been stated do not produce conviction, my prayer is, that God himself may instruct you; that as hitherto ye have held what you believed to be the truth, ye may now become teachers of that which is really so; and that he may grant you to be the means of bringing others to the knowledge of the same, through Jesus Christ, who has loved and washed us in his own blood, to whom be the power and the glory for ever and ever. Amen.

THE END OF MR. MARTYN'S SECOND REPLY.

APPENDIX (B.)

(Referred to in Page 113.)

VARIOUS have been the conjectures as to the manner in which Mohammed obtained his information respecting the Scriptures and traditions of the Jews and Christians: some supposing that he obtained it from a Jew or a Christian, or both in his own country; others, on his journey to Syria; and others again in Syria itself. I incline to the latter, for the following reasons. Had he employed either a Jew or Christian in his own country, he would have been in perpetual alarm from the fear of exposure; especially as he was directly opposed to the interests of both. Mohammed was moreover too good a politician not to have foreseen this; and therefore was not very likely to have had recourse to such a step.

Nor is it probable that he gained his information on his journey; because, in this case, he would also have subjected himself to the danger of exposure. During a journey, the opportunities for such information must have been few; and the hurry and fatigue of travelling very unfriendly to enquiry. But in Syria itself, the opportunities would be numerous, and these could have been made the most of, without the least suspicion whatever being excited; and, as the pretended revelation did not come out until between fifteen, and twenty years afterwards, the idea of its having come from Syria could hardly be started by Mohammed's opponents. But had he upon his return from Syria given out his revelation, and talked as wildly as travellers sometimes do, when just arrived from foreign countries, the very secret of

all his pretensions would have come out at once. The Prophet however more wisely retires about fifteen years afterwards to a hill at some distance from Mecca. He first prepares his wife and relations, by telling them that he had seen an Angel; and next, that he is saluted both by stocks and stones as a Prophet sent from God. Upon this, many of his relations treated him as a madman or impostor: but, as the far greater part are never the most discerning, he succeeded with them; and at length convinced the others by the point of the sword, that they must believe or die: the natural consequence of which would be, that no enquiry on this subject would hereafter be made: and such is actually the fact, as Mr. Martyn has well observed.

Let us now see whether this will be borne out by a comparison of some of the accounts found in the Kŏran, with those which are to be met with in the books of the Syrians, to which Mohammed might have had access. The works of Ephrem the Syrian, who flourished during the reign of Constantine, we know both from Jerome and Gregory of Nyssene, were almost universally read before the times of Mohammed—"Atque hinc constat non solum in Oriente post lectionem Scripturarum, publice in Ecclesiis (ut ait S. Hieronymus) fuisse S. Ephræm Syri scripta antiquitus recitata, sed etiam in Occidente, et quidem in Basilicis urbis Romæ." (Opera. Ephr. Romæ. Tom. I. Græc. et Lat. Proleg. p. xii.) And again, "Ephræm... qui cunctis Christianis versatur in ore... cujus vitæ atque doctrinæ splendor universo terrarum illuxit orbi. Nam in omni fere loco, qui illustratur a Sole, cognoscitur." (Ib. Encom. S. Gregorii Nysseni, p. iii.)

There could have been no difficulty, therefore, in Mohammed's coming to a knowledge of the contents of his works: and that some of them have found their way into the Koran will presently appear. In the eighteenth chapter of the Koran we have the substance of a story, which has been admirably told in Parnel's Hermit. Mr. De Sacy says in the Notes to his Chrestomathie, Tom. III. p. 414. "Kazwini cite à l'appui de ses réflexions une histoire *assez originale* qui me

paroit avoir fourni l'idée de la charmante pièce de Parnell, intitulée *l'Hermite* (the Hermit) &c." The story is then given, which may be found almost verbatim in the Spectator, No. 237., and is there ascribed to the Jews. Now if we turn to the Works of Ephrem (Tom. I. Græc. et Lat. p. 119.) we shall find, if I mistake not, the original draught of this story, which is given with the view of illustrating the mysterious ways of Providence, just as it has been re-edited in the Koran, and versified by Parnell.

Another remarkable coincidence occurs in the second chapter of the Koran. (Sale, Vol. I. p. 11.) "And when Moses asked drink for his people, we said, Strike the rock with thy rod; and there gushed thereout twelve fountains, &c." In the Syriac Commentary of Ephrem on Numbers, chap. xx. v. 17. we have the following passage. Speaking of the well, it is said: ܐܝܟ ܕܐܡܪܝܢ ܗܘ ܟܐܦܐ ܕܐܙܠ ܥܡܗܘܢ ܘܟܕ ܢܝܚ ܐܬܒ̈ܥ ܡܢ ܗܘ ܟܐܦܐ ܘܢܒ̈ܥ ܠܗ ܫܬܝܣܪ ܥܝܢ̈ܐ. "For they said, that it was the rock which followed them: which, when they rested, *afforded twelve streams.*" He goes on to say, that when they travelled the waters flowed not; but when they rested, the heads of the tribes came to Moses, and, with their hymns and staves, caused the waters immediately to flow. "The Commentators," says Sale in his Notes, "say this was a stone which Moses brought from Mount Sinai," &c. "Marracci thinks," continues he, "this circumstance looks like a Rabbinical fiction, or else that Mohammed confounds the water of the rock at Horeb, with the twelve wells at Elim; for he says, several who have been on the spot, affirm there are but three orifices whence the water issued. But it is to be presumed, that Mohammed had better means of information in this respect, than to fall into such a mistake, &c.—For one, who went into those parts in the end of the fifteenth century, tells us expressly, that the water issued from twelve places of the rock, according to the number of Israel," &c.

We have then, in Ephrem, the moveable rock of the Arabian Commentators, and the twelve fountains of Mohammed. I do

ot think, therefore, that it was necessary that Mohammed hould, for this piece of information, have travelled to Horeb t all. Besides he does not say a word about the holes in the tone: he only says there were twelve fountains; which ppears to me to identify itself sufficiently with the well of phrem, which was occasionally a moveable rock, to warrant he conclusion that this story came originally from Syria.

The next coincidence which I shall notice is that which is bservable in the History of Joseph, as given by Ephrem and lohammed. No one I am sure can read the Sermon of phrem "in Pulcherrimum Joseph",* and the twelfth chapter f the Koran, without being struck with a manifest similarity f style and sentiment. There are however a few things ommon to both, which, I think, are no where else to be ound. In the first place, when Joseph's brethren carry his oat dyed with blood to their father, he is made, both by phrem and Mohammed, to suspect that there was some illainy in the business. The words of Ephrem are—"Itaque on te, ut puto, devoravit fera, dilectissime fili; verum hunanis potius manibus et exutus, et necatus es. Nam si, ut ui affirmant fratres, a bestia absorptus esses, vestis utique tua n partes discissa fuisset; neque enim fera, ut prius exuereris, xpectasset, ac tunc demum tuis exsatiaretur carnibus. Rurumque si prius exuisset, ac postea devorasset, minime fœdata anguine tunica tua esset, &c." (p. 29. I have quoted the Latin translation rather than the Greek, because it is more enerally understood). In Sale's Koran, (Vol. II. p. 35.) it s said: "And they produced his inner garment stained with alse blood. Jacob answered, Nay, but ye yourselves have ontrived the thing for your own sakes." Beidawi says in is comment on this passage: "This Jacob had reason to uspect, because, when the garment was brought to him, he bserved, that *though it was bloody, yet it was not torn.*" (Ibid.)

* Opera Græc. et Lat. Tom. II. p. 21.

Another remarkable coincidence is, that Potiphar's wife is made by both to confess her crime. Potiphar, according to Ephrem, seeing Joseph advanced to the government of the kingdom, comes home to his wife, complaining that he dare not appear before Joseph at court, because he had formerly committed him to prison. His wife hearing this, tells him to take courage; for says she: "*Ego tibi peccatum meum notum faciam,* quod admisi. Ego quippe sum, quæ pulcherrimum Joseph, castissimumque illum adamavi; et quum *per singula momenta mullis blanditiis illi callide insidiarer, ut dormire cum illo possem, et pulchritudine ipsius frui;* neque prorsus optato meo fine potiri quirem, aut ullatenus efficere, ut vel verbo me dignaretur; vi tandem illum tenere conabar, ut me vel modice toleraret. Verum ipse foras aufugit, quando tibi pallium ejus ostendi. Ego igitur sum, quæ regnum ipsi maximamque gloriam comparavi, &c."—"*Justus et pius est Joseph,* qui etiam calumniam passus nemini patefecit, &c." In Sale's Koran (p. 42. See also Comm. Syr. Vol. I. p. 93.) "The nobleman's wife said, *Now is the truth become manifest: I solicited him to lie with me; and he is one of those who speak truth.*"—These coincidences are, I think, sufficient to shew that the one must have been the genuine offspring of the other; and that Syria was the soil from which the Pseudo-Prophet must have obtained his.

In the seventh Chapter of the Koran (Sale, Vol. I. p. 189.) We are told that Moses exhibited his leprous hand to Pharaoh and his chiefs. "And he drew forth his hand out of his bosom; and behold, it appeared white unto the spectators." Marracci had said in his refutations to the Koran (p. 284.) that no account of this occurred in the Scripture. "It is true," replies Mr. Sale (Vol. I. p. 190. n.) the Scripture does not expressly say so, but it seems to be no more than a necessary inference from that passage, where God tells Moses, that if they will not hearken to the first sign, they will believe the latter sign, &c." In Ephrem's Commentary on Exodus, Chap. IV. (p. 203.) we have "Nec enim, ait, Pharao, aut

populus ejus colubris duriores sunt, &c.—Sin autem hisce duobus signis, *quæ spectantibus simul Israelitis et Egyptiis exhibenda erunt* minime flectantur, haustam è flumine aquam in campos fundito, &c." This I take to be Mohammed's authority for the inference which Mr. Sale seems to think is but a necessary one.

Again in the second Chapter of the Koran (Sale, Vol. I. p. 12.) we have an account of Mount Sinai having been lifted up over the heads of the Israelites. "Call to mind also when we accepted your covenant and lifted up the mountain of Sinai over you." I have no doubt this has arisen from a misunderstanding of the Syriac text, which in Exodus, Chap. xix. v. 11. runs thus: ܒܝܘܡܐ ܬܠܝܬܝܐ ܢܚܬ ܡܪܝܐ ܠܥܝܢ ܟܠ ܥܡܐ ܥܠ ܛܘܪ ܣܝܢܝ For on the third day shall the Lord descend on mount Sinai in the eyes of all the People." Over the word ܢܚܬ there is a diacritical point, directing the reader to pronounce it *nocheth*, in the participle, which will give the sense as above translated. The same diacritical point, however, may be pronounced as an *a*, and then the word becomes *nacheth*. The translation then will be: "For on the third day, the Lord shall cause mount Sinai to come down in the eyes of all the people." Again, at the 20th verse, the passage ܢܚܬ ܡܪܝܐ ܠܗ ܥܠ ܛܘܪ ܣܝܢܝ may be read; "And the Lord caused mount Sinai to descend," &c. In both these passages, moreover, the ܠ which is prefixed to the word ܗ may be considered either as a preposition, signifying *on, to, for*, &c. or as the sign of the accusative case. Now I can suppose it probable that Mohammed might have heard some ignorant Priest pronounce *nacheth* instead of *nocheth*, which would give precisely the sense already noticed: and by having recourse to inference, as Mr. Sale allows, the Prophet would very naturally conclude, that if God caused the mountain to descend, he must first have caused it to ascend. It may be further remarked, that the word used for Sinai in the Koran is precisely the same with that used by the Syrians, viz. Toor,

طور, the Syriac being ܛܘܪ Tooro. And hence this name which is generally given to mount Sinai by the Mohammedans.

Other remarkable coincidences between the Koran and the works of Ephrem, are the accounts which both give of Paradise. According to the Arabian Commentators the Paradise in which Adam was placed was in the seventh Heaven, from which, upon his fall, he was expelled and placed on the earth. (See Marracci's Koran, pp. 12, 19, 23-4. Sale, Vol. I. p. 7. note.) In the writings of Ephrem. (Assemani Bibliotheca Orientalis, Tom I. p. 84.) we have ܕܚܙܝ ܒܪܘܚܝ ܠܦܪܕܝܣܐ ܘܚܙܝ ܕܟܠ ܛܘܪܐ ܕܒܗ ܐܬܪܡܡ ܗܘ ܒܪܘܚܝ ܘܣܓܕ ܠܗ ܘܐܬܦܢܝ ܠܬܚܬ ܘܠܡܪܡ ܘܫܒܚ ܠܥܠ

هم كه كحصا : كمزه مح ابع. "When Adam had sinned (God) expelled him from Paradise, and in grace appointed him his limit, placing him in the depth beneath its lower parts. But when they sinned again, they were thence dispersed. And, as they were unworthy to be in the neighbourhood of Paradise, God commanded the Ark to carry them to the Gordian mountains."—"But Satan," says the Koran, (Sale, Vol. I. p. 7.) "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."

In these extracts we have the elevated Paradise of Mohammed,—the rivers which flow under it, which are perpetually occurring in the Koran, and the expulsion of Adam and his wife from it.

Again, (Vol. II. p. 558. Syr. et Lat.) we have the voluptuous paradise of the Koran ascribed to the heretic Bardasanes, which was of a character too congenial to that of the Arabs of his day to be omitted by the Prophet.

Another coincidence between the Koran and the writings of Ephrem is, the account found in both of the expulsion of Satan from Heaven. In one of Ephrem's sermons, (Vol. II. p. 328.) speaking of Eve and the Virgin Mary, it is said; "Aure vidit Maria illum, &c. Inter hæc mors, et Diabolus dum anxii se mutuo suspectant, invicem interrogant. Quid istuc, *quod pulsat aures carmen?* (de Christi nativitate scilicet), *Angelos quippe audiebant hunc de illo hymnum modulantes:* Hic est extinctor mortis, &c. Hinc incessit trepidatio et metus *compulitque ad fugam ambos. Diabolus deserta petiit,* &c." In Chap. 15. of the Koran (Sale, Vol. II. p. 68.) "We have placed the twelve signs in heaven—and we guard them from every Devil *driven away with stones;* except *him who listeneth* by stealth, at whom a visible flame is darted." In the note: "For the Mohammedans imagine that the devils endeavour to

ascend to the constellations, to pry into the actions and to overhear the discourse of the inhabitants of heaven.—They also pretend that these evil spirits had the liberty of entering any of the heavens *till the birth of Jesus*, when they were excluded three of them, &c."

In the same volume of the Works of Ephrem, (pp. 485-91.) we have, I think, the origin of the favourite argument of Mohammed and his followers, that the Scriptures have been corrupted. (p. 485.) " Merito itaque Marcion suis Evangelium assumentis depravare ausus, ab Ecclesia pulsus et abjectus est." And a little lower down: " Similis error Arrianos abripuit, dum Scripturas, suis additamentis corrumpunt." And (p. 491.) " Quanquam Fidei Orthodoxæ desertores Scripturas refigere non dubitarunt, ea est illorum audacia, &c." It may be remarked too that Ephrem here calls the *Fidei Desertores*, by the very same name which Mohammed has applied to the infidels of his times: namely, ܟܦܪܐ, Arab. الكافرون.

In the second chapter of the Koran, (Sale, Vol. I. p. 19.) we have a story which appears to me to savour of Syrian origin.—" But the devils believed not; they taught men sorcery, and that which was sent down to the two angels at Babel, HARUT and MARUT, &c." ' This story', says Mr. Sale, ' Mohammed took directly from the Persian Magi, who mention two rebellious angels of the same names, now hung up by the feet, with their heads downwards, in the territory of Babel.' He then refers to Hyde's Religio Persarum, where not so much as a word of the kind is to be found. The story of *Uzziel* and *Shamkhazi*, two angels which are said by the Jews to have come down from heaven and begotten the giants (mentioned Gen. vi. 2.) is given by Hyde (p. 272.) but not as taken from the Bereshith Rabba, as Mr. Sale has supposed. The fact is, this story is to be found in the Targum ascribed to Ben Uzziel, which Mr. Sale probably not knowing, has ascribed to the Bereshith Rabba. We have no reason then for supposing this story to be of Persian origin; let us now see whether it could have arisen from accounts now to be found among the

Syrians. *Harut*, I suspect to have been the same with ܗܪܘܬ, pointed by Asseman. (Bib. Orient. Tom. I. p. 145.) Arvat. but which might have been commonly pronounced Arut. This name is sometimes written *Arvad, Arator, Arovander, Aranad, Unadar*, and *Thuadar*. He is said by Sozomen to have been famed for his eloquence, (Ib. p. 38.) but that he was an heretic; and was one of the disciples of Ephrem Syrus. In the life of Ephrem given by Asseman, (Ib. p. 145.) he is thus addressed: "Vir rapax, deleatur memoria tua de libro vitæ, quia dereliquisti vinum Christi, et bibisti fœcem peccati. Filius, quem os tuum blasphemavit, contumeliæ illatæ sibi à te pœnas expetet." The eloquence and wickedness of this man may perhaps have contributed to his being classed among those who practised magic; and if he obtained preferment in the Church, which is not improbable, the title of fallen angel might also have been given him.

Marut is perhaps the same with Marutha, a Bishop no less famous for his learning and piety than his miracles. Asseman in his Bibliotheca Orientalis, (Tom. I. p. 174.) thus commences his life. "Maruthas Tagritensis in Mesopotamia Episcopus *doctrina et miraculis claruit* circa finem sæculi quarti. The following are accounts of two of his miracles, (p. 175.) "Verebantur (i. e. Magi) ne is persuadere Regi (Persarum sc.) ut Christianam Religionem amplecteretur: etenim diuturnum capitis dolorem, quo Magi eum liberare non potuerunt, *Maruthas precibus suis curaverat*. And (Ibid. p. 176.) "Parum autem abfuit, quin ipse (i. e. Rex) Christianus fieret, quum *Maruthas*, unà cum Abda Persidis Episcopo, alterum etiam miraculum edidisset. Ambo siquidem *Dæmonem*, quo Regis filius vexabatur, depulerunt, &c." I am inclined to believe that these two persons are the two fallen angels of the Koran; because they had both become famous, the one for his learning and wickedness, the other for his learning, piety and miracles, and had both preceded the times of Mohammed. No one need be surprized at the blunder which must be attached to the Prophet on this supposition. One who could have

stated in his revelation, that Miriam the sister of Moses was the same with Mary the mother of Christ*, may have coupled a good with a bad man; and from the accounts which he had heard of their actions, have concluded that they were fallen angels who had practised magic. Allowing this therefore, and finding that their names agree with those given in the Koran, there appears to me but little reason to doubt that this is actually the case.

In addition to the coincidences above noticed, many more may be adduced respecting both the style and phraseology of the Koran. One of the greatest beauties of style of the Koran

* Mr. Sale however, (Vol. I. p. 57. in the Note) thinks Mohammed might not have blundered in this instance: "For," says he, "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." Very true; but can it be shewn from history that this was the case? Does it appear that the Virgin Mary's father was named Amram (or Imrán as the blundering Prophet will have it) or that he had a brother named Moses? The question is not what might have been, but what was the fact: and few will perhaps allow that Mohammed had, in this case, information known to no one else. "Besides," continues Mr. Sale, "such a mistake is inconsistent with a number of other places in the Koran, whereby it manifestly appears, that Mohammed well knew, and asserted, that Moses preceded Jesus several ages, &c." Still, I answer, it does not follow that his memory might not sometimes have failed him: for to allow that he could not have blundered in that respect, would be to take for granted what requires to be proved: and in opposition to which a cloud of witnesses can be adduced. It certainly would be going too far to accuse Mr. Sale of intentionally exalting the Koran: but there are a few instances, in which he seems to have attempted something like this, even at the expense of good criticism and logic: and of this an example may be seen in the preceding page (p. 56. Note. "It is very remarkable, &c.")

consists in a kind of rhythmus, which, it is probable Mohammed first introduced into Arabic composition; and, which, if I am not greatly deceived, has contributed largely to constitute his miracle. This kind of composition occurs occasionally in the Hebrew Scriptures*; but much more frequently in the Sermons of Ephrem†. The Arabic writers, however, attribute the invention of it to Amrulkais, as given in the following distich ‡.

الا انني بالٍ علي جمل بالي . يسوق بنا بالٍ ويتبعنا بالي.

"I know the whole of my affliction:—that we are urged by the oppressor, and pursued by fate." But as this Author was contemporary with Mohammed, he might have borrowed the style from him; which I suspect to have been the case. A good specimen of this kind of writing, in English, occurs in Cowper's Letter to the Rev. Mr. Newton, July 12, 1781. This style has been cultivated both in the Arabic and Persian to a very great degree of perfection. In the Arabic perhaps the Makamat of Harîri and the life of Timour present the best examples: and in the Persian, the Gulistan of Sadi, the Anvari Soheili by Husein Vaez, and the letters of Abul Fazl, have perhaps never been surpassed.

Of the words and phrases which, I suppose, have been borrowed from the Syrians, the following are examples.

The word used for *quails* is the same both in Syriac and in the Arabic of the Koran: viz. سلوي and سلوى. But in Hebrew the form differs, viz. שְׂלָו. It is very doubtful

---

* Isaiah, Chap. iii. 24. כי תחת יפי. Ib. v. 7. ויקו—לצדקה והנה צעקה. Ib. xxviii. 10—13. &c. קו לקו צו לצו &c.

† See Vol. II. and III. of the Syriac Works of Ephrem, passim.

‡ In a work entitled كتاب غاية الوسائل الي معرفة الاوائل by اسماعيل هبة الله ابن ابي الرضا الموصلي الفقيه الشافعي Chap. i. In the collection of Mr. Burkhardt.

whether this word is Arabic at all. In the Syriac Commentary of Bar Hebræus, the flesh of this bird is said to be very sweet and tender; and hence I apprehend it is, that the modern Arabs have supposed that the word means honey. The authority cited by Jauharí does by no means require the sense of *honey*: it is this— الذ من السلوي اذا ما نشورها i. e. "More sweet than the quails are when we have obtained them." I have no doubt, therefore, that this word is purely Syriac.

Another word, which I believe to be Syriac, is a title given to the Scriptures and the Koran: viz. الفرقان Alfurkan. This word occurs in the second chapter of the Koran (et alibi) Sale, p. 9. "And when we gave Moses the book of the Law, *and the distinction between good and evil.*" For the whole of this last sentence we have in the Arabic Alfurkan الفرقان. The root in Arabic means *to divide*, and, therefore, say the Commentators, it means that which divides between truth and falsehood, or it means the miracles which determine whether a Prophet is true or false in making a claim to Prophecy, or, between infidelity and faith. It is also said to mean the rule which distinguishes between what is lawful and what forbidden,—or it means the victory which made a distinction between Mohammed and his enemies as he himself said يوم الفرقان, meaning the day on which the battle of Bedr was fought. (Beidawi on the passage). Mr. Sale, seeing the Commentators thus guessing at the word, has no doubt that they are ignorant of its true meaning, as he says they are of several others, and proposes the Hebrew word פרק meaning a section, as the true one: because the Koran is said to have been given in parts or sections. In Syriac, however, ܦܘܪܩܢܐ which corresponds exactly to the Arabic الفرقان means *safety, deliverance, redemption;* which I take to be the real meaning of the word used in the Koran. The phrase then يوم الفرقان preserved by Beidawi, as coming from Mohammed, will mean, *the day of deliverance, redemption,* or the like; and

might by him have been very well applied to the Battle of Bedr, which in fact established his power.

The false Messiah is by the Arabs called المسيح الدجال, the very words used in the Syriac Testament for the false Christ, (i. e. مشيحا دجالا). See 1 John ii. 18, 22. iv. 3.

The phrase ملك الموت Angel of death, is also Syriac, and occurs both in the Old Testament, and in the writings of Ephrem the Syrian ملاك صحا. The expression is also used among the Jews. The name of Pharaoh is written after the Syriac and not the Hebrew manner, فرعون. Syr. פרעה.

For the Syriac word כהנא Priest, we have in the Koran قسيس; and for חרדלא the Syriac word for mustard-seed, خردل. That the Arabs received their alphabet also from the Syrians either at, or a little before, the times of Mohammed, is now generally allowed, which may be considered as a proof, that they had been in the habit of drawing upon their Syrian neighbours, for such information as they themselves did not possess.

Mohammed gives to Jethro the name of Shoaib شعيب which is a literal translation of his name as given in Syriac, ܝܬܪܘ. The roots of both words having the same meaning. In Arabic the word is of the diminutive form: in Syriac, if we change one T for another (the Syrians having two) viz. ܨ for ܬ, we shall have ܝܨܪܘ which will also have the diminutive form, a mistake which the Prophet might have made, as he must have trusted solely to his ear.

The name of Joseph's wife, the daughter of Potipherah, is in Syriac ܐܣܬ, Asyath; which in Arabic would be pronounced اسية Asya.—The Arabs make اسيا Asya the wife of Pharaoh, who, as they say, believed in Moses. Is not the Asyath of the Syrians, and the Asya of the Arabs the same person? In Hebrew the name is Asenath.

This name it is true, as well as that above given for the false Messiah, does not occur in the Koran, it is probable how-

ever, that both are derived from the times of Mohammed. The Christians of the East have indeed accounts stating that Mohammed was taught by a Christian monk, as occasionally noticed by Mr. Sale, and which may be seen in a little book formerly the property of Golius, and now preserved in the Bodleian Library. (Bodl. 199.) Of which an interesting account is given by my much esteemed and learned friend the present Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford, in his continuation of Uri's Catalogue, p. 58. I have no doubt, however, that the whole is a forgery, the statements being such as to exceed probability.

Upon the whole then, allowing some parts of the Koran to have been taken from the Jews, and others from the Magi or Persians, I am inclined to believe that what has been had from the Christians came from Syria: not from any individual hired for that purpose, for that would have been dangerous; but from the common accounts in circulation among the Syrians, or from the public reading of the Scriptures and the writings of Ephrem in the Churches of that day. The difference between the relations of the Prophet and those now found in the Syriac writings appear to me to be well accounted for, by the supposition, that they may not have been well understood by Mohammed, or that a defect of memory in the course of fifteen or twenty years, might have confused some and curtailed others.

It may perhaps be supposed, that as the Syriac and Arabic are cognate dialects of the same mother tongue, the above coincidences in words and phrases may be accounted for on that supposition. I believe not, because the forms of some are peculiar to the Syriac alone; and the roots of others are unknown in the Arabic. But, if we allow this, which I think no one versed in both these languages can, how are we to account for those statements peculiar to none but Mohammed and Ephrem the Syrian? For my own part I see no reason why the one might not have been copied from the other, especially as Mohammed had every facility for so doing.

Mr. MARTYN's THIRD TRACT,

ON THE

VANITY OF THE SOFEE SYSTEM,

AND ON THE

TRUTH OF THE RELIGION OF MOSES AND JESUS.

What has been written in the two foregoing Tracts on the vanity of Mohammedanism, will perhaps be sufficient to satisfy any impartial enquirer; but, as little has there been adduced in support of the Christian religion, and nothing in proof of the mission of Moses, it may not be amiss here to state the reasons for my own belief in the missions of Moses and Jesus: and, although my statements may fail of convincing others, they will at least serve to shew why I have chosen this in preference to other religions. But as it seemed desirable to prove the reality of the prophetic missions in general, in order to meet the doubts of Deists, who, from the peculiar character of their faith in the unity of the Deity, or other considerations dependant thereupon, think the appearance of a Prophet unnecessary, or, that he is nothing more than any other man, I shall,

in the first place, offer a few remarks on this subject.

First then, let it be remarked, that as to the truth of the unity of the Deity, or that union with him constitutes perfection, and is the greatest of human acquirements, there is here no question. But as some, speaking inconsiderately of the Deity, hesitate not to affirm, that no action or person or thing can be said to be exempt from his influence; and that it is he who appears in every thing and person, and that therefore there can be neither defect, perfection, nearness or distance with respect to him, since every person and thing is God, and from God, and with God; we may be allowed to ask, How then does it come to pass, that these very persons do, both in word and deed, virtually affirm the contrary? They avoid pain and necessity, for instance, and seek pleasure as a good; and further, they exert the utmost of their endeavours in the prosecution of these ends. To refute, however, every article of belief as held by these people, would be almost endless; we therefore pass over this for the present, and proceed to the subject more immediately before us, premising only, that union with the Deity is beyond the power of human nature alone to acquire; but is what men do consider as the object and end of all their endeavours. On the means to be employed, however, much difference of opinion is found to exist among the learned; the

following is what appears to me to come nearest to the truth.

Some have supposed that no one religion has been established to the exclusion of others, but that every one may, in his own way, finally arrive at the end in view. But, in this case, is it not difficult to suppose, how the lusts and pollutions in which all are indiscriminately implicated, are to obtain union with the Deity? And, as these very persons do prefer one way to another, might it not be true that one way alone is to be preferred to them all? Again, the supposition, which allows of no preference, and by which all men must finally succeed, is founded upon another, which takes for granted, that either the mercy or the essence of the Deity will not suffer any thing which is dependent upon him, to be at last implicated in misery. Whence it would follow, that even in this state of things, pain and misery could have no existence, which is contrary to the evidence of every man's senses, and therefore false.

Most men, however, seek this end by means of the law of works, as the followers of Mohammed; or, as those Jews and Christians, who are ignorant of the religion of Moses and Jesus:—others by mysticism as the Brahmans of India and the Sofees of Persia. The followers of the law, impelled either by the hope of reward or the fear of punishment, exert every effort for the fulfilment of the Law: but it is far removed from common

sense to suppose, that purity of heart, a love of the truth, and devotion to God, which are conditions of the state in view, can thus be acquired: because this is contrary to the very nature of things; and because it is well known, that none but a good tree can produce good fruit.

But, in any case, no one will deny that the Deity is able to make any means adequate to the production of any end; or, consequently, that he might not have given a law capable of giving perfection: but here it must be shewn by those who hold this opinion, that such a law has been actually given. Of all those, however, who have hitherto made a claim to prophecy, no one has appeared professing to be the framer of such a law, if we except Mohammed, of the divinity of whose religion, so much as an opinion cannot for a moment be entertained. And of the Prophets, who appeared before his times, no one has asserted that salvation is to be obtained by the Law. Those who preceded Christ, it may be observed, were all Israelites, and subject to the Law of Moses: to the Israelites they proposed no law; but were like the rest of the people, subject to that of Moses.

Now, in the Law of Moses, there is no precept for the conversion of other nations, nor even so much as the mention of a future state. It is clear then, even upon allowing the religion of Moses to have been nothing more than a law,

that God could not have intended it for the rest of mankind. But the truth is, no one could by that worldly Religion become acceptable to God, but by the sacrifice of some appointed animal.

The Religion of Moses, therefore, differed in no other respect from that of the Gospel, than a shadow might be said to do from the substance which has produced it.

What has here been said respecting the inadequacy of the Law for the attainment of either life or perfection, has not been advanced for the purpose of impugning the Law itself as imperfect, but to shew that the deficiency is on our own part: for, upon our endeavouring thus to arrive at perfection, we shall find so many obstacles, interwoven, as it were, in our very nature, as eventually to frustrate our designs.

The mystics, on the other hand, place their hopes in abstraction from the consideration of sensible objects, and indulge in meditation on the Deity to such a degree, as to hope to annihilate the sense of pain, pleasure, love, hatred, and the like. Which, in the technical language of the Hindoos, is termed *Dhyán* (or contemplation) on the essence of Brahma*.

* In a Persian Manuscript on the Religion of the Hindoos, entitled شارق المعرفت given to me some time ago by the Right Hon. Lord Teignmouth, to whose kindness I am much indebted on

But, as this sect lays no claim to a revelation, nor even supposes any such thing to be necessary; and, as no one has yet appeared, who has affirmed, that he has by this means arrived at perfection (which, should any one be imprudent enough to do, would afford ample proof to the contrary) it becomes us to make reason the judge, and then to determine, whether mysticism, with all its apparent beauty and sublimity, be of any real value or not.

As to abstraction from the consideration of sensible objects, there is abundant reason for

---

on this, as well as many other accounts, we have the following passage: اي رامچند ذات مطلق وهستي بر حق در همه حاد محيط همه يكي دان كه بهيچكونه دوئي را در آن دخلي نيست وبعين القلب بيناي آن هستي مطلق ووحدت صرف شود مدام در مراقبهٔ او باش تا اين پردهٔ كثرت از پيش ديد خيانت زايل كردد وبي حجاب معرفت وحدانيت ذات مكشوف شود در ان بحر راحت كه كران ندارد غريق كشته آرام تمام يابي ويكانكي حاصل سازي. O Rámchand, the absolute and real essence of the Deity, which comprehends every limit of created being, know thou to be one, and in which duality can never enter; and further, that he is to be contemplated by the eye of the mind alone. Be continually occupied, therefore, in the contemplation of him until the veil of that plurality which now deceives the eye of the beholder shall be for ever removed, and the knowledge of the unity of his essence be clearly revealed. And thus, becoming immersed in that sea of tranquillity which exceeds comprehension, thou mayest obtain perfect rest and union with him.

doubting whether it be practicable or not. For any one will, upon observing the operations of his own mind, perceive, that, however he may labour to render them more agreeable to the nature of things, or to divest them of the impressions received by the medium of the senses, he cannot advance one step; and that the utmost of his attainments will only be, the substitution of one set of opinions drawn from sensible objects, for that of another.

If, however, after a short trial some progress, how little soever that may be, were found to have been made, then would the candidate for perfection have some hope of being finally successful; but as it is certain that no such progress has ever been made, how can any one, with a grain of discernment, hope for ultimate success? But supposing that any one could at last arrive at the essence of the Deity, how is it to be known, in this case, that he would now be any nearer the perfection in view than he was before? For, according to the notion generally entertained of the essence of the Deity, as it is destitute of those attractions which act upon the senses, it can never become the object of love. And indeed it is the attributes of the Deity alone, when considered in relation to ourselves, such as his being an active, intelligent, wise, and beneficent being, that can ever be the objects of our regard.

If it be replied, that this alone is the point of view in which the Deity is considered by the Mystics as an object of love, we answer; this is contrary to the supposition, that such affections can be exercised in a merely abstract contemplation of his essence. But, if we are not mistaken, the three following conditions must have a large share in constituting a real love to God. First, that his goodness be revealed: for, should this not be the case, it is to be feared, that the object of most men's affections would be a mere creature of their own imaginations.

Secondly, that should the Deity make any revelation of himself, it must be such as to shew that his character is totally different from the corrupt character of man: for should this not be the case, he never could be an object of love: and hence it is, that the superiority of man makes no such impression on the brute creation. Such difference therefore is absolutely necessary.

Thirdly, it is to be feared lest the Deity should be angry with man on account of his numerous defects and sins. And as long as there is a fear of the wrath of God, and a want of assurance as to the safety of one's own state, how sublime soever the system itself may appear, it is certain there can be nothing in it like love.

Now, as no one of these conditions makes any part of the system of the Mystics, how is it possible to suppose that any one can be in possession

of a real love to God? For without this there can be no union with him either mediate or immediate. The wonder is, how persons, by no means defective in intellectual attainments, could have satisfied themselves with such a religion as this, unless indeed they have not been fortunate enough to find a better. But, as we have reason to believe that there is a better, we now proceed briefly to point out what that is.

In the first place, it may be remarked, that in material substances union may be brought about in two ways. The first is, that union which takes place between the parts of any simple substance; which, however, is generally supposed to be inapplicable to the subject under consideration: because in the parts of any simple substance increase or multiplication can have no place; if then the comparison would hold good, it would go to prove, that created beings would also be incapable of multiplication or increase, so that the commands of the Deity himself would become nonentities. The other mode of union is that, by which bodies may be united by means of one spirit pervading the whole: the property of which is to make all the parts, however diversified, members of the same, and such as to be the means of promoting the growth and maturity of each other, through the several stages of their common existence. By this union will every member be fitted and enabled to perform

the several functions proper for its situation. This last case seems to be the most agreeable to reason: for according to the measure of this uniting medium as afforded to individuals, will the acquirements of each one be; such too will be their several advances towards perfection; and such the exercise of brotherly love, or self-abasement. In such a case also, will the attempt to annihilate the senses by abstraction, so as to become incapable of either pleasure or pain, love or hatred (which are mere words without meaning) become unnecessary. On the other hand, to sympathize with those who suffer, to receive pleasure from contemplating that of others, to have an aversion to that which is generally injurious, and to love that which will impart universal happiness, will now become the general law of action. And, in addition to this, an uninterrupted peace and confidence, which is but the necessary precursor of happiness, will pervade every class. Besides, the enjoyment of such a state will not so much depend upon the exertions of self, as to superinduce any thing like doubt as to its continuance; but will be stamped with the character of assurance, which, like the earnest of the spirit, is never exerted in vain: and which, from the love which he sheds abroad upon those who are thus united to him, will suffer none finally to perish.

Now this is precisely what has been declared

in the Gospel, by the same Spirit, and with reference to every man. According to the Gospel, therefore, union is obtained with God when the Spirit of God dwells in man. And that this might take place, it is necessary that God be a Spirit: and, for any one to have the Spirit, it is also necessary that the Spirit be revealed, just as the Holy Scriptures declare, that God is a Spirit, and that he has been revealed. If it be said, that these expressions have been employed in order to meet the weakness and imperfections of our faculties, we answer; If it had been possible to devise a more accurate mode of communicating the knowledge of God to man, how does it come to pass that this has not been resorted to?

If it be said, that on account of the common use of language, abounding as it does in metaphors, as well as our being daily conversant with the objects of sense, such a mode of expression has been chosen, we again ask; but who is the author of speech, or the Maker of the speaker? And from whom have order and the objects of sense originated? But, as the Creator has, in his omnipotence, thus constituted both the world and its inhabitants,—has so formed and combined them, that no idea can be obtained but by the contemplation of sensible objects, there can be no doubt this was done by design; and, that by this means alone, a knowledge of himself should be obtained. And hence too it appears, that

knowledge more perfect than that which is thus to be derived, is placed beyond the limit of human exertions.

This, however, has not been said with a view to insinuate that the essence of the Deity has any relation to sensible objects: for although the essence of any thing cannot be known from the consideration of any of its properties, such, for instance, as its distance, colour, quantity, bulk, or the like; yet the thing itself frequently becomes known to us by no other means. In a word, the Deity has revealed himself to us in the Holy Scriptures, by that which is called *the Wisdom of God*, by which he framed the worlds; and such, even in this his work, are the characters of his operations, as to leave no doubt on the mind of the observer, as to the wisdom of the latent artificer.

By the same analogy also, that person who is called the Wisdom of God, is himself the manifestation of that all-wise Being, and has also been called *the Word of God*: for the word of any one is that by which his thoughts, hitherto latent, are presented to the perceptions of others. He has also been called *the image of the invisible God**, and the express image of his person†. This metaphor (and many such occur in the New Testament) is taken from the impression

* Col. i. 15. † Heb. i. 3.

made by a seal. For when any one receives a sealed letter, he sees not the seal itself, but only the impression which has been made by it. Nor let any one think it strange that the Deity has thought it proper thus to reveal himself. The truth is, it would have been much more strange, if any other method had been adopted. In the material world too, the same analogy holds good; for the real essence of every substance, otherwise unknown to us, is presented to our perceptions through some medium. In every such substance, moreover, we find extent; and in every thing having extent, there must be a capability of division; hence, there must also be some connecting power pervading the whole, which is the cause of adhesion in the several parts. Every substance therefore must possess these properties: nor can any thing be supposed to exist, which has not been thus constituted, and in which these properties must not exist or perish together.

Should, however, any one affirm, that since God, and the image of the invisible God are distinct objects, which when brought together, will constitute a compound nature; it must follow, that every simple substance having both form and essence, must also be considered as compound; which is absurd. For, between God, and the image of the invisible God (as they occasionally address one another) there is that distinction, which is found to exist between the essence

and form of things, in which the form may be changed, but the essence still remain the same. And in this way it is, that he who is called the image of the invisible God, took the form of man. Another of his titles is, *the Son of God;* and hence it is that God is called *his Father:* for as the Son is always inherent in the Father, is contemporary with Him, and is begotten of him (but does not in reality originate from him) and becomes the heir to all his property, in the same manner is the Son of God eternal and uncreated: and to him, as the heir of all things, have the world and its inhabitants been given.

He is moreover called by this name with reference to his birth, which was of a pure virgin: and to his having no father but God: contrary to the case of Adam, who was not born, but created, and into whose nostrils God breathed the breath of life. Upon the whole then, since God is a Spirit, union with him is not impossible. And in the Holy Scriptures this is pointed out in the way already described, of which the following are the principal heads. He who is called the Word of God gave himself up, in order to obtain that relation to the Church of his elect, of every tribe, people, and nation, which the head has to every other member of the body. And, as this is the case, the consequence is, that as every member in the natural body is united to it, and the whole is pervaded by one spirit, so are believers with Christ.

In the same point of view also, was the Son of God made a sacrifice for sin, that every member of his mystical body might receive the benefit of his atonement. For as by the Law of retaliation an equivalent frees the offender, so, by the perfect obedience of Christ, are those who have obtained union and communion with him, accounted just before God. And as the Spirit has been given to him without measure, they are admitted to a participation of it; and thus are they founded and built up in him, until the whole body of the elect shall, with him and with each other, be made perfect in love, and in the unity of the same spirit—until each member shall, according to its measure, arrive at perfection with its head.

If it be asked, What could have induced the Deity thus to have acted, we answer; His love and mercy, which would not that any one should perish. If again it be enquired, why God has not shewed mercy without the obedience of Christ, we answer; That by this means he has magnified the Law and made it honourable. And in this respect is he not to be considered as a mere Lawgiver, because in that case there could be no reward but such as was apportioned to individual merit: but here the merit of obedience belongs to Christ; contrary to the belief of those who follow the Law of works; and who hold, that as the reward must be apportioned to individual merit, God must either remit something of the

Law, or be content with an imperfect obedience: for otherwise, no one could be saved, since no one can claim exemption from the covenants of this Law. But we, who are not under the Law, are of all others the best qualified to satisfy its requirements.

If it be asked how we are to reconcile the fact of the righteous having suffered, that sinners might be saved, with the appointments of the Deity, we reply; This is nothing more than is daily witnessed in the mutual dependance of one upon another. If, for instance, any one be publicly defamed, his dependants are, in consequence, reduced to difficulties. The diseases of parents, we know, descend to their children. And, on the contrary, when any one experiences an advance of fortune, his children and dependants partake in his elevation. Nor is there any way by which a mutual attachment can be manifested but by participating in the misfortunes of another. For proof of this, universal usage may be appealed to; for at the very moment in which we take animal food, we cannot but be conscious, that an innocent animal has suffered in order to administer to our support. As human nature then has sanctioned this; and as human nature itself has thus been constituted by God, does it not follow that such custom must amount to little less than a divine appointment? But as this question can best be determined by an appeal to the Holy Scriptures, let us now enquire

what light they will throw on it: and further, why we are now bound to receive the writings of Moses after a lapse of two or three thousand years, as well as those of the Evangelists and Apostles.

And first, let it be remembered, that proofs similar to those which are adduced for establishing the genuineness of other books, may here be adduced for these. For if it be true that the Gulistan* was composed by Sheikh Sádi, because no one has ever denied the fact; and because from his time down to the present, other authors have cited it as coming from him, and such has, moreover been the prevalent opinion. The same must be true of both the Law and the Gospel of which the same things may be affirmed. Besides, the various efforts made by the several sects in any religion to impugn the creed of each other, but at the same time forbearing to charge the common document, upon which their faith is founded, as being corrupted, may also be appealed to as proof that no such corruption had taken place: and this is the fact with respect to the Scriptures. As it respects the Koran, we know, that although the sects are various which do not allow Mohammed to be a Prophet, yet they all concur in allowing that he was its author,

* An elegant and entertaining book of Persian tales, translated by Mr. Gladwin, Calcutta, 1806; and subsequently by Mr. Damoulin.

because his followers suppose it to have been his miracle. Of the publications too, which appeared in ancient times, many of which were written against both the Law and the Gospel, and have been preserved to our times, no one contains an assertion, that these books are not the productions of those whose names they bear. There are likewise many things in these books, which would make it next to impossible they could have been the productions of any other times than those in which they are said to have appeared. Moses, for example, is said to have read his revelation in the ears of the people; and afterwards to have given it to the sons of Levi to be read by them. And further, he commanded every head of a family both to teach his dependants from it, and daily to be speaking of its contents. If then the Books of Moses had been fabricated after his times, it must have struck the Israelites, that notwithstanding the command of Moses, that every head of a family should have a copy of his book, that no such thing till this time had come to their hands; and that as some one had dealt thus perfidiously with them, it was not improbable, that the book itself was now far from what it should be; and therefore, not likely to have had much influence upon either their faith or practice. The fact is, however, that from the most ancient times up to the present moment, the Jews have paid the most superstitious regard to the Law of

Moses. The same may be said of the New Testament also. We may then observe, that as there is good reason for believing the several books of the Scriptures to have come from those to whom they have been ascribed, we may, in the same degree, likewise give credit to the missions of Moses and Jesus.

Let us now pass by the generally received miracles of both Moses and Jesus, and examine the books of Scripture by themselves. In the first place, Moses appeals to no fewer than six hundred thousand persons, as to those acts which God had performed by him in their presence: and these were such as at once to carry the conviction that they were miracles: such, for instance, as dividing the sea, so that the Israelites had been able to pass its depths to the opposite shores:—the descent of the manna and quails for their subsistence during the space of forty years. Now, if these things had never taken place, how could Moses have made these assertions without being flatly contradicted? There are besides, many other declarations which did not receive their fulfilment till many ages had elapsed: such, for example, as the sons of Japhet dwelling in the tents of Shem, and the dispersion of the Jews throughout every kingdom of the world, and their consequent degradation; to which many others may be added of a similar description.

With respect to the miracles of Jesus, his disciples are such witnesses as can hardly be called in question; for to lie in the service of God is seldom found to take place; in that of the world, frequently. Besides, they sought neither prosperity, power, nor any other earthly gratification; which no less in the prosecution than the acquisition, would have given the lie both to them and their principles at once.

But, passing over the credibility of their testimony, it should be observed, that the miracles performed by them in proof of their missions, were mostly in the presence of the people, so that both the time and place of their performance have been distinctly pointed out. And further, they exhorted men to embrace the Christian Religion in those very places in which these miracles had been performed, and during the time in which many were still living, who had seen our Lord himself. A few days, moreover, after his resurrection, Peter, with the rest of the Apostles, rose up in the midst of the people of Jerusalem, and thus addressed them*: "Ye men of Israel hear these words; Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you by miracles and wonders and signs, which God did by him, in the midst of you .... him.... Ye have taken.... and have slain, whom God hath

* Acts ii. 22.

aised up." Now, if no such miracles had taken lace, it would have been the extreme of folly o have called upon persons to bear witness to hem, and particularly so, when this was made reason why they should embrace a new religion.

But, waving the arguments to be drawn from he testimony of the Apostles in proof of the eality of the mission of Jesus, still it may be bundantly proved by a comparison of the ancient rophecies of the Jews, with the heathen writers f Rome. For it is foretold both in the Law nd the Prophets that a person, who should be alled the Messiah, should appear after a certain umber of years, (which number is also speci- ed) and before the destruction of Jerusalem, nd that he should be put to death: that his eligion should not consist in mere outward bservances: and that, beginning with him, it hould spread throughout all nations. Now, there re three historians * of Rome, who lived during he first hundred years after Christ, (at the ery time in which his religion began to be ade known) and who agree in relating, that person named Christ was put to death in erusalem in the time of Tiberias Cæsar, (the ery time which had been foretold in the

* Suetonius, Tacitus, and Pliny the younger. Vide Grot. e Veritate Christ. Relig. Lib. ii. §. 2.

prophecies of the Jews) and that the Religion which is called Christian had originated with him, and had then spread itself throughout the whole Roman Empire. That his Religion does not consist in outward observances is more clear than the mid-day sun. And as no other person answering these descriptions has hitherto appeared, we conclude that he is the promised Messiah, who had been foretold by the Prophets.

THE END OF MR. MARTYN'S THIRD TRACT.

THE REJOINDER OF

MOHAMMED RUZA OF HAMADAN,

IN ANSWER TO

Mr. MARTYN's TRACTS.

In the name of the compassionate and merciful God.

Let praise be ascribed to God the Lord of created beings—benediction and peace to the chosen, the teachers, the followers of Mehdi*, and reward to the pious. But to proceed. Let it be observed, that although the attainment of truth appears to depend upon argument and demonstration, yet it in fact results solely from the divine grace and teaching. Argument and demonstration however, are with us, the means by which knowledge is to be obtained; but they are, at the same time, dispensations of grace: that too, which stimulates a mind unshackled by prejudice to search after the truth, is a gift derived from the same source.

* The last of the twelve Imàms, who, according to the followers of Ali, is now concealed, and shall again appear at the end of the world.

There are many, however, upon whose minds the most conclusive arguments take no effect: which may be ascribed, either to a fondness for scepticism, or to an undue surrender of the will to the suggestions of Satan. There are others, again, who, upon the first discovery of truth, receive it as something congenial to their nature, and, accordingly, acquiesce in its requirements. "This is the free grace of God: he bestoweth the same on whom he pleaseth. And God will lead whom he pleaseth to the true religion*."

A request was made sometime ago by one Henry Martyn, a Christian Padre, that our spiritual friends (may God increase their number) would produce a few of their most convincing arguments in favour of the mission of Mohammed, from a consideration of which he might be enabled the more clearly to discover, and accordingly to embrace, the truth. Our celebrated Professor, hoping for a good result, complied with his request; and, in a short time, produced a brief but comprehensive Treatise on this subject, such as could not fail both to convince and satisfy every candid enquirer. The Padre does not appear to have received any advantage from the perusal of this really unanswerable Tract; and has advanced, in reply to the

* Al Koran, Vol. II. p. 424, &c.

Professor's arguments, a few of his reasons for doubting; which are nothing more than false allegations and mistakes. He apologizes, at the same time, that notwithstanding the frequent and careful consideration which he had given to the subject, he was compelled to confess, that he had hitherto found nothing satisfactory: and trusts, that this confession will not be construed as resulting from an unwillingness to do justice to the question, but from the doubts which had arisen in his own mind.

It is on this account that the least of the least (and without any other qualification than that which he has derived from the doctrine of the Imams) Mohammed Ruza Ibn Mohammed Amín of Hamadán (may God be propitious to both) has, in obedience to the command of the king, &c.* and notwithstanding his numerous avocations, written the following reply. This he has done with all the expedition possible, and in as natural and easy a style as the subject would admit of; because it was his wish that the book might be both intelligible and serviceable to every class of readers; and that all might perceive the Padre's inability to advance any conclusive argument in favour of his opinions: and also, that what he takes for arguments are the mere effects

* The passages omitted contain a long string of compliments not worth the trouble of translating.

of prejudice, which he has inherited from his forefathers, and which he must have rejected upon the perusal of our Professor's Tract, had he possessed a grain of candour.

The writer now proceeds to his work, which he styles, "A guide for those who are in error, in which the reality of the mission of Mohammed will be established." The work will be divided into a preface, two sections, and a conclusion*. The Author now, depending on the grace of God, proceeds to

THE PREFACE,

IN WHICH WILL BE SHEWN THE NECESSITY OF HAVING THE MIND FREE FROM DOUBT AND SCEPTICISM, AND OF ADORNING BOTH THE INTERIOR AND EXTERIOR WITH RECTITUDE AND TRUTH.

IT is very well known, that, in questions involving difficulties, persons endued with the clearest intellectual capacities should exercise the closest and most unwearied attention; and even then, that discussion and mere dispute will effect nothing—that however well the premises might be laid down and confirmed, or the conclusions drawn, there will be no real success, unless the mind be divested of prejudice, and God himself second the endeavour.

This, candid reader, is with considerate people,

* There is either some mistake in the MS. or the Author has not wholly regarded this division, as will be seen hereafter.

a matter too important to be treated with levity; because, doubts and scruples which have been allowed to remain long in the mind, are seldom got rid of without the greatest difficulty; and in many cases never. For, when the hopes and fears have long been acted upon by the opinions implanted by early education, and cherished as hereditary; not to mention the secular and ecclesiastical preferments sometimes kept in view by those who hold them, as well as the dread of general reproach usually attending a change of religious opinions, it is found, that recourse is often had to mere dispute, and sometimes to a wilful perseverance in error, in preference to an ingenuous confession of the truth. And when respect is had to wealth alone, and every hope of its acquisition must be abandoned upon receiving what is known to be right, the probability is, that error will for a long time be persevered in: though a time may come, however distant it may now seem to be, when such an one will acquiesce in the new religion.

To possess the candour, however, already alluded to, is the province of those whose sole object is to serve God; and who, upon discovering the truth, not only get rid of all their prejudices, but heartily embrace it. May God grant that the doctrine of Mohammed and his descendants may be the portion of us and of those

SECTION I.

On the necessity of benignity and a disposition to pardon in the character of the Deity.

Of the truth of the following proposition there has never been any doubt entertained by the learned, viz. That any thing, in which the mind can be made to acquiesce as a good, will eventually become the motive of exertion for its attainment.

The attainment of such good, however, is not placed within the power or will of man alone: and its existence depends solely on God, whose character is such as necessarily to produce it, that there may be a motive for exertion. Now, any good, the attainment of which is placed within the power of man, is often treated with indifference and neglect. But when this originates with God, man has a proper motive for exertion, which will accordingly become operative; and the consequence will be, the attainment of the object in view, and the fulfilment of the divine will. In other words, it is by these means that man is made strictly obedient to his Maker. But to make the matter plainer by example. Suppose some one to cite another to appear before him, and to know at the same time, that the citation would be disregarded unless a letter of safe con-

duct were granted, and conveyed to the person so cited, by one of the citer's particular friends, and this evincing a disposition to be lenient. Now, in this case, the process employed would most likely be effective, from the consideration of its benignity; which is exactly what Theologians believe of the dispensations of the Deity. To recur once more to our illustration. Suppose it should be necessary for some one to cite another to appear before him, knowing, at the same time, that the person so cited will not appear, unless a benign disposition be evinced in the citer; who, from the nature of the case, has it in his power so to act. Suppose, again, he should neglect to evince such disposition: there would be no doubt, in this case, of the complete failure of the citer; which to an intelligent person would be a disgrace. We are authorized, therefore, in coming to the conclusion, that benignity is a necessary part of the character of the Deity.

If it should be replied, that in common life we see many without so much as the means of acquiring a subsistence; and, who, after trying every lawful means, fail of success. A person thus reduced will perhaps be compelled to have recourse to theft; in the prosecution of which, he may be killed by another endeavouring to defend his own property. Upon this, the relations of the deceased may demand the price of blood; which may compel the manslayer to have

recourse to lying and perjury: and thus, from one particular mishap, may arise much public calamity and wickedness. Now, the circumstance of a Deity infinitely wise and powerful, and consequently acquainted both with this person and affair in its first stages, but still withholding the means which would have prevented both the sin and the sorrow thus occasioned, (the granting of which would have been an exhibition of the benignity in question) must be a sufficient proof that no such benignity enters necessarily into his character. The only point that can be urged is, a necessity of the Deity's affording that means for the attainment of any good, which in the technical language of the Learned is termed *grace;* but it cannot be shewn to be necessary in the Deity to exhibit this: for to be grace it must be free. Besides, we see multitudes innumerable both of infidels and heretics, who have continued for years in the ways of error, and who do so still; and yet no guide has been sent to them, who might afford them an instance of the divine benignity, in delivering them from the ways and consequences of sin; The answer is this: There can be no doubt that the ways in which the Deity deals with man, and which are compatible with his omniscience, are two: one by grace or favour; the other by neglect or disregard. In some, circumstances are so ordered that, both internally and externally, nothing but prosperity is

experienced: and this prosperity in continual augmentation. The happy recipient is, in his progress, daily removed farther and farther from sin and sorrow, is brought into nearer communion with the Deity, and put in possession of greater degrees of religious knowledge and experience. In others, who are the objects of disregard, there may be some knowledge of the divine will, and some progress both in holiness and happiness: but, upon the whole, they will be exposed to so many difficulties, and met by so many obstacles in their career, that they will eventually give up all for lost. In the first case, the effect is by Theologians ascribed to the grace of God; in the second, to his disregard. The person therefore who is predestinated to be a reprobate, can never become an object of the divine teaching. The case, moreover, adduced falls under this head: and therefore the means of prosperity would never be placed within the reach of such a person. The supposition too, namely, that had the Deity provided such an one with the lawful means of subsistence, so as to have supplied his necessities at the outset, he would not, in all probability, have been implicated in sin and sorrow, is a mere sally of the imagination, and not to be regarded. The truth is, that had such person been provided with property a thousand times greater than that which he is supposed to have taken unlawfully, he would nevertheless have been implicated in sin. And, upon the whole, were

not all subsequent events regulated by him who is the first Great Cause, it is impossible his will could be finally accomplished. There can be no doubt, however, that all are not placed in this state of reprobation; whence will appear the necessity of the Deity producing and bringing into action, that which will lead men into the way of truth, and at the same time enable them to perform his will; otherwise the divine intentions could never be accomplished. But to enter into a minute investigation of the doctrines of free grace and reprobation, would here be out of place, as involving discussions too extensive for the limits of this Tract. Those who wish to consider these questions at length, may have recourse to the Author's Commentary on the (در النظیم that is, a work entitled the) Strung Pearl of Khákáni.

As to a state of optimism in nature, could it be shewn to be advantageous on the whole; or, in other words, could a reason be given why such a state should exist, but none why it should not, the neglect to have made the present such, would inevitably imply some defect in the Deity, which would be palpably absurd and impious. The whole we can know then on this point is, that cause and effect are not more intimately connected with each other, than these, again, are with those motives, which form the best stimulants to exertion: and further, that some of these are placed within, and others without, the sphere of human control.

There can be no doubt, in the next place, that whenever it is proposed to bring about any event by the agency of another, it will be necessary for him who proposes to do so, to bring into existence and action motives sufficient for such exertion. Now the means employed by the first Great Cause for this end, are primarily vested in himself; and hence, are in a situation best adapted to bring about the end he has in view. But if such means existed not at all, or were not brought into action, such agent would necessarily become remiss; and the ends of the first Great Cause fail of accomplishment. Whence we infer, that such causes do exist, and are revealed in the character of the Deity, as necessary motives for exertion in man.

Having then premised thus much, let it be observed in the next place, that the existence of a Prophet, or Apostle, who is his vicegerent, and from whom the same may be expected as there may from a Prophet, is, in the estimation of Theologians, of the second kind. That is, he is considered as one of those means by which the divine intentions may be accomplished; but without which, this would be impossible. And the divine intentions are, that men may advance towards perfection by the cultivation of every virtue, both practical and theoretical, and avoid the extremes incident to both.

If however, it should be supposed that men may possibly make great advances in virtue without the intervention of the means above-mentioned; still it would be certain that none whatever could be made in the more recondite particulars of the Divine Law, and which constitute a material part of religious duty. Nor could it be known how the morning prayer ought to be performed, whether, for instance, it should consist of two prostrations or more, in order to insure its acceptance. And, in the same manner, would the very fundamentals of religion, its necessary rites and ceremonies, no less than what is contrary to the will of God, and injurious to the interests of religion, be unknown, until some one sent from him should give the necessary information on these points. And, upon the whole, the mysteries as well as the experience of religion, must for ever have been shut up in impenetrable darkness, had they not been revealed by the intervention of a Prophet or his Vicegerent, who had received the same from God.

We have arrived at the conclusion, therefore, that, however any one may be desirous of adorning his outward character with those virtues which appear the most likely to give him a place in the Divine favour, without the aid of one duly qualified to instruct him in these particulars; that is, without the assistance of either a Pro-

phet divinely inspired, or his Vicegerent, it is utterly impossible he can succeed.

The following anecdote, to this effect, is told of Plato. When Plato had heard of the mission of Jesus he wrote to him the following letter*. "Spirit of God, I know that thy mission has been undertaken in order to bring about the perfection of the imperfect. I want to know, whether a person, having a knowledge of the true God, has any need of thy instruction, or not. The answer of Jesus was this: "Divine Physician! Without my mediation no one can be saved." But, waving all argument, every one, who has had the least experience, either in the world or religion, very well knows, that no progress whatever is to be made in holiness without the intervention of a Prophet or his Vicegerent; and, that the object of their mission is, that means may be afforded for a progress in this: and, further, that until their instruction be submitted to, one step is never advanced towards communion with the Deity, nor does one grain of seed, capable of growing up to improvement, find its way into the soul.

The following considerations will throw some light on this subject. It is sufficiently clear that man is composed of soul and body, and is termed,

* A most grievous anachronism this! Plato must have been dead 300 years at least before our Lord's incarnation.

In the dereliction of laudable principles and practices, we know, the mind does take a turn for the worse: (for alas! our intellectual powers are weak, our sensual ones strong and overbearing) so that the understanding is at length debilitated to such a degree, as to have no means left, by which its strength might be repaired: and thus is its dominion utterly destroyed. For the efforts made by the faculties of the body can avail nothing in recovering those of the mind, when the mind itself is subdued by lust. The state of one thus unhappily circumstanced, is such as to involve him in endless error: for when his mind has allied itself with Folly, which never fails to superinduce the most incurable negligence and blindness, the ways of Satan acquire a delightfulness, which even a sense of open rebellion against his

lect, which he formed out of light: the second was Folly, which was formed out of a dark and burning lake. To Intellect was given an army consisting of seventy five cohorts; and Virtue became its prime minister. Folly was exceedingly envious at this, and requested a similar army, which was granted; and Vice became its prime minister. Hence, Faith and Infidelity, Truth and Falsehood, with all the attendants on both leaders, became opposed to each other, and waged continual war.—The story concludes by informing us, that all the partizans of Intellect are found to concur in none but a Prophet or his Vicegerent; and that there is no one among the faithful, in whom either the one or the other is not to be found.—Is not this a fragment of the ancient Persian doctrine of the two principles?

God seems unable to diminish; and which finally ends in ruin. Hence have arisen the contentions which have divided mankind; and hence have the paths which lead to good, as it respects either this world or the next, been covered with obstacles, and many who have travelled therein, been implicated in ruin. Every one at all conversant with religion has felt, and can attest the truth of these remarks: and must be sensible, that to deny their validity would be an outrage on common sense.

The object then here had in view is, that the faculties with which man has been endued may by the divine teaching not only be restrained from excess, but confirmed in those habits of virtue which accompany true wisdom, and which constitute human perfection.

Now every one very well knows, that this restraint and this knowledge far exceed the natural capacities of man:—that in common life, every complaint requires a particular remedy; and every remedy a particular constitution to act upon. The occupations in which man is necessarily engaged, tend, from the very first, to bring on habits of worldly mindedness, rather than those of virtue. Whence will appear the necessity that some one should define the remedy which is most wanted; and impart that divine knowledge, which will liberate man from the service of sin, and put him in possession of that

degree of virtue, for which he has been so admirably formed.

The commands and prohibitions which have been revealed for this end, are such as both experience and good sense have found to be effective: and the object of which is, to bring man into communion with his God. There is no doubt, however, that all men have not the privilege of receiving these immediately from the hands of the Almighty; nor further, that he does not afford to all, that of which they stand most in need. Hence will appear the necessity of some divine teacher, who should be so constituted, with regard to intellectual and corporeal endowments, as to preserve a perfect equilibrium of disposition, and to be removed from every species of excess. In his intellectual powers, approaching towards the divine perfections; in his corporeal ones, such as to be a proper member of society. In the one respect, subject to the Divine commands himself: in the other, a bearer of these to others. And thus, exercising his divine functions with the good and virtuous, he should impart such instructions as would suit the capacities of each; and finally lead them from the path of error to that of salvation. With the wicked and rebellious too, whether learned or unlearned, his commission will enable him not only to correct with authority, but to restrain with effect: and thus, either to awaken them from a

state of indifference by his precepts and example, or, at least, to subject them to the requirements of the Law. And by thus administring to the furtherance and comfort of those who believe, to engage their more earnest endeavours for the acquisition of that happiness and perfection, which shall attend them in both worlds.

Such a leader then, who has it in his power either to execute or dispense with the divine counsels, without the danger of mistake, is in the language of Theologians termed a Prophet, or his Vicegerent. With him who is infinitely wise and good, the end here had in view, must have appeared necessary, and the mission of such a person indispensible. From the Tracts of the Padre also, wherein he endeavours to ascertain which is the true religion, it appears that he holds the same opinion; although he has failed in his object, and omitted to say which of the Christian sects is in the right. Some of his expressions, however, intimate, that he believes Jesus to have been the particular Prophet of God: and, that his mission was not only necessary, but undertaken for the instruction of mankind, and to deliver them from the temptations of Satan, and the effects of sin. If the Padre had, like other foolish and ignorant Christians, contended for the divinity of Jesus, for his exclusive prophetic mission, for the doctrine of the two natures,—of the Trinity—the descent of the Holy Ghost, or

of union with the Deity, or of any other subject manifestly implying infidelity, plurality of Gods, or Sadduceism, we should not have attempted to refute him; because such statements would have been unworthy of consideration. Still it appears from one of his Tracts*, that he does not consider Jesus as the servant, but as the word of God. And he asserts that God consists of a soul, a spirit, and a word; which is a manifest confession of the doctrine of the Trinity.

The only way to correct this, however, in such a manner as to superinduce no confused notions respecting the unity of the Deity, or of the simplicity of his nature is, by supposing that none of these things apply to the person of Jesus. All things were indeed created for the Word, as it appears both from the Koran and the decisions of the learned. "If the sea were ink, to write the *words* of my Lord, verily the sea would fail, before the *words* of my Lord would fail, &c.†"

Upon the whole then, were the Padre's book more free from error than it is, we should conceive it to be our duty to refute what is wrong, and to confirm what is right. We say therefore (and to God we look for assistance) that, as the Padre, no less than our own Doctors, has allowed

---

* P. 117. † Sale's Koran, Vol. II. p. 122.

the necessity of such a leader as could assist the helpless and reclaim the wandering, by imparting such knowledge as would be sufficient for this, he cannot but also allow, that the same necessity must have existed from the days of Adam to those of Mohammed. Besides, the necessity of such an instructor must, in process of time, have become more and more apparent: because those whose religious habits were in daily exercise, would necessarily become more and more prepared for further information. In the mean time various opinions are broached, which soon become as many religions: and the ignorant, who are always the most boisterous, making the best of the opportunity, pass themselves off for learned men. Some too, misunderstanding the declarations of the Prophet, act in direct opposition to his word. Others willingly and wittingly falsify it. The consequence of which must be, that those who are in quest of truth must be involved in doubt, and finally give up all for lost.

Now, with respect to such differences of opinion, every one, to whatever sect or party he may belong, very well knows that they affect both high and low, rich and poor; and that they bring their doubts with them. If then, at a time when no dispute could have arisen, but what originated from the two principles vested in man, there was a necessity for a Divine instructor, must not the same necessity exist, when, in addition to these,

the whole of mankind are divided in opinion? To suppose this is not the case, must result either from a want of reflection, or from forgetfulness that such a teacher was at first necessary.

This will perhaps be better understood from the consideration, that the Prophets are the Physicians of the soul. Their existence then must have always been necessary for the relief of those who could receive benefit from no other quarter. Nor, upon the recovery of one individual would the existence of such a Physician have become unnecessary; because, day after day, others subject to similar infirmities would be brought into existence. And, until man shall cease to exist, his want of such a Physician must continue. But the fact is, the disease alluded to every where abounds; and, what is worse, it is daily on the increase: whence it should follow, not only that this necessity has always existed, but that it daily becomes more and more apparent. A Being therefore, infinitely wise and compassionate, whose love is exerted towards them that fear him, no less than his pity towards those who are in error, must have seen that to bring such a person into existence was absolutely necessary—that he should raise up some one for this purpose, and make it binding upon mankind to render all due respect and obedience to him.

Then might it indeed be hoped, that the great company of travellers who traverse the desert of

the earth, may be protected from the robbers and beasts of prey which every where beset them; and be at last safely lodged in their destined place of rest: and, that when the time of his departure shall have arrived, another, charged with the same commission of mercy, may supply his place. In this case, should the circumstances of the times be such as not to call for the abrogation of existing laws, the Vicegerent of a Prophet would suffice: but, should they be otherwise, one charged with powers sufficient for that purpose, would become necessary. If then the existence of such personage be at all necessary, and the learned are agreed that it is, the same necessity must have always existed: and we now call upon our opponent to prove, if he can, that this is not the case; and to shew, that if such leader be not always necessary, at what time his presence is more particularly required.

If it be said that such a spiritual guide, endued with the power of working miracles—of enforcing his precepts by the promises and threats of future rewards and punishments—and of instructing men in the rites and ceremonies to be observed in religion, would indeed at first be necessary; but, when a number of the wise and good, sufficiently large to succeed him in his office, had embraced his doctrines, there could be no further need either of another teacher, or of

other revelations; We answer: What has here been stated is a mere supposition, and that supposition is absurd. But, if we allow the supposition not to be absurd, still the thing supposed is: for if these learned and pious men be supposed to have arrived at that degree of purity and zeal for maintaining the truth, which a Prophet has, our point is not at all affected; because, in this case, they will be his Vicegerents. And if they should not, our position would still stand good. For men, who may be termed just, are not wholly exempt from error. Their carnal faculties have not been entirely subdued by their intellectual ones, so as to guard them effectually from mistake: and hence, the authority and reverence due to a Prophet will be withheld from them. Besides, the cases which will occur in the experience of believers will be innumerable. From general precepts, in such cases, particular decisions must be deduced. In these deductions recourse must be had to the reasoning powers; and in the application of these, doubts and uncertainty will again appear: so that the necessity which first called for a divine instructor will be now more apparent than ever. And again, some one may arise whose reasoning powers may be much more acute than those of his predecessors. In such a case, therefore, to say, as the Sonnee do, that all must follow the example of their pre-

decessors is absurd*: for their Doctors hold, that both the virtuous and the learned, who shall hereafter appear, will all be bound to follow the steps of their predecessors. We are compelled therefore to follow that conclusion which is clear and necessary, and to reject this doctrine of *example* which involves in itself difference of opinion: because every one knows that from difference of opinion arises confusion; and that men are by this retarded in their progress towards perfection. Upon the whole then, since the necessity of obedience now rests upon man which did at the first, the necessity that the Deity should now provide the same means for its accomplishment as he did then, must also exist. On the other hand, to suppose that it was necessary, in the first instance, that a divine instructor should be sent; but in the second, that mankind should be given up to the guidance of the learned, who are subject to mistake and error (allowing too that no such characters have been stamped upon their minds as have been upon those of the Prophets:

* It has been shewn in a note (pp. 78-9.) that the word *Sonna* means the general practice of the Prophet. The Sonnee (or orthodox Mohammedans) seem to have received this title, not because they receive the traditions; for this the Shiah or followers of Ali also do; but because they hold, that to follow the practice of their predecessors will be sufficient for salvation.

and the difficulty of rendering a sincere obedience being now the same, or greater than it was at the first) is manifestly absurd and wrong. We conclude, therefore, that at all times and every where the existence either of a Prophet or his Vicegerent has not only been necessary, but indispensible: and that such person has, from the very creation to the present moment, either openly or secretly been in existence, as the followers of Ali believe.

From this conclusion will also appear the folly of all other religions, none of which concur with the Shiah in this article. For the belief of the Jews is, that since the destruction of the second Temple, no Prophet has appeared among them. And the Christians say, not that Jesus was concealed, but that he was cut off: that the Jews put him to death, after which he rose again, and ascended into heaven. And in a word, there is no sect, if you except the Shiah, who hold this opinion, which has here been demonstrated to the true one; and the contrary to which, has been shewn to be improbable and wrong.

Should, however, our opponent reply, that the mission of one Prophet was at first necessary, but that the work of instruction could afterwards have been carried on by the Learned; and that, therefore, any change in Religion, no less than the abrogation of certain precepts, would be unnecessary; We answer; It must hence follow, that

the mission of every Prophet except Adam must have also been unnecessary, which he however will not allow; for he supposes the mission of every Prophet, except that of Mohammed, to have been necessary; though he has not shewn why that was unnecessary. Perhaps it will be said, that either the intellectual faculties of men of his times stood in need of no such instructor; or that dispute and rebellion against God had disappeared; or, that the capacities of men had, during the period of six hundred years, in which they had been subject to the precepts of the Messiah, made no progress; and that their services had produced no fruits. But if he supposes, that the difference of opinion then existing, together with the advanced stage of the human intellect, to have presented sufficient reason for the appearance of another teacher, it will be difficult for him to say, why he who is the first Cause should have disregarded this. For, in such a case, it would have been incumbent on him to have sent another Prophet, who should, like a skilful Physician, heal the wounds of his people, and continually have in view their health and comfort. And, upon the supposition that this had not taken place, universal confusion and ruin must have been the consequence.

If then the whole family of mankind should consist of not more than two persons, it must follow, from the preceding considerations, that

one of these must be either a Prophet or his Vicegerent.

If it be said, that the advantages to be derived from the mission of a Prophet or his Vicegerent, can only affect those times in which he lived, or those persons with whom he was conversant; but, that after his death or concealment they can be advantageous to none, as is the case with the last Imàm, in whom the Shiah place their confidence; and who, as they say, has now been concealed for upwards of a thousand years; We answer: To derive advantage from him depends upon two conditions. One is, that the Deity allow his existence: the second, that men voluntarily submit to his controul. These we believe are necessary, that men may not have an argument of excuse against God, after the mission of the Prophets. If this were not the case, it would follow, either that a Prophet must not be subject to death, or that a great part of his labour must be thrown away: for it is possible that upon the first delivery of his message none may believe; and but very few after the labour of many years. But this is not the case; nor has any one supposed, that such labours have ever been thrown away. Suppose, for instance, some king to send a confidential servant for the purpose of administring justice in a certain part of his dominions: and suppose some oppressed person to have carried his complaint before him, and to have

been relieved; would any one say, in this case, that what the king had done was labour thrown away? Would they not rather say, that he had done his duty, and had thus removed the possibility of being accused of neglecting his subjects?

It will be objected perhaps, that if this king be supposed to be omniscient, and to know that his subjects would make no appeals to such confidential officer, would not such appointment be useless? We answer: That to deprive men of an excuse, in this respect, is of the utmost importance; because no one, excepting the king himself, could possibly know that men would not make such appeals, or suppose that he was unable to afford redress. For people would naturally say, that the administration of justice was the concern of the king: had he appointed proper officers we should have obeyed. But, when such officers have been appointed, this excuse is effectually met, and the king is justified in punishing the offender. It must appear then, that there are certain advantages derived from the mission of a Prophet or his successor, which might not occur to common observation: but as these have been detailed at length by Theologians, want of room will justify their omission here.

Such objections, therefore, can have no real weight with considerate people: because it is well known both from history and tradition, that many Prophets have been sent for the instruction

of mankind, who have not only been disregarded, but in many instances put to death. Others, like Noah, have preached for years without exciting the least attention; but at last have made a few converts. The preaching of Noah, we learn, was continued through a period of nine hundred and fifty years; and when at last circumstances became pressing, and he determined to destroy mankind by the flood, those who had joined him and were admitted to the ark, did not exceed eight persons. But if the want of Prophetic missions had been the cause why such did not believe, such missions would surely never have been undertaken. The objection must therefore be vain; and it must appear, which it is indeed our object to shew, that it was incumbent on the Deity never to have left mankind without an Apostle; and that the same will hold good to the end of time; for this reason, that his ways may be vindicated, as in the instances alluded to. If in such a case people obey, well; but if they do not, it will be but right, as in the present instance, that such Apostle should withdraw himself. Because mankind will confessedly become his enemies and opposers. Such then, let it be remembered, is the scope of the divine counsels on this point; and to disregard which, has ever been attended with much error and consequent misery.

It is one of the sayings of the Padre, that he wished to see a good metaphysical proof made

out, in support of the Shiah faith. The author of this Tract has, without intending personal offence, or, being unnecessarily captious afforded him the proof he required: the next point to be ascertained is, whether the Padre is really in quest of the true religion or not: as the present enquiry has been conducted by such argument alone, as must be sufficient for every candid enquirer. Verse, "If the person be at home, a word will suffice." It appears from some passages in the Padre's Tracts, that he believes Jesus to have been the last Prophet; and, as he also believes that he was put to death, and has ascended to heaven, it must follow that mankind, thus left without a divine leader and guide, must be reduced to a degree of want and misery, which it is incompatible with sound reason to allow.

SECTION II.

On the Padre's Replies to Mirza Ibrahim.

It should be observed, that the Tract of the Professor is written in the Arabic, and those of the Padre in the Persic Language. It is our intention to translate the Professor's Tract into the Persic, that the scope of both may the more plainly appear, and particularly the object and failure of the Padre.

The Professor had said (p. 2.) that a miracle is an effect which exceeds common experience.

"True," replies the Padre, "for the very object of a miracle is to shew, that he who performs it has been sent from God, &c." (p. 80-1.) "And hence it appears, that a miracle must exceed universal, and not particular, experience*." We reply; It appears from these words of the Padre, viz. "This cannot be known except by some act exceeding human power," that he carries human experience to the utmost limit of possibility; which is to mistake the question in the very outset, as we shall presently shew: for the wonders† wrought by the saints, although contrary to experience, do not exceed human power: the only difference between a miracle and a wonder being, that the miracle must be accompanied by a challenge to produce the like‡, which is not necessary for the wonder.

If however it be objected, that the wonders wrought by the saints are not brought about by human power alone; because man, considered as such, can have no power by which he can effect a change in the essence of things, otherwise any individual could do the same; and that these

* In making the citations from the foregoing tracts, I shall, in order to avoid repetition, give the beginning and end only of the passages, referring the reader to the pages in which they are found.

† See the definitions pp. 2 and 3.

‡ This is not wholly true, for, according to the definition, the miracle must also be accompanied by a claim to Prophecy.

wonders are effected by the divine energy with which they have been favoured in consequence of their self-denial and piety. And hence, as they have arrived at that state of perfection, which designates them as the servants of the Most High, and subdues their will to the obedience of his, works done by them should rather be referred to God as their proper author: We answer: What then must be said with regard to those extraordinary acts, which are occasionally performed by infidels, such, for example, as the Brahmans of India? Who are so far from possessing purity of mind, that they are immersed in every spiritual impurity.

Hence also will appear the futility of another of the Padre's assertions, namely, "The very object of a miracle is to shew, that he who performs it has been sent from God." For when we have seen that extraordinary acts have been performed by infidels, how are we to know by any such act, that he who performs it has come from God, but by the addition of some particular, disabling the pretender from passing himself off as a Prophet? And when this has been done, what necessity can there be, that such act exceed universal experience? If then the claim of any pretender be thus rendered abortive, the inability of that people, to which any Prophet has been sent, to produce the like, will be quite sufficient to establish his claim. But, if this be not sufficient, the perform-

ance of any extraordinary act whatever will also be insufficient to establish a claim to prophecy.

In the second place, the assertion that universal and not particular experience must be exceeded, cannot be allowed; because, as we have already shewn, to exceed the experience of some so far as to produce an assurance that such claimant is a Prophet, is quite sufficient. But suppose we allow that universal experience must be exceeded, the question now is, how are we to know when this has been done? For, if it be supposed, that all men must make the utmost effort possible, in order to be convinced that they are unable to bring about the effect in question (which is manifestly the drift of the Padre's reasoning) there can be no doubt of the impossibility of such experiment being ever made. It is impossible then to know the power of all who may live at the time such a claim is made, and much more of those who have been long ago dead, or of those who shall hereafter be born. Besides, what art or act is there, in which all men are experienced, if we except the ordinary and necessary habits of eating, drinking, sleeping, and the like? And again, must we not, according to this principle, deny the mission of every Prophet; because, forsooth, candid enquirers cannot satisfy themselves of the reality of his mission? and because it may be supposed, that some one may arise hereafter, who will be able to equal his miracle?

If then, all the present inhabitants of the earth should have tried their strength, and found it unequal to the production of such extraordinary effect, still we should be ignorant whether it were a miracle or not; because we must also have the testimony of all the ancients, to which must be added that of all posterity, in order to assure us of the extent of human power: which is sufficiently absurd.

But, suppose we allow that all have experience in the art, to which such act may be referred, how are we to know, in this case, that all have exerted their efforts to the utmost? For there are very few, and perhaps none, who ever do, in the prosecution of their several professions, thus exert themselves. If then the path marked out by the Padre be that in which truth is to be found, we have no hesitation in affirming, that it can be trodden by none; and that the mission of no Prophet can possibly be established. We also affirm, that were a person who makes a claim to prophecy not a human individual, the opinion of the Padre, waving what has already been said, might be tolerable: but, as this is not the case, it might be supposed (according to him) that what such claimant performs must be ascribed to the exertion of human, and not of divine, power. But it is well known, that the power of one individual is sufficient to determine that of others; whence it will follow, that inability to perform such act is

sufficient; but, that to ascertain the power of all (with respect to such act) is both unnecessary and impossible.

By ascertaining then the inability to produce such extraordinary effect, we arrive at an assurance of the reality of any prophetic mission. Those too who are capable of performing *wonders** are hence compelled to allow the reality of such mission: for otherwise, they would be deprived of this power: it being an established maxim, that it is vested in the hands of none, but those who confess the truth. It follows then, that the path of truth is, in this particular, guarded by one of the soundest conclusions. A conclusion not drawn from the necessity of universal and individual effort; but dependant on such a quantity of exertion, as will produce an assurance of the reality of such mission. And this quantity of exertion we estimate at that of a great and populous nation.

With respect to the Padre's assertion, (p. 81.) namely: "But if it be said, that the power of one community is sufficient to determine that of mankind, why may not the same be said of any one family? or of three, two, or even one individual? We answer: The Padre's reasoning, in this place, rests upon a manifest misconception of the argument: for it was not our intention,

* See note, p. 2.

in using the word *community*, to be understood to mean one, two, or three individuals, although the (Arabic) word here used sometimes means no more; but to intimate a number not less than that of a third or fourth of all mankind; and by this means to prove, that all mankind, no less than the Arab nation, is unable to produce an equal to the miracle in question. No one will perhaps deny that the Arabs are thus numerous, and particularly if he take into the account all those who have appeared from their first establishment as a nation to the present day. Now, who cannot see a remarkable difference between one, two, or three individuals, or even a family such as that of Háshim was, and the whole nation of the Arabs? Or, that such a number may be sufficient to determine the power of human nature, when one, two, or three individuals cannot? We must confess we are unable to discover any connexion between these two modes of arguing; and cannot but wonder, that the Padre should not have perceived a considerable differenee between the powers of one individual, and those of a population not less than a million in number. To make the matter plainer by example. A stone of ten thousand pounds weight* may not be

* هزار من. The man, according to the Boorháni Kátia, differs in different places, but at Tebriz is equal to about 10lbs. Troy.

moved by one, two, or perhaps ten persons, but will by two or three hundred, and much more easily by two or three thousand. How then can it be said, that the power of one individual is sufficient to determine that of all, and particularly when such person has not knowledge sufficient to make the most of his strength?

The Arab nation, on the contrary, numerous as we know them to be, have, since the days of Ishmael to the present, cultivated their language with the greatest possible care (and the difference between that in which experience is constant, and that in which it is only occasional, is worth remarking) so that both great and small, male and female, the clever no less than those who are not so, as far as their several abilities have gone, have kept up a continual contest, who should express himself with the greatest ease and elegance.

Now, the same might have taken place in any other language; human nature being every where the same; and that which constitutes human experience being something to which all have been accustomed. The same is true of any art or profession; for in these no one exerts all his efforts. To appeal therefore to the utmost exertion of human power, will be to appeal to that which is not human experience.

We also affirm, that human nature is every where invariably and essentially the same; the

differences which are found to exist, in different individuals, arising solely from some greater or less defect in particular constitutions. Now, upon the supposition that some one should appear subject to no such defect, either intellectual or corporeal, the extent of his power, would determine that of human nature. The necessity of multiplying individuals, in this case, arises solely from the consideration of the defects under which each may severally labour; but, when the trial has been made by ten, a hundred, a thousand, or more, to deny that a failure does not prove an impossibility to produce the like, can never be the result of a sound, but of a diseased mind. It must appear then to every unprejudiced person, that when a nation, such as that of the Arabs is, has from time immemorial cultivated a language, which was at first delivered to them by one endued with the greatest intellectual powers, and no less in dignity than a Prophet of God:—that when the learned of all ages have expended all their time and efforts in adding to its beauties, from a conviction that it contained all that is excellent, with respect to human attainments:—that when an individual appeared making a claim to prophecy, and challenging all to produce an equal to his composition, and resting the merits of his claim on the impossibility of any one doing so:—that when all have confessed their inability to do so, and from this

circumstance refrained from trying their strength in other acts still more difficult, we cannot but come to the conclusion, that what he produced must have exceeded human power.

That some one to be found in India or elsewhere will succeed in equalling such extraordinary act, is a supposition too futile to merit a moment's consideration: nor can it affect our assurance of the truth. Because, as it has already been shewn, this assurance rests not on accident, but on such general usage as constitutes experience. That, therefore, which calls for the obedience of the faithful, depends not on circumstances, but is founded on the assurance which arises from human experience. Upon the whole, to know the extent of human power, depends upon general, and not accidental experience; and this cannot be affected by the statement of supposititious cases. For instance, we know that there is such a river as the Gihon, and such a country as that in its neighbourhood. Now some one might suppose, that the river has become dry, and the country desolate. But as this is a mere supposition, there is no reason why it should affect our belief as above expressed; or that it should deter us, if necessity require, from swearing that the stream of the Gihon is still full and flowing; and that the country about it is fair and flourishing. Such suppositions are no less vain than impious, when

employed in questions of divinity; and are perhaps the real sources, from which both the doubts and prejudices of the Christians have arisen.

We are now enabled to meet another of the Padre's statements, which is this: (p. 81.) "If it be said, that when learned communities are unable to produce an equal, much less can those who are ill-informed, we reply: The inability of the ignorant to perform such acts, consists not in incapacity, but in want of experience: for should others, who have greater experience, make the attempt, it is possible they may succeed." The reply is this: Whenever the number and qualifications of the learned are such, as to make their conspiring for the propagation of falsehood improbable, their confession of inability to produce the like must have resulted from a consciousness that they were unable to do so, and from nothing else. And their number, in this case, being sufficient to determine that of human nature from human experience, the supposition of some prodigy arising hereafter, who shall be their superior both in talent and learning, is too weak to affect an assurance thus obtained. But further, it must follow, that if such extraordinary act had been brought about by magic or the like, it would have been incumbent on God to have met it in such a manner, as was most suitable to the dictates of his divine wisdom. But, in the present instance, this has not taken

place; and in this we have taken for granted, that all have, from common experience, received the conviction that they are unable to produce an equal. Such extraordinary act must therefore be a miracle. In this conclusion no advantage has been taken of the inexperience of the ignorant; on the contrary, it has been shewn, that the inability rests not in want of experience, but of power.

If then the Padre has any thing to say on this first position, it must be, that the number and qualifications of the Arabs were not such as to determine the power of human nature, which would indeed require another answer: but, when he has allowed this, his assertion that it was not in their power to do so, must stand for nothing. It has been shewn, moreover, and will be more fully shewn hereafter, that with respect to this question, their number and qualifications were such, as to leave no doubt on the mind of any.

Our Professor has said (p. 3.) that the object he had in view, namely, the proof of Mohammed's mission, must be determined by three considerations, &c. (to the middle of page 9.) The Padre objects to each of these particulars (p. 82.) and says, "What has been said, in the outset, viz. that a miracle is not necessarily confined to any one art to the exclusion of others, &c." (to the end of the paragraph.)

We reply; This from first to last deserves

animadversion. In the first place, the supposition that "some strange act, which really comes from God, may be performed in a science now unknown, such, for instance, as Alchymy, but could not be said to exceed common experience," is absurd. Because, when it has been supposed that such strange act has come from God, and also that it has been brought about by means, of which men have no knowledge. And when experience has likewise been allowed to be among the means employed by men; such act, when brought about without any such means, must be *contrary* to experience. The science of Alchymy, mentioned by the objector, is of this specific kind. For should any Prophet work a miracle in that, by making up some mixture, for instance, and subjecting it to certain chymical processes, so as to produce elixir or gold, the inability of others to do so, could not be appealed to as a proof, that such act exceeded human experience. Because, should this science become generally known, and men make a similar effort, they may produce a similar effect; and hence it could not be known that such an act proceeded from God. The more probable supposition is, that the ability to produce the like would become general. But should such Prophet turn dross into gold, or dust into elixir, without any other means than the exertion of the will, then there could be no doubt, that such act exceeded human experience. And,

as it has been supposed that such act proceeded from God, it must have been thus brought about, that is, without the intervention of human means. The supposition, therefore, is manifestly absurd: for, to apply it to the art of magic. We know that the effects brought about by magicians surpass the powers of other men, solely because they are inexperienced in that art. Now, according to the above supposition, God must even allow such magicians to accompany some extraordinary act with a challenge to produce the like, notwithstanding the inability of others to shew the fallacy of such claim in any case. But no such thing as this has ever taken place: and indeed it is incumbent on God, either not to permit that it should, or to raise up some one who should demonstrate its futility, or produce its equal. For otherwise, there could be no difference between a real miracle and magic. Hence would the claims of the Prophets thus be met: How are we to know that what has here been advanced as a miracle, is any thing more than the effect of magic; and that our inability to produce the like, does not result from our want of experience? Hence also would it be impossible to establish the Prophetic mission of any one; because every miracle might be supposed to be the effect of magic; and because no one but a magician would be able to know the contrary.

Hence too it will follow, upon the supposition

that there were but one magician in the world, and that he made a claim to prophecy, producing some act of magic as a miracle, that all men would be bound to receive him as such: because there would be no practitioners of the same art, who could inform them of his imposture, or produce an equal to his miracle.

If it be replied: Upon the supposition that he who makes the claim is a magician, men might excuse themselves by saying: As we have not the means of knowing whether this act be a miracle or magic, we must be excused from becoming proselytes; and the same will be our excuse at the day of judgement. Now, allowing this excuse to be good, and to be approved of God, would it not be equally good, should a real Prophet have made the claim? And would it not follow, that a Prophet could not, by the exhibition of a real miracle, establish his claim to prophecy?

The assertion that the real miracles have been such as to leave no doubt of their being so; and that therefore it was always incumbent on God to afford similar ones, is perfectly groundless. For God has afforded to every Prophet such miracles as, according to his own consummate wisdom, he has judged to be fit and proper; we need not, therefore, trouble ourselves farther, by attempting to shew what they ought to have been, which the Padre himself allows, as we shall shew hereafter. We may assert, however, that it was most

consistent with the divine benevolence, that these miracles should be referrible to such arts, as were known and practised in the times in which they were wrought, although the Padre, in his remarks on the Tract of the Professor, objects. The fact is, there has never been any miracle wrought, which may not be referred to the art of magic, except with those who are skilled in that art. And this the objector himself has allowed when he said, "That then would the sentence of God affect those skilled in such arts, but not others who were not*," as will be shewn hereafter.

Besides, the assertion supposes, that five, ten, or even one person, skilled in such art, will be sufficient to determine the extent of human power; which the objector denies; and which he himself afterwards shews to be false.

The opinion of our opponent, that the miracles of Moses and Jesus were such as could not possibly be ascribed to the art of magic, is also untenable (pp. 84-5.) as we shall now shew.

It is very well known that acts, in all appearance similar to those performed by the Prophets, have been performed by Sorcerers, Magicians,

* I have not been able to find this in any of Mr. Martyn's Tracts, nor any passage from which it can be fairly deduced. The only passage which has any resemblance to it occurs in p. 82. "But with regard, &c."

and Jugglers: for to turn a rod into a serpent is not more wonderful than to walk in the air; nor, does the hand of one becoming white and leprous, appear to exceed the production of a hen and eggs, or the extraction of silk of various colours from the mouth, which we ourselves have seen done by the Jugglers of these times. Those too who are skilled in talismans and necromancy have performed, and do still perform, such wonders, as to affect a change in the real essence of things. They are able so to affect the winds as to restrain them from blowing;—both men and animals so as to deprive them of motion. Besides, there was a well known Magician, who kept seven camels in a string; and who, entering in at the mouth of the first, and passing out at his tail, would, with the greatest ease, pass through them all. Of this kind there is much juggling in the world, which, in appearance, is no less wonderful than the miracles of the Prophets; and which can be distinguished by none but those who are well versed in these arts. The opinions, therefore, held by the Theologians of the Shiah, are just, which are, that in such cases as that supposed above, it is incumbent on God to check the claimant; and that when such acts are done in conjunction with a challenge to produce the like, it is certain that the person performing them has come from God; and that it is therefore incumbent on all to be-

lieve in him as such. By this conclusion are refuted all the positions with which the Padre has charged the Tract under consideration, which, from first to last, are grounded on these suppositions alone.

Again, the assertion (p. 82.) that a miracle must be confined to some art, in which men have experience, and in which they can exert effort, or in which they would know the exertion of effort to be fruitless: because, should no effort be exerted, human power would remain unknown; and hence would it also remain unknown, whether such act being unequalled, resulted from a want of power or experience to perform it*, is a mere evasion. Because the Deity must have known, that all men would not thus exert their powers in order to be satisfied that such act was really beyond their ability. Nor is there one in a thousand who ever thinks of such a thing: for if he did, the consequence would be, that the greater part of mankind would be implicated in error and ruin; which is contrary to the benign disposition of God. Besides, it has been shewn, that nothing more is incumbent on the Almighty, in this respect, than to afford assurance, by means of common experience, that such a person has been sent by him: which implies a necessity,

* This is not a direct citation of the passage referred to.

that the extraordinary act alluded to, be referrible to those arts, which are generally known and practised, at the time of its performance; and that those who profess them, be sufficiently numerous to warrant the conclusion that the act itself is inimitable. That is, that the learned know this immediately; the unlearned by their confession of inability to equal it. And, in this way, is it incumbent on the Deity to detect the imposture of a Magician or of any other pretender. It has already been shewn too, that assurance on this point, is not to be expected from the exertions of every individual.

It is further asserted by Theologians, that independent of the circumstances attending the miracles of any one making a claim to prophecy, the truth or falsehood of his pretensions can be ascertained from other considerations, connected with his general life and conduct: so, that should the unwary be imposed upon, the more intelligent have it in their power immediately to detect the fraud. And hence, that miracles are generally intended for the satisfaction of the vulgar, the better informed having other means of forming their conclusions.

From this consideration may be refuted another of the Padre's objections (p. 82.) to the second position of our Professor. The Professor had said, "that a miracle must be known to be such by the confession of the learned, who affirm that

they are unable to produce its equal." He replies, "Their confession in this place must be understood as applying to themselves alone, and not to all mankind: for it is impossible they can know the power of all mankind." Now, if these learned men are supposed to be few, we allow, their decision would be insufficient even for their own assurance*. But if they are many, their decision will be sufficient for the assurance of all. For if we can suppose their assurance to have been such as to have produced conviction, viz. that such claimant is really a Prophet, and that his act exceeds that of human power, must not their submission to him be construed as a confession that his pretensions are real? But if such claimant is a mere pretender, is it not incumbent on the Deity to bring about his detection by one or other of these means? If this be not the case, the consequence must be, that men would be unwarily entrapped in the ways of Satan; which would, without any fault of theirs, finally involve them in ruin; which is absurd.

In the same manner may another of his objections be met, namely, "The inability of the learned to produce an equal, can by no means be construed as a proof, that such act is really

* The writer had probably forgotten, that he had asserted (p. 195.), the opinion of one learned man on this head to be sufficient.

a miracle" (p. 82—3.) Here it may be seen, as before, that if this assertion proves any thing, it proves too much; for it will not only affect the claim of Mohammed, but of every Prophet sent before his time.

In the second place, the learned shew, by their confession, that such act is not produced by the art of Magic; and further, that it exceeds human power. But, should they start an idea, that there may possibly be some one in the world who can produce its equal, we should answer; It is their business to confess the truth at all events: and, that should such claimant be a Magician, it is incumbent on the Deity to make that appear. For, upon the above supposition, which admits of no limit, would the miraculous powers of all the Prophets be denied.

It is probably in connection with this consideration, that the Padre adds (p. 83.) "In this case it might be asked, &c." (to the end of the paragraph, p. 85.) In reply to which we say, The whole is erroneous and false. For in the first place, although the restoration of a dead man to life, by Jesus, cannot be ascribed to the effect of medicine, which has nothing to do with the mere enunciation of a word or the exertion of the will, still it might be ascribed to enchantment. For we ourselves have witnessed the recovery from pains and fevers effected by a mere incantation: from a few lines drawn upon a wall, much trouble and

distress caused: and the spleen removed by driving a nail only into the middle of a cube. The secrets of futurity, we know, are often discovered by means of Astrology, as well as by the art called Jafari*. The effects too of talismans and necromancy are such as to astonish all; while the power of the Magician will deprive a man of his senses, by means of a few ceremonies performed in secret.

It will be difficult to say, whether any of the acts of Moses or Jesus exceeded these; or, whether any one who can remove a pain or fever, by no other means than by merely reciting an

---

* علم جفري. The following account of this art is given by Kempfer in his amænitates exoticæ (pp. 150-1.) "Imamum علي Aali, in catalogo Pontificum sequitur uterque filius حسن *Hasan*, et حسين *Hossein*: hos rectâ lineâ descendentes Imami reliqui novem; ex quibus præ cæteris colitur à Sjaïtis *Imamum* ordine sextus جفر *Dsjafer*, cujus librum in tanto habent pretio, ut eum oraculo comparare, et de *rebus futuris dubiisque in eo sciscitari non dubitent; textum pro effato habentes, quem fortuito inveniunt.* Inde nomine جفري *Dsjaferi*, i. e. *Djsaferiani* appellari *solent.*" The name of the sixth Imàm, however, is جعفر not جفر, and hence the art should be called جعفري not جفري: but custom has dropt the ع. In the India-House Library there is a book treating on this art entitled جفر جامع, of which an account may be seen in Major Stewart's catalogue of Tippoo Sultan's Library (p. 104).

incantation, may not also restore one to life who has been three days dead. We believe he may restore one who has been dead a much longer time.

If it be objected, that no enchanter has hitherto appeared who has, either by his art or the operation of medicine, restored a dead man to life; we reply: It is sufficient for us if they have performed what we have already mentioned; for, their inability to do the rest, may have resulted from their want of experience: as it is well known, that very few acquainted with these arts have hitherto appeared in the world; and that, therefore, the power of human nature, in these respects, is not yet so far known, as to make it certain, that any one thus skilled may not also restore a corpse to life.

It appears, therefore, that the means of ascertaining whether any extraordinary act is a miracle or not, are those already mentioned. And by these we are assured, that inability in act, without recurring to the extent of human power, is sufficient to warrant our conclusions. Otherwise, the miraculous powers of the Prophets would be called in question. For even by them has no miracle hitherto been wrought, referrible to any art whatever (not excepting those of magic and sorcery) in which all have so far exerted their powers, as to have satisfied themselves of their inability to produce its equal.

With regard to the second answer (p. 85.) to the assertion, that it was necessary the Magicians should afford their testimony for the satisfaction of others, it should be remarked, that it was not there meant, that the attestation of Magicians would be necessary in every case ; but only in those which were referrible to their art. And generally, that those skilled in other arts, to which the extraordinary act appeared to attach itself, should afford a similar testimony.

Should it, however, be said, that as every miracle carries with it an appearance of magic, the attestation of Magicians will be necessary in every case, the reply is ; This is a mere creature of the imagination, which has no existence in nature, and which has never yet found its way into the mind of any considerate person.

From the assertion of the Padre (p. 85.) that after the learned have confessed their inability, " it may next be supposed that such act has been brought about by magic," it would follow, that even the works of Jesus may be referred to magic; and that we should now have no means of ascertaining the contrary ; which is nothing more than a repetition of what he had before advanced (p. 83.)

His observation, moreover, that no Magician has hitherto restored a dead man to life, is of no use whatever to his argument. For, according to his own principles, it is necessary that every

individual, skilled in the art to which the miracle attaches itself, should, in order to know his own ability, make the utmost effort possible; and that when this is done, he will be sure that such act exceeds human power.

He does not seem to be aware, that he has here placed the question in such a predicament as not to admit of decision till the day of judgment. For allowing that no Magician has hitherto appeared who could restore a dead man to life, and thus equal the miracle of Jesus, may it not be the fact, that had the Magicians exerted all their efforts, they might have succeeded; and that Jesus is the only one who has done so? Besides, as the world is in a state of improvement, some one may hereafter come, who will equal this miracle. It cannot therefore be said, that universal experience has been exceeded in this case. But we go further and affirm, that should all exert their efforts to the utmost and not succeed, still it could not be known until the day of judgment, that such act is a miracle, and not the effect of magic; or that it exceeds universal experience. Nor even then, will it be known, whether the ancients exerted all their efforts or not; or, that if they had, they might not have succeeded. The truth is, there will be no end to suppositions of this nature, unless we add some other particular to the definition of a miracle, as we have already shewn.

The objections which have been made to the third position of our Professor are the following: viz. "It has been said in the third place, &c." (p. 85. to the end of the paragraph, page 87.) which may be thus answered.

Upon the supposition that we allow no ancient history now to exist, it will not hence necessarily follow, that what the historians have recorded must be false or doubtful. It is probable, however, that many such histories did once exist; and that the want of society, the difficulty of understanding them, or their being written in the Hebrew, Syriac, or Arabic languages, and therefore difficult of access, might have been the reason why they were generally neglected: which we believe to have been the case. Still, there is no reason to doubt the fidelity of those historians which we now possess; or to suppose, that what they have written is untrue: for their general character is, that in the instances in which they are copyists only, they have given no inconsistent or incredible accounts. On the contrary, their relations are such as to be conformable to right reason and the fitness of things, and therefore worthy of credit. To call their accounts in question, therefore, is to attempt to make doubtful what is really not so; but which may possibly be thus accounted for.

The Christians may perhaps have thought it necessary to conceal the fact, that the science of

physic was generally known in the times of Jesus, lest such knowledge might beget doubts in the minds of the vulgar, as to the miracles of Jesus. But that many great Physicians existed among the Greeks, such, for instance, as Socrates, Hippocrates, Plato, and Aristotle, in and near the times of Jesus, there can be no doubt; all of whom were either the teachers or disciples of one another. In the (تاريخ الحكما) history of the Physicians may be found accounts of them all: and such is their celebrity, as to leave no possibility of doubt on the minds of any of their having existed.

It is told of Plato*, that when he heard of Jesus having restored one to life who had been three days dead, he said; I can do the same thing: which we suppose must be understood of a person in the longest possible fit of apoplexy. For it is an established principle with the Physicians, that the longest continuance of an apoplectic fit cannot exceed seventy-two hours; which includes a space of three nights and three days. And hence it is, that when any one dies suddenly, he is not buried for three days; during which time every effort is made for his recovery, because there is still a possibility of his being restored.

* A similar anachronism has been remarked, p. 173.

But to return, if we allow that this science was not generally known in Judea, still it will not follow that it was unknown in other countries.

Again, the expression, "excepting that which Moses himself has given in the Pentateuch" (p. 86.) is manifestly profane and impious: for this supposes, that the Pentateuch is not a divine revelation, which every one knows to be false. It appears, therefore, that, notwithstanding every effort of the Padre to meet the statements of our Professor, he has entirely failed.

The Professor, having established his three primary positions, proceeds thus: "We now affirm that there appeared an Arab among us, &c." (from p. 9, to p. 15, line 13.) If the Padre should here reply, (as his sentiments already expressed seem to intimate) that, as we know the miracles of Moses and Jesus to have been such as to exceed universal experience, no less than human power; and that they therefore need not be established by the testimony of Magicians; and consequently, that there is no necessity for such concurrence, as the Mohammedans assert; We reply in two ways. First, we do not allow those acts to be miracles, rather than the effects of magic or physic, which the vulgar may suppose are. And again, when one learned man has determined the science to which such act is referrible, there will be a

necessity for the concurrence of many, to attest that it is really miraculous.

Secondly, that the concurrence of the learned, in making this attestation, be known by one or other of the following means. The first is, that the learned confess their inability to produce its equal. The second, that those who have witnessed the inability of others confess this. For when Mohammed made his claim, he was not only opposed to the utmost by the Arabs themselves; but by infidels and heretics who had been hired by them, for the sole purpose of destroying both him and his religion. Nor was there any effort, however laborious or difficult it might be, which they did not exert, and in which they did not eventually fail.

Now, how can any one suppose, that people by no means wanting in intellectual capacities, would submit to the difficulties they did, when the production of one chapter, equal to the Koran in elegance, which need not have exceeded one line, would have answered every purpose? The truth is, no such neglect was evinced by them; and the reason why an equal did not appear was, their inability to produce it.

But further, what were the learned among the Jews and Christians doing all this while? If the composition called for involved no difficulty, why were they so remiss in defending the true religion as not to produce it? And if they

were thus remiss, let the Padre say how he can, with a safe conscience, rely on any thing they have advanced, and at the same time profess that he is in quest of the truth!

The state of the case is this: A man makes his appearance in Arabia calling himself the last of the Prophets; upon this, he exerts every effort for the abolition of all former religions, and actually succeeds to a great degree. He next abolishes the religious codes of all the former Prophets; and the miracle to which he appeals, is the production of ten or a dozen words, which he calls a chapter, and which he declares cannot be equalled by the collected efforts of both men and genii. Now, had this equal been produced, the cheat must have been discovered at once, had such thing existed: but now have twelve hundred years and more elapsed, and no one has appeared, who has either attempted, or produced the like. It will perhaps be said, men must surely have lost their reason; for all this amounts to nothing more, than the objections which your forefathers themselves answered, when they objected to Mohammed's mission. Be this as it may, we contend, good sense must suggest the extreme insecurity of relying on such suppositions as these. May God of his goodness which is from everlasting, and of his compassions which fail not, lead us to the true religion.

Our Professor had said; " In the second place, any one, who can come to the conclusion, &c." (p. 15, to p. 17, line 13.) To which the Padre replies (p. 87.) " It has been said that the Koran's being a miracle has been established with those who are not Arabs, by the Arabs' confession of inability to produce its equal. We reply; That waving what has already been said, the confession of the Arabs can have no weight with us; because, in this case they are parties concerned: and no one is absurd enough to make the same party, both opponent and judge."

We answer, in the first place, the Padre's former statements on this subject we have met and refuted. In the second, his assertion that the Arabs are parties concerned is true; but not in the sense he would have it. For it was impossible the Arabs could be parties concerned in furthering the cause of Mohammed, and, at the same time, leave no effort untried to ruin both him and his followers. Perhaps the Padre has not taken sufficient pains to inform himself on these particulars; or, like his forefathers, would rather rest satisfied with what he knows to be false. We would only ask, Was the infidel tribe of Koreish a party concerned? Or, were those Arab Jews and Christians of the families of Koreida, Nazír, and Bahran such parties? Those, indeed, who had become converts to Mohammed might be said to have been parties interested in his success;

but then, their numbers were to those of his opposers as infinity to nothing. Such assertion, therefore, is without meaning, and perfectly absurd. Besides, the Professor himself had stated and refuted this objection both positively and negatively (p. 19.) which the Padre, intent only on dispute, has passed over.

The Professor's remarks amount to this: If such objection has any weight at all, it affects us both. For any one, believing in the mission of Moses, Jesus, or any other Prophet, and asserting that the Prophet in question had wrought a miracle, might be thus met: But, sir, you are a party concerned, and therefore not to be regarded.

Let the candid reader say, whether, upon allowing the characters of all former writers to be thus aspersed as parties concerned, the mission of any Prophet whatever can be proved! Every one must see, that all an enquirer has to do in this case is, to examine the characters and motives of such writers: whether, for instance, they have adhered faithfully to the documents they had before them—were good moral characters—embraced such and such opinions, with the view of bringing about some wicked end, or for the advancement of truth and the fear of God.

When this has been done, the next consideration will be, whether their number is sufficient to make it probable, that they could not have been

mistaken ; and that they did not conspire for the propagation of falsehood. These things having been ascertained, reliance may be placed on their accounts ; and any one, at any period of time how far soever removed from that in which they lived, will be enabled to come to the conclusion that such claimant was really a Prophet ; and that what he performed in proof of his mission was a miracle.

Let us now wave these considerations, and allow that the Arabs were parties interested in the affair—that they could have produced an equal to the Koran if they had chosen so to do ; but, from interested motives, did not make the experiment. We now ask, what were the Jews and Christians doing, who did not join Mohammed; and to whom the Arabic language was vernacular? And what have their offspring been doing for twelve hundred and twenty-eight years? The Arabic language has been their mother tongue : and no one will say, that they were inferior in capacity to those Arabs, who have here been called parties concerned.

But, waving this consideration also, we all believe the Padre to be a clever man : he is well acquainted with the Arabic language ; why does not he produce an equal to the Koran? There is a well known adage : " If you can hit the mark better, strike at once."

There can be no doubt, that the assurance

of any one having been a Prophet, was formerly obtained in the way already mentioned: but, thanks be to God, the Arab nation have, in addition to this, another, viz. The standing miracle of the Koran, and the challenges with which it abounds to produce its equal. We only say, let any one produce its like, and we (which God forbid) give up its miraculous character at once. Twelve hundred years, however, and more have now elapsed, and still we are in expectation of an answer to the challenge, and wondering why it has not been given: which expectation is undoubtedly vain.

The Padre proceeds with his second objection thus: (p. 87.) "If it be asked, how then can we satisfy ourselves whether the Koran is a miracle or not, if we are not to believe what the Arabs say on that point, ignorant as we are of the peculiarities of the language? We answer: In cases where no judge can be found, decision must necessarily be suspended." Here we observe, the reply to all this may be deduced from the answer of the Professor above-mentioned; which the Padre, alarmed for the safety of his religion, happens to have forgotten. It is this: Just as the miracles of Moses and Jesus were formerly known to be such by the attestations of the Magicians and Physicians respectively, so may that of Mohammed be now known by the testimony of the Arabs. But, after all, if the

objector would rather remain an infidel, it certainly is in his power to do so.

The next passage which we shall notice in the Padre's Tract is this, (p. 87.) "Besides, let it not be said, that to withhold our assent to what the Arabs affirm, &c." (to the bottom of page 88.)

In the first place we remark, with respect to the Jews and Magi, that as they denied Jesus according to the Padre's own account, so did they deny Mohammed. If he should reply that they were not sceptical, but denied the mission of Jesus from conviction, it must follow, that the religion of the Padre is false. And if he allow that they were sceptics our position is established; which is, that they did, from no other motive than a mere love of the world, willingly and wittingly close their eyes against the truth.

As to the Christians, our opinion of them is much the same as it is with respect to the Jews; for they were Jews once: and the obstinacy of the Jews is such as to have become proverbial in the world. In disposition and habits both are alike: and these they have imbibed with the milk of the same mother.

We say, in the second place, (and our remark extends only to a few who had been admitted to the service of the Prophet, but afterwards betrayed their trust) that Abd Allah Ibn Salám, and those who followed him, did indeed

witness the miracles of the Prophet, and afterwards both deny and oppose his mission. But all these, whether Magi, Jews, or Christians, could not have been many, which must strike every one as self evident: because it was impossible that all the tribes of Jews, Christians, &c. could have been either in Mecca, Medina, or both. But now it is urged, that because these few objected, all must continue to do so still! The truth is, these Jews and Christians do not seem to be so much intent upon opposing Mohammed, as upon completing the circle of which these few objectors made so small an arc. When however a majority is appealed to, the decision of the majority must be final. Those few Jews, Christians, and others, therefore, who entered and left the service of Mohammed, and consequently those who follow their opinions from mere prejudice, must here stand for nothing.

The case of the Arabs, however, who then opposed, and who do so still, is a little different. They indeed spared no effort in endeavouring to ruin both the Prophet and his cause. But here we say, One book is no great matter; half of that is less; one chapter only is still less; and a single line less still. But not so much as one line has yet been produced, which can be said to equal the Koran. If there has, in the name of all that is good, let it be forthcoming. The Padre has certainly not yet produced its equal,

nor will he should he live a thousand years to come. And if his forefathers had been able to do so, no doubt he could do the same.

He will say perhaps that, if he should produce an equal, there is reason to fear no one would receive it. We answer, produce the prodigy, and fear no one.

This brings to our mind the story of a certain avaricious man, who, notwithstanding the great wealth, with which he had been blessed, did not expend one farthing, either in relieving the poor, or in any other office of charity. It once happened that he was reminded of this. After much perplexity it occurred to him, that the following would be a satisfactory reply. If I should be disposed to give, said he, how could I be sure that the poor would be willing to receive? This reply of course raised a smile in the countenances of those who were present: and one suggested, that, as there was a beggar now at the door, he could make the experiment.

With respect to those who adhered to Mohammed and became proselytes to his religion, it may seem at first sight that they did so from worldly motives; but upon a little consideration it will appear, that it was from conviction alone. For, at that time, he had neither riches nor power, so that any one might be said to have joined him from motives of interest or fear. It might perhaps be thought by some to be an

easy matter to sacrifice property, person, reputation, and even common sense; and to submit to the most laborious undertakings, reproaches, and dangers—to mortify the body by fastings and pilgrimages, and to diminish one's wealth by almsgiving, for no earthly end whatever!

But these were not the only difficulties submitted to; for in many instances, the world was entirely given up, and the service of God persevered in night and day. Some put to death even fathers, brothers, relations, and dependants, because they refused to join the Prophet. Others again left children, family, and connections, that they might have it in their power to attend on him night and day. Now, it is very certain, that no one will undertake difficulties like these from motives of either interest or fear, unless he knows, at the same time, that such person is worthy of his service, and that his word ought to be obeyed. Interest or prejudice may indeed stimulate one to advance, and even to protect, the fortunes of another; but never to submit to such privations as have here been enumerated.

In the third place, the assertion, "That had not the Arabs a violent motive for what they say, it is probable they would give a different testimony." (P. 88.) is much more objectionable and unbecoming than the former. For, in the first place, it can by no means affect those who first

embraced Islamism; because every motive which may have actuated them in supporting the creed of their forefathers, was entirely abandoned: and, in the second, as we are acquainted with the circumstances of the moderns, we have it in our power to examine whether it will apply to them or not.

From the books and documents then in our hands it appears, that although their authors had exerted every effort, they were at last compelled to confess their inability to comprehend the full depth of meaning, contained in so much as one verse of the Koran. Now, after such a confession as this, who can suppose that the violent motive above-mentioned can affect them? The truth is, it must fall in full force on the Jews and Christians alone, who have for so many years adhered implicitly to the creed of their forefathers. For the learned of both these communities, have ever been the mere candidates for worldly wealth. Regardless of God, and fearful only lest this should slip through their hands, they have not only disputed and denied the mission of the Prophet; but, shameless as to consequences, they have in many instances corrupted the Scriptures, and in others explained away the obvious meaning of the text, lest posterity should have the means of detecting their impiety. The truth of this is too obvious not to strike the sense of every impartial enquirer; and which it is our intention to prove at length hereafter.

The question again, that "supposing some one to have produced an equal to the Koran, who should have been judge, or have determined that such production was equal to the Koran? (p. 88.) may be thus answered. The readiest way to get rid of this difficulty is, by omitting the excuse, and producing an equal at once. To say, that I am able to produce an equal, but am afraid, if I should, no one would receive it, will require more to recommend it to belief than the doctrine of the Trinity itself. The whole world is not overspread with prejudice. Believers too, differ very much in disposition. If ten could not be found who would give a fair decision, it is probable one might. But, supposing no one could be found among the Mohammedans, still there may among the Jews and Christians; and his decision might be favourable. The same question, moreover, might be pressed upon the learned among the Jews and Christians, thus: A person has appeared who made a claim to Prophecy: he has produced a book, which he says comes from God; and, as a proof of this, he affirms that no one can produce its equal. If you doubt this, we only ask, why do you not produce its equal?

The next objection of the Padre falls purely on himself, namely, "If it be said, that this could have been determined by the rules of rhetoric, &c." (pp. 88-9. to the end of the paragraph). We say, there is no doubt among us as to the

Koran's possessing the greatest possible degree of elegance: the only questions with us are, whether the inability to imitate it arises from this circumstance, or from human incapacity, or from both taken together. At all events, the production of an equal to it, would set the matter finally at rest, as every one must see.

In the next place, the assertion, "That every thing not perfectly accordant with the Koran, will of course be deemed inelegant," is not true. The truth is, the Professors of rhetoric have laid down certain rules to be observed by those who wish to write elegantly: and these have been devised, and shewn to be true, from the deductions of sound judgment. To these rules the Koran has been found conformable. But it is by no means the case, that they affirm every thing to be elegant which is like the Koran, or inelegant which is unlike it; although they may allow the Koran, upon comparison, to be the more elegant of the two.

The next objections of the Padre are these: "If it be said that at the time of Mohammed there were many Professors of eloquence, &c." (p. 89. to the end of the 1st period, p. 91.) We answer, these may be met in several ways: and, in the first place, his dissatisfaction, as to the number of the Professors of rhetoric, may be confronted by a similar one on our parts, as to the number of Magicians and Physicians, necessary

to establish the miracles of Moses and Jesus. And this the Padre in a great measure allows when he says, that the supposition of their having been thus established "has probably arisen from the want of precision in the Historians," (p. 86.). And again, when he says, that the works of Moses and Jesus were such as to leave no doubt on the minds of any of their being miracles; and that therefore they stood in no need of testimony, either from the Magicians or Physicians, (pp. 84-5.) The answer to which, as the reader will recollect, has already been given.

In the second place, to deny that there were many eminent Professors of rhetoric in the days of Mohammed is to betray a want of knowledge of an undoubted fact, and therefore mere wrangling. When it is said that the Arabs were an illiterate nation, the meaning is this, that literature was not then cultivated among them; which however does not imply that they might not have been eloquent. And hence it is, that the learned have said, this consideration tends to establish the miraculous character of the Koran: because, in this point of view, it partakes of the character of future predictions; which confessedly constitute the most perfect kind of miracles. For when any one, without any previous instruction, details the particular actions and words of former Prophets, and this in the most accurate and elegant manner possible; and in addition to this, lays down the

principles of Theology in a way surpassing the most consummate learning, as well as the most extensive experience, there can be no doubt that such person is a Prophet, and that his production is a miracle. The decisions of the learned, therefore, on this question, have not been founded on the elegance of the Koran alone; but also upon the other considerations already mentioned. Besides, the eloquent of those times were not confined to one or two Poets; nor was the period in which the Koran was revealed limited to that of their celebrity, but extended through a space of twenty years. Is it then to be supposed, that the numbers were not, in this case, as great as those of the Magicians or Physicians were either in the court of Pharaoh, or in the city of Jerusalem?

It appears very clear to us that the principles upon which the Padre founds his reasoning are false; otherwise, how could he have possibly said, "Still we are not also prepared to allow that they did not produce an equal to the Koran; because this wants proof?" We ask, if an equal had been produced, who would think of saying, that proof is wanted of an equal not having been produced? Surely, if no equal has been produced, this is proof enough that no such equal exists. And, again, the supposition that they probably might have produced an equal, which has now

been lost*, is weak and unfounded. For let any one write and publish a book, composed in the most elegant style possible, such as the Koran is, containing, at the same time, the principles of both human and divine wisdom; is it likely that such a book would be so much neglected as to be lost? Of all the books that have hitherto been published, preserved with care, and delivered down from father to son, if there were one possessing greater elegance than the Koran, the probability is, that greater care would have been taken in preserving it; but if not, then indeed might it have been neglected and lost. Such a supposition as the above, therefore, must be absurdity itself: and as he who has advanced it seems to be pressed with difficulties, we may be allowed to suggest a solution: let him confess the truth at once; for falsehood will afford him no refuge.

It may further be observed, that the Padre is unacquainted with the laws of controversy. For whenever a writer presses his opponent for a proof, the opponent is expected to give one; and if he does not, this is considered sufficient to shew that he has it not in his power to do so. But the opponent is by no means allowed in such a

* I do not find this passage in Mr. Martyn's Tracts. It has perhaps been omitted by the transcriber.

case to say, I call upon such an one to shew that I cannot produce the proof required: because, if he is able to do so, every one has a right to expect it from him. With respect to the Koran, therefore, the non-existence of an equal is proof sufficient, that no such equal has been produced. If any proof be required, surely it must be, that an equal does exist; and it is incumbent on the Padre to produce it; and not on us to shew, that no such equal has been found.

In the third place, if "people would not be very anxious on this subject (of Mohammed's claim to prophecy) and particularly the more sober, who saw that his object was to call the Arabs from the worship of idols to that of the true God, &c." (p. 90.) it was surely their duty to have assisted him, or at least to have been silent; and not to have called in the aid of the idolatrous Koreish with the view of crushing his revelation at once.

In the fourth place, suppose we allow that the inhabitants of Medina durst not publish their equal to the Koran, on account of Mohammed's power among them, but that they had intercourse with their friends without the city. In this case, it was their duty secretly to have transmitted their copy to them, and theirs to have published it. The Padre was aware however, that this would make nothing for his cause; for he allows their inability, and proceeds:

"But, further, should we allow that the attempt had been made, and failed, still it would not follow that the Koran is miraculous, &c.... to which, on account either of superstition or fear, few have thought of opposing their skill in composition," (p. 91.).

We answer, these assertions are of the same erroneous description with the preceding ones. For first, we do not allow that there is a book in any language whatever, written with such consummate elegance, either in prose or verse, as to admit of no parallel. Ten or twenty pages or odes, may indeed sometimes be found written in a highly finished and delightful style; but then, the ten following ones may be low and vapid, although the author is still the same. But the Koran is, from first to last, perfectly inimitable: the challenge to produce an equal extending as much to every single chapter as it does to the whole. This variety then in the one case, and want of variety in the other, is sufficient proof that the one is of human, the other of divine origin. "If it had been from any besides God, they would certainly have found therein many contradictions*."

In the second place, if we allow that no equal has been produced to these books, still we say,

* Sale's Koran, Vol. I. p. 103.

there has no challenge been given; contrary to the case of the Koran, in which the challenge to produce the like constitutes the peculiar authority of its precepts.

But supposing a challenge had been given, the non-production of an equal, might, in the first place, have been in consequence of the inability of those alone who gave it: and, in the second, if we allow that the production of an equal might have been considered necessary; yet as there was no claimant, this might have been gradually forgotten. But, in the case of the Koran, the inability to produce an equal is the great rock opposed to infidelity, and the source of joy to both God and man. The same may be said of those other arts, to which allusion has been made.

With respect to the assertion, that few have thought of opposing their skill in composition to the Koran through superstition or fear, (p. 91.) we say, it must appear from what has already been said, that this is a mere cavil. We need not, therefore, press the miraculous character of the Koran any further.

The Padre, in the next place, seeing that no intelligent reader could subscribe to these sentiments, goes on (p. 91. to the end of the paragraph, p. 92.), "Again, should it be objected, that hitherto we know that no equal to the Koran has been produced, although the

challenge to do so has repeatedly been made, &c."

Our answer is, this must be ranked among the preceding cavils of the Padre. Because the question here is, not whether it is incumbent on God to allow men, however circumstanced, to remain in error; but, to produce that from which the instruction of his followers might be drawn; or, to hinder the production of any thing which would be the source of error and sin: both of which are placed without the controul of believers, as the learned are all agreed. For there can be no difference between the necessity of sending a Prophet, and that of preserving both the persons and minds of men from falling into sin. And, in fact, the mission of every Prophet has been undertaken for this specific end. But, should any false Prophet produce that to which men in general could oppose no parallel, people would be compelled to acknowledge his mission, and to obey his commands; not from any worldly motive, but from the confession of the learned, that such act was inimitable, so long as no one could shew the contrary. And for this the intellectual capacities of men seem to have been formed and adapted.

But the supposition that God should enable men generally to distinguish between a miracle and the effect of mere magic or juggling; or, to know that a miracle is something contrary to the

order of things, and therefore beyond the conceptions of any: or, again, to allow that this power of distinguishing is placed in the hands of the learned alone, and that their number should be such as to satisfy men both of their abilities and good intentions: but after all, to assert that their testimony no less than their existence and number is purely accidental, would necessarily tend to silence every Prophet, and to put it entirely out of his power to establish his own mission.

It must appear then, that the performance of a miracle by a false Prophet is absolutely impossible. The wonder is, how an intelligent person like the Padre can hold such a doctrine, and at the same time acknowledge the missions of Moses and Jesus. How he can have come to this conclusion it is impossible for us to say, allowing as he does, that a pretender might work a miracle. We can only say, if he has any other grounds for such an opinion, it is incumbent on him to shew them.

Should he reply, that he does not here mean a miracle exceeding universal, but general experience, because he does not allow the Koran to be universally inimitable. We answer: This second effort is more shadowy than the first; and much more astonishing than his account of the prevalence of false religions, (p. 92.) or the production of a miracle by a false Prophet. For when he has supposed such an one to be thus

capable, *we* know that it is incumbent on the Deity not to suffer men to be duped by him. Sapient Sir! only say, how it is that Idolaters have wrought miracles—that God too has enabled them to do so, without having raised up some one, at the same time, to defeat their purposes, and to stop the progress of error!

With respect to Zoroaster, some historians have indeed stated, that he was an infidel, and not a Prophet; and further, that he wrought no miracle. It appears, however, from our traditions, that he was a Prophet*. The denial of this by some can have no weight with us; because their accounts have been taken from the documents of the Jews and Christians. If they can have any weight it must be with themselves alone. The answer to his next objection has already been given.

The Padre's next animadversions upon our Professor are these: "It has been said that the miracle of Mohammed is more convincing than those of other Prophets, &c." (p. 92. to the end of the paragraph, p. 93.) We reply, whenever doubts arise as to the reality of the mission of any Prophet, and this at a time long after the appearance of such Prophet, and particularly when

* See Sir J. Malcolm's History of Persia, Vol. I. p. 196. D'Herbelot, Bibliotheque Orientale, sub voce Zerdascht. Hyde's Religio veterum Persaram, Cap. 24.

much resistance to Religion has been manifested, how is any new convert to be satisfied of the reality of such mission? In such a case, the Prophet himself will stand in the predicament of a mere pretender; and, in which, his having written a book will avail but little. But if we allow that some credit might be given to his book, still to have seen the miracle itself would be much more convincing. The assertions of the Padre seem to us rather to superinduce a denial of what formerly took place, than the contrary: for no one will allow that the account of any miracle can have the same force, as a sight of its performance would.

The instance too which he has adduced presents a distinction without a difference; for the person there said to be sixty years of age at one time, and twenty at another, is one and the same. But the ancients and moderns of whom we speak are not the same: and, in this case, the miracles might have been seen by the one class, but could only have been heard of by the other. We have here then a real difference.

But as to the miracles of Moses and Jesus being equally convincing, we say, we owe this to the relation of a Prophet, namely, Mohammed. And upon the supposition of his having withheld his testimony to this point, we should not have had the means of forming an opinion, much less of obtaining an assurance that they were Pro-

phets, and their works miracles. For the difficulty of finding satisfactory evidence on the particulars of any event, which may have taken place two or three thousand years ago, is such as to be almost insuperable.

The Padre proceeds: "With respect to the assertion that the Koran's being more conversant about intellectual than sensible objects, &c." (p. 93, to the end of the paragraph, p. 94.) We reply, when it became necessary that all classes should know that the Koran was a miracle, they knew it; although the knowledge of the better informed was the deeper, because it was composed in the language which was familiar to them. But in whatever respect the knowledge of the better informed then failed, in the same does it fail still, and indeed to a greater degree. The same impossibility of producing its equal also exists, notwithstanding the time which has elapsed since its first publication, and the countless multitudes of those who have lived since that day. This then is testimony sufficient for both the learned and unlearned as to the miraculous character of the Koran; although none may be able to investigate the subtleties with which it abounds. All are sensible enough, that if human power could have produced its equal, that would have been done long ago: this is therefore knowledge sufficient for all.

The Padre proceeds in the next place: "It

has been said that the miracle of the Koran is further established from the consideration of its containing certain predictions, &c." (p. 94. to the bottom.) We remark, that although our Professor has not cited the passages to which he has alluded, yet there can be no doubt in the minds of those who have examined and understood this question, that the Koran contains too many miraculous declarations of this kind, to make it necessary to dwell on particulars. And indeed, when we consider the circumstances of the Prophet, we are compelled to conclude, that the whole may be considered as predictions of future events. Because, we know, Mohammed was perfectly ignorant of literature—that he received instruction from no one—that he travelled into no foreign countries, if we except the two journeys which he took into Syria—that he had no interview with any learned Jew or Christian, of which indeed no one has hitherto accused him; notwithstanding all this, he has written a book containing all the science of both the ancients and moderns; which he has detailed in a style of such consummate elegance, as to convince all that it must have come from God.

In like manner did he bring to light all the secret meetings, communications, and contrivances, of his infidel enemies; so that at last they were afraid to communicate with each other, in any place or on any subject however secret;

lest a revelation should be afforded exposing both them and their project to infamy. There were also some things which even the friends of the Prophet had not courage to undertake, for the same reasons.

In this point of view then, the whole of the Koran partakes of that character, which might be attributed to the prediction of future events. It is wonderful that the Padre should have asserted, that such passages do not exceed six or seven. But even here we affirm, one miracle of this description, accompanied by a challenge, would be sufficient. The multiplication of such might indeed give depth to the conviction, but could not add to the truth of the fact.

With respect to the assertions that, "such is the difference of opinion held by the Commentators as to the manner in which these predictions should be read, the circumstances attending their revelation, and their object, that their true meaning does not yet appear to have been understood: which is sufficient to shew that no reliance can be placed upon them." We say, the difference of opinion hitherto exercised on these passages, involves no doubt as to their being predictions: for all have interpreted them in such a way, as to shew that they are sufficient to establish the miraculous powers of their author. And we contend for nothing more.

As to the books of heathen Philosophers

containing certain valuable truths, we say; They also contain much that is not truth, and which is inconsistent with known facts. The Koran on the contrary, will, upon due consideration, be found to contain pure and unmixed truth; and what further can we desire? The books of the heathen Philosophers, moreover, are not to be understood without severe and long continued study; but when some one unaccustomed to study commences by stating and deciding upon those questions, which had already been settled by the learned, must not this afford an assurance that his work is a miracle, and beyond human power to effect? Because no one, if you except the Prophets, has, from the beginning of the world to the present day, been able to do the like.

"It has been asserted," continues the Padre, "that there is a considerable difference observable between the other miracles of Mohammed, and the miracles of other Prophets, which is this; that their miracles have not the advantage of having been generally received," (p. 95.). We remark, it had been said by our Professor: "But as it respects his other miracles, whether performed on animate or inanimate beings, whether great or small, they almost exceed enumeration, &c."—"And as to the other Prophets, the fact is too well known to need further notice," (from p. 20. to p. 31.). The

Padre's reply to all this begins with the above extract, to which is added ; " To this we say, &c." (to the bottom of p. 95.). In reply we remark, first, that there is a mistake in the Padre's Tract, where he has said, " there is a difference," instead of saying, there is no difference, &c. which is perhaps, an error of the copyist*. And, in the second, that the drift of his objection, as it now stands, is, to superinduce doubt as to the reality of the miracles of former Prophets, which would arise from the use of the word *difference*. Besides, the miracles of Moses having been recorded in the Pentateuch, by no means proves that they have been generally received : for Moses is, in this case, a party concerned : and it has not yet been proved that his book came from God. In order to shew that the Pentateuch has been generally received, it must be shewn

* I believe, however, this is not a mistake. The passage alluded to by Mr. Martyn, stands thus in the tract of Mirza Ibrahim : فقد حصل لكم الفرق بين ساير معجزاته ومعجزات السايرو... &c. which must mean: The difference, therefore, between his other miracles and the miracles of other Prophets has been ascertained. The discussion which led to this seems to be intended to shew (p. 31.) that those, who had recorded the other miracles of Mohammed, had been more numerous than those who had recorded those of Moses and Jesus; and that, consequently, many of Mohammed's had been almost universally received, which could not be said of those of Moses and Jesus, independent of the testimony of the Koran. If there is any mistake in the statement of this argument, I think it must be attached to Mirza Ibrahim.

that the number of those, who witnessed the miracle of Moses, was such as to make it improbable they could have conspired for the propagation of falsehood; and, in like manner, that similar numbers who gave credit to their assertions have existed from that time to this: and not, that the miracles of Moses have been recorded in the Pentateuch, and therefore generally received.

Besides, we do not very clearly understand what he means when he says, that the Pentateuch has been generally received. If he means to say that the Pentateuch is generally received as coming from God, there can be no doubt of the futility of the assertion; for, excepting Moses himself, no one could have possibly known that this book came from God. No one had heard God declare that this was the case, so as to have had it in his power to bear testimony to the fact. If it be said that it is generally believed that the Pentateuch came from Moses (which however is not true, for the Jews believe that it came from God), We reply, this will avail nothing. For now we must rely on the testimony of one person only, who says that he had wrought a miracle. Now will any one who doubts the mission of Moses be thus convinced; or, in any case, allow any thing to be designated as *generally received,* which depends on the testimony of one person only?

In the third place, the statement that Nebu-

chadnezzar did not put to death the inhabitants of more than one district, is palpably false (p. 95.) For all the histories state, that he entirely overthrew the Jews, and ruined every district in their country. Whenever he could receive information of a Jew's being in any place, he immediately sent, and had him put to death; and, until the blood of John had ceased to flow, he ceased not to seek and slaughter them*. In the book entitled (محضر الشهود) the Citation of the Martyrs, which contains the controversies between the Mohammedan and Jewish Doctors, and to the authenticity of which both have given their testimony, the Padre will find how ill he is acquainted with this question, and how falsely he has stated it. The truth is this, it is said in the Jewish

* It may be seen in the notes of Sale (Vol. II. p. 93.) and Marracci (Al Koran, p. 412-13.) that the Commentators understand the Koran to say, that Nebuchadnezzar punished the Jews, because they had shed the blood of John the Baptist. This mistake has arisen from a confusion of the names of two different persons. In the New Testament (Matt. xxiii. 35, &c.) Our Lord accuses the Jews of having shed the blood of Zacharias the son of Barachias. We also learn that the Father of John was named Zacharias. And hence the Mohammedans have, by a very extraordinary blunder, made John, and the Zacharias who had been slain, the same person. Whether this blunder can be fairly imputed to the Koran does not clearly appear. Mr. Sale thinks not: and if it could, he would have had no difficulty in supposing, as in a former case (p. 134.) that there might have been two Johns.

histories, that after the destruction of the first Temple, the Jews were carried captives to Babylon, and that they remained there seventy years. Upon the expiration of which, Cyrus the Magian, having put Nebuchadnezzar to death, dismissed the Jews, who returned to their own country. When they had arrived there, it was found that they had not only forgotten their law, but their written characters: and, in this state must they have remained, had not Ezra, who had retained the whole of the Law in his memory, published it again for general use*. The opinion of the learned among the Jews is stated to be this, that after they had been dismissed from Babylon, and had returned to Canaan, it was discovered that they had entirely forgotten the Hebrew characters, and that the letters now in use are called (اشوريت אשורית) Assyrian. That is, the characters generally used in Babylonia†.

* This opinion has been held by both Christians and Jews. See the Thesaurus Philologicus Hottingeri (An. 1659.) p. 113. There is, however, no reason to doubt that the Jews had copies of their Scriptures in Babylon. An Epistle of Jeremiah, we know, was sent to the Jews in Babylon. (Jer. xxix.) Daniel studied the prophecies of Jeremiah there (Dan. ix.) Ezekiel prophesied in the captivity; and of Ezra it is said that he brought the Book of the Law, and read it in the presence of the whole assembly, (Nehem. viii.) but no where that he dictated it from memory.

† The several opinions formerly held on this question, have been ably reviewed in the Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament, by Pere Simon, Liv. i. chap. 13. And in the Critica Sacra of Baver. Tractat. i. §. 10.

It must appear then from what has been said, that the statements of the Padre are directly false. For, in the first place, it was not Nebuchadnezzar that dismissed the Jews from Babylon, but Cyrus the Magian, after he had put Nebuchadnezzar to death. And, in the second, the assertion that a great part of the kingdom, as well as the Scriptures of the Jews remained uninjured, is far from being true. For we ask, if this had been the case, how does it come to pass that they changed their letters? If those only who had been in the captivity had thus forgotten their letters, surely, upon their return to Canaan, they might have recovered them from those who had remained. But, that this did not take place, appears from the circumstance, that the Jews have, since that time, used none but the characters of Babylon.

Now let any one judge, whether, upon the supposition that a written character has been thus lost, it is at all probable that what had been written in it, could still have remained in the memory? Is it at all likely, that when affairs had been such for the space of seventy years, there could still have been learned men among the Jews? For when people are in a state of captivity, every one, whether male or female, is, of course, continually engaged in some species of servitude or other. Under such circumstances, there can be no opportunity for meeting in order

to acquire or promote learning; and, without such meetings, the general attainment and spread of knowledge is impossible. Besides, in the space of seventy years, those who, during their prosperity, had made acquirements of this kind, would all be dead. And the younger branches, who had been born in the captivity, having no opportunities for study, would gradually forget all the knowledge formerly possessed. To forget a language and letters, we know, is one of the easiest things in the world; for we daily see in the younger slaves who are brought from distant parts, that, in the course of seven or eight years, they entirely forget both their religion and language. Nor are the more aged exempt from a similar failure. But if we allow, that no such change had taken place; still, those sciences which cannot be understood without much study, must have been forgotten. Of the Israelites who were carried into captivity, some must have been thirty, forty, fifty, or sixty, years of age. These, after the lapse of seventy years, would necessarily be all dead. And their offspring, who would be kept busily employed in their several services, scattered, as they would be, throughout the towns and villages of the empire, would not have it in their power to give up any time to the study of the law—its precepts, and the rites of their religion, so as to have provided against any considerable change taking place.

If then Nebuchadnezzar himself had done nothing towards injuring the Scriptures and religion of the Jews, there can be no doubt, that their inability to preserve both, would effectually do so: and to this, the Jews themselves bear testimony when they say, that, during the captivity, they forgot not only their law, but their language.

The next supposition (p. 95.) that, had the Scriptures suffered any injury, the Prophets, who afterwards appeared among the Jews, would have repaired the loss, may be met by another, namely; that it is probable these Prophets might not have been commissioned to do so. And, in the second place, if it should be said that this was done by Ezra, we ask, would any one, who doubts of the mission of Moses, acquiesce in that of Ezra? But should this be allowed, still Ezra is but one person; and even he cannot be said to have received any thing as generally accredited since the times of Moses. We only wish to know, therefore, how the Padre can say, that the miracles of Moses have been generally accredited!

The Padre proceeds, in the next place (p. 96.) "With respect to the miracles of Jesus, it has been said, that not more than three persons have recorded them, &c." (to the end of the paragraph.) We answer, we are not prepared to allow, that the Apostles have generally given their testimony to the truth of what has been recorded by the Evangelists. Because others, perceiving

that the testimony of three or four persons would be insufficient to produce conviction, might have added this, as proceeding from the Apostles: for we know that nothing is more common, than for the moderns to ascribe opinions to the ancients, of which they had no idea whatever. And there is no one of the Apostles now alive to say, that they have been eye-witnesses to any of these facts.

But suppose we allow, that all the Apostles have given their testimony to these miracles, still their number did not exceed twelve, which is manifestly too small to produce conviction on the score of general reception. For we hold, that a thousand might have conspired for the propagation of falsehood; what assurance then can we have that a dozen have not? Our Professor had truly said, that no miracles, but those of the Koran, had been generally received, because those who have delivered them down to us, are not confined to a dozen, but exceed hundreds of thousands.

The next animadversions of the Padre are the following. "It has been said, that in establishing the other miracles of Mohammed, we have accounts accompanied with collateral evidence, &c." (p. 96. to the end of the paragraph, p. 98.)

We reply, as Mohammed has recorded many of the miracles of former Prophets, and particu-

larly of the most distinguished among them*; and, at the same time, believed himself to have been sent to all mankind, and to be the most favoured of all the Prophets, what reason is there to suppose, that he must necessarily have been confined to the performance of one miracle only, which, after all, our opponent will not allow to be a miracle? But, in the passages cited by the Padre, in which it is shewn that no miracle was afforded for those objectors who required one, we have collateral evidence, that their object was merely to cavil; as well as the means employed in reducing them to silence. But even if this were not the case, still other passages, and indeed the whole of the Koran, goes to shew, that he considered his own predictions of future events, no less than the angelic visions, with which he had been favoured, as miraculous. To say, therefore, that he pretended to nothing more than merely to be the messenger of a reve-

* The passage is ولا سيما اولوا العزم. The phrase اولوا العزم is thus explained by the author of the Kámús. اولوا العزم من الرسل الذين عزموا علي امر الله تعالي فيما عهد اليهم او هم نوح وابراهيم وموسي ومحمد عليهم الصلوة والسلام That is, اولوا العزم are the Prophets who betook themselves to the observance of those commands which God had appointed them: as Noah, Abraham, Moses, and Mohammed; upon whom be blessing and peace.

lation from above; and then to argue, that a contrary supposition would involve a manifest contradiction to his own declarations, is evidently unfair; and particularly so when applied to a period of time not less than three and twenty years.

Besides, his companions steadily held this opinion during his life time; and, after his death, appealed to his word as the foundation upon which their faith had been established.

Many things, too, which they related as having come from him, came to pass. Such being the case then, how can any one possibly doubt, as to his having performed other miracles? Again, his companions certainly believed him to be the most illustrious of all the Prophets, and able to perform every miracle said to have been performed by them. Now, if they had seen no such miracle performed, or had understood the above cited passages in the sense attached to them by the Padre, how could they have possibly believed him to have been so eminently gifted? Or that he was able, in his own person alone, to perform every miracle which they had? Verse. "The virtues of all mankind are vested in thee alone." If they had entertained any doubts on this point, they would at least have said: You must be conscious, that we wish not to originate any unnecessary disputes, but only to be satisfied of your pre-eminence.

The Padre proceeds: "With respect to the generally received expressed accounts we say, &c." (p. 98. to the end of the paragraph). Our reply, in the first place, is; The Koran is quite sufficient for us; the doubts of the Padre, therefore, are ineffectual. And, in the second, if we are not to hear the plea of any claimant, it must follow, that no religion whatever can be established. For, in this case, no one will have it in his power to receive any thing from his ancestors, without previously subjecting it to a rigorous examination, and then, every witness in its favour must be treated as a suspected person: the necessary consequence of which will be eternal contention and strife: for if we even suppose another mode of faith to recommend itself to our regard, still neither this nor the former must be attended to, because they who support either are parties concerned, and therefore not to be believed. But we affirm, all that enquirers can have to do in such cases is, to investigate the characters both of those who propose such religion for belief, and then the nature of the religion itself: because, for all we know, there may be truth on the side of some one making such claim.

The Padre observes, in the next place (p. 99. to the end of the second paragraph, p. 100.) "As to the accounts, which are said to be generally received, &c."

We reply: It can never be ascertained from a few accounts of the acts of any one, whether he was really a Prophet or not. For, it is necessary, in the first place, to examine the character of the religion which he intended to establish; and if we find, that it is not conformable to right reason, we may be assured that it is false: and then, we shall have no need to examine the accounts at all, or the characters of the historians. The religions of Rama, Lachman, and others, to which allusion has been made, are of this specific description. We want no further proof, therefore, that these religions are false, than may be gathered from their belief of the indwelling principle*, union with the Deity†, the transmigration of souls‡, and the like. Add to

---

* قول بحلول. The last of these words is thus explained in the كتاب التعريفات. الحلول الجواري عبارة عن احد الجسمين ظرفا للاخر كحلول الماء في الكوز i. e. الحلول الجواري means that one of two bodies contains the other, as water is contained in a vessel.

† In the same work اتحاد is thus explained. الاتحاد تصيير الذاتين واحدة ولا يكون الا في العدد من الاثنين فصاعدا. That is, الاتحاد is when two essences become one, which can only take place in point of number, when they are two or more. In the margin we have الاتحاد في الجنس يسمي مجانسة وفي النوع مماثلة وفي الخاصة مشاكلة وفي الكيف مشابهة وفي الكم مساواة وفي الاطراف مطابقة وفي الاضافة مناسبة

this their image-worship, which is an integral part of their religion, and we have sufficient proof both of the vanity of the religions, and the falsehood of the historians.

On the other hand, when any one making

وفي الوضع موازاة i. e. union in kind is called مجانسة, in manner مماثلة, in property مشاكلة, in sort مشابهة, in quantity مساواة, in parts مطابقة, in addition مناسبة, in position, موازاة.

‡ تناسخ is thus explained in the same work. التناسخ عبارة عن تعلق الروح بالبدن بعد المفارقة من بدن اخر من غير تحلل زمان بين التعلقين للتعشق الذاتي بين الروح والجسد i. e. التناسخ is the adherence of the soul to the body after it has been separated from some other body, without any reference to the time of its being united to either, on account of the mutual attachment between the soul and the body.

In the margin قيل الروح اذا فارق من بدن وتعلق ببدن الانسان يسمي ذلك مسخا ونسخا وان تعلق ببدن الحيوان يسمي ذلك مسخا وان تعلق بالنبات يسمي فسخا It is said, that when a soul departs from a body and becomes attached to that of a man, this is called مسخا and نسخا, and if it be attached to that of a beast it is (still) called مسخا, but if it be attached to a plant, it is then called فسخا. And again, والطايفة التناسخية سموا تعلق روح الانسان ببدن انسان نسخا و ببدن حيوان اخر مسخا وبجسم نباتي فسخا وبجسم جمادي رسخا Those who believe in the transmigration, call the attachment of the soul of a man to the body of a man نسخا, but to the body of any animal مسخا, to a plant فسخا, to an inanimate body رسخا.

claim to a divine mission establishes a religion which is, in the estimation of those who are capable of forming a just opinion, subject to no defect, but contains every moral excellency, we know, without having recourse to miracles, that such a person must have come from God. The character of Islamism then is such, that whoever considers for a moment the extent both of the human and divine knowledge which it unfolds, of the fundamental articles of its faith, spreading out into their various ramifications, and exhibiting the divine laws and precepts, as it does, cannot but come to the conclusion, that for this end alone, the missions of Prophets and Apostles must have been at first undertaken. Miracles, in this case, are by no means necessary, because these have been intended principally for the vulgar: the better informed having it in their power to determine from the life and conduct of any claimant, whether his mission is real, or only pretended.

With respect to the assertion, that no freedom of inquiry is allowed among the Mohammedans, if it be meant that no inquiry is allowed to be made on the fundamental articles of religion, there can be no doubt of the falsehood of the statement: but, if it be only meant that fools and vagabonds will annoy any one in making such inquiries, this is nothing more than would take place in any religion whatever; and to

suppose that this is not the case, is to betray a want of knowledge of the world.

We have in the next place; "It has been said too, that allowing these particular accounts, &c." (p. 100. to the end of the Tract). Our reply is, it was the intention of our Professor to shew, that from the general testimony of the historians, proof may be obtained as to the reality of each of the miracles alluded to. And there can be no doubt that, from the difference found to exist in the different relations of these miracles, assurance may be obtained of the facts having taken place, from which the accounts themselves must have originated; and that from the aggregate, assurance will be obtained of the miracles themselves; unless indeed we choose to deny that which must necessarily be true. The Padre's analogy of the madmen, is, in our estimation, madness itself, and of less weight than the addition of nothing to nothing.

Here end the Padre's remarks upon the Professor.

SECTION III.*

In refutation of the principles of the Padre as exemplified in another of his Tracts.

As to the assertions (p. 103. to the end of the first paragraph, p. 104.) viz. "It must have ap-

* In the MS. مشكوة دويم Section II. It has already been remarked, that some mistake must have been made by the copyist or the author (p. 164.)

peared from the preceding Tract, &c." We answer, in the first place, the mistakes made in the former Tract are sufficient to shew that the whole of this is unworthy of regard. And, in the second, it has been conceded by both friends and foes, that the qualities of Mohammed were such, independent of his miracles, as to leave no doubt on the minds of any that he was a Prophet: and these had respect either to his knowledge or to his practice.

With regard to his knowledge, as displayed in the Koran (which our opponent, however, supposes to be a mere human figment) it was sufficient to convince the most learned and subtle disputants, that this book was of divine origin. The elements of science, for example, no less than the doctrines of the divine unity, are there stated in a manner unparalleled, either by the Philosophers of antiquity, or by the learned of modern times—the laws of good breeding, the subtleties of the Arabic language, and the art of rhetoric, are there laid down in a style the most perfect possible. Every one at all acquainted with these things is aware, that the study of a thousand years under the most accomplished teacher, would by no means qualify him for such a production. Add to this the fact, that Mohammed did not live in a city or tribe to which learned men ever came, but in one overspread with ignorance and idolatry—that he

travelled into no foreign parts, where he might have obtained the assistance of the learned*: for, if he had, there can be no doubt his enemies would have urged, that he had learned all by rote from some Padre or Philosopher. The Koran was, we know, the object of all their malice; and, in their attacks upon it, they had the effrontery to allege, that those very principles of science which have since exceeded the greatest capacities, were nothing more than the dreams of the ancients†.

With respect to the practice of Mohammed, it consisted in the most extensive cultivation of the virtues of truth, fidelity, chastity, courage, eloquence, liberality, piety, humility, condescension and kindness towards his compatriots, and of patience and zeal in the labours of his divine mission. Constant in his generosity, and active in providing for all men the comforts both of this world and of that which is to come, he was favoured with the knowledge of futurity, and with the answer of God to all his prayers. Upon the whole, such was the assemblage of manners the most laudable, of properties the most agreeable, of conduct the most pleasing, of de-

* The fact, however, is, Mohammed did travel twice into Syria (see p. 124. &c.); and that his enemies did make this objection appears from the Koran itself.

† Sale's Koran, Vol. II. p. 193.

portment the most becoming, of endowments the most brilliant, either as it respected his theory or his practice—of qualifications corporeal and intellectual, innate and acquired, as to convince the maturest judgment, that they could thus be united in no one, who was not either a Prophet or his Apostle.

But waving all this, let any one only contemplate the purity and holiness of the law which he has laid down, the faith which it requires, the worship it prescribes, its rites, decisions, rules, examples, the provisions which it has made for both worlds, and of which all stand equally in need; and then let him ask, whether it is possible any further doubt can remain, that all this must have come from God?

But further, supposing he was not a Prophet, still his appearing at a period when the whole world was divided in opinion, and no Prophet had, for a long time, been sent—when the established order of things was every where verging to ruin, and the incendiaries of error and confusion daily gaining ground—the Arabs immersed in the grossest idolatry—the Persians worshipping the sun and moon—the Turks spreading devastation and woe, and persecuting the servants of God—the Hindoos bowing down, some to oxen and others to stones—the Jews and others denying the true religion—the Christians concealing the truth, and giving currency to

falsehood—and, in short, the whole world overspread with error and indifference almost to a miracle—the appearance, we say, of a personage qualified as he was, both in the knowledge and experience of religion, and at such a time, must at least have called for the implicit obedience of all; and not for such an opposition, as would, in no case, allow either him or his religion to exist. Although an iniquitous league was formed against him with the idolatrous Koreish, what was his conduct? It was this, he sought neither wealth nor fame; but contented with little and desirous of less, he conducted himself, not only in the most humble manner possible, but, at the same time, with the greatest zeal and perseverance for the spiritual welfare of the saints. If the opposition to him was not mere cavil, and the effect of prejudice, it is difficult for us to say which it was.

Uncandid disputant! The words of Mohammed surpassed those of mortals; his properties were scarcely inferior to those of the Deity; and yet you can say, the assemblage of such properties are sufficient to prove that he was not a Prophet! If, however, he had withheld his testimony to the mission of Jesus, or had not described his life and character as he has done, we should never have considered Jesus as a Prophet. Because, it appears upon the face of his history, that he was most likely one of those

who are termed Majzúb *. That he had no participation in the Divine Essence † is clear, otherwise he never would have acknowledged those defects inherent in himself which he did, and which we shall hereafter (Deo volente) shew marked his character. Would our opponent confess the truth, he might say, how he can suppose a Divine personage (such as he believes Jesus

---

* This word designates a person who has made certain advances in mysticism, and is thus explained in the تعريفات. المجذوب من اصطفاه الحق لنفسه واصطفاه لحضرة انسه واطلعه بجناب قدسه ففاز بجميع المقامات والمراتب بلا كلفة المكاسب والمتاعب i. e. Al Majzúb is a person whom God has selected for himself as his own companion, to whom he has revealed his person, and whom he has elevated to every rank of perfection, without subjecting him to any difficulty whatever. See *Bombay Transactions*, Vol. III. p. 101, &c.

† The passage is, البته بمقام جمع الجمع توحيد ذاتي نرسيده بود. The phrase جمع الجمع is thus explained in the تعريفات. جمع الجمع مقام آخر اتم واعلي من الجمع فالجمع شهود الاشياء بالله والتبري من الحول والقوة الا بالله وجمع الجمع الاستهلاك بالكلية والفناء عما سوي الله تعالي وهو المرتبة الاحدية. That is جمع الجمع is the greatest and most perfect degree, and greater than that of جمع which is the testimony of all things, that there is neither virtue nor power but in God alone. جمع الجمع is therefore, the considering one's self as annihilated, as to every thing except the Deity, which constitutes the degree of union.

to have been) could submit to the labours of a prophetic mission; and, after all, during his whole exemplary life, convert only a few to the true faith, but leave the great work itself to be done by the Apostles. And, on the other hand, how Mohammed did, in about the space of ten hours, so fascinate the Arabs, both by his address and manners, as to bring over, by his preaching only, multitudes almost innumerable from the ways of error to the path of truth. Such indeed was the fortitude of the Prophet in bearing the reproaches of others, that the Almighty himself has said respecting him, that "he was the paragon of all moral excellence." And, upon the whole, any one, who will consider for a moment the life and character which he exhibited, leaving his miracles out of the question, cannot but come to the conclusion that he was a Prophet. But, after all, "It is in vain to give counsel to one who is black at heart: an iron nail is not to be driven into a stone*."

From some of the Padre's other assertions it appears, that he is not only out of the path of Islamism, but that he is not in quest of the truth; for the obvious drift of his third Tract is to shew, that he acknowledges no law whatever. Good heavens! that any one should

* An allusion to a passage in the Gulistán, Chap. II Tale 18.

liberate men from the light burden* of the law, and then say, that as Jesus has made an atonement for sin by his death, there should now no such thing as sin remain! If this be the case, surely every one may now do as he pleases! How can the Padre be so inconsiderate? For we, who allow the mission of Jesus, shall be safe at all events. You Christians may drink and commit adultery, and even we may transgress the laws of Mohammed, and, at the most, this will be only sin. If it be said that the atonement of Jesus was for all mankind, we answer; We are a part of mankind. If it be said that it was only for those who confess the mission of Jesus, we answer; We confess it. Surely no argument can be more convincing of the falsehood of any religion, than this confession of the Padre is; nor can there be the least necessity whatever either to examine or refute it. As it appears, however, that Jesus was one of those upon whom the Deity has conferred certain spiritual favours†, it must surely be incumbent on his followers to pursue their course in the same way. It has been further said, that Mohammedans are legalists (p. 141.) it is their duty then to follow their leader

* In the MS. خوبك بار, which I suppose should be written سبك بار.

† MS. اهل جذب. See the note above.

according to established forms and ceremonies. But the Padre, forgetting what he was about, says, that *he* is subject to no law either external or internal. For he affirms unequivocally, that he has no such spiritual creed as the Hindoo has, nor any such outward ceremony as the Jews. We only ask, Is it possible that such a person can be in possession of the truth?

In the third place, the assertion that "there is no mention whatever made of Mohammed in the ancient prophecies" (p. 102.) must have been made either for the sake of dispute, from a want of knowledge of what has been recorded in the prophecies, or with a view to calumniate. For the mention of Mohammed occurs in the ancient prophecies much more frequently than that of Jesus does. Besides, in the Gospels which the Christians themselves believe to be genuine, there are innumerable intimations of the mission of a person more exalted in character than Jesus. And the universal belief of the Jews is, that some such Prophet is yet to come. If, however, any one has it in his power to work miracles, there can be no necessity for former predictions as to his appearance, although such predictions might strengthen the assurance of the believer. And again, when such an one as Mohammed, qualified as already described, and absolutely working miracles, has appeared, we only ask, can there be any necessity for his having

been predicted by former Prophets? But we affirm, that he has been foretold and particularly described in those prophecies which still remain uncorrupted, in passages far too numerous to be transcribed here. And, in the prophecy of the Hebrew child*, he has been foretold by name. It is certain, however, that a prediction of the particular properties of any one, is much more easily applied than that of a proper name would be. Because, any one might, either intentionally or unintentionally, give himself that name, and so apply a prophecy to himself which was intended for another. But the particulars of any one's character cannot be misapplied, as we shall hereafter shew, when we give our extracts from the books of the Prophets.

SECTION IV†.

On the Passages relating to Mohammed which occur in the Pentateuch.

Of these the following (Gen. xvi. 11, 12.) is one, in which it is said, that when Hagar had fled from Sarah her mistress an Angel appeared to her in the desert, &c. as follows: "And the Angel of the Lord said unto her, Behold, thou

* Of this we shall have some account hereafter.

† In the MS. we have here فصل اول. Section I.

"He shall rule over all, and all shall stand in need of him." The rest of the verse, viz. "And he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren," confirms this explanation. Now, it must appear to every attentive reader, that neither Ishmael himself nor any of his posterity ever obtained universal dominion, either temporal or spiritual, not even over his own brethren: nor is there any one to whom this prediction will apply but Mohammed, who was the seal of prophecy, and to whom the Deity gave universal spiritual dominion in consequence of his mission; and temporal dominion in the promise, viz. "That he may exalt the same (religion) above every religion, although the idolaters be averse thereto*." It is sufficiently clear, therefore, that no objection can be made by the Commentators on the Pentateuch to this interpretation. In consequence, however, of the difficulties in which they have found themselves implicated, they have endeavoured to shew that this must relate to the descendants of Isaac, although it is manifest that the text relates to Ishmael†.

---

has been taken by the Moola as derived from ירד, רדה or רדד, signifying *to obtain dominion*, which will account for the difference in the translations. The part which he has omitted he perhaps thought unnecessary to his purpose.

* Sale's Koran, Vol. II. p. 423.

† It is very certain, however, that no Commentator has so applied it.

It is also probable that the word יד (hand) here means *a law* or *revelation,* in which sense it often occurs in the writings of the Prophets, as the Commentators have shewn*. Of the passages in which this word is so used, the following may be noticed; Jeremiah, chapter i. v. 9. 1 Kings, chap. xviii. v. 46. Ezekiel, who is also called Zu 'lkifl†, chaps. iii, vii‡, xxxiii, xxxvii, and xl.

The meaning of the first passage therefore, "that his hand should be in every man" will be this, the revelation and law of the descendant of Ishmael, who shall be the seal of prophecy, shall be binding on all; nor shall his mission, like those of all the Prophets since the times of Abraham, be undertaken for one nation only.

The second passage, viz. "The hand of all shall be in him" is, that his revelation and law shall comprehend those of all the former Prophets; as it has been said in the Koran. "There is neither wet nor dry which is not to be found in the clear book." And again, "Thou hast received the aggregate of all revelation."

* In most of these passages the word in question has been interpreted, both by the Targumists and Rabbinic Commentators, as signifying either נבואה *prophecy,* רוח גבורא the *spirit of might,* or דבר יהוה *the word of the Lord.*

† See Sale's Koran, Vol. II. p. 56. note 9. Marracci's Koran, p. 457.

‡ Chap. vii. is a mistake, it should be chap. viii.

Again, in the Book of Deuteronomy, in the section entitled Shoftim (i. e. Judges, which begins chap. xvii. v. 18.) after recounting the precepts of Moses to the people; namely, thus and thus shall ye do, and forbidding their following astrologers, observers of times, fortune-tellers, magicians and the like, it is said (chap. xviii. v. 15.) נָבִיא מִקִּרְבְּךָ מֵאַחֶיךָ כָּמֹנִי יָקִים* &c. That is, "A Prophet like unto me shall God the Creator raise up from among thy brethren, hear him." It is also said (v. 16.) כְּכֹל אֲשֶׁר־שָׁאַלְתָּ. The meaning of which verse is, that upon the day, on which the people had assembled at the foot of Mount Sinai, and requested that they should no more hear the voice of God or see the fire; that is, the thunder and the lightning, lest they should die, Moses received the passage relating to that Prophet. The answer of God was, 'This People have spoken well.' The Israelites perhaps thought, that every Prophet should at every revelation witness a similar exhibition of thunder, lightning, a voice, and the giving of tables, and therefore requested that future revelations might not be afforded in this way. Upon

* In this, and other instances, the Hebrew text is cited in the Persian characters, but very incorrectly, to which a translation is added. I shall also cite the text, and give the sense of the Moola's translation, in order to enable the reader to see the full force of his argument.

this God pitied their infirmity, and said, They have well spoken, and added (v. 18.) נָבִיא אָקִים לָהֶם מִקֶּרֶב אֲחֵיהֶם כָּמוֹךָ &c. to the end. That is, "I will send a Prophet to them from among their brethren like unto thee; and I will put my words in his mouth; and he shall say to them whatsoever I command him."

When this revelation, therefore, should be given, should there be no sign also given, by which all could know that it comes from God, how could people in general receive it? There can be no doubt that they would reject it. It is therefore added in the following verse: וְהָיָה הָאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִשְׁמַע &c. to the end. "Every one who will not hear my word, which the Prophet whom I have sent in my name shall speak, I will be avenged of him. But the Prophet, who makes a false pretence, and speaks in my name that which I have not commanded, and speaks in the name of other gods, shall be put to death.

Hence it appears that two persons shall speak in the name of God. One, who shall be sent by God to propagate the truth, and to resist whom will bring down his vengeance. The other, who shall ground his claim on falsehood, and apply the words of God to himself. This man shall deserve and suffer death. Now, to distinguish between these two persons, is attended with some difficulty, insomuch that it will not be in

the power of all to do so. Again, as it is the duty of all to tender implicit obedience to a Prophet, and as no one can by any means be exempt, it will follow, that it was incumbent on the Deity to afford some miracle, which should attest the truth of such mission, so that all may have an assurance, that the one is really a Prophet, the other only a pretender. The miracle, moreover, should be such as to be easily understood by all; not unnecessarily involving a long train of causes and effects, but capable of being known to be a miracle by all who should make the inquiry, either mediately, by the confession of others, or immediately, by their own knowledge. The test, then, chosen by the Almighty, was the most easy possible, which was *the prediction of future events:* as it is said (v. 21.) וְכִי תֹאמַר בִּלְבָבֶךָ אֵיכָה נֵדַע &c. That is, "If thou say in thine heart, how shall we know which is the word which God hath not spoken? The word which a Prophet shall speak in the name of God, but which shall not come to pass, that is the word which God hath not spoken. The Prophet hath spoken when he ought not: Fear him not." That is to say, this is not the Prophet, whom to disbelieve will bring down the vengeance of God.

We now affirm, it must appear to the intelligent and candid reader, that the predictions above noticed cannot possibly relate to any Pro-

phet, who has appeared since the times of Moses, except Mohammed. For we know of no other, who can be said to have descended from the brethren of Moses, whose miracle consisted of written composition, comprehending the science of theology, and at the same time declaring both the past and the future, as we find it in the Koran, in such a way as to determine the reality of his mission; the denial of which, we know, was followed up by the destruction of the Jews and infidels of the tribe of Koreida, who were all put to death by Mohammed's companions*.

Nor can the passage apply to Jesus; for he was one of the descendants of David, and David was from Judah, who was one of the children of Israel, and consequently from Isaac. Jesus, therefore, can neither be a brother nor a brother's son to the children of Israel; for he was himself descended from the children of Israel. Mohammed, on the other hand, was of the posterity of Ishmael, the brother of Isaac, who was the ancestor of the Israelites. Mohammed is, therefore, brother to the children of Israel. In this point of view it is, that one brother's son is, with respect to another brother's son, said to be in the relation of a brother, because their fathers were really brothers. In conformity with this principle it is, that the children of Esau, who

* Annales Moslemici, Vol. I. p. 110-11.

was brother to Jacob, are said to be brothers to the children of Israel, as may be seen in the Book of Deuteronomy, in the section entitled אלה הדברים ("These are the words," Deut. chap. ii. v. 4.) where it is said וְאֶת הָעָם צַו לֵאמֹר &c. to end (i. e. "And he commanded the people, saying, &c.) It may also be seen in other passages, to which the reader may turn, that the descendants of Esau are said to be brothers to the children of Israel.

With respect to the miracles of Jesus, although he foretold future events, yet this was not done in that style of elegance which is to be found in the Koran. Besides, he did not give the Gospels as his miracle; for according to the Christians he wrote no book whatever, the Gospels which they have being the works of the Evangelists, and which were published some time after the death of Jesus.

Again, in the last section of the Law (Deut. xxxiii. 2.) there is a passage to this effect: "God was revealed from Sinai; he shone forth from Seir; and imparted his bounty from Paran." Now, there can be no doubt that this relates to the missions of Moses, Jesus, and Mohammed, respectively. For the place in which Moses saw the glory was mount Sinai: that of the mission of Jesus was Seir*; that of Mohammed the desert of Paran:

* The reader need scarcely be told that Galilee was on the north of Palestine, Seir on the south.

for all the Jewish Commentators agree, that Paran (whether occurring in the Law or elsewhere) and Mecca are the same place*. In the first book of the law, for instance, this may be seen in the section entitled חַיֵּי שָׂרָה (The life of Sarah, beginning Gen. xxiii. 1.) where the well of Zamzam is mentioned as being the residence of Ishmael†.

Again (Gen. xxi. 21.) וַיֵּשֶׁב בְּמִדְבַּר פָּארָן. That is, "he took up his abode in the desert of Paran." Now every one knows that Mecca was the residence of Ishmael. In the prophecy of Habakkuk too, who was one of the most illustrious of the Prophets, we have intimations, not only of the place, in which the Prophet who had been promised should reside, but of his character, which are as follows: אֱלוֹהַּ מִתֵּימָן יָבוֹא וְקָדוֹשׁ מֵהַר־פָּארָן סֶלָה כִּסָּה שָׁמַיִם הוֹדוֹ וּתְהִלָּתוֹ מָלְאָה הָאָרֶץ: That is, "God shall come from the south, and the choice one from the desert of Paran: his excellency shall

* That Paran must have been 500 miles at least north of Mecca has already been seen (p. 271.) It is certain that no Jewish Commentator whatever has said, that Mecca and Paran were one and the same place.

† It is the constant belief of the Mohammedans, that the well called Zamzam which is within the enclosure of the temple at Mecca, is the same with that called *Lahai-roi* in Genesis, which, chap. xvi. 7. is said to have been in the wilderness on the way to Shur. And again, v. 14. between Kadesh and Bered, and chap. xxiv. 62. in the country south of Judea. It is impossible, therefore, that it can be found at Mecca.

continually cover the heavens; and his praise shall fill the earth (Hab. iii. 3.).

SECTION V.

On Passages occurring in the Prophecy of Isaiah.

Of these passages one occurs, Chap. xxviii. v. 10-13. which is this: כִּי צַו לָצַו צַו לָצַו קַו לָקַו קָו לָקָו זְעִיר שָׁם זְעִיר שָׁם : כִּי בְּלַעֲגֵי שָׂפָה, &c. to the end. That is, "This Prophet shall give precept after precept, measure after measure, here a little and there a little: and this shall be in a language difficult to be understood; for in another tongue shall he speak to this people. His precept shall be easy to the contrite. But they have no desire to hear it. And since the word of God has been given to them, precept after precept, and measure after measure, here a little and there a little, they have turned away, and are cast down, and are depressed and broken, and have gone astray, and have been taken."

We affirm that the word קולקו* here used occurs in no other book of the Scriptures. It is to be found, however, in that of Nahman, which is known among the Jews by the prophecy

* It is true this occurs in no other book as one word; and it is also true that it does not so occur in this: for it consists of three words; viz. קו, ל, and קו which do separately occur in other books, though not in a construction similar to this.

of Hillel, and there said to relate to Mohammed, as we shall shew hereafter.

In the Shóreshím (שׁוֹרְשִׁים) a dictionary highly valued among the Jews, it is said, under the root קוה (Kavah), that the meaning of קולקו (Kavlakav) is this; the Prophets shall give precept after precept; and the same is said of צולצו* (Tsavlatsav).

Now, it is clear, that the properties here mentioned as belonging to the Prophet who had been promised, can apply to no one but Mohammed, who was the seal of Prophecy. The learned among the Jews say, that this passage relates to the appearing of some distinguished personage†; and, at the same time affirm, that he must be descended from the Israelites, of which, however, they offer no proof: and, indeed, the context proves directly the contrary. Upon the whole then, the meaning of the above extract is obviously this, It will be the office of that Prophet to give precept after precept: in this case, therefore, one of the following explanations must be the true one. First, the Prophet here foretold will give his precepts posterior to those of the other Prophets; which can apply to none but to

* The interpretation of the Shoreshim agrees sufficiently near with this.

† I can find nothing of the kind in any Hebrew Commentary that I have seen.

him, who is the seal of Prophecy. Secondly, his precepts will be given successively; that is, all his precepts will not be delivered at once, as the Law of Moses was; but successively, day after day; which was the case with the Koran: for it was given in successive portions through the space of twenty years at least.

The word זְעֵיר (Ze-ér) which occurs in the latter part of the 10th verse signifies *little*. And שָׁם (sham) means either *there* or *then*, referring either to time or place. The meaning of the passage then will be, one or other of the following. First, that the precepts and revelation of this Prophet be given partly in one place, and partly in another: or secondly, partly at one time, and partly at another. And such was the revelation of the last Prophet, given partly at Mecca and partly at Medina; or, partly *when* he was at Mecca, and partly *when* he was at Medina, happening, as it did, at different times, and in different places.

The meaning of the next verse is particularly clear; for, the language of Mohammed, namely, the Arabic, is entirely different from the Hebrew, and much more difficult in its structure. Besides, it contains many variations of declension, &c. which are not to be found in the Hebrew; and hence it is, that the sense of any passage cannot be made out from the mere situation of a word; for it will be further necessary to understand the

conjugations of verbs, the syntax, and the art of rhetoric, before any one can be said properly to understand it.

As to the declaration, that the religion of the Prophet thus to be sent should be easy of performance, we can attest that no religion has yet been made known which can at all be compared with Islamism, for the facility of its requirements. For in what country soever the professors of it may be, they have it in their power to perform its several rites, without being restricted to any one place, or being encumbered with certain provisions, as the Jews were; for they could not perform their services, but in an appointed place in the Holy Land. Another advantage of Islamism is, that it requires but one pilgrimage to Mecca; and even this is not expected from all. But the pilgrimages of the Jews were required to be performed three times every year*, without any respect to the ability or inability of persons to do so†. The devotions of Islamism too are appointed for such portions of the day and night as do not interfere with the hours of labour or of rest‡. But the prayers of

* Deut. xvi. 16.

† Vows and other offerings, it is certain, could be offered only in the Temple; but it was not absolutely binding upon all to keep the feast there. See Deut. xii. 21.

‡ The Mohammedans are commanded to pray five times every day. 1. In the morning, according to some an hour, to

the Christians are held at midnight; and many other such services they have, upon which it would be tedious to enlarge.

The next passage, viz. "But they have no desire to hear it. And since the word of God has been given to them precept after precept, they have been turned away, and are cast down—depressed—broken—gone astray—and have been taken," needs no explanation. That the Jews refused to receive or to hear the message of Mohammed, and that they were consequently despised, slain, and plundered by him, is too well known to need repetition here.

In the second place may be considered those predictions which occur in the second section of the prophecy of Isaiah, viz. הֵן עַבְדִּי אֶתְמָךְ בּוֹ בְּחִירִי רָצְתָה נַפְשִׁי נָתַתִּי רוּחִי עָלָיו מִשְׁפָּט לַגּוֹיִם יוֹצִיא: לֹא יִצְעַק וְלֹא יִשָּׂא וְלֹא יַשְׁמִיעַ בַּחוּץ קוֹלוֹ: &c. (Chap. xlii. 1, &c.) "Behold my servant whom I assist, my chosen one, the approved of my soul. I will give my revelation to him, which he shall bring forth as a law for the nations. He shall not cry aloud; neither shall he acquire dignity* for himself: neither shall his voice be heard without.

---

to others half an hour before sun-rise. 2. A little after mid-day. 3. Some time between mid-day and sun-set. 4. An hour, or, according to some, half an hour after sun-set. 5. Two hours at least after sun-set, before retiring to rest.

* וְלֹא יִשָּׂא. The Moola has taken the verb intransitively, which will then give this sense.

He shall not break that which is small, nor shall he extinguish the half-burnt wick of cotton. In righteousness shall he bring forth his law*. He shall not become faint, neither shall he flee, until he shall have established his law in the earth. And for his book† and laws shall the isles hope."

The learned among the Jews have here spared no pains, in endeavouring to make this passage apply to any one rather than to Mohammed; but, by the providence of God, they have succeeded in nothing, but in betraying their intentions to falsify the Scriptures: for the truth is, it can apply to no one else. As to what they have said on this passage, it is what they have said on many others; but which cannot be proved, viz. that this, and every other Prophet, must descend from the Israelites, and follow the law of Moses; and that any one differently circumstanced is to be rejected. They seem not to be aware, that it is expressly said of this Prophet, that he shall give a law for the nations: but, to give a law, and to follow the law of another, are very different things. In the same way may it be shewn, that this prediction cannot apply to Jesus, who, as the Jews suppose, will appear about the time of the resurrection. For

* משפט will by no means bear this sense.
† ולתורתו will not bear this interpretation.

Jesus, according to both Jews and Christians, was to follow the law of Moses. Some of the learned, however, observing this, have applied the prophecy to Cyrus, the idolatrous king who succeeded Nebuchadnezzar in the sovereignty of Babylon, and who sent the Jews back to the land of Canaan. The impropriety of this application is certainly too apparent to need refutation. No simpleton, one would think, could have been so silly as to suppose, that the person here said to be the chosen one of God, could possibly mean an idolater*. Of this kind, however, much is to be found in the Commentaries, of which we now take our leave, and return to the words of the Prophet himself.

We say then, the prophecy under consideration cannot apply to Jesus, because it is said, that this Prophet shall not flee until he shall have established his law in the earth; which must mean, that he shall fight for the faith, but which cannot be said of Jesus. Besides, we shall make it appear hereafter, from the words of the Padre himself, that the law of Jesus was not completed till after his death; and that this was then done by the Apostles.

In the next verse it is said, that the isles

* The Moola, perhaps, was not aware that this same Cyrus is mentioned by name in the 45th chapter of this prophecy, and is there called the anointed of the Lord.

should hope for his book; which shews that this Prophet should be sent to all. But Jesus was sent only to the Jews; and even the Christians allow that he wrote no book. The passage therefore clearly applies to Mohammed, who received a new law and revelation which he brought forth for all mankind. He was moreover sent to all, and he fought for the faith with both infidels and heretics, nor ceased until he had established his law in every part of the earth. He became faint in no battle; nor ever betook himself to flight. He subdued the most potent and warlike Princes, and yet assumed no dignity whatever; but would sit on the ground or ride upon an ass, or associate with the poor saints. His voice was never lifted up; and his law has pervaded the utmost boundaries of the earth, and even the islands of the sea.

Immediately after this occur some reproofs, directed against the Israelites, and threatening their chastisement. Isaiah is then addressed to this effect. (Ib. v. 5.) "I am God who have called thee in righteousness, I will strengthen thine hands, and will preserve thee for a law to the people, and for a light to the nations:—to open the eyes of the blind, and to bring forth the slaves from bondage, and to deliver the prisoners from the dark prison. I am the God whose name is Jehovah*. I give not glory to another, nor my

* In the text יי.

praise to idols. The former things have come to pass; those which are yet to come I foretel. Let them praise God. Let them sing a new song, and praise him from the corners of the earth, even the seas, the islands, the deserts, the cities, the houses, and the places which the children of Kedar do inhabit." The text here is, יֹשְׁבֵי קֵדָר יָרֹנּוּ. That is, "the inhabitants of Kedar, &c." And those who inhabit the passages of the mountains shall cry out from the tops of the hills and heights, and shall give praise to God; yea his praise shall they teach among the islands." After a few verses he proceeds (v. 16.) "I will bring the blind by a way which they have not known, and I will carry them by a highway which they have not perceived. The dark places which are before them will I enlighten; and the crooked way will I make a plain. These words which I have spoken I will surely perform. Let all, therefore, who make their refuge idolatry be ashamed and confounded, and who say to the molten images, Ye are our gods."

We now say, every one knows, that this Kedar was the son of Ishmael, and his people, the Arab nation. The meaning of the above cited passage, then, is obviously this: that the foundation, upon which the song and praise should be established, whence the shouting and praise should be proclaimed from the heights—

the crooked ways become a plain—the ways which had before been unknown should be made straight—the law which should comprehend all others, and prevail throughout the world, which should reach to the islands and other parts of the world, should receive its origin wholly from the Arabs. And of this no candid enquirer will ask for further proof. The prophecy, therefore, applies to Mohammed the glory of Prophets, and to the Arab nation, as every one must see*.

In another place (ib. v. 18, &c.) it is said, "O congregation of those who are in safety, blind and deaf, hear ye and see. There is none blind and deaf like my servant whom I have sent. He is devoted and obedient. Whatsoever he sees and hears, he believes that he neither perceives nor fully understands. But it is the will of God, through his righteousness, to magnify the Scripture and to make it powerful."

We say, It appears from this, that the Prophet and servant of God here mentioned, no less than the people to whom he should be sent, was to be illiterate and unable to read: and it is known to all from the Koran, that this is a true description of Mohammed and of the people of his times.

* It must follow from this reasoning that a Prophet and law must originate with every people of the earth; for they are all called upon to sing, just as much as the inhabitants of Kedar are.

The Prophet proceeds (v. 22. &c.). This people is spoiled, plundered, and confounded: their young men are concealed in houses: they are spoiled and plundered: neither is there any Saviour for them: there is no one to mediate for them. Who among you is able to hear this, to incline his ear, and at last to obey?

We remark, the plunder and destruction to which the Jews were subjected at the rise of Islamism is recorded in every history, and acknowledged by every tongue. The prediction that no one would take upon himself the office of mediator was literally fulfilled, when the Jews of the tribe of Koreida were put to death. For after they had violated a compact which they had made with Mohammed, and had joined those infidels and Jews who attacked Medina, they were surrounded and overcome by him, and afterwards condemned to death. Upon this they requested that the opinion of Saad might be taken, with whom they had formerly had a confederacy, supposing that he would, on this account, intercede for them. To this Mohammed assented, and sent for Saad, who, upon his arrival, instead of interceding for them, confirmed the sentence of the Prophet, and they were every one slain.* And thus was the prediction of Isaiah literally fulfilled.

The meaning of the concluding sentence,

* Ann. Moslem. Vol. I. p. 113.

viz. "Who will at last obey?" is the same with the former part of the prophecy, where it has been said, "The former things have come to pass: those which are to come I foretell to you. The learned Jews here say, that by *the last* Elias is meant, who is to be sent to them before the end of all things; which is language without a meaning: for who can suppose that Elias is thus to be obeyed?*

In the same prophecy we have also the following prediction (chap. xlv. v. 22. &c.) פְּנוּ־אֵלַי וְהִוָּשְׁעוּ כָּל־אַפְסֵי־אָרֶץ, &c. to the end. That is, "Look unto me, that ye may be saved all ye inhabitants of the earth; for I am God, and there is no other. I have sworn by myself, the word has gone forth of my mouth in righteousness, and shall not return, that to me every knee shall bow, and by me every tongue shall swear."

The meaning of this verse is, I will cause it so to come to pass, that all the inhabitants of the earth shall do me service; and besides me they shall mention no other God; neither bear him in their memory, nor swear by his name. But, as this declaration failed of producing assurance, it was confirmed by an oath, saying, this word is true, it shall not return unto me, but shall certainly come to pass. Now every one knows, that to serve God by bowing the knee has taken place

* I find no Jewish commentator who says any thing of the kind.

at no time, and in no religion but in that of Mohammed *. Again, when it is said that "every knee shall bow," it appears that this Prophet was to be sent to all mankind. And there can be no doubt that, excepting Mohammed, no Prophet has yet made a claim to this effect.

Again, when it is said, "By me every tongue shall swear," the thing meant obviously is, the dispensation of Mohammed: for, in his law, it is absolutely forbidden to swear by any thing but God himself, not excepting the Revelation, the Prophets, and others of the elect.

If it be replied however, that in this passage it is said, that every knee shall bow in the service of God, and that every tongue shall swear by his name, but that this has not yet come to pass, with respect to the revelation of Mohammed; and that all mankind have not yet received his religion, We answer; It is true that Mohammed has made this promise; but he has also said, that it shall not come to pass till the latter days. Besides, there could be no necessity, that this should take place upon the first promulgation of his law. And, since every particle of his law is now just what it was in his own times, it has been believed that, in this respect, it is similar to the Pentateuch, in which it is said, that God gave a promise to Abraham, viz. that his posterity should possess all the land from the river Nile

* It certainly is not necessary to prove the falsehood of this.

to the banks of the Euphrates. This, however, did not take place till many years after the death of Moses, when the Israelites, after much difficulty, took possession of Canaan under Joshua. And, even then, they did not possess more than a half of what had been promised; and this they soon lost. Hence it is, that the Jews, to this day, believe themselves to be the heirs of Abraham, and the real proprietors of the land of Canaan. In this case, God certainly gave a promise in the law, which has not yet been realized; and which, the learned Jews say, shall be fulfilled in the days of Messiah; just as Mohammed has said his shall when his Vicegerent* shall appear.

In the religion of Mohammed there seem to be some evidences of the truth of this; for, day after day, new converts are made in vast numbers to the faith of Islamism, from both infidels and heretics: nor has it ever happened, except in a very few instances, when some city or territory professing Islamism has become dependant, that any one has become an idolater. But, it is matter for thankfulness, that the progress made in Islamism is contrary to that of every other religion: for those territories which

* This, as it has already been noticed, is to be the Imam Mehdi, who is to appear near the last day, when Jesus is to descend from heaven, and all the world to receive the faith of Mohammed.

were four, five, or more generations ago, in the hands of either the Jews or the Christians, are now filled with a population professing the religion of Mohammed.

The meaning of this passage, however, might be, that his law requires all who serve him to bow the knee; which would not necessarily imply that all men should receive his law; but only, that his law, contrary to those of other Prophets, who were sent to some particular tribe or nation, should be intended for all.

In the next place, we come to the passages occurring in the 43d chapter of the same prophecy, which will confirm the interpretations of those already adduced. A few verses from the beginning the Prophet proceeds thus: (v. 8.) "I will bring forth two nations, the blind which have eyes, and the deaf which have ears. All people shall be assembled together, and they shall gather the nations together. Who among them shall make known these things? Who shall cause them to hear the former things? Let them give their testimony; let them declare the truth; yea, let them hear and affirm that it is true. Ye are my witnesses, saith God, and so is my servant whom I have chosen. Know therefore and believe in me, and consider that I am Jehovah. Before me there was no great one, neither shall there be hereafter. I am God, and besides me there is no Saviour. I have made

known, and I have saved, and I have declared, and there is no stranger among you. Ye are my witnesses, saith God, that I am great."

We now say, by this prophecy is confirmed what has already been said upon that beginning with הֵן עַבְדִּי (Behold my servant, chap. xlii. 1. &c.) Besides, it contains a command to the children of Israel, that they should give their testimony to the mission of the chosen servant who should thus be sent. And that they should confess, when he appeared, that this is the very Prophet, who had been foretold by the ancient Prophets; of whom they had received intimation, and who was to be sent to all. And indeed, the whole of this chapter, as well as those which precede and follow it, nay, the whole prophecy of Isaiah, contains similar predictions, together with prohibitions, that the Israelites should not follow idols. And further, it must appear to every one, who considers these extracts, that God has, of his infinite mercies to his servants, commissioned the former Prophets to caution men, that they should ever be attentive to the mission of this last great Prophet. Besides, every intelligent person must see, that it is requisite for the exhibition of such mercy, that this Prophet should be so described, that people might, upon his appearance, know him to be the person who had thus been promised, and accordingly, bear testimony to his mission.

Now the descriptions given in the ancient prophecies are these, I will put my words into his mouth,—he shall foretell future events; nor shall there be any thing like falsehood in his declarations,—he shall be descended from the children of Abraham, and from the brethren of Isaac,—he shall draw the sword and fight for the faith,—he shall neither turn his back nor flee from the enemy, until he shall have established his law among men,—his disposition shall be that of kindness and courteousness to all, and the like; but nothing to the contrary.

There can be no doubt, we believe, that these descriptions cannot apply to Jesus, although a few, cited by the Padre, which will hereafter be noticed, do: for all allow, that Jesus was not sent to all; and even our opponent himself, that he brought no written revelation from God. The Gospels now in the hands of the Christians, were not written till after his death, when the Holy Ghost, according to the Christians, is said to have descended and inspired the Apostles for this purpose. Besides, he never drew sword or fought for the faith: nor did he establish any new law among mankind; for he spoke of none but the law of Moses. Again, he was not a son of the brethren of Isaac, but was, by the mother's side, descended lineally from Isaac. Nor is there any one, if you except Mohammed, to whom these descriptions will apply. For every serious enquirer after the truth, therefore, the fore-

going extracts will be abundantly sufficient; and these will, at the same time, serve to shew, that the Padre's assertions are false, and that, in reality, he is not making enquiry on the subject of religion.

We do not deny, however, that there are several passages in the Scriptures relating to Jesus; but we say, that two persons have been predicted, and that the prophecies do not relate to Jesus alone. Hence will appear the sin of the Jews and others, who have concealed that testimony, upon which the ancient Prophets, in their days, dwelt as particularly necessary to be given; and further, that both Jews and Christians have concealed and denied it. The Padre himself allows, that the Jews did this, with respect to Jesus: but we say, when it has once been shewn, that any set of men have willingly and wittingly kept back the truth, there can be no doubt, that the same persons would not hesitate to alter certain descriptions, as formerly given in the Scriptures. And when the Padre has confessed this of the Jews, with respect to Jesus, why can he not also allow their further perfidy and impiety with respect to Mohammed? There can be nothing more plain, in our estimation, than that any one, who will conceal the truth, would make no scruple whatever to alter or erase a few passages, where it is in his power to do so; particularly when this would save him the trouble of having recourse to distorted

interpretations. It is certain, however, that it is now no longer in their power thus to corrupt or erase any parts of the Scripture; and hence, they have found it necessary to have recourse to weak and far-fetched interpretations, in order to obviate the objections which might arise respecting Jesus and Mohammed; and to preclude the possibility of enquiry into the cause, why their ancestors refused to bear testimony to the missions of these Prophets.

With respect to what has been said by the Padre, (p. 102), that if any one affirm that the Scriptures have been corrupted, it is incumbent on him to shew, "by whom, by what means, and for what end, such corruptions have been made:" We answer; those very persons who have corrupted the text in passages relating to Jesus, and where they had it not in their power to do so, have explained away the meaning, and thus substituted falsehood for truth, are the same who have corrupted the Scriptures in other places. And, as to the question, "by what means have they done this?" we say; both at the same time, and by the same means, that the Jews corrupted the Scriptures in one case, have they corrupted them in another. Whatever the Padre says on this head, respecting the Jewish doctors, and of their corrupting the text, or explaining away its meaning, in the case of Jesus, we say the same in that of Mohammed; because, in the first case, their act affects the

Prophet of the Christians. We now leave both the prejudiced and unprejudiced enquirer to himself, having selected as much from the Scriptures as will enable any candid person to discriminate between truth and falsehood.

There, are however, innumerable other predictions in the ancient prophecies to the same effect; and lest those already given should not suffice, we will add a few more, in order to shew, that the sole object of those revelations has ever been, to inform and to keep men in mind of the mission of the last Prophet, and nothing else. In the fifty-first chapter, then, of Isaiah's prophecy, (v. 4.) we have the following passage: הַקְשִׁיבוּ אֵלַי עַמִּי וּלְאֻמִּי אֵלַי הַאֲזִינוּ כִּי תוֹרָה מֵאִתִּי תֵּצֵא וּמִשְׁפָּטִי לְאוֹר עַמִּים אַרְגִּיעַ׃ קָרוֹב צִדְקִי יָצָא יִשְׁעִי וּזְרֹעַי עַמִּים יִשְׁפֹּטוּ׃ אֵלַי אִיִּים יְקַוּוּ וְאֶל־זְרוֹעִי יְיַחֵלוּן׃. That is, "Give ear to me, O my people, and let my nation hear me; for a book of regulation shall go forth from me. My law will I establish for a light to the people. My righteousness is near to be revealed, even my salvation: and by the strength of my arm shall the nations fulfil my law: For in me shall the nations hope, and for the strength of my arm shall they wait."

Rashi, a very respectable Jewish Commentator, has shewn, that by the word תּוֹרָה * (law) is meant

* In the MS. لزاهر كتابي است &c. As the Hebrew extracts, given in the MS. in Persian characters, are full of mistakes, I take

a book which is given for prophecy. He has also shewn, that all these wonders shall come to pass, and that what has been here promised, was all fulfilled in the times of Safâ*. The passage in Zephaniah, however, to which he alludes, will be hereafter adduced. † Aben Ezra also, who is a Commentator of great repute among the Jews, has said, that what is here predicted was fulfilled in Hezekiah, who is also mentioned in the prophecy קו לקו (that is, 'line upon line,' Isaiah, ch. xxviii. 10. &c.) But we have already seen what the scope of that prophecy is, (p. 280.)

I take for granted that this is one. The comment of Rashi on the passage is, דברי נביאי תורה הוא. "The words of the Prophets are (a part of) *the law*, or תורה.

* In the MS. تمام در وقت ظهور سافا بود. Rashi in his Comment on this passage cites Zephaniah, ch. ii. v. 9. אהפוך לעם שפה ברורה "I will turn to them a pure language. The word שפה Safa, which signifies lip, the Moola has taken as a proper name, or rather as a title of Mohammed, which is the only way I can account for what he has said.

† I can find nothing of this kind in the Commentary of Aben Ezra on this passage; but on Isaiah, ch. xxviii. v. 16, 17, in the latter of which the word קו occurs, it is said: ושמתי דרך משל על קו ומשקלת הבונים בעבור שאמר הנני יסד בציון אבן ויש אומרים כי האבן על דרך משל על חזקידו: that is, v. 27. "I will also lay, &c." that is, "to the line and to the Builder's plummet" by way of parable; because it had before been said (v. 16.) "Behold I lay in Zion a stone." Some say, therefore, that the stone here spoken of, by way of parable, means Hezekiah.—No one, however, so far as I have seen, has supposed that either קו (a line) or שפה (a lip) is to be understood as meaning a person.

SECTION VI.

On certain Passages occuring in the Book of Zephaniah.

It should be borne in mind that Zephaniah was a Prophet of the house of David, who lived during the latter times of the first temple. His book is but a short one, and it contains only three chapters, which are filled with the predictions of what should happen to the Jews: namely, of their overthrow, captivity, and return to Jerusalem:—of Jerusalem being again inhabited,—and of the great kings who are also mentioned in the book of Daniel. In the third chapter of this book we have a passage (v. 8.) which may be thus translated. "Because of the assembling of all nations on account of my law, I will set aside all kings, by pouring out my anger upon them, and the heat of my fury shall consume the whole earth." After this it is said, &c. כִּי־אָז אֶהְפֹּךְ אֶל־עַמִּים. That is, "I will bring to the nations a pure lip, that all may call upon the name of God, and serve him in one way*." From this passage it appears clearly, that this † Prophet should be the greatest

---

* MS. بيك روش which should probably be بيك دوش with one shoulder, as in the margin of our Bibles, the Hebrew word being שכם.

† I must confess I can see no intimation of the mission of any Prophet whatever in this passage.

of all, and that he should be sent to all mankind. The same intimations are given still more in detail in the book of Daniel.

SECTION VII.

* On the Revelation of the Hebrew Child.

Of this there are two accounts, the first of which respects his history, which is as follows:

---

* In the first volume of the Bibliotheca Hebræa of Wolfius, p. 67, we have the following notice of this prophecy: נְבוּאַת נַחְמַן קְטוּפָה בַּר פְּנְחַס. H. e. *prophetia Nachmanis. Ketupha filii Pinchas,* qui vix natus vatem egit, statimque iterum obiit, explicata, ex qua locum Schalscheleth Hakkabbala, p. 46. a sq. Vide de hac prophetia Schalscheleth Hakkabbala, p. 46, &c. The passage alluded to is this: בי בשנת ד׳רמה ליצירה וכמו תה״ שנים לחרבן בית שני · היה ר׳ פנחס חסיד גדול וקדוש ויהי לו רחל לאישה גם היא חסידה ותהי עקרה ויתפללו להשם יתברך ונעתר לקולם ותהר ובחדש ז׳ להריונה בחמשי השבת .... נולד זה הנער ויקראוהו נהמן · והכף שנולד התחיל לדבר פלאות .... והעולם קראו הנער נחמן קטופה דמן כפר כרעם ומת בן יב״ שנים &c. That is, "For in the year 4345 of the creation, and about 405 after the destruction of the second temple, lived Rabbi Phineas, a most pious and holy man. His wife, whose name was Rachel, was also very pious, but she had no child. On this account they offered up their prayers to the Almighty, who heard them, for Rachel became pregnant, and in the seventh month of gestation, and on the fifth day of the week was this child born; and they called him Nahman. As soon as he was born he fell down, and began to say strange things, &c. And people called him Nahman Ketupha of Kafar Carham. He died at the age of 12 years." None of the prophecies, however, presently

A certain learned and pious Israelite named Phineas had a wife whose name was Rachel. She was very infirm, exceedingly pious and obedient, and withal, extremely beautiful. Her constant employment was prayer to God that he would grant her a son; and, in this her cries and tears were incessant. It once happened that Phineas overheard the cries and supplications of his wife; and, being much affected with the circumstance, he joined her in making his petitions for a son. Their prayer was heard, and Rachel was soon observed to be pregnant. After six months' gestation, a child of perfect form and beauty was ushered into the world, which happened on Thursday the first day of October, in the 420th year from the destruction of the second temple. From this time to the birth of Mohammed was a period of four and thirty years*. This

presently to be noticed, are to be found in the Schalscheleth Hakkabbala, nor in any Rabbinical book that has hitherto fallen in my way. I must give them, therefore, as they occur in the Persian text.

* If we here take 420+34 we have 454 for the number of years from the destruction of Jerusalem to the birth of Mohammed. According to Abulfeda, (Ann. Mos. vol. I. p. 69,) Mohammed was, at the flight from Mecca, in his 54th year. Therefore 454+54=508. But according to Abulfeda *ibid.* From the destruction of the second temple to the flight of Mohammed 558 years had elapsed. In the above account, therefore, there must be a deficiency of 50 years. According to the Schalscheleth Hakkabbala above cited, this child was born in the 405th year from the destruction of Jerusalem. How to reconcile these discrepancies I know not.

child was called Nahman, who, as soon as he was born, fell down and worshipped. When he had lifted up his head, he said, Above this firmament of the heavens which ye see, there are nine hundred and fifty-five others. Above those is the firmament of living creatures. Above these is there a high throne, and above this is there a throne of consuming fire. The attendants, moreover, upon this throne, no less than the throne itself, consist entirely of fire. When Phineas had heard this from the child, he gave him a strict charge to speak no more:—Be silent, said he, the child became silent accordingly, and, until he had attained his twelfth year, he spoke no more.

Grief and lamentation was now once more the lot of Rachel. Would to God, cried she, we had had no son! for he is at last become speechless and dumb. It one day happened that Phineas, returning from his school, entered his house; his wife, as it was her custom, waited on him, and washed his feet. On this occasion she had brought her child with her, and soon began to solicit her husband, with the greatest earnestness, that he would beseech the Almighty, either to restore the child to his speech, or take him from them. Phineas replied, you are desirous then that Nahman should be restored to speech; but when he is, he will utter such things as will amaze and terrify every one. Rachel replied, Pray then that he

may be restored; but that when he is, he may utter none but dark and elliptical sentences. Phineas placed his mouth upon the mouth of Nahman, and conjured him, that he should speak nothing but what was so elliptical as not to be understood until it should be fulfilled; and, upon this condition, he allowed him to speak. When the child came to his speech he pronounced five prophecies, arranged according to the letters of the alphabet, all of which related to future events. He also foretold that his parents should bury him with their own hands, which came to pass; for, after a short time, he died, and was buried by them in one of the villages in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, which is called Caphara Karam,* in the place wherein forty learned men of the Jews had formerly been interred.

We now say, it appears from the context of these prophecies, that the object of this child was to predict the coming of Mohammed, and particularly to describe him; and further, to give intimations of what should come to pass from the time of his appearing to that of his vicegerent, and of the descent of Jesus the son† of Mary,

---

* كفر برعم in the MS. but according to the Schalscheleth Hakkabbala כפר כרעם.

† In the MS. عيسي بر مريم which should be عيسي بن مريم.

and of the resurrection of the dead. But, as it was not adviseable that these things should be thus made known, Phineas forbade his proceeding further. Many of his predictions, it is true, are not yet understood, yet enough has been made out, to enable any unprejudiced person to come to the conclusion, that they relate to the coming of Mohammed. Now, had the learned among the Jews given this book the consideration which it deserves, and had not had recourse to far-fetched interpretations, as it has been their practice in other books, they must inevitably have abandoned the religion of their forefathers, and embraced that of Mohammed. But, as no such meaning as that which suited their prejudices, could be extracted from the context, their next effort was to conceal the book; and, in this they succeeded to such a degree, that not so much as a trace of it could any where be found. The object of which was, that people in general should not, from their usual candour in such matters, become acquainted with its contents, and desert their party; or, that others, already in possession of the truth, should not adduce it in their arguments against them. But, as the affairs of the world are regulated by another, a copy of this revelation was so preserved by the guardianship of the Almighty, as to be made the means of preserving the followers of the truth. For, a short time ago, a Jewish book, entitled 'Confirmation

and Object,' (تاکید ومقصود), was carried to a printing office* for the purpose of being printed. The manuscript of the above-mentioned work was contained in the same volume, and was printed with it, in consequence of the attestation of the learned respecting it. For it is one of the rules of the printing office, that, until a book be found to be correct, and the learned have given a written attestation as to its accuracy, truth, and authenticity, it is not allowed to be printed.

When this book, therefore, had passed through the press, it so happened that one of the copies got as far as the city of Yezd, and there fell into the hands of the Moola Mohammed Ismaël, who was one of the most learned men of his time. Indeed, from the consideration of the exceeding great accuracy and subtlety of his works, there can be no doubt, that he was the most accomplished and most learned of both ancient and modern times. After the Moola had spent much time and labour upon this work, he succeeded so far in discovering a great part of its meaning, as to leave no doubt on the mind of any, that his interpretations were accurate. The drift of the remaining part still

* بقالب خانه literally, a mould-house; because, the letters used in printing are cast in moulds. Whether the Jews have printing offices in Persia, I know not. It is certain that they have at Constantinople, and this book, of the title and contents of which I have no other means of information, might have been printed there.

remained undiscovered. After him, his distinguished son Moola Háji Bába, who was also one of the most learned men of his day, spent much time in the investigation of this book; the result was, the interpretation of many of the hitherto unintelligible passages; and, upon the whole, from the conjoint efforts of both, many of the invaluable declarations of this book were brought to light; and these learned men themselves received additional confirmation in the truth of Mohammed's religion.

The order of the book is this: In the first prophecy, the letter A takes the precedence: that is, it begins with A. The second with B. The third with G, and so on to the end of the alphabet.* In the second, the order is inverted; that is, it begins with the letter T, and so proceeding through the alphabet, does not reach the letter A, because some verses are wanting. The third, fourth, and fifth prophecies, proceed in the same order with the first. And it is probable, that the second was once complete, but that some of the verses have, by some means, been lost; which, it is also probable, were more clear, on the missions of Mohammed and Jesus, than those which now remain.

* The order of the Hebrew alphabet is here observed.

THE SECOND ACCOUNT OF THE REVELATION OF THE HEBREW CHILD, WHICH IS KNOWN AMONG THE JEWS BY THE PROPHECY OF HILLEL.

This prophecy contains predictions (beginning in order) with all the letters of the alphabet from A to T. The first of these is this: 'A tribe and a people shall come, who shall put in motion, and shall remove from their places, all people. (Much) destruction shall be brought about by the hand of the son of a slave girl.'

We remark, nothing can be more clear than that this relates to the rise of Islamism. The object of the passage, namely, "They shall put in motion, and remove from their places, all people," is this: that before the mission of Mohammed, there was no Prophet sent, who could be said to be commissioned to all, and who could remove all people from their places: for, if we except the Israelites, who were the chosen people of God, and who had been more highly favored by him, than any other, there was no people who had received a revelation, Prophets, or a published law. They were all in the situation of brute beasts. The human intellect had hitherto suggested to them nothing as to the origin or end of things. But when they had arrived to such a state of proficiency, as to be able to comprehend something of the nature of spiritual things, and were capable of being charged with the divine commands, the great Disposer of events commissioned

the last Prophet to all mankind, designating his office by the declaration, "We have not sent thee otherwise than unto mankind in general." * So that he should call every one, without exception, to the true religion; and, at the same time, admonish them of the day of judgment, and of the things which should then come to pass.

Now, there can be no doubt, that the mission of Mohammed was not like that of Abraham, which was confined to the people of Niniveh, † nor to that of Moses or Jesus, who were sent to none but the children of Israel. The meaning, therefore, of the passage, 'They shall put in motion, and remove all people from their places,' is this; that Mohammed should, by his divine teaching, force *all people* out from their places of ignorance, idolatry, and error, and bring them into the highway of knowledge; nor should there one individual remain, who should not be moved and impelled towards the truth, although there should be some in possession of the truth in his times.

The word هدمداتارا, ‡ which is here rendered

* Sale's Koran, Vol. II. p. 280.

† This is contrary to the account given in the Rauzat Assafá, for there Abraham is said to have converted many to the true faith in Babylon. The office of Jonah seems here to have been assigned by mistake to Abraham.

‡ As I have not the Hebrew original at hand, I think it would be time thrown away to make any conjectures on this, or any of the passages to be noticed hereafter, as cited from these prophecies.

destruction, is so translated in conformity with the interpretations of the Jews. It comes, however, very near the meaning of the Arabic word هدم, which also means *destruction*. From this passage it plainly appears, that at the rise of Islamism there should be much destruction among the people of those times, on account of the resistance which should be manifested to the cause of Mohammed: which indeed took place, with the tribes of Chaibar, Nodair, Coraida, and Cainocaï, who were all Jews.* All the kings, moreover, of Persia, Greece, Turkey, and other places, were entirely subdued by the followers of Mohammed, just as it had been predicted by the prophet Daniel. Many of the cities, too, belonging to them, were entirely destroyed, and their temples overthrown. The cupola of the palace of Cosroe, we know, fell down, upon the birth-night of Mohammed; and the mansions of great and splendid princes were destroyed by his few assistants and companions.

Some of the learned among the Jews, however, of the present day, translate the word הדמתא by *silence*; and, indeed, it is possible this may be the primary meaning of it, that is, it might mean the taking away of the contention and dispute,

* For an account of the overthrow of these Jews, see Abulfeda's Annales Moslemici, Vol. I. pp. 86. 102. 110. 130.

which every where prevailed before the rise of Islamism; for, in the times of idolatry, every tribe and family were engaged with each other in perpetual dispute and strife. The circumstances of the tribes of Aus, Chazraj *, Coraida, and Nodair, are in the mouths of all; they are also commemorated in the national poetry of the Arabs. But, upon the appearance of Mohammed, these contentions were laid aside; the flame, which had hitherto administered to popular discontent, was effectually put out. The great Disposer of events, moreover, so cemented the hearts of all to each other, that they seemed to be brothers of one great family.

The passage may also allude to the *silence* to which the greatest of prophets had thus been reduced: for such is the degree of excellence to which his precepts lay claim, whether considered fundamentally or derivatively, that the most experienced would not so much as venture to suggest any thing like their equal. Hence have the most intelligent been reduced to silence, when brought into a situation to contemplate the greatness of his dignity and knowledge.

Of the meaning of this passage: viz. "By the hand of the son of a slave girl," there can be no doubt; for every one knows, that Mohammed was one of the descendants of Ishmael, who

* Tribes who inhabited Mecca.

was the son of Hagar the slave girl of Sarah. It is clear, therefore, that the whole of this passage relates to the last prophet.

Passages beginning with the letter ب. *B.*

بعالما ونشا ومردين كرشا جبارين حا اشا وهلمين قيشا.

Our Moola Háji Bába has said, that he has not found the word نشا in any Hebrew book, nor was it to be found in the Hebrew Dictionary, which was in his possession,—that his father had translated it by *forgetfulness*, and that in some translations it was made to signify *to dig or root out*. In a Persian translation, made by one of the Jewish doctors, it is made equivalent to *destroy*. And, whenever it means either *to dig and root out*, or *to destroy*, the meaning is the same with that already given under the letter A. For then the sense will be, *he shall desolate the world*, or, *he shall remove it from its place*. But, if it be rendered by *forgetfulness*, it will agree exceedingly well with the context of the following verse, in which the word حردين is translated by بچنداند (bichandánad) for the root چندانيدن * *chandanídan* means *to remove, to affright*, and *to dig* or *root out from any place*.

* This word does not occur in Richardson's Dictionary, nor in the Boorhani Katia printed at Calcutta.

The meaning of the word كرشا* (*Kærsha*) is *to drive away*, or *to a distance*, as given in the Shoreshim (שׁרשׁים), and as it occurs in the Pentateuch. Upon the whole then, the meaning of these two verses will be, that this son of a female slave shall forget the world, and every thing, beside God, and especially worldly wealth. He shall stimulate and impel men to seek God, but shall remove the world far from himself, just as it is related in the traditions of his illustrious house; namely, that when Gabriel brought the keys of all worldly wealth to him, with the message, that to accept of these would by no means diminish his dignity; notwithstanding this he refused to accept of them, and said, I desire no such thing. For his law, is, we know, founded upon the necessity of piety and abstinence in this world. The meaning of the last two verses is this: he shall regulate tyrants, he shall break and overturn them. The meaning of which is too clearly applicable to the person of Mohammed, to stand in need of any explanation or testimony, as to its propriety.

The above-mentioned Moola has said, that of the verses beginning with the 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th letters of the alphabet, he had not hitherto been able to discover the meaning. In that beginning with the 8th, allusion is probably made to those

* Probably גרשׁ.

who were concerned in the elephant-war against the temple at Mecca. For the meaning of them appears to be probably this: They shall bring an animal to destroy the holy house; but he shall refuse to do so, and shall not destroy it.* The verses beginning with the 9th, 10th, and 20th letters, also remain unexplained.

The letter L.

لشبيرت ابانا ومستمامي باءلا بهوله اركان الصحيح ملكا.

That is, "On account of the breaking of that door, which might have been closed, no one may, by coming, arrive with a remedy, so that a king shall grow up."

Our Moola Háji Bába has said, that it is probable these passages allude to the destruction of the temple at Mecca, as recorded in the history entitled the Garden of Purity, (روضة الصفا), for this temple was destroyed before the birth of Mohammed, and rebuilt five and thirty years afterwards.†

It is the opinion of the author, that this relates to the breaking of the wall of the temple

* For an account of this expedition, and of its miraculous and fatal termination, see Sale's notes on the 105th chapter of the Alcoran. Maracci's Koran, p. 822. Spec. Hist. Arab. pp. 491. 571. &c.

† The account is found in the second volume, under this date.

at Mecca, and to the entering in of Fatima the daughter of Asad, who was the mother of Ali; for to Ali is the name of king and commander exclusively given; nor is that of commander of the faithful applicable to any one else. *The breaking of the door,* may allude to the breaking through of the wall. And, that *no remedy may have arrived,* may allude to the circumstances of Fatima; for every one knows, that remedies are used by women in the time of childbirth. But as no one was acquainted with her case, no one thought of administering the usual remedies. When it is said *a king shall grow up,* allusion is made to the birth of Ali: for the title of *king of the region,* and of *commander,* is, as every one knows, always given to him.

The letter M.

محمد كايا اغا بايا ويطمع هو باديهي كليليا.

That is to say, Mohammed the great, the potent, the powerful, who became the desire of wood, that he might subdue that which exists, and be all.*

The translator above-mentioned has said, that the word بايا (báyá) is, in his copy, written with

* It is hoped the reader will excuse, in this and similar passages, the blind translation of a blind original.

an (א) *a*, although he has translated it by *desire*. It might formerly have been properly written with an ain (ע), but, as there are many changes of this kind in the Hebrew language, and as the Jews are bound by no laws of orthography, they have acquiesced in this translation. If, however, the word was originally written with an *a* (א), and has undergone no change, the meaning of it certainly remains yet to be made out. As to the word كليليا (*kalilia*), it occurs in the sense of *the whole, all;* also, *the best of all;* also, *a crown,* in which sense it is synonymous with اكليل (Aklíl). Each of these meanings have occurred to the learned among the Jews, who have asked; Why have people called Mohammed a king, and not a prophet, apostle, or the like? since it is well known that he was no prophet. This, however, is extremely erroneous; for it is often found in the writings of the prophets, that the prophets themselves are styled kings. In the book of Deuteronomy, for example, in the 33d section, (that is, chap. xxxiii. 5.), Moses is called a king; and of this kind many others might be named. If, however, an objector has any doubt, let him enquire.

It is probable that the words محمد كايا (Mohammed Káyá) should be considered as the subject-matter of the discourse, and to which the following context should be referred. The meaning of the verse, however, on any supposition, will be,

that Mohammed is made to be the desire of *wood*, which is a title expressive of his goodness, and of his peaceable disposition; for, in the Hebrew, the word *wood* is known to designate a person of a peaceable disposition. In the Pentateuch,* for instance, it is said, that when Moses sent the spies into the land of Canaan, and gave them a charge to enquire whether there was any wood to be found there, the learned have said, that the meaning is, they were to inquire whether there was any *good* in that land or not. Others have said, they were to inquire whether there was a good man there or not.

By *subduing that which exists* is meant, the overthrow of the religions and ceremonies which took place at the time of Mohammed's mission. The declaration of his *being all* alludes to his universal mission. It has also another meaning, derived from the principles of mysticism; for the mystics say, that a perfect man, and one who has arrived at the utmost limit of perfection, may be said to be *the whole world.*

The letter N.

نمر الکد مطاولیست قص مطا متعبد قطاطا وهوا خسف طینا وامطلقا.

When he shall arrive, he shall give light. He shall also come for a sign of the resurrection. He

* Numb. xiii. 20.

shall be a warrior, having come forth from the potter's clay.

The passage, 'When he shall arrive, he shall give light, is decisive against those who deny the mission of Mohammed: for no land is enlightened but by the light of (his) revelation: ignorance and error being darkness, and not light. The meaning of the next passage is clear, for, to have come for a sign of the resurrection shews, that he was to be the last prophet. Or, the meaning might be this, that he should preach on the resurrection, which, it is well known, was peculiar to Mohammed. That he should be a warrior, and fight for the faith, needs no explanation. The last passage relates to Mohammed's being of Arabian extract, and points to the place in the book of Daniel, where he speaks of the image, (chap. ii. 31. &c.), and where the learned have shewn, that the phrase חֲסַף טִינָא (v. 41. miry clay), relates to the Arabs.*

* It is true that both Saadias Haggaon and Aben Ezra so apply it. The words of Saadias are אדום חזקה כברזל וישמעאל כחרש. Edom is as strong as iron; but Ishmael (that is, the Arab nation) is as a potsherd. Aben Ezra says, ואצבעת' דם שרי ישמעאל ומלכיה במזרח ובמערב. The toes are the princes of Ishmael, whose kingdom is in both the East and West.

The letter S.

سکر پوها وتشجارازیل کسها نقق نفسه بها.

That is, he shall establish the word, and praise and thanksgivings. He shall proceed; he shall cut off; and the soul of the leader shall come forth. His *establishing the word* shews, that the miracle of Mohammed should consist of written composition, which he should bring to such a degree of perfection, as to be firmly established, so that the eloquence of the eloquent should not in the least affect its foundations,—such should be the fluency of his address, as utterly to preclude the possibility of imitation by human powers; and in which, no change should ever take place.

His *proceeding* and *cutting off*, probably alludes to the victories he should obtain in battle, or, to the passing away of the glory of former religions and laws, and to the cutting off of that line of connection which united the ancients and moderns, in this respect. The *soul of the commander coming forth* might mean, the killing of those leaders and generals of armies, who fought with Mohammed: or, it might allude to the appearing of his person, which was the soul, and spirit, and intellect of all created things; as he himself has said, 'that the first thing which God created was my spirit and intellect.' Now, according to the opinion of the Soofi Doctors, the first intellect,

on account of the simplicity of its essence, necessarily comprehends all intellect, and all other inferior substances.

The letter Ain, (ع).

عفاعرا وفافل عزيرا وباطلا كثرا.

That is, 'He shall cover and drive away misfortune. He shall destroy idolatry. He shall become ruler of the heavens, and he shall pass away.' The meaning of *his covering and driving away misfortune,* is probably this, the putting aside of those misfortunes, and the quenching of those flames which every where spread death, ruin, and distress, before the mission of Mohammed. For, during the times of ignorance, mankind were universally suffering from various misfortunes and injuries; but when he appeared, these vanished. Perhaps it may also allude to the law and religion of Mohammed, which were manifestly much more light, and easy of performance, than those of former times; and to his taking away all the difficulties of this description, under which mankind formerly laboured.

When it is said, 'he shall destroy idolatry,' the meaning is clear; for this was effectually done by Mohammed: the number of idols which he broke, whether in Mecca or elsewhere, being almost innumerable. The last passage alludes to his ascent to heaven.

The letter F.

فخر اوي هوا ومكدل بن كدوالت قولقاء هو.

By فخر (fakhar) is here meant a Potter, which in Arabic (فخّار) has the same meaning. The meaning of the whole will then be, 'He shall be (descended) from the Potter. He shall make the children of the idolaters great. He is designated by קולקו (line upon line. Isaiah xxviii, 10). He is altogether joyful.'

The first clause here shews, that this personage should be an Arab, as it has already been shewn from the book of Daniel, (p. 319). The meaning of the second is exceedingly plain and clear; for, after Mohammed had conquered Mecca and some other places, and had slain all those idolaters, who refused to acknowledge his sway, he made no scruple in conferring the greatest honors on their children, so that they all became great men, and held posts of the first distinction; all of which came to pass, solely, by his means.

In his being designated by קולקו (line upon line), allusion is manifestly made to the prediction of Isaiah in the 28th chapter of his prophecy: for in that chapter alone does the word occur. The scope, therefore, of this child's prediction is, that this same Mohammed is designated by קולקו (line upon line) in the prophecy of Isaiah, which we

have already cited, translated, and explained, (p. 280, &c.) In this book, therefore, both the person, and the circumstances attending him, which the child had in view, are manifest and clear: for, independent of his characteristics, we here have his name. And hence the meaning of Isaiah becomes clear and definite. And, in truth, no candid enquirer will require any thing in addition to these passages, on this question. In the book of Aruch, which is one of the Hebrew dictionaries, it is said, that the word واي waë, is used in circumstances of grief and distress; but واه wáh, in those of joy and delight.* We have, therefore, left the fourth clause of the prediction unexplained, the sense being sufficiently obvious.

The letter Sad (ص, *Heb.* צ).

صبرا شاها وسيبهاه وشاها طاوشا معا وعرف بها.

The meaning couched under the first member is this, 'The light shall be delayed,' which probably alludes to Mohammed's turning the Sun

* This is a Rabbinical Dictionary in high estimation among the Jews. The passage in question is found under the root וה, it is this: רבן יוחנן פירוש וי לשון צער וה לשון שמחה ... i. e. Rabban Johanan explains וי woï, as a particle of grief, but וה wáh, as one of joy. The last word הו in this prophecy is probably alluded to.

back in its course;* or, to his dividing the Moon; or, to the decline of the power of the faithful, and to the rise of that of the heretics; or to the fury of the Califat. But, in any case, this is one of the doubtful verses, and of which the exact meaning has not yet been discovered. The same is the case with all the other intermediate prophecies, till we come to the letter T (ת, the last of the alphabet) which seems to allude to the appearance of the last Imám, Mehdi; for it thus proceeds: 'The hour shall come when righteousness shall prevail; and prophecy shall multiply, which shall proceed and fill every land.'

THE SECOND PROPHECY,

Proceeds in an inverted order, with respect to the first, that is, it begins with T (ת), and proceeds backwards as far as P (פ).

The letter T.† (ת).

تشك تفارا وترب كبورا وبشتر واسير.

That is, 'Nobility and greatness shall be magnified: and those things which have been closed shall be opened.' The meaning of this is obvious, and alludes to the times of the last Imám.

* See pages 68—71.

† In the MS. حرف العاء which is, no doubt a mistake, for the first word commences with T.

The letter Shin. (ش, *Heb.* ש).

شبثاء شبقاء مشبتا عاقا ومعقا عبقا وبيقاء مستنقاء.

Six desirous persons (shall come), these shall fall into difficulty, difficulty after difficulty. The movers shall fall into trouble.

The letter R.

رعصا ترسا وناسا وحلسا ونسا.

They shall fall into trouble difficulty and pain; they shall be rooted out and be diminished.

The letter Q. (ق, *Heb.* ק).

قفيصا مستعر فاعل يدسا وسفا كصر فابتروفا.

He shall be cut off by a dagger from behind, on the bank of a river, in the desert, like one tempted shall he be taken. And the marriage night.

The letter Sad. (ص, *Heb.* צ).

صبوعا تصبيعا نسرفا ونقرعا ومودعا بديعا بشعرعا تشتعشعا.

The coloured tents, the habitations of son's sons, shall be consumed. Their own (relations) shall be made known. (It shall be) known that they have been brought up in delicacies.

It is sufficiently clear, that all these passages relate to the affair of Kárbela.* These six illustrious persons were the great heads of the Martyrs. They also relate to those who attached themselves to the other companions of Mohammed, and had become his followers. The meaning of 'being cut off by a dagger from behind,' is, the beheading of the leader of the martyrs. The story of the 'marriage night, and of the bride, is that of Kásim Ibn Hasan.† The last part of the verses relates to the Haram, that is, to the tents of the grandchildren of the prophet, being taken and burnt. From the letter F, to the end of the other three prophecies, nothing has yet been made out.

SECTION VIII.

On those Passages in the Gospels which relate to the coming of Mohammed.

Of these one is found in the fourteenth chapter (of that by St. John, ver. 16, 17, &c.) the meaning of which is as follows: "Jesus says to his disciples, I will request my God that he give you

* "Nom d'une Campagne," says M. d'Herbelot, "de l'Iraque Babylonienne ou de la Chaldée, proche de Coufah, et a l'Occident de la Ville, nommée *Casr. Ben Hobeïrah.* Ce lieu est fameux par la mort, et par le sepulcre de Houssein, fils d'Ali, qui y fut tué, en combattant contre les Troupes d'Iezid, fils de Moavie, qui lui disputoit le Khalifat, &c.

† This alludes to some traditionary tale respecting the last Imám Mehai, which has not yet fallen in my way.

the paraclete, that his law may always be with you: and the paraclete is the spirit of righteousness and truth." Now, the word paraclete, in their language means, a discoverer of secrets, and so it occurs in the fifteenth chapter: "But the paraclete is the Holy Spirit whom my Father will send in my name," that is, in the name of prophecy, "that he may teach you all things; and he shall bring my sayings to your remembrance. And I warn you of his coming before he comes, that when he comes you may join him and believe." Again, in the sixteenth chapter, "I now speak for your sakes the word of righteousness and truth, which is this, It is good for you that I go from you. For, if I go not to my God, the paraclete will not come to you: but I go that I may send him." Again, "When the spirit of righteousness and truth shall come, who is the paraclete, he shall instruct and teach you, and shall lead you to all good qualities. Because, he shall not speak of himself, but what he shall speak, he shall speak from God."

Now, it must appear to every unprejudiced person, that he, who is here promised by Jesus, can be no other than Mohammed. Who was the seal of prophecy;—the person who spoke the word of righteousness and truth;—who, far removed from mere opinion or surmisings, was the revealer of secrets, and the repeller of misfortunes;—endued with the most gracious disposition, and with properties the most perfect:—the

most valuable of mortals;—claiming for himself, that he spoke nothing but by divine inspiration; and that he knew all things according to their several natures and properties. Besides, our very opponents, nay, the most intelligent of every country are agreed, that no one since the times of Jesus, if we except Mohammed, has yet appeared, to whom this character can apply.

The opinion moreover, that some one is to come hereafter, as the Jews say; or, that this passage means the Holy Ghost, or his descent upon the Apostles, as the Christians say, is very far from truth.

As to the opinion of the Jews, it is founded upon the presumption, that no person possessing such qualities as these, can appear from any other family except that of Isaac; for they say, that neither Ishmael nor his children can be so circumstanced, that the Almighty should make choice of any such person from among them, so as to give him a prophetic commission to all. But, say they, as Mohammed is not from Isaac, but from Ishmael, therefore the person promised has not yet appeared; but shall appear hereafter. From what has been said, however, the reader must see, that this is contrary to the express declarations of the holy Scriptures: for, the clear and obvious meaning of the ancient prophecies is, that he should appear from among the descendants of Ishmael.

With regard to the opinion of the Christians, every one, who has made any progress whatever in the knowledge of divine things, or any approaches towards spirituality, very well knows, that neither the descent of the Holy Ghost, nor union with him, is at all possible. And, further, that properly to understand the true character of such an attainment, requires a nature, in some respects changed, and is therefore not within the reach of common capacities; but is the peculiar privilege of the favored few. In the gospels, it is true, addresses are always delivered in the plural number; which, when speaking to many, is allowable, as it also is when speaking to people of rank. Still, there can be no doubt, that what is allowable, no less than what seems to be so, when manifestly implying impossibility, must not be so interpreted as to oppose the truth.

In the second place, the Holy Ghost cannot be said to have a law; but to be the giver of the law to the prophets. But in the gospel, above cited, it is said, that he has a law; and that his law shall endure for ever.*

In the third place, it is said, that his coming is more convenient for you, than my being with you is, which, (if applied to the Holy Ghost), contradicts common sense; for, the existence of

* It is rather unfortunate for this conclusion, that nothing about law occurs in the whole chapter.

a Prophet, who is a man, is, on account of the excellencies of his properties and person, better adapted to the wants of mankind, than an open revelation of the Holy Ghost could be. And, hence it is, that the Almighty has always sent Prophets taken from among men.

In the fourth place, it is said, until I go he will not come. Now, if the Holy Ghost had been meant, his coming could have implied no difficulty as to the contemporaneous existence of Jesus: on the contrary, the presence of the teacher is ever found to facilitate the progress of the pupil, and to accelerate his progress, by stimulating him to a greater exercise of divine love. We find, however, from the Padre's third tract, that he submits to no exercices of self mortification, and that he has not made the least progress whatever in the knowledge of things relating to the soul; and further, that he is bound by no tie relating either to its salvation or destruction. We have read, however, some of the books of the Christians, and we find, that some of them are acquainted with religious experience; and that they have followed this up, and do so still, upon principles of sound reason. But our Padre acknowledges neither the principles nor the observances of others, who are of his own communion: and, indeed, openly denies the existence of any law, even that generally acknowledged by other Christians. With such an one, therefore, subject to no law, and

acknowledging no observances whatever, it must be perfectly useless to contend.

There is a passage in the Psalms to this effect. 'Bind on thy sword great and mighty man. Since thy law is coupled with reverence, thy hand, arm, and spear have become sharp, and all nations shall be subjected to thy controul,' Ps. xlv. 3, &c. David has also said, 'Send a lawgiver O God, that men may know that Jesus is a man, and not a God.* Of this kind there are many clear intimations in the writings of the ancient prophets, which cannot apply to the person of Jesus; but to cite more of these will be useless: nor will any unprejudiced reader require it. But, as the Padre had said that there was no mention of Mohammed in the holy Scriptures, (p. 102), we have cited the foregoing passages; and further, that it might be seen that his arguments are unfounded, or, that he has not read the prophecies at all.

We have already said, that descriptions, such as the foregoing, of the properties and person of Mohammed, are much more certain in their application, than the mere mention of his name would have been, as is also the case with those which relate to Jesus. But, the reader now knows that Mohammed has been mentioned by name; and that this occurred

* Ps. ix. 20, is, I suppose, the passage in view, but how falsely the citation is here made, the reader need not be informed.

in the gospels themselves in his times. For, had this not been the case, how could he have said in the Koran, (chap. 61.), 'One shall come after me whose name is Ahmed.' Now, had this not occurred in the gospels, surely he never could have dared to make such an assertion openly, which, indeed, no person in his senses would ever have attempted. For, at that time, there were perhaps a hundred copies of the gospels in the house of every Padre. These, would, of course have been produced, and shown to every body, as being the easiest way possible of convincing them of the falsehood of Mohammed's claim. It appears, therefore, that what has been so boldly advanced in the inimitable Koran, did once exist in the gospels. The Padre, however, after asserting that no mention is made of Mohammed in the Scriptures, proceeds thus: 'If it be replied that the ancient prophecies have been corrupted, we say, this is a mere pretence which ought not to be regarded, unless it can be shewn, by whom, by what means, and for what end, such corruptions have been made,' (p. 102).

We reply, first, that there was no necessity, whatever, that Mohammed should be mentioned by name in the prophecies: the only thing necessary was, a good description of him. For, had his name been mentioned, any one, acquainted with the language of the scriptures, might have so named one of his sons; and this son might afterwards have

made a claim to prophecy: yet no one would say, that this name, joined to the claim made, would have been proof sufficient that he really was a prophet. It follows, therefore, that to have mentioned Mohammed by name, would have been far from decisive: contrary to what would have been the case had he been minutely described, for then, the description could have suited no other person: and, that he has been thus described, we have already given proof sufficient.

We have shewn, secondly, that in the prophecy of the Hebrew child, Mohammed is mentioned by name.* And, thirdly, Mohammed is described, just as Jesus is by the title of *Messiah* or *spirit of God*, by many titles, such, for instance, as קולקו (line upon line), the paraclete, and the Holy Spirit, which are now found in the writings of the ancient prophets. Nor is Jesus mentioned by name in any of the ancient prophecies, but under the title of the Messiah, which has the same meaning with the word Christ.† And this is a title, and not a name, of that personage.

Fourthly, it is not incumbent on us to shew who has corrupted the Scriptures: our position

---

* In the MS. تصریح باسم هم نشده بود, which must be an error of the copyist, for تصریح باسم هم شده بود, as the name occurs, p. 42. MS.

† MS. تصریح بماشیخ که مرادف مسیح است.

will be sufficiently established, and our opponent refuted, by shewing the origin of the corruption itself: for the same arguments which go to prove, that Mohammed was mentioned in the Scriptures, will also prove, that they have been corrupted, and, at the same time, that the assertion of the Padre is false. In this case, it will not at all be necessary to shew, who was the author of this corruption: nor, further, will it be necessary to name, either the time, place, or means, by which this was effected. Every time and means which could have been employed, might have been employed; and whether done before, at, or after the times of Mohammed, the motives for doing so were ever in existence, every one of which consisted in irreligion. Besides, this disposition, according to the manifest declarations of the scriptures, has always prevailed among the learned of those, to whom the Scriptures had been sent. And more especially would this be the case, when a new prophet had been commissioned to all mankind, who should proceed to abrogate all former religions and laws. For, in such a case, the learned would be reduced to the same level with the unlearned, both being compelled to commit to memory the precepts of the new religion. This would deprive the learned of their display of worldly learning; and the consequence would be, the rejection of such prophet. The same still holds good among the majority of the learned;

who, upon meeting with a man more learned, pious, or virtuous than themselves, lose no opportunity of asserting the contrary, lest, indeed, he should become possessed of that popularity, which they have in view. To suppose that this is not the fact, is to suppose what is manifestly false; and much more would it be so in the case of the Padre; for the Christians commonly affirm, that the learned among the Jews, universally did, upon grounds the most iniquitous and unjust, conceal the truth, when Jesus appeared among them; and not only did they explain away the real force of the Scriptures relating to him, but corrupted many of them.* It is a fact established by experience, that when any one has to contend with a man of God, no scruple is made in transgressing the bounds of truth; and, if this is the case, what difficulty can there be in supposing, that when Mohammed appeared, the Scriptures relating to him were corrupted. But, if we allow, that to have corrupted the Scriptures when Mohammed appeared, would have been useless; or, that no such corruption took place, still our opponent

* It is true that many Christians of ancient times, Justin Martyr, Origen, Augustine, and others did make this assertion. And some, particularly those of the school of Kennicott and Hutchinson, still assert the same. The far greater part, however, of the learned of Europe, hold a very different doctrine: namely, that no wilful corruption of the Holy Scriptures has ever taken place.

himself allows that the Jews did this, and at a time much nearer to that of the Prophets, and when people were much better acquainted with the facts related, and consequently, when it would have been much more difficult to succeed. Now, if this be the case, where can be the absurdity of supposing, that, among a people, far removed in point of time from the Prophets, and when ignorance every where prevailed,—when no Prophet was to be found, and the few virtuous men then in existence were driven into deserts and corners, and the learned every where engaged in disputes and squabbles—where, we say, is the absurdity of supposing that this actually took place? To insist upon the contrary, must, to use the words of our opponent himself, (p. 80), be for no other purpose than that of mere dispute.

The Padre says, in the next place, (p. 102), "It appears from the Koran itself, that up to the time of Mohammed, &c." (to p. 104, line 12.) We answer; in the first passage cited, the phrase upon which the proof is made to depend, that no corruption had taken place in the ancient prophecies till the time of Mohammed, is this, namely, *pure books.** Although we never use the first of these words (صحف) with reference to the books of the

---

* نايم and بكيريم as occurring in the MS. I take to be incorrect, and read نئمايم and نكيريم.

ancient Prophets, nor the second (مطهرة) in the sense of incorrupt. To take both therefore in that sense can never be allowed. For the commentators take the first (that is, صحف) to mean the Koran, because it comprehends all that is contained in the books (of Scripture), nothing being more clear than that our Prophet had never read these books; and not only so, but, that he forbade their being read or copied. The meaning of the passage then is this, that the unbelievers, among those who possessed the Scriptures, no less than others of the infidel tribe of the Koreish, remained firm in their unbelief, until Mohammed had appeared, and invited them to receive the faith; and, that some, who left their former ways, were blessed with it.

Now, what proof is there in all this, either that the Scriptures of the Prophets had been corrupted, or that the contrary was the fact? The meaning of the verse following, namely; 'Neither were they unto whom the Scriptures were given divided among themselves, until the clear evidence had come unto them,'* is manifestly this; They who had received the law and the gospel, were not divided among themselves, nor did they differ respecting the person of Mohammed, until a clear decision had appeared against them, in his person. That is, before his

* Sale, Vol. II. p. 494.

mission they were agreed in acknowledging him; but, after it, some joined him, others became infidels, and persevered in rebellion and a denial of the truth. And, as they had been unanimous in acknowledging his mission, there could then have been no motive for corrupting the Scriptures; because this must have been founded upon a wilful denial of the truth.

But further, *to corrupt* (any composition) is, according to the most usual acceptation of that expression, and as the author of the Soorah * has clearly shewn, rather to *remove a word from its place*, than to change it for another, or to abbreviate it; or, so to explain its meaning away as to give the context a meaning entirely different. Now, if those who had received the Scriptures, have not done the first of these things, there can be no doubt that they have done the second, as is the case in the phrase קולו קולו (line upon line):— in the passage relating to the revelation of God on Mount Paran, and in that respecting the Paraclete, the spirit of righteousness and truth; in all which they have given far-fetched, foolish and weak interpretations, contrary to facts, and the obvious meaning of the context, as we have already shewn.

It is also well known, that irreligion and a wish to conceal the truth are not always necessary to

---

* As in the Calcutta edition گردانیدن سخن از موضع خود

bring about a corruption of the Scriptures; for this might also be done in the process of translating from one language into another, either by mistake or inadvertency. For, it has often happened in the process of translation, even in the first instance, that the meaning of a passage has, by substituting words not strictly synonymous with those in the original, been entirely lost. What then must be the case, when the translations are in various languages, and have been made at different times? As the Padre declares has been the case, (p. 103). But the truth is, there is no difference of opinion among the Christians, as to the fact of their having altered the originals of the gospels; and, indeed, it is said to be stated in some of their books, that this has been done about a dozen times; but as such account has never fallen under our observation, we have doubted of the truth of its accuracy. Upon the whole, however, as they have, times innumerable, both destroyed and burnt thousands of the copies of the gospels, which they did not think it prudent to disperse, and have fabricated four according to their own modes of thinking, and dispersed them, who can doubt that they would have taken out the name of Mohammed? Or, that when they have been convicted of such flagrant instances of corruption, they would have hesitated in this particular case? For it must have been a thousand times more difficult to burn the gospels than to change the readings,—than to explain their

meaning away by substituting words nearly synonymous, or to change the proper name of Mohammed for that of the Paraclete, which after all can apply to none but him.

The Padre, however, has said, that this can only be probable, and that probability never amounts to demonstration, with the most discerning. Be this as it may, circumstances do often happen contrary to appearances, and what is contrary to appearance, is, without doubt, improbable; but it may not therefore be contrary to fact. What then if this, which is not indeed impossible, may have come to pass, notwithstanding appearances to the contrary? That is to say, that notwithstanding the length of time which may have elapsed,—the number of copies in circulation,—the differences of opinion on religious matters,—and the want of evidence that they conspired for the purpose of corrupting the Scriptures, they have, nevertheless, corrupted them? For the differences among the Christians,—the length of time which had elapsed, and the multitude of copies in circulation, were not greater than those among the Jews. How, we ask, does it happen that, notwithstanding the thousands of years that had elapsed with them, they succeeded in conspiring for the purpose of explaining away those passages which related to Jesus, and which, according to the Padre, can relate to no other person?

The reader knows, that we have proofs in

our hands of the name of Mohammed having formerly existed both in the law and the gospels; and, that the learned of these communities have taken it out, still more convincing than the foregoing, which are these. It is expressly said in the Koran, that when it was first revealed, the name Ahmed appeared in the gospels; and we know that it is not to be found there now. If therefore this name had not then occurred in the gospels, what better proof could have been required of the falsehood of Mohammed's claim, than to have produced the copies of the Scriptures, both new and old, at the time the claim was made? Most of Mohammed's companions had constant intercourse with the Jews and Christians of those times: and the less honest part of the learned were daily engaged in proposing doubts to the people, as to his character. Many of his followers, too, were well acquainted with the languages in which the Scriptures had been written, particularly those who had formerly been Jews or Christians. Now, how could it have happened, upon the supposition that this name did not occur in the Scriptures, that Mohammed should, nevertheless, cite it as being found there? And that he should then have dispersed his book containing this declaration, and proposed rewards to those who read and copied it, unless, indeed, he had been a madman, which our opponent, however, will not allow? For he and many others have no hesitation in affirming,

that, as far as worldly matters went, he was a General of uncommon penetration and judgment. We ask, how could any intelligent person have so far committed himself, as to have put it in the power of every simpleton flatly to contradict him? Let the candid reader judge whether this improbability, or that of the Padre is the greater: or, whether both, at least, are not equally great, and therefore likely to stand or fall together. If, however, he has any thing more to offer on this point, we shall be glad to hear it.

Again, the number of translations of the Scriptures, which had been made, should be considered as a means of corruption, rather than a proof that no corruption had taken place. But, as the Koran has not been so translated, it still retains its original purity. The Padre, however, proceeds: (p. 104), "But, if it be said, that mention is really made of Mohammed in these prophecies, we answer, this ought to be shewn in such a way as to leave no doubt of the fact." We answer, the proofs already given to this point, and to which no well grounded objection can be made, also shew, that, in those passages, no other person, even now, can possibly be intended: and to these the reader is referred, (i. e. §. 4. p. 269, &c.)

Another objection, as stated by our opponent, to the mission of Mohammed, is, "His having wrought no miracle," we now say, continues he,

"that those who have recorded his miracles, are not to be believed, &c." (from p. 104 to the end of the first paragraph, p. 106.)

We answer, from what has already been said, it appears that Mohammed wrought many open and notable miracles, not to insist upon his having been described as endued with the most excellent qualities, and of such as are never found to meet in any but the Prophets, so that the Almighty himself has said of him, "Thou art of a noble disposition."* Now, it must be evident to every unprejudiced reader, that if this is really the word of God, the person who has dared to speak so disrespectfully of Mohammed as the Padre has, must be utterly inexcusable. But, if it is not the word of God, but originated with Mohammed himself, and if his real character was not what it is there said to be, but the contrary, how could he have made such declarations as these in the face of the people generally? He might indeed have said, that this or that verse constituted a part of his miracle, and came from God; but the more discerning would have considered his character in connection, and consequently would have contradicted his claims. The truth is, therefore, that Mohammed was endued with the most exalted virtues. And, when we are informed, in addition to this, that those who have recorded his miracles, had themselves

* Koran, ch. 68.

also wrought miracles, there can be no further doubt as to the truth of their accounts. And such was Ali,—such the Imams, Hasan and Hosein, all of whom attended upon Mohammed night and day; and who, consequently, could bear ample testimony both to his character and actions. Such too were the miracles wrought by them, as not to admit of dispute by either friend or foe. They have also left many books containing accounts of them. How then, we ask, was it possible, that numbers, such as to leave no doubt on the minds of any, as to the veracity of their testimony, and these existing throughout all the intervening periods which have elapsed from that time to this, and spread, as they have been, through all parts of the world, should have so particularly described these miracles? Their faith, we know, was founded on those miracles to which they had been eye-witnesses; and to which they could not but bear testimony, that they proceeded from a power more than human. It would indeed be no difficult matter to shew, that those who have borne testimony to the veracity and respectability of the historians, were extremely numerous, and authors themselves of many miracles. Such, for instance, as the nine Imams, every one of whom laid claim to the pontificate of his predecessor; and to establish which, severally wrought miracles more perfect, illustrious, and convincing than those of the former Prophets: and indeed, more in num-

ber than the sum of all the miracles performed by all the Prophets.

VERSE.

Whatever all the good have known,
Centers in thee, and thee alone.*

Now, all these miracles have been recorded in treatises almost innumerable, composed at different periods, and occupying a great interval of time. Besides, how long soever the life of any one of the Imams was spared, his claim (to the power of performing miracles) continued the same; and in the belief of this did he at last expire: nor, on this point, has there ever been any variation of opinion. Many too became their disciples and friends, at a time when no worldly consideration whatever could account for the circumstance. For the Imams were not then possessed of either money or patronage; and yet these men continued both their services and attachments at the peril of their lives. And not only did they abandon every consideration of worldly wealth, but they believed that their best recommendations to the favor of the Almighty consisted in those very attachments and services. Besides, the sovereigns of those times left no effort untried, by which people could be deterred from such a course, and actually forbade their entrance into the houses

* انچه خوبان همه دارند تو تنها داري

of the Imams. Nor was this all, for they every where commissioned spies and informers for the purpose of detecting any one who should be found doing so, or carrying on any correspondence with them. And when any one was thus detected, he was persecuted, deprived of all his property, and then put to death; and his family and dependants were made slaves. These persecutions, however, were looked upon as nothing, and people still persevered in their services and attachments to the Imams.

Now, had no miracles been performed by the Imams, how could these persons have continued to give credit to their claims? or, to have undergone so much, even to the risk of life itself, without being able to assign any reason for their doing so? Again, the circumstances in which these Imams were severally placed, cannot be said to be alike, except in one particular only, that they were all Prophets, no less in dignity than Moses or Jesus. The reason then, why so much faith was placed in them, was this; that they were believed, not only to be equal to the former Prophets in dignity, but to excel them, not excepting Moses and Jesus: which is nothing more than what they themselves taught their disciples. Besides, they have described and published the character which an Imam ought to sustain: namely, that such and such properties should attend him, and, if they do not, he

is a pretender, and not an Imam. He must, say they, be free from sin and error, and, in other respects, infallible,—that he must be acquainted with both the past and the future, even to the day of judgment,—that he must be favored with angelic visions,—and in his decisions betray nothing like inconsistency or falsehood: and, in short, all he says be verified by facts.* Now, can

---

* The Shiah sect of the Mohammedans ascribe more, if possible, to their Imams, than the Catholics do to the Pope. In a small tract on the Tawhíd, apparently an abridgement of that by Kuleini, it is said, in the chapter on (عصمة) chastity, اعتقادنا في الانبيآ والرسل والائمه والملائكه انهم معصومون مطهرون وانهم لا يذنبون ذنبا صغيرا ولا كبيرا &c. that is, Our belief in the Prophets, Apostles, Imams, and Angels is, that they are pure and holy,—that they commit no sin, either great or small. Kuleini in his chapter on the Imámet, makes the Imams superior in rank to the Prophets, just, says he, as Abraham was superior to Lot. وعليه امام مثل ما كان ابرهيم على لوط &c. And, in the same page, Abraham was nothing more than a Prophet until God had made him an Imam. قد كان ابرهيم عليه السلم نبيا وليس بامام حتي قال الله اني جاعلك للناس اماما . In a following chapter it is said, that God has no decision against his creatures, but by means of an Imam. ان الحجة لا تقوم لله على خلقه الا بامام . And again, that the world has never been without one. ان الارض لا تخلو من حجة . And again, as a consequence, that were there only two men on the earth, one

common sense for a moment suppose, that twelve different individuals, living at twelve different periods of time, and each period filling an interval

---

one of them would be an Imam. انه لولم يبق في الرض الا رجلان لكان احدهما الحجة. A little further on, no one can be said to be of the faith, unless he acknowledge God,—his Prophet,—all the Imams, and particularly that of his own times. لا يكون العبد مؤمنا حتي يعرف الله ورسوله والائمة كلهم وامام زمانه. Again, obedience to the Imams is absolutely necessary; اشهد اني سمعت ابا عبد الله عليه السلام يقول اشهد ان علينا اماما فرض الله طاعته, I attest (said Abi Al Sibáh) that I heard Abn Aballah say, I testify that there is an Imam placed over us, obedience to whom God has made binding. In the following chapters they are styled, martyrs of God, شهداء الله. The leaders, الهداة. Superintendants of the things relating to God, ولاة امر الله. The vicegerents of God, خلفاء الله. The light of God, نور الله. The pillars of the earth, اركان الارض. That they are the miracles and wonders علامات وايات alluded to in the Koran. That the grace which God promises in the Koran, means the Imams.—That they are the mine of wisdom, and the tree of prophecy. معدن العلم وشجرة النبوة. That they possess all that was known by Mohammed, and by all the Prophets, who preceded them. ان الائمة ورثوا علم النبي وجميع الانبيا والوصيا . . . الذين من قبلهم. That they are in possession of all the revelations ever made, and that they understand them in their different languages. الائمة عم عندهم جميع الكتب التي نزلت من عند الله عز وجل وانهم يعرفونها علي اختلاف السنتها. That

it

of about twenty years, could have laid claim to the Imámet,—that, at the same time, the existing sovereigns should have published the most appalling threats against those who allowed this, and made the most splendid promises to others who refused to do so; and still, that men should cheerfully submit to these difficulties without so much as one miracle to justify them in doing so? Could not so much as one man have made his appearance in those days, who could have examined the propriety of such claims, and have discovered whether these persons possessed a knowledge of the past and future, or not? Whether the men, who proclaimed themselves superior to Moses and Jesus,

---

it is with them that the true collection of the Koran is to be found, and its interpretation. انه لم يجمع القران كله الا الائمة عم وانهم يعلمون علمه كله. That they are the treasuries of knowledge, and interpreters of the revelation of God. نحن خزان علم الله ونحن تراجمة وحي الله. It is curious enough to remark how very nearly the creed of the Shiah agrees in this, and some other respects, with that of the Catholics. Both have their Pontifex maximus,—their traditions, for the great work of Kuleini, which I have before me, and which, according to the author of the Dabistan, is the great standard work on divinity among the Persians, is nothing more than a collection of traditions. Both have their queen of Heaven. The Catholics in the Virgin, the Shiah in Fatima the daughter of Mohammed. The saints of both communions can work miracles. Both have their pilgrimages,—their purgatory,—their reliques,—their hermits. The principal thing in which they differ, is in the Shiah rejecting the use of images.

had it in their power or not, to raise a man from the dead; and to do such other acts, as the very nature of man, compels him, by a power almost irresistible, to follow and to contemplate? Should it be known, for instance, that some person has appeared in Europe, who can perform acts such as these, who can doubt that many would leave both country and friends with the view of seeing the prodigy? We ask then, how can it be believed, that so many had heard the declarations of the Imams;—had read what they had written descriptive of their own characters, and yet should never think of examining the facts for themselves? Or, if they had made such examination, and found all to be false, should, nevertheless, have been content to become the objects of reproach and infamy for no assignable reason whatsoever, both in this world and that which is to come?—And, further, should persevere in an unanimous acknowledgment of that claim, without so much as the evidence of one miracle? Which, however, every unprejudiced person must see is contrary to the nature of things. Upon the whole then, the situation in which the Imams had been placed, ought to be considered as that of twelve Prophets immediately succeeding each other, and as persons who had been favoured with miraculous powers for the furtherance of some specific object: and, that it was then their duty to advance this by the various means and powers with which they had been in-

vested. And, in the next place, that people innumerable, without regard to that prudence which generally impels them to embrace what is beneficial, and to avoid the contrary, (as indeed it appears to have been the case), not only embraced what involved them in danger, but delivered it down to their children and grandchildren, namely, that this was the pure and true faith.

Now, observe, a Writer appears, and says, these Imams have spoken nothing but falsehood: they were, consequently, not Prophets. And, as to these various nations, not one among them has seen so much as one miracle performed; but have endeavoured to strengthen their party by the dissemination of mere deceit and falsehood! Now, can any one be induced to give credit to this, when it can be demonstrated, that the very slaves, attendants, and companions of these Imams could all work miracles?—When, we say, it has obtained universal credence, that the learned, the devotees, and the religious of Islamism, have all performed miracles not at all inferior to those of the ancient Prophets?—Have left writings composed in every age, containing accounts almost endless, of the various wonders which have been performed by the Saints of their respective ages? And, finally, when at this very day, hosts of the pious are to be found, who can equal the miracles of any of the Prophets? Just as Mohammed himself

had said: "The learned of my people are as the Prophets of the children of Israel." * Nor can any greater proof be required of the truth of Islamism than this.

It is truly wonderful that the Padre should, without making the least enquiry into the character of Islamism, attempt to set up a proof from his own mere reasoning powers, that Mohammed wrought no miracle which could be adduced in support of his mission; notwithstanding the fact, that a great proportion of his followers still perform wonders; and that those who cannot, are incapacitated by no other means, than by their defective obedience to his law. For it has been proved by experience, that every one who follows him in sincerity, is favoured with this miraculous power.

It is still more wonderful, that he should have made so little enquiry into the character of Mohammed's law, as to have mentioned Mocátil and the author of the Kesháf† as the only persons who have given accounts of it, when they, like the Padre, are considered by the orthodox as without the pale of Islamism.‡ The fact is, the faith

* This is perhaps a tradition, as I have not been able to find it in the Koran.

† P. 105.

‡ The author's meaning is, that as they were of the Sonnee sect, he therefore pays no regard to what they have said.

which the different writers have themselves placed in their own accounts of the mission of Mohammed, is sufficient to establish their title to veracity, without any other consideration.

The Padre proceeds, "Hence it must appear, that, as those who recorded his miracles after his mission is said to have taken place, also recorded those which are said to have been performed while he was in a state of ignorance, (i. e. of idolatry), no reliance whatever can be placed upon them." (p. 106.) In answering this, we would first ask the Padre, whether he here means *ignorance* in the proper sense of that word. If he means this, as his conclusion seems to imply, there can be no doubt that to be ignorant, in this sense of the word, does not involve the impossibility of working miracles. None of the Prophets, who appeared among the Israelites, were possessed of that dignity which Jesus afterwards was: for, he possessed a knowledge of things relating to the truth, of which they were entirely ignorant; and, if he had not, his coming after them could have been of no use. Yet we know that miracles almost innumerable were wrought by the Prophets. It is also apparent, that the passage cited means *ignorance* in this sense of the word: for all the commentators are agreed that *the book*, here mentioned, means the Koran; and that the object in view is the *faith* of Islamism. And we know that all the Prophets, before the time of Moham-

med, were perfectly *ignorant* of the requirements of the Koran, and of the faith of Mohammed; upon which alone a proper knowledge of the unity of the Deity must be founded. Now, as they were all able to work miracles, what inconsistency can there be in Mohammed's being said to have wrought miracles before his mission, and at a time when he was unacquainted with the contents of the Koran, or with the faith of Islamism?

But, waving these considerations, every one must see, that the scope of the passages adduced is, to shew that it was the will of the Almighty to bestow a special favour upon Mohammed: as if he had said: Thou wast once in such and such a state, but I have now elevated thee to the highest rank of being. Nor, can there be any doubt, that this is the case with respect to all created things, perfection, in every case, emanating from the Deity alone. Indeed all created being tends naturally to destruction, having no proper nature of its own, its very essence and properties being but emanations from those of the Deity.

But suppose a similar declaration had been made with respect to Jesus, and even when he was described as possessing the most perfect qualifications. Might it not, for instance, have been truly said of him, that he was ignorant of letters, and of the doctrines of the true religion? And that God not only gave him the matter, but the power of understanding it likewise? That he had been

in error, and was thus led to a knowledge of the truth?—The truth is, the same may be said with respect to every created being; for the essence and perfection of all things must have originally proceeded from the bounteous disposition of the Deity: and this, they who have understanding sufficient to enable them to appreciate the favour, are daily and hourly experiencing.

Objections such as these, are, it may be observed, generally founded upon an ignorance of the original and subsequent state of things;—originating as they do in the first great Cause; and, in their progress, receiving from him alone that disposition and means of improvement, which comports best with their several natures.

But if we here understand the term *ignorance* in its most extended signification, which would necessarily exclude the power of working miracles, still the passage adduced would afford no such proof as it has been intended it should. And the same may be said of the word *wandering* (in error), which occurs in the chapter entitled "Brightness," as well as that of "Burden" in the chapter "Have we not opened," and that of "Sin," as occurring in the chapter of "Victory," neither of which can be fairly interpreted so as to signify, infidelity, sadduceism, rebellion, or sin. As to the interpretations of Mocátil, Zamakhshari, and the like, we say, they are not in conformity with the true religion, as professed by

the Shiah, the followers of the twelve Imàms, who have received the true interpretation of the Koran by tradition from the descendants of Mohammed himself, all of whom had the power of working miracles. The truth is, their interpretations are founded on the erroneous principles of their belief:—principles which do not recognize purity as the necessary qualification of any Prophet. And hence it is, that they have charged all the former Prophets with sin of one kind or other. Passages, therefore, such as the foregoing, they have interpreted in a way which suits their heterodox creed. The interpretations, then, of such commentators as these, can have no weight whatever with us, and particularly when these are interpretations of the Koran: for they suppose that the meaning of a passage is to be discovered by unassisted reason; and, hence, is the far greater part of their comments founded upon their own corrupt notions, as every one must see. From their commentaries, then, no one can know what was the intention of God and his Prophet.

The same, it may be remarked, has taken place in every religion, and among every people; and, it is from this source that the differences found to exist among the Jews and Christians have arisen, to which the Padre himself bears testimony, when he says; "Such was the difference of opinion then on matters of religion among the Christians, as scarcely to admit of any parallel."

(p. 104). In Islamism too, the same thing has happened, so that almost every one has given interpretations of the Koran, according to his own religious views. Some, indeed, have gone so far as to wrest the words of the Koran to suit their own corrupt purposes, in direct opposition to their convictions.

Of this latter kind were the Califs and leaders of the Sonnee sect, who were all originally infidels; and who, upon their embracing Islamism, were implicated in various enormities and sins, just as it might have been expected they would, as a consequence of their erroneous views of the character of the Prophet, notwithstanding the self-evident maxim, that the vicegerent should be such as his Principal. If it was incumbent on the Prophet himself to cultivate holiness, it was also incumbent on his vicegerent to be holy. But, circumstanced as they were, they had no alternative but to pronounce the Prophets to have been characters similar to themselves, stained with every species of sin.

But, the true interpretations of the Koran are those which are conformable with the explications of the Shiah, who have received their comments by regular, well attested, and uninterrupted traditions, either from the Prophet himself, or his immediate successors,—by the intervention of just and faithful narrators. Now the belief of the Shiah is this; that every one of the Prophets was, from

the day of his birth to that of his death, wholly free from sin: that they were never implicated in either infidelity or error; and that both their fathers and grandfathers were likewise exempt from those sins. Of this kind, there are many passages revealed in the Koran, all tending to establish the truth, as consistent with the nature of things, and with the deductions of sound reason.

The soundness of their faith, moreover, may be thus demonstrated. The object of a prophetic mission is the instruction of mankind. But, if the Prophet himself be an habitual sinner, how can people be prevailed upon to regard either his commands or his threats? If again he had, on the other hand, cultivated holiness before his mission, people would, when that event took place, pay the greater regard to his admonitions, and retain the impressions which his discourses may have then made upon their feelings, much longer than they otherwise would have done.

VERSE.

Let him who is deaf to wholesome advice,
Be the last such advice unasked to impart:
The point which is mortal will execute best,
When affixed to the steady and well pointed dart.

Purity then (in a Prophet) is nothing more than that grace or favour, which we have shewn in a former part of this Work, it is incumbent on

the Deity to afford. It has, therefore, been always incumbent on the Deity to commission some one for the instruction of mankind thus qualified, who, from the day of his birth to that of his death, should be free from sin. In conformity with this principle, then, have the Imams and saints of other times preserved in their several traditions, the true interpretations of doubtful passages of the Koran; and, of these, that cited by the Padre is one, namely; "And did he not find thee wandering in error, and hath he not guided thee into the truth?" (p. 105). It has been delivered down by the Imam Ali Ibn Moosa El Ruza, that the passage, "He found thee wandering, &c." means, *wandering among thy people.* And "He guided," means, *God guided them to a knowledge of thee.* The same has been said by the Imam Jáfar Sádik Ibn Mohammed, and by the Imam Mohammed Bákir. The passage has also been thus paraphrased in the Commentary entitled Ayáshi, by the Imam Ruza: *He found thee wandering among a people who knew not thy virtues, and he guided them to thee.* In the same way has it been taken by Ali Ibn Ibrahim in his Commentary; namely; *He found thee wandering among a people who knew not the virtue of thy mission.* The meaning of all which is, thou wast a person of unknown powers: men were totally ignorant of thy eminence and virtue, but God at length gave them to understand something of thy exalted character. And

not, (which God forbid it should), *Thou wast in error, and he guided thee into the truth.* And, in this sense, is the word *wandering* (ضالّ) understood both in common language, and in the terms of art, and as we find it in the adage, (الحكمة ضالّة المؤمن), *Science is the wanderer of the faithful.**

It has been said by our Prophet, that he, who interprets the Koran according to his own opinion, shall have his residence in hell.† And the traditions, which have been received in an uninterrupted series from the Prophet's vicegerents, and which attest the reality of his mission, declare, that by these the true meaning of the Koran has been preserved. But, there can be no doubt, that the servants of the household know best what is in the house.

Upon the whole, since the opponent allows that there is a revelation which has been made from above, how can he further dispute the reality of Mohammed's mission? If he reply, that the book which Mohammed published must have been

---

* In the MS. الحكمة ضالّة المرء which is a manifest mistake. This adage is found among the Proverbs of Meidáni, where it is thus explained: يعني ان المؤمن يحرص علي جمع الحكم من اين يجدها That is: A faithful man is desirous of obtaining every science from (any quarter), in which he may find it. (Bodl. Libr. Poc. 217.)

† This is a tradition.

best understood by himself, we say; We have already detailed, (respecting the verse in question), what has been delivered to us in a series of uninterrupted and indisputable tradition, and which first emanated from those, who had been appointed to do so by the Prophet himself.

After what has been said, it will avail but little for the Padre to say, that the word *wandering* (ضال), is also used in the sense of *lost;* and for several reasons. In the first place, the Padre must shew from similar passages, that this sense is the true one, which he cannot do; because the interpretation which we have already given, will also appear to be probably true: and that proof, which may be met by a probability to the contrary, will be imperfect.

If he should reply, that the word *he guided,* which follows, makes his interpretation the more probable one of the two, we answer: The phrase *he guided* may be applied in two ways, in both of which its meaning will continue the same: the difference only consisting in its peculiar relation to the subject or object of the discourse. In the one case, it may mean that the person mentioned is himself in error; in the other, that others are thus situated. In the first case, then, it may mean that the person himself is *wandering in error;* in the second, that others are: and, in both these cases, a guide will be wanting. In the first, by the person so wandering: in the second, by others

who are thus situated. And so far, the two probabilities are equal. But, if we have recourse to the common usages of language, we shall find that the latter will preponderate: for, in the Soràh,* which is an abridgment of the Sihàh, one of the best Arabic Dictionaries in existence, we have (الضّل والضّال من لا يعرف) *wanderer* and *wandering*, any one who is unknown. But, at any rate, if this latter meaning be not thought the more probable of the two; yet, as the probability is equal, the argument founded upon the other must fall to the ground. Besides, every one knows, who is at all accustomed to the text of the Koran, and of other divine books, that passages are sometimes found, which appear, at first sight, to contradict the will of God: and especially in the Koran, which contains declarations of which no doubt can be entertained, and others

* A very good edition of this Dictionary was printed at Calcutta in 1815. It is much to be regretted that the Sihàh, which, in my opinion, is the most elegant and useful Arabic Dictionary that has hitherto been compiled, has never yet been printed. It is true the Kamoos contains a greater number of words, and is more accurate; but it is less explicit than the Sihàh, and contains none of that variety of elegant illustration which is to be found in it. The very learned Scheidius commenced an edition of this with a Latin translation, which he printed at Harderwyck in 1776: but, as he found but little encouragement, he was compelled to give up the undertaking before he had completed the part cohtained under the first letter.

that are doubtful,* or which appear to be so. But, with respect to these latter passages, God himself has said, that no one, whose object is not to sow discord among men, will attempt to explain them, without having recourse to the Prophet, or to his descendants.

Every one, who has had any experience in matters of religion, knows, that as in the natural world there are many things, the utility of which he either doubts or does not understand; but, respecting which he has no doubt, that they were originally brought into existence for some good end or other; so, in divine revelation, there are passages, which at first sight seem to countenance the spread of error. It is truly astonishing that the Padre should oppose the interpretations of those, who are themselves wandering in error, to those of others, who are in the right and true path. To argue, as he has done, might indeed have been tolerated with a Sonnee, but not so with us: nor indeed can we see any necessity for our thus arguing the point with him, in order to shew him the futility of his creed; for the very Gospels themselves, in which he professes to believe, are filled with passages, which at first sight, manifestly savour of infidelity and sudduceism, and which scarcely any child of the least discrimination could be prevailed upon to believe.

* See pp. 74, 75.

Of passages of this kind the following is one: "Jesus said to his disciples, I go to my Father: and my Father has so commanded. Worship ye God, that ye may all become the sons of God." There are, besides, many similar ones, which would imply that Jesus believed himself to be the Son of God; and which the Christians have taken, and do so still, in their literal sense. Now, no one can doubt for a moment, that, if this was the creed of Jesus, he was no Prophet: but (which God forbid) that he was an infidel.

But if the Padre should reply, that passages like these require some explanation; and that those Christians who have taken them in their literal sense have been mistaken, we answer; This is all we contend for. If, again, he should say, that, as the Mohammedans allow Jesus to have been a Prophet, it is incumbent on them to give the necessary explanation to such passages: but, as we (the Christians) do not allow Mohammed to have been one, it is not incumbent on us to do so: we, therefore, take the obvious meaning, and then ask for proof, why the other should be adopted at all.

We answer, and God will bear witness to our sincerity: we do not believe Jesus to have been a Prophet, but from our belief that Mohammed was one, and because he has borne testimony to the mission of Jesus. We have received no ge-

nerally accredited accounts that Jesus made a claim to prophecy, either in Nazareth, Jerusalem, or elsewhere, or that he performed miracles accordingly. No such accounts have ever reached us. With those who profess Islamism, however, the mission of Jesus takes higher ground, and such as to make these accounts unnecessary.

It will appear, however, upon enquiry, that this consists in Mohammed's having borne testimony to this fact. And, it is incumbent on those who profess Islamism, to bear testimony to that which their Prophet has attested before them. This is all that is required of them. Upon these principles, then, if we allow any doubts to exist, as to the mission of Mohammed, that of Jesus, no less than that of Moses, or of the other Prophets, will be similarly situated.

But, waving all that has here been said, we affirm, that it appears from the written accounts of both friends and foes, no less than from the practice of Mohammed's opponents, that he was described, even before his mission, as possessing the most amiable disposition, and as cultivating truth, faith, and piety, insomuch that the whole Arab nation, including the tribe of the Koreish and others, called him, "Mohammed the faithful."* But, as to his never having been an

* Ann. Moslem. Vol. I. p. 20.

idolater there can be no question;* or, that he had ever any inclination to error and infidelity. The only question that can arise must be, what religion did Mohammed profess before his mission? Some have thought that it was Islamism, but that he had not yet been commanded to make it known. Others say that it was the religion of Jesus. Now, had this last been the case, how could God have said, "Thou wast in error, I have directed thee," unless we suppose that the true religion is confined to Islamism? The liberty which God has afforded to his servants, no less than the improvements made from time to time in religious knowledge, has always been in an increasing ratio. That is to say, the religion of Jesus, was, with respect to him and his followers, the true one; but may properly be termed error, with respect to the last Prophet and his followers. And the true religion now, even as it respects them, is Islamism. God might then have thus kindly addressed Mohammed: "Thou wast of the religion

* Yet on the passage, "He shall forgive thy sin." We have the following remark in the tract on the Tawhid (unity) already noticed. ذنب النبي صم يحتمل ان يكون باعتقاد مشركي مكة لما تتبرا النبي صم من الهتهم او ذنب امته The sin of the Prophet. It is probable that in his creed he had been an idolater of Mecca, (this was said) after he had been purified from their idols.—It may also mean the sin of his people.

of Jesus, and didst follow him; but I have directed thee into the high-way of Islamism. The justness of this interpretation has been proved at length by the author in his commentary on the Dur el Nazím, to which any one desirous of further information may recur.*

The meaning of the passage, "eased thee of thy burden," (p. 105), which is found in the chapter entitled, "Have we not opened?" is this; that God had made the burdens of his mission easy to be borne, by strengthening his hands both by undeniable miracles and invincible arguments. He gave him dominion over all, many embracing his religion, and others being delivered into his power for destruction. The word *burden* then, here means a great weight; and it alludes to the obstinacy of the infidels in adhering to their infidelity, in opposition to the anxiety which the Prophet expressed for bringing about their conversion.

This then, was a great burden to him: and accordingly God opened his breast, * so that their obstinacy in persevering in the ways of error, and the difficulty to which they had reduced him, were entirely removed.

Other Commentators say that *burden* here means the sins of the people, which the Prophet,

* This work has before been referred to in p. 170, but it is probable that no copy of it has yet reached Europe.

as being sent in mercy to mankind, desired of the Almighty might be laid upon himself. But God, more willing to impose a kindness, said, "Since thou art become the bearer of thy people's sins, I have taken that burden from off thee. that is, I have forgiven thee the sins of thy people." Again, the word *sin*, in the chapter of Victory, (p. 105), is to be understood by, *the sin of the people*, which is the real state of the case. Besides, according to the manifest declarations of the ancient Scriptures, as we have already shewn, it was necessary this should take place: namely, that the sins of the followers of the last Prophet, should be taken away and forgiven, just as the Padre himself has said, towards the end of his tract, when speaking of Jesus.

The tales, moreover, of Mary, (the Copt, pp. 105-6), and of Zaid's wife, are founded upon the corrupt opinions of those who are foes to Islamism. But, according to the Commentators of the Shiah, whose explanations agree both with history and the traditions, *sin* here means the sin committed first and last, even to the day of judgment, by Mohammed's people. That, is of those who have been, who are, and who shall hereafter be, described as his followers. And these are the adherents of Ali Ibn Abi Tálib, and no other.

---

* See Maracci's notes, Koran, p. 808, and Sale's Koran, Vol. II. p. 490.

t is also related by Mofaddil* Ibn Omar, that hen one asked the Imám Jáfar Sádik what was ıe meaning of this verse, he replied: I swear ıat Mohammed committed no sin; but that God ıade himself surety that he would pardon the ins of Ali's followers from first to last.†

It has also been related by Omar Ibn Adhina,‡ ıat he asked Abi Abd Allah the meaning of the assage in question, who answered, "He had no in, nor the least intention to sin; but God laid pon him the sins of the followers of Ali, and then ardoned them.

The Padre proceeds: "Another consideration ı, his having propagated his religion by human, nd not by divine means; namely, either by the word, or by giving rewards, contrary to the ıractice of former Prophets." (p. 106).

We answer, it must have appeared from what ıas already been cited from the books of the an- ient Prophets, that the Prophet there promised§ hould use the sword for the spread of the faith. ks, for instance, when it is said in the law, 'Whosoever will not obey him, the soul of

---

* See D'Herbelot, Article Mofadel and Abheri.

† This is given in Arabic with a Persian translation. Of ourse I give a translation of one only.

‡ عمر بن اذینه.

§ In the MS. كه پيغمبر موحود I read كه پيغمبر موعود.

that man shall not suffice for his offence." Which must signify that he should die.* And this may be either by execration or the sword.

Now, nothing of this kind was done by Jesus, but was by Mohammed. Again, in the Psalms (xlv. 3.) "Bind on thy sword thou mighty man," &c. It must appear then, that, had Mohammed not used the sword, not been conversant with armies, nor fought for the faith, this passage would be a proof against the reality of his mission, but not the contrary. The Padre, prejudiced as he is, and accustomed to a tortuous path, must have entirely forgotten the contents of those books which he daily reads,—in which he places his whole faith,—and which he believes to have undergone no change.

Any one, who has read those books, even in the most cursory manner, or only to the extent cited in this tract, would never think of making such statements as he has, manifestly intended to catch the vulgar ear alone. For, whatever is done by a man of God must be right and just; whether, for example, he contend for the faith surrounded with armies, or whether he sit encircled by his friends, and quietly teach the way to heaven.

---

* In the MS. بغير ازين كه كشته شود معني دارد
I read معني ندارد ... as the context manifestly requires.

The most difficult of all services, however, whether, as it regards the Prophet himself, or his followers, is that of fighting for the faith. And it is an adage, "That the most excellent of works are the most difficult."* It is strange enough that the Padre should call this *human means*, notwithstanding his knowledge of the fact, that Mohammed, in the outset of his career, had neither gold, power, command, nor army:—that he remained so many years in Mecca, subject to the oppression and insults of the unbelievers, and persisted in calling them to God, in language the most gentle and conciliating possible; and that he actually converted many to the faith, who afterwards accompanied him in his flight to Medina.

At last, when they made an attempt upon his life and had reduced him to great difficulties, He, by the permission of God, and without regard to the practice of former Prophets, betook himself to flight, and arrived at Medina; where, after converting many to the faith by his preaching and miracles, and witnessing their stedfastness in the new religion, he charged them to fight for the faith, which is the most difficult duty of the faithful. But it is not true, that he did from the very first, as it is the case with earthly Kings, lay the foundation for war, captivity, and slaughter.

---

* وافضل اعمال احمزها.

Again, what has been said of the former Prophets, viz. that they never waged war for the faith, but only afforded their own personal assistance to those whom they had converted, is contrary to fact. The kingdom of David, and the glory of Solomon need not here be mentioned. The prayer of Moses too, that God would appoint him a minister who should be the Principal in establishing his mission, and who should charge the Israelites to make war upon the Amalekites, is well known. The prayer of Saul is, moreover, in the mouths of all.* But common sense is sufficient to shew, that it is the duty of those, who are in possession of the truth, to proselyte others who are not, by every means in their power; and thus to reduce them to the obedience of the faithful, until all shall be brought either willingly or unwillingly to tread in the same path. It is probable that those who are now infidels may thus be gradually brought to acknowledge the truth; or, at least, that their children, notwithstanding the opposition of their parents, may be prevailed upon to do so: a circumstance, which experience shews us, sometimes takes place.

The Padre further objects: "That all the precepts of his religion have been given in conformity with his own lustful disposition, &c." (ibid. to the end of the paragraph, p. 113).

* Marracci's Koran, p. 91. v. 251. Sale, Vol. I. p. 44.

The injustice of the Padre, we suppose, has now arrived at its utmost extent, so as to have left in his mind no further materials for such assertions, as cannot but provoke the smiles of a child. The law of our Prophet (we know) contains both fundamental and derivative doctrines. That the fundamentals teach the knowledge of God,—of the Prophet,—of his vicegerent,—and of the resurrection.—To know God as the supporter of all things; and, that after confessing that he is, to confess also his proper and established attributes: namely, his unity, self-existence, eternity, knowledge, power, will, elective power, existence from eternity to eternity, his unmixed and simple nature, truth, creative and providential power; to ascribe to his holy essence all the attributes of perfection, which are the necessary appendages of uncreated being:—to believe his entire exemption from every defect, as it respects power,—from mixture, body, extent, indwelling, union, fraternity, or generation:—to deny his being confined to place, and every thing tending to superinduce locality, just as the first Calif and Vicegerent has said: "The first requisite in religion is, to know God: the perfection of this knowledge is the attestation of it. The perfection of this attestation is, the acknowledgment of his unity; and the perfection of this is, sincerity in God's service. The perfection of this, again, is, to deny every attribute as superadded to the Divine Essence; and to attest

that every attribute is a thing incapable of being (independently) described.*

Now let the candid reader judge impartially, and let him examine for a moment the extent and bearings of these declarations, leading as they do to truth and happiness, and then let him say, whether they have not been inscribed with the pen of light on the cheeks of the Houries:†—whether, through the space of so many thousand years, from the days of the first Hermes down to our own, all

* The nature of the attributes of the Deity has afforded matter for endless strife and contention, no less in the eastern than in the western world, although the questions at issue have been, in many respects, different. The author, in the passage above, wishes to be understood as saying, that the essence of the Deity necessarily includes, in its pure and unmixed simplicity, all the attributes usually ascribed to him; but that they are not properties superadded to the divine essence, or which may be considered as existing independently of it. This is held, it should seem, in order to avoid two errors, according to the creed of this Sect. One is, the persons of the Trinity, as held by Christians; the other, the fear of ascribing to the Deity, bodily parts and powers. Other questions, turning on these points, are those of predestination, and free will; all of which, as the Arabs tell us, they first learned from the Grecian Philosophers. It is much to be regretted, that the Christian church has so long cherished an evil, which it derived from the same source, and which it has maintained on the same grounds, and often in the same spirit. For a good account of these opinions and sects, see Pococke's Specimen Hist. Arab. pp. 17, &c. 199, &c.

† Beautiful nymphs who are said to be reserved for the faithful in Paradise; but these the Soofees understand as intended to point out some mystical provisions made for the soul.

the learned and wise, taken together, have, notwithstanding all their investigations of the divine nature, ever put together language so superlatively elegant, terse, and comprehensive as this (of the Koran is), containing the elements of all knowledge and truth, and the germ of every question that can arise in religion.—These then, are the fundamentals of the religion of Mohammed, if there is any fault, point it out, if not,

VERSE.

"The wretch, who, deprived of both hearing and speech,
Sits mute in his cell, or sleeps all the day long,
Is better than he, whom advice cannot teach,
Or example prevail on, to govern his tongue."*

With regard to the derivative doctrines, it may be remarked, in the first place, that they contain two things, namely, external and internal purification from spiritual impurities, the greatest of which is, the love of the world; as it has been said: "The love of the world is the origin of all sin."† In exteriors, by laying aside all impure and base propensities; and finally, by adorning both the inward and outward man with those amiable dis-

* The passage occurs in the Preface to the Gulistán of Saadi.

† حب الدنيا راس كل خطية This adage is given in Schultens's edition of the Arabic Grammar of Erpenius, (adding والمال), p. 293. Also in Van Waenen's edition of the sayings of Ali, p. 66.

positions, which are described in the treatises on morality; and which are in unison with the declarations of the Koran, and the traditions of the Prophet.

After purifying both the interior and exterior to the very clothing which a man wears, the next thing is, the due and prompt observance of the ordinances of religion. In this every thing forbidden must be avoided. Nothing, for instance, unclean, or, which has died of itself, is to be eaten: nor is any intoxicating liquor to be drunk, however small the quantity. In like manner is no forbidden wealth to be acquired, either by false pretences, perfidy, violence, rapacity, or theft, whatever be the religion of the persons dealt with. Nor are any forbidden acts to be indulged in, as fornication, sodomy, slander, reproach, or the furtherance of any wicked practice among mankind, as it is clearly laid down in the books of law. Now, this is conformable to the deduction of good sense and sound judgment. Every considerate person, will, therefore, without the least effort, discover, for the most part, why some things have been recommended as amiable; others forbidden as detestable and base.

For our own part we have been unable to discover what precept Mohammed has given, savouring of his own lustful disposition, excepting this one, which the Padre has mentioned: namely, that he laid it down as a law, that he himself

should have nine wives; other men but four. Was it that, we ask, by which he imposed upon himself nightly prayer, which, in fact, was undertaken in his affection for others? Or, was it the difficult duty of supporting the two campaigns for the faith, the greater and the less? * Was it the appointment of five indispensable daily prayers? Was it the giving up of the tenth of his property? Was it that perfect equality, which he maintained, with respect to others? Indeed that which belonged peculiarly to Mohammed and his descendants, was not claimed for himself, by way of preference, until this revelation had been given with respect to his House. But (they) prefer them before themselves, although there be indigence among them.†

Again, was it his establishing the laws of marriage, forbidding fornication, and bloodshed, which directly oppose the lusts of most men? At present, as far as the writer's enquiries have gone, he has not yet been able to find which of the precepts it is, which is calculated to pamper the lusts of the flesh. It is truly astonishing that the Padre should have said, that all the precepts of Moham-

---

* By these are meant the two battles of Bedr, the former of which is called الكبري the greater, Ann. Moslem. Vol. I. p. 78. and by Abulfaraj البطشة الكبري, Dynast. p. 163. The latter غزوة الصغير the less. Mirchond in loco.

† Alkoran, chap. 59. Sale, Vol. II. p. 416.

med's religion savour most strongly of his own lustful disposition; and yet, that he should have produced only this one in which the number of wives is determined! But, allowing this one to be of this description, does it hence follow, that all the rest are of the same kind? But, it does not appear from the Padre's statement, that even this precept is of the character which he has ascribed to it; for, supposing Mohammed to have allowed others more than four wives, it will not hence follow that he might not have allowed himself a greater number. Had his precepts, however, forbidden a plurality of wives, then would the question have stood just as the Padre has stated it. But, at any rate, had not this precept come from above, no reason could be assigned why even more than nine wives might not have been allowed to others. The true reason, perhaps, why Mohammed was allowed to take more wives than Others, was this: The great Disposer of events requires that justice should predominate in every person and thing; which indeed constitutes one of those means by which perfection is to be attained to. In every circumstance, therefore, this rule is to be observed. Justice, then, under all circumstances, ought to predominate, and particularly with respect to the weak and infirm. But of these, women, whose whole power of choice is deposited in the hands of their husbands, are perhaps the most helpless.

Now, as it would be next to impossible to observe this rule inviolate, with regard to nine wives; and, as a greater number than four would most likely superinduce that oppression, which it is the will of Providence should be avoided, it was declared, in conformity with the general mercies which are vouchsafed to the faithful, that none but the Prophet should possess more than four. But, as he was the paragon of all justice, he was allowed to have nine. To explain the mystery, why this number was chosen in preference to any other, does not fall within the limits of this tract.

If it be said, that as a diminution in the number has here been supposed to administer to the due preservation of justice, and as most men fail in this particular, it should follow that a plurality of wives should be entirely forbidden, we answer: Every sensible man must see, that this reduction of the number to one, would also reduce men to difficulties. For, it is the desire of most men to take women without any sort of restraint: and, it is well known, that the object of Mohammed's law was, to diminish difficulties. It has been our object, therefore, to shew, that Mohammed's allowing himself to take more wives than he allowed to others, was not founded on lust, but with the view of diminishing the difficulties above-mentioned:—to point out the difficulty of other individuals preserving justice among four; and that this was not the case (with respect to Mo-

hammed), in a number exceeding five, six, or more.

Upon the whole, then, it must be quite clear to every considerate person, that the law of Mohammed is founded on the principles of virtue and convenience, most of which are apparent to every attentive observer: but, that opinions involving doubts and difficulties are entirely excluded.

The law, however, now in the hands of the Christians, is, as every man of sense knows, of a very different description; and, therefore, can never have come from God. Such, for example, as their being allowed to drink wine, which never fails to injure the intellect, for the improvement of which the missions of all the Prophets were originally undertaken. In like manner too, their women being allowed to take any man they may please, and whenever they please, cannot but superinduce great confusion in their tables of pedigrees, and must put an entire end to that chastity which, every one knows, is both necessary and proper. In such a case no one can possibly know whose son he is. Of a piece with the above is, their being allowed to eat the flesh of any animal, which has been clearly shewn, by the physicians, to be the cause of great and serious evils.* There are others also, which

* Of the falsehood of the above assertions, it would be superfluous to offer any proof. On the last there is a curious note in Pococke's Specimen, p. 89, to which the reader is referred.

had they come from God, must have been given in consideration of the weaknesses of those times: such, for example, as monasticism,—Men making themselves eunuchs, and neglecting to marry; which, it need not be shewn, were all unnecessary and out of place. For, to associate with the good and virtuous, which is the object of Mohammed's law, tends to the advancement of both personal and mental improvement, and is much more becoming than to become the companions of stones, beasts, and reptiles. To marry, then, which is the proper means by which mankind are multiplied, and which constitutes the most perfect work of the Deity, must be more proper, than the neglect of doing so; or, than what is worse, the mutilation of the human frame, which is, in fact, to call in question the wisdom of God's works.

But, with respect to the story of Zaid's wife, we say, it has been taken from false accounts which have been fabricated by the enemies of the faith. The true story is this: When Mohammed saw Zaid's wife, which happened by mere chance, he made this ejaculation, "Blessed be God, the best of Creators." Zaid's wife mentioned this to her husband; and, as he had a great regard for Mohammed, he began to think that Mohammed had some inclination to have her. Upon this Zaid divorced his wife, and requested Mohammed to take her. At the same time the angel Gabriel also appeared, and said, "Take her." On the

same occasion a revelation was made for the sake of the pious, in order that they might experience no difficulty in taking the wife of any one who was called a son, although, in reality, he stood not in that relation to the other.

As to the account (p. 109.) of the law laid down by Mohammed for the regulation of his own wives, men of liberal principles well know, that it was such as the circumstances of the case required; and, that if he had done otherwise, he would have acted inconsistently. But, in the religion of the Padre, there is neither modesty nor consideration; and hence he has come to the conclusion, that this was all done in conformity with the suggestions of a lustful disposition, and not after due deliberation.

"Another consideration is," continues the Padre, "that he bequeathed his power to his relations," (p. 113). We answer: The meaning here to be attached to the word *relations* does not appear very obvious to us. If the Padre intends to apply it to Ali and his illustrious descendants, as the events which took place would seem to suggest, there can be no doubt (and the Soonee themselves allow it) that this was inconsistent with good worldly policy: for there were very few indeed who had not lost some relation or other by the sword of Ali; and to such extremities had he been reduced in consequence, that scarcely one person was found, who could cordi-

ally take him by the hand. The bequeathing, therefore, and delivery of the supreme power to him, could have come to pass by no earthly means whatsoever; but must have been a dispensation of the Almighty alone, who declared, that if Mohammed did it not, his mission would not be fulfilled. The contrary was certainly the most likely thing to have taken place; and hence it was, that the Prophet had so much fear in making this declaration known, lest those who had so lately embraced Islamism should object and rebel. Nor did he mention the circumstance till he had been reprimanded for his negligence, and had received the above-mentioned revelation on the subject.

The Padre proceeds, (p. 113): Another consideration is, "the contents of the Koran itself, to which we shall now briefly advert, &c." (to p. 115, l. 13.) We answer: What the Padre has hitherto said, sufficiently vain and groundless as it certainly is, cannot, nevertheless, be set down as the effect of a wrangling, contradictory, or trifling disposition, such as he has here manifested in his account of the Koran; a book which he has formerly allowed holds out an unanswerable challenge to all to produce the like; affirming, however, at the same time, that such inability resulted not from incapacity, but from want of experience, (p. 81.) "For," continues he, "should others, who have greater experience, make the attempt, it is possible they may succeed." Now, this is

advanced merely as a possibility, *it is possible, says he, they may succeed.* Setting aside, therefore, this possibility, he seems to allow, that no one of the professors of eloquence among the Arabs, had it in his power to produce an equal to the Koran; and *we* know, that their inability was occasioned by its consummate elegance. How then does it happen, that he now attempts to lower the estimation of the Koran, affirming it to be inferior to the generally acknowledged works of merit, ignorant as he is of the arts of eloquence, notwithstanding the fact, that the most learned among the Arabs, from the day in which the Koran was revealed to the present, (a period exceeding twelve hundred years), have made every effort to produce an equal to the smallest portion of it, and yet have confessed their inability to do so? And further, have considered it as their greatest happiness, to have arrived at the meaning of any one of its more recondite declarations?

But, waving the consideration of the elegance of the Koran, every one, who has made any proficiency in the experience of its declarations, is aware, that such is their sublimity and excellence, even when viewed in the lowest stage of attainment, as to exceed the greatest inventive powers of man. The different gradations of attainment in divine knowledge which they present, are stated by the learned as not fewer than one thousand: and, we affirm, such are the allusions found in

every verse, (or in every two verses at farthest) to every one of these different gradations in divine knowledge, as must convince every intelligent reader, that their author must have had the experience of a thousand years at least.

The Law and the Gospel, on the contrary, contain no such declarations, if you except a very few instances; nor will the whole amount to what is contained in one verse of the Koran. It must be clear, therefore, that all this could never have come from any one merely laying claim to a prophetic mission, without previous instruction either in the arts of reading and reasoning, or in the ways of religion; and still more so when we consider, that no one can, without the teaching of the Almighty himself, make any proficiency in such knowledge, during the longest period of human life. But, with respect to Mohammed, we know, that he had received instruction from no one. It must follow, therefore, that the contents of the Koran must have come from God; and, consequently, that the objections of the Padre are weak and groundless.

With regard to what has been said, namely, "that the Koran has neither poetry nor arrangement," (p. 113), if it be meant, that the sentences are not duly arranged in the verses, the assertion is contrary to truth: for every verse is so admirably arranged, with regard to the context, as to be perfectly unobjectionable. Still, any one

disposed to object may do so, the only reward he will have will be his own disgrace. But, if objection be made to the arrangement of the verses, we reply: It is true some of the verses do, at first sight, appear to be dislocated and defective, which may be accounted for in several ways; one of which is the great ignorance of its first compilers: for the Califs Omar and Othman, who had no knowledge of the truth, took upon themselves this office. It is related indeed in a tradition which may be relied upon, that they omitted some passages, which were unfavourable to their own interests.* The holy Imàms,† however, as well as the orthodox Califs, and particularly Ali Ibn Abi Tálib, had a perfect knowledge of the true arrangement of the verses and context, as well as of those changes which had been made by others; and this, for the sake of posterity, they have delivered in their traditions.

---

* In the Dabistán of Meer Mohsin Fáni, (p. 337 of the Calcutta edition,) we have the following passage, after which one of the chapters of the Koran, which it is said to have been the intention of Othman to destroy, is given. گویند که عثمان مصاحف سوخته بعضي از سورها که در شان علي وفضل آلش بود بر انداخت ویکي از ان سورها اینست "It is said by some that Othman, having burnt the copies of the Koran, destroyed some of the chapters which spoke of the dignity of Ali and of his house, of which the following is one, &c."

† See the note in pp. 347-8-9.

It is probable that Ali might have received an injunction from the Prophet, not to lend his assistance in the compilation and publication of the Koran: for, at first, the opponents would have refused to accept of such assistance, affirming that they had no need of his copy: the consequence of this would be, that Ali would conceal it. Afterwards, when they attempted to get possession of it by stratagem, in order to destroy it, he likewise concealed it, and it has, since that time, been preserved by his descendants. At present, this copy is in the custody of the reigning Imám; and, as it has never been seen by the Padre, it is impossible for him to say, whether the verses in it are properly arranged or not.

But, when any verse is complete, presenting in its construction no subject without its predicate; no verb without its nominative; no relative sentence without its correlative one, what necessity can there be, that such a verse should be connected with any other, in order to become more perfect; allowing that this would involve no impossibility in terms? And again, when a preceding verse is already perfect, how can its perfection be increased by the addition of the following one, or *vice versa?* Now, in the Koran, we know of no verse, if we except one only, namely: (الا تقسطوا فواحدة الي آخر), the third verse of the fourth chapter, which is thus defective, and presents a relative without its corresponding cor-

relative expression. But here, we have an indisputable tradition assuring us, that this is owing to the compilers of the Koran; and, that the context stood differently at the first. But, if the Padre means, that those verses which treat on the unity of the Deity,—on religious assurance,—on the fundamental and their derivative doctrines,—on the victories (gained by the Prophet); that others which contain the narratives, the exhortations, or the precepts, are not found in some particular parts reserved for that purpose, but are spread throughout the whole book; the fundamentals being sometimes found in connection with their derivative doctrines, and sometimes among the narratives:—the derivative doctrines sometimes before, and at others after the fundamental ones:—and the narratives occasionally repeated in other places, the answer is this:

After it has been shewn that every verse is complete in itself, with respect to the subject on which it treats, no fault can be found with the Koran on account of its arrangement. On the contrary, that ought rather to be considered as a proof that the book itself came from God. For, although it is not arranged as human compositions are, in which every chapter is composed and arranged with reference to the subjects on which they treat; and in which many inconsistencies are nevertheless apparent, yet the Koran, impossible as this seems to be, and dispersed as the

subjects on which it treats are, never departs in the smallest degree from the objects which it has in view, namely; the characters of the Pious,—a display of the various gradations of religious experience, and of the fundamental and derivative doctrines, whether indispensable or not, without betraying the smallest discrepancy of sentiment.* As to authors in general, although they first divide their books into chapters and sections, prefixing a preface, in which they point out the object of their work, and adding a conclusion, they do, nevertheless, universally fall short of fulfilling their promise to the Reader; whereas the Koran, on the contrary, exhibits nothing like inconsistency in declaring the whole will of God. And indeed, God himself has said, "If it had been from any besides God, they would certainly have found therein many contradictions." †

Another reason why this want of arrangement has obtained in the Koran is this: Authors, in arranging their books, select and lay down certain questions which they intend to discuss: and good sense suggests the propriety of dividing books into

* سر موس بيرون نروي. I am apprehensive that there is some error in this passage: if not I must confess that I do not see its precise force. In the translation I have been guided principally by the context. از سر موي is perhaps the true reading.

† Sale's Koran, Vol. I. p. 103.

chapters and sections for this purpose. But the Koran was revealed by parcels during a space of twenty years: such declarations, therefore, as circumstances made necessary, were revealed. The derivative doctrines were not then wanted; while others of a different description were. Some of the revelations described the state of the heretics of those times, or of others which should immediately succeed, and which it was necessary should be made known. Other parts enjoined the practice of fighting for the faith, which was then indispensable. Others gave such narratives as were suitable to the dignity and nature of the subject. And, upon the whole, as the circumstances under which the revelation was made were daily varying, the arrangement of the Koran necessarily varied from that of other books, every day requiring a revelation suited to its circumstances, and, consequently, agreeing or disagreeing with that, which had already been made. This, however, cannot be considered as a fault in the Koran; for there would be no difficulty in shewing, that every event which took place, during the twenty years of Mohammed's mission, was regulated by the will and consummate wisdom of the Almighty, and not by the council or projects of the Prophet, of which the passage, "it is no other than a revelation, which hath been revealed to him,"* is a sufficient proof.

* Sale, Vol. II. p. 389.

The repetition of certain verses in the Koran must be ascribed to the same cause. A sentence, for instance, suitable to the subject of any discourse, might have been written by any one twenty years ago. Now, should the same sentiment again be expressed in the same words, when treating on the same subject, particularly if the terms in which it had been delivered, had now acquired a force which they did not possess in the first instance, would any one think of saying that this was an unnecessary repetition? The fact is, this is what is done by almost every writer: but had this formerly been considered as an infraction of the rules of rhetoric, it would certainly have been avoided by the Professors of that art. Besides, this repetition is also found to prevail in the Pentateuch itself.

When our opponent says, that "in many instances the Koran has nothing to recommend it but the mere rhythmus," (p. 113,) if he means that this is superfluous and adds nothing to the sense, We reply, in the first place; no such thing as this is to be found in the Koran: and, in the second, that the rhythmus is so far from being a blemish, that it constitutes one of the greatest beauties of its style; and one, which those who are best acquainted with this subject, have always admired. Should it be objected, that another style should have been adopted when treating again on the same subject, but that the present one has been retained merely for the sake of the rhythmus,

it may be replied: As the style is not injured by the rhythmus, but, on the contrary, rendered perfectly elegant by its adoption, the objection must fall to the ground.

But the most astonishing of all is, the assertion that the Koran contains *many low and vulgar* expressions: (p. 113), for the truth is, the number of its expressions, which may be fully understood by human investigation, is very small. The far greater part can be fully comprehended by none but the Prophet himself, or the descendants of his house. And hence it is, that the citation of one verse only, when fully understood, has always been deemed sufficient to establish any point in divinity. None of the learned, who have appeared during the space of twelve hundred years, have hitherto been able to discover the *low* and *vulgar* expressions alluded to by our opponent: it is, therefore, incumbent on him to point them out, that the grounds of his assertions might be known. And, if he does this with as much felicity as he has the blunders of his own visionary imagination, the truth of what he says will be evident enough.

The result of our own enquiries on this subject is, that the Almighty has no where, in the Koran, presented any low or vulgar subject to the reader: on the contrary, its contents embrace those requisites only, which are the characteristics of real piety, and which are therefore necessary to be known. These again are described in language

the most concise and elegant possible: but, as for *low* and *vulgar expressions*, or points unworthy of recital, they are not to be found in the Koran.

But, if the objection goes to assert, that the Koran contains words and phrases in common use, such, for instance, as *heaven, earth, he said, he says*, or the like, We answer, in the first place; These are not *low* and *vulgar* expressions, merely because they are commonly in use. Low expressions are those, which, considered in themselves alone, imply something low or vulgar; things with which all are well acquainted; but, from the knowledge of which, no real advantage is to be derived. And, we affirm, in the second place, that all the divine books abound in expressions of this description, whence it should follow by the Padre's reasoning, that these books are not of divine origin.

Again, the assertion, that the Koran contains "many stories which are altogether unnecessary, because they are to be found in the books of the Jews and Christians," (ibid.) is perfectly futile; for these stories are, in the estimation of those who are qualified to judge, of the greatest value; because they detail the various punishments which await the wicked, as well as the instances of love and favour which God has shown to those who have obeyed him and his Prophets. Nor does their being found in the Law, Gospels, or any other book, make it at all unnecessary that they should

appear again in the Koran. For, upon this principle, no one would be at liberty to insert in his writings, any thing which another had written before him: if he did so, he would be accused of plagiarism. No one, however, has hitherto thought of making this a question, notwithstanding the fact, that most of the narratives given in the Koran are to be found in the writings of the former Prophets; and, what is more astonishing, these are given without the least discrepancy or self-contradiction. But the most wonderful thing of all is, the descriptions found in the Koran of the errors of the Jewish Doctors, namely; that some of them were totally ignorant of the scope and meaning of the Scriptures; that others wilfully corrupted them; and that others again endeavoured to explain what they understood not by mere conjecture.* Now, however useless these narratives may be said to be, certain it is that their being translated into the Arabic† from the Hebrew or Syriac languages, would at least enable the Arabs to become acquainted with them.

With respect to the following positions of the Padre, namely; "Add to these many such un-

---

* MS. وپارة رجمًا بالغيب كفته اند. The phrase رجمًا بالغيب is taken from the Koran, chap. 18. ver. 23. See Marracci.

† MS. عبري the context manifestly requiring عربي.

meaning passages as the following. In the chapter of Lockman we have; "And he hath thrown on the earth mountains firmly rooted, &c." (pp. 113, 114.) We remark, in the first place, that a mistake has been made in designating the chapters from which these extracts have been taken; for the fact is just the reverse of the Padre's statement; the first passage having been taken from the chapter of Lockman; the second from that of the Cave.* And, in the second, that the meaning of the first extract is, that the Almighty placed upon the face of the earth great and immoveable mountains, because he was unwilling that any motion should take place in its surface which may annoy or affright its inhabitants. Now, no one can be ignorant, that this sentiment is such as to be wholly unimpeachable; and, that it is of a piece with that gracious disposition of the Almighty, which has so often been manifested to those who love and serve him: as if he should say, I created the earth and placed it upon the surface of the waters; and, lest it should move, disturb you, or break your repose, I have placed mountains upon its surface, just as anchors are appended to ships, in order to insure its stability, and to give confidence to you its inhabitants. These sentiments are not only such as to be compatible

* This mistake I have corrected as noticed at the foot of page 113.

with real eloquence, but conformable to truth, and are agreeable to the traditions, as the Doctors of the Shiah have shewn, namely; that the different parts of the earth have been so disposed, as best to promote the common good for which they have been designed; and so arranged, that nothing but great external violence can bring about a contrary effect. It is also related in the Hadith,* that, "In the beginning the earth moved upon the face of the waters like a boat, and that it was set at rest by immoveable mountains being placed upon it. It has also been related by Dhohák† that the Almighty placed nineteen mountains as nails in different parts of the earth, in order to give it stability. Of these the Caucasus, the Abukabís,‡ the Judi,§ Libanus, Sinai, Sinín,‖ and Bir,¶ may be noticed. Upon the whole then,

---

* A general title for any collection of the traditions.

† See D'Herbelot's last article under this name.

‡ A mountain near Mecca, according to the كتاب الامكنة والمياه والجبال by Zamakhshari.

§ According to the work entitled معجم ما استعجم the name of a mountain in Mosul, also of another in Mesopotamia. To this last the author of the Kámoos adds another in Aja.

‖ According to the author of the Kámoos the name of a mountain in Syria.

¶ This is probably the أُبَير Obair of the معجم ما استعجم, which according to that work is a mountain في ارض ذيبان in the country of Dhíban.

this was nothing more than what the state of things required, and what nothing but folly would have left undone: it is also in conformity with the traditions, and agreeable to truth, no less than its relation is with the requirements of real eloquence. It is difficult for us to say how the Padre could have understood this passage so as to have pronounced it *unmeaning*. The second extract, in like manner, presents nothing *low* or *vulgar*, either in expression or meaning. The truth is, the Padre has failed in attempting to shew his own acuteness, having forborne to offer any proof of his assertions. Has not his own acuteness here set in a spring of black mud? The truth is, the sun neither rises from the earth nor sets in it; nor does it ever leave its own orbit,* or set in any warm or muddy well, as the writers on Astronomy have shewn. The Padre seems here to have lost sight of the expression, "he found it:" for, if he had not, he would have seen that his remarks were perfectly out of place. When any one is surrounded by the sea, we know, the sun appears to him to rise from the water, and to set in it. Now, what difficulty can there be in supposing that Alexander, looking from a distance, saw the sun apparently setting in a

* The Orientals still follow the Astronomy of Ptolemy, in which the Sun is made to revolve like the planets in its own orbit, or heaven, as they term it.

well of water? It is also related by Kaab Elahbàr,* that a passage occurs in the Pentateuch wherein it is said, that the Sun sets in a spring of black water; which must either be understood figuratively, or, as relating the thing merely as it appeared. But of this we are not certain.

Again, the accounts given of the belief of Alexander, which have been written by his companions, and in which it is said that he was an infidel, cannot be construed as proving that the Koran does not come from God: for, there are many accounts in the Koran, which even contradict those given by the ancient Prophets, what wonder then if it contradicts those histories? But the truth is, one of the greatest advantages derived from the Koran is, the declaration that the learned of former times have corrupted the text of the ancient histories; so that there is no religious sect whatever now in possession of histories, in which implicit confidence can be placed; for they all abound with false, vain, and extravagant narratives.† But, further, as faith is the secret ope-

---

* In the MS. واز كعب الاخبار نيز مرويست. I have no doubt that this name ought to be written كعب الاحبار, as suggested to me some time ago by the learned Professor of Hebrew at Oxford, and as it will appear in his next part of his continuation of Uri's Catalogue.

† How does this agree with the sentiments broached at pp. 222-3?

ration of the mind, might it not be true that Alexander did really believe in God; but that he did, for some political reason or other, conceal this from his companions; and that it was the pleasure of the Almighty to reveal the fact in the Koran?

The next assertion, namely, that many contradictions occur in the Koran, (p. 114), is perfectly of a piece with the preceding ones; and is founded on the erroneous principles of the Jews and Christians, who hold, that, from the consideration of the omniscience of the Deity, extending as it does through every period of time, it is impossible that any thing like abrogation can take place in his law. Now every intelligent person must see the futility of such reasoning as this. For the precepts of God are always delivered with a special regard to the necessities of his servants. And there can be no doubt that these must vary with the varying exigencies of the times in which they are delivered. The divine Lawgiver may here be considered as the spiritual physician of his people; who, like a temporal physician, prescribes such regimen and medicine as are most likely to suit the wants of his patient. And, as the varying state of the disease will at one time call for one remedy, at another for another, so does it come to pass with respect to the Physician of the soul. His knowledge, therefore, of the future, will have this advantage, that he

will be implicated in neither doubt nor mistake; nor, consequently, lay down any law for the observance of his people, which will not tend to promote their general happiness: and not, that when he knows that such and such a law will be advantageous up to such and such a period, and no farther, that he should not then change it for another. On the contrary, if the divine Lawgiver legislate in conformity with the dictates of omniscience, the abrogation of certain laws will follow as a necessary consequence. And, as every one knows that the circumstances of those who devote themselves to his service are continually changing; and that those of no individual remain stationary for any considerable length of time; and, further, that the spiritual state of man is equally varying, what, we ask, would an all-wise and powerful Lawgiver do, in such a case, but vary his laws accordingly?

Our opponent has also said, that the Gospel does not abrogate the law, (p. 115). But this is accounted for by the fact, that the Gospels contain no law at all: if they had, they must have abrogated those already given, which is a sufficient denial of his premises. If then the Gospel had contained any law, this must have necessarily abrogated that of Moses. Now, the greater part of the laws to which the Christians subscribe, are those which relate to their prayers, fasts, marriages, and the like: all of which are manifestly

contrary to those of the Jews. We now ask, are those precepts, which prevail among the Christians, and by which both rich and poor are bound, and to which both acknowledge obedience, established by the authority of Jesus or not? If they are, so many of them as oppose the law of Moses do virtually abrogate that law: those which do not, may properly be said to fulfil it. But, if they are not derived from him, but have originated only in the authority of the learned, then, that religion can challenge the reverence of none, much less of men of talent and education.

But further, had no variation taken place in the laws and requirements of religion, the mission of one Prophet after another, as well as the consecutive revelations of different laws, could have had no other object than that of confusion and perplexity. It therefore became necessary that all should finally be subject to one law, differing from those which had previously been revealed. Upon the whole then, any one carefully comparing the Koran, with either the law or the Gospels, (waving the considerations respecting the creeds of Mohammedans, Christians, or Jews,) will not only find, that the Koran is greatly superior to both in style, but also in the sublimity of its doctrines:—that the most sagacious and best informed among men have confessed their inability to arrive even at the lowest degree of the divine

knowledge which it unfolds; comprehending as it does every mystery relating either to the creation or resurrection of man, and containing the principles both of divine and worldly policy;—divulging both the experience and doctrines of the ancients;—publishing the principles, circumstances and acts of the moderns;—leading to the true way of salvation;—detailing the particulars respecting both the creation, and the day of judgment, notwithstanding its unusual style and arrangement. Such too is the beauty of its style, that the more it is read, the greater does the desire of reading it become. Those who have made it their business continually to peruse it, have derived from its declarations the most exalted notions of spiritual things, which have been followed up by the greatest advances in the experience of them: to which may be added, the best instructions even as it regards the things of this life. Enchanters have, by its words, laid angels, devils, and even the stars of heaven under contribution: and physicians have prescribed the continual reading of it, as the means of curing many diseases. That this has all taken place is indisputable, although a part only has been experienced by the author, and the rest reached him by report. And God is our judge, to whose decision we appeal, that what has here been said, is not a tenth or even a thousandth part of what may be advanced, with respect to the Koran: and, that what has been

advanced, has not been exaggerated by controversial feelings.

What the Padre has said, therefore, namely; that any one, upon his first seeing such a book as this, cannot but come to the conclusion that it never came from God,* is derived from the same prejudiced source with the following, "But another, not being a proselyte to his creed, and seeing all these things concur in him, cannot but come to the conclusion that he was no Prophet." (p. 115).

We would here ask the Padre, what is the precise character of those accomplishments, which Mohammed did, or did not, possess? The first, and indeed the source of all human accomplishments, is knowledge. Now, at the time in which Mohammed made a claim to prophecy, and in which, as our opponent thinks, he published his Koran, had he been instructed by any one in the mysteries of the creation and resurrection? Had any one taught him which was the way of truth and happiness, so as to enable him to advance the spiritual state of his followers? Or was the fact otherwise? If it be replied, that he had received no such knowledge, we ask, in the next place, whence then have those principles of knowledge been derived, which appear in the Koran? Whence those divine mysteries?—Which of the learned

* Alluding to p. 114. "Again, the contradictions, &c."

Jews or Christians was it who laid them down, and then published them in the name of Mohammed? From whom was it that this law of truth and equity proceeded, every particle of which is conformable to right reason and the fitness of things? From whom, we ask, could all this have come, but from him who is the Lord of lords, and to whom every mystery is plain, every secret known? Let the reply be dictated by justice and guided by truth, since the only thing to be had from a wrangling and rebellious disposition is mistake and error.

The second accomplishment is, *mildness* of disposition. Should it then be said that this was not possessed by Mohammed, we then ask; How came it to pass that the Arabs who inhabited the desert, traversing it without controul, and treating one another with the bitterest hatred, were so brought together by him as to consider each other as friends, and eventually to make the contract of brotherhood?* How was it that they attended him continually and faithfully, considering him as the bond of union by which they were severally united,—rendering him the most unfeigned obedience,—risking their lives, property, and reputation; and acting a part which some would have thought bordering on insanity, with no other view than the desire of cultivating his

* Ann. Moslem. Vol. I. p. 76-7.

friendship, if he had not shewn himself to be mild, patient, and tractable? How was it, we ask, that this almost savage race of men was thus disposed to seize the borders of his garment, and to advance the interests of his religion at the expense of their own lives and fortunes? "If (as it is declared in the Koran,*) thou hadst been severe and hard-hearted, they had surely separated themselves from about thee."

But, if Mohammed had not really been of a mild disposition, how could he have written and published this verse in the Koran, namely; "Thou art of a noble disposition."?† For, a vicious disposition is not a thing to be long kept secret: one day or hour, particularly when engaged in marches, battles, and the like, when the passions of men are harassed and excited, would have been sufficient to discover the real state of the case, and to give the lie to both God and the Prophet. Now, let justice be done him. Did he not abandon the allurements of the world, leaving the things of time and of sense, and seek his satisfaction in the house of God? Did he not suffer hunger without repining, and daily and weekly mortify the lusts of the flesh by resignation and contentment? Did he not conduct himself with a strict regard to justice among his people; and,

* Chap. 3. ver. 160. Sale, Vol. I. p. 79.

† Chap. 68. ver. 5.

leaving the things of this world, fix his attentions on those of another? Did he not lay it down as a maxim, that "the love of the world was the origin of all sin,"*—that the service of God was the only source of salvation, but that rebellion against him was the harbinger of ruin? Did not his precepts bear more heavily on himself than on others? Was he not a friend to those who loved God, and an enemy to those who hated him? Was not his own love to God ardent, while his contempt for every thing else was real and permanent? And, in a word, did he not, while he adhered stedfastly to him, treat every earthly consideration as of no importance whatsoever? Now, let every candid person judge for himself. Suppose a person to have appeared possessed of such qualifications as these, who had never been assisted by the instructions of any man of learning, but had passed his life among the Arabs of the desert. Add to this, the supposition that he wrought many miracles. Now, we ask, must not every candid man acknowledge at once, that he must have been a Prophet? Nothing, surely, can be more strange than the assertion of the Padre, "that should he even have performed some miraculous act, he never could have come from God." (p. 115.) The writer is at a loss to conceive what base action the Padre here at-

* This adage has already been cited, p. 375.

tributes to Mohammed, when he says, that should he even have performed some miraculous act, he never could have come from God. The acts, as it is well known, which have been ascribed to Mohammed, are such as not to stand in need of any explanation, as to the excellency of their tendency: for they were all, without exception, such as to promote the peace and happiness of mankind, without the least admixture of infirmity or defect.

The Padre goes on: "Another consideration is, that in the Mohammedan religion, &c." (p. 115, to the end of the first paragraph, p. 116.)

We reply: What has here been said, as to the way of salvation being confined to two considerations, is conformable to right reason and to truth. For, in the case of a master and his servant, the way to avoid shame and to obtain favour is, by avoiding what is forbidden, and performing what is commanded by the master. But, upon the supposition of the servant becoming disobedient, and disposed to follow his own will rather than that of his master, and perceiving that, in consequence of this, the avenue to favour has been closed up on every side, and that no means of reconciliation is now left: and supposing the servant further to know, that his own well-being, both in this world and the next, depends on the favour of his master alone; and again, that the servant repents of his conduct, and uses every means in his power again to be admitted to the favour of

his master, what further can he possibly effect, than to shew a sincere sorrow and contrition for his past offences? This then is what we mean by repentance.

Now every one knows, that any servant pursuing either of the two following courses, with respect to his master, will finally experience his favour. By exhibiting, in the first place, an unvarying obedience to all his commands. And, in the second, by manifesting, upon an occasional failure, an unfeigned repentance, accompanied with every endeavour to make reparation for the fault; supposing his master, at the same time, to know what is going on in the servant's mind, as to this particular. But, should the master upon the first supposition, namely, that such servant has served him faithfully during his whole life, notwithstanding, punish and afflict him, would not every intelligent person brand him as a tyrant, and his conduct as infamous? And, in the second, would he not be reproached as merciless, unjust, and inhuman? But to God no such attributes as these can possibly be ascribed; for, he is not only the most merciful, but the most bountiful of Beings. No man of the least perception, justice, or feeling could ever look with indifference on the ascription of such properties as those above-mentioned to himself, much less can He who is the Lord of lords, and the fountain of all perfection. We conclude, therefore, that salvation is to be

obtained by the two ways already mentioned, each of which is sufficient for that end, when properly considered.

The proof, moreover, which has been adduced by the Padre on this question, is not only imperfect, but is, in its first part, inapplicable to the subject, for it evidently relates to the question, whether good works will cancel sin or not, which has thus been decided by the Almighty himself in the Koran: "That good works will cancel sins,"* which is a question foreign to our present purpose.

The remaining part of the Padre's proof, from the words "Now there is no one, &c." to the end, (p. 116), although applicable to the subject in question, takes for granted that God charges men with commands, which it is out of their power to obey; and, that the divine precepts are infinite in their requirements; the falsehood of which is

---

* Chap. XI. ver. 115. Mr. Sale has, in my opinion, given an erroneous translation of this passage, which may perhaps be traced to too servile an imitation of Marracci. The passage is, ان الحسنات يذهبن السيأت, which Marracci translates, "Quippe bona opera abire facient mala." And Mr. Sale, "For good works drive away evils," Vol. II. p. 31. The error appears to have arisen from a mistake as to the meaning of the last word, which the author of the Kàmoos says is the same with خطيئة. والسيئة الخطيئة. In this sense too the Moola has understood the text, as have also Gelál Oddín and Beidáwi in their commentaries on the passage.

self-evident. No master, for example, would approve of the disposition which would compel a slave scarcely able to carry ten ass-burdens of wheat from one place to another, to carry ten times that quantity in the same time; much less of the disposition which would punish such slave, if after carrying the nine only, he had it not in his power to carry the tenth. If such an event should take place, every intelligent man would, of necessity, reproach the conduct of such a master. How then could such a thing take place with God, whose attributes are justice and mercy? It is surely impossible. "God will not force any soul beyond its capacity."*

The capacities, however, of different persons are different: for there are many who can spend their whole time in the services of religion; who can watch by night, and fast almost continually; and thus occupy themselves night and day in the service of their Maker. But, it results from the kind disposition of the Deity, that this has no where been laid down as binding: all that has been declared is, the appointment and limitation of the portions of time proper to be observed by the pious. Some, for instance, are to be appropriated to the acquirement of temporal goods; others to those of eternity: some to sleep, others to refreshment. And, upon the whole, nothing is made

* Sale's Koran, chap. II. p. 52.

binding, but that, which being neglected, would deprive the believer of that first step towards perfection, which is to be acquired by no other means. The commands, therefore, of the Deity are not all to be considered as binding: some only are of this description; others are left to the affectionate regards of the pious.* Now, those precepts which are binding in every law, are but few when compared with those which are left to the regards of the pious. The reason seems to be this: by observing the precepts which are binding, man arrives only at that degree of perfection which will save him from punishment, and entitle him to the lowest place in paradise; hence these precepts involve but little difficulty in their requirements. Now the degrees of elevation in paradise, as well as those of degradation in hell, are various. All men, therefore, will not hold the same rank in either of these places respectively. But, in paradise, the highest elevation, and that which will bring a man in the nearest place to the Deity, is to be obtained by the observance of those precepts only, which are not binding; or,

* MS. بعضي واجبند وبعضي مستحب. This appears to be nearly analogous to the works of supererogation of the Catholics. The principal difference consists in the Mohammedan determining for himself, which precepts are binding; the Catholic, which of the commandments of men it will be most meritorious to follow. The effect in both cases is precisely the same.

as the orthodox have expressed it, "The approach of the pious to the Deity, is to be advanced by the observance of those precepts which are not binding," * and this they have proved by experience.

As to what is written in the Pentateuch, namely; "Thou shalt not covet the wealth or wife, &c." to the end (p. 116), this is not one of those precepts which are binding, but of those which are left to the zeal of the pious; and which may nevertheless be fulfilled: for the object here had in view is, to urge the necessity of love to God: in any other sense, these desires do not militate against his service; but the contrary. To conclude, the degrees of perfection laid down for the acquisition of the pious are one thousand. Of these, one only is to be obtained by observing the precepts which are binding, the remaining nine hundred and ninety-nine by abstinence, recitations of the Koran, and meditation; all of which are the free exercises of the pious. But, on this subject, much may be said, which the limits of this Tract will not admit of.

It is said in the next place: "But, as it respects repentance and pardon, &c." (p. 116, to the end of the paragraph, p. 117). We answer, the meaning of the passage, "He will by no means clear the guilty," must be, that

---

* MS. لا يزال العبد يتقرب اليه بالنوافل :

every guilty person deserves punishment, and that to such a degree as the magnitude of his crime requires; which does not imply that God should actually inflict punishment: for it cannot be incumbent on God to act according to the deserts of his servants. The truth is, this depends entirely on his own will. If it be his pleasure, he will do so; if not, he will forbear, and pardon the offender. Nor will the grant of pardon tend to falsify the word of God, unless actually proposed at the moment, in which it had been declared, that he would surely punish every sin. But he has never made any such declaration at all; nor have we met with any such a sentiment in all the writings of the Prophets. But should any such passage occur, recourse must be had to explanation, otherwise no such thing as pardon can any where exist: and we shall be compelled to remove from the character of the Almighty the most necessary and glorious of his attributes, bounty, pardon, and mercy. Of the attributes, we know, that which ascribes benignity to the Deity * is no less necessary than that which declares him to be just: and further, to be gracious, does not imply that he must be unjust. For, if there were no such thing as pardon, the Deity must be severe, although we allow at the same time that every sin shall receive its due

* P. 166.

punishment, were there no repentance offered, or disposition to make reparation for the fault. But, after both these have been evinced, the infliction of punishment cannot be considered in the estimation of right reason, but as undue severity. Each of these cases we see sometimes exemplified in the conduct of merciful or unmerciful Sovereigns. This gracious disposition, however, ought not to be exerted to such a degree as to be injurious to the interests of God's people. But, as the pardon of the Deity will not be fully made known until the day of judgment, when the requirements of the pious will have been completed, should he then extend it to multitudes innumerable, no one will be able to complain, that this has ever been injurious to his spiritual progress on earth. Now, had not revelation given intimations to the contrary, infinite mercy would require that this should be the case: still, from the consideration of the divine attributes of infinite mercy;—of the excellency, incomprehensibility, glory, and power of the divine essence, and of the infirmity of his best servants, we may conclude, that every sinner, excepting only the infidel, will be forgiven; as we have elsewhere shewn,* from the consideration of the nature of his offence, which is also infinite in degree. The infidel must, therefore, undergo

* Perhaps in the work already referred to, p. 170, &c.

everlasting punishment. When, therefore, the Padre says, that "sin is an act contrary to some existing law,* (which is the minor of two propositions), we assent to the truth of it: but the major, which states that "there is no law without its penalties," we totally deny; for, when repentance and reparation have been offered, the infliction of a penalty would indicate an unfeeling and cruel disposition; just as pardon, under the same circumstances, would evince kindness and tenderness of heart.

Now it is evident, that to pardon the faults of any one, does by no means falsify the declarations of him who denounces punishment on crime. For, should any master, for example, particularly caution his servant against the commission of some crime; threatening, at the same time, that he will punish him upon its being committed. Supposing then this servant to be so much led astray by the influence of his passions, as to commit the act; and again, to become so far the object of divine grace, as to be brought to repentance, and thus to repair to the court of his lord with the utmost sorrow and contrition for his offence, and to obtain pardon, who would think of saying that his lord had falsified his own words, or acted contrary to his own declarations? It would surely be said, that as he had forgiven

* P. 116.

his servant, he had acted a truly noble part. Nor would men of sense blame the action, but extol it as worthy of their highest commendations. But should they term it the falsifying of his own word, that would amount to reproach: for to lie is infamous, and every infamous action is the just object of reproach.

Repentance, therefore, is not the mere show of sorrow for some offence, without the addition of all those duties which man owes to man as such, with the earnest desire of rendering to all their dues. To this also must be added, the duties we owe to God, such, for instance, as prayer, fasting, performing the pilgrimage to Mecca, and the like. Supposing then, some person should injure another, either by embezzelling or squandering his property, and then express a mere regret for his offence, that would not constitute repentance. But, as both law and common sense require, he must truly declare his regret; and then, to the utmost of his power, make reparation, with the view of satisfying the injured party. But, if he have no such wish, he then ought to suffer the sentence of the law. Real repentance, then, is of the following description: Supposing, as before, that some one is indebted to another, and that the creditor has demanded his due, upon which the debtor hesitates to offer satisfaction. If we again suppose, that the debtor, after some hesitation repents,

and goes to the residence of the creditor with the full amount of the debt, which he pays, and then asks pardon for his offence; the creditor will, without doubt, if he possess a spark of generosity, pardon the delay thus occasioned.

The case, moreover, adduced by the Padre, is not in point, but is erroneously framed on the supposition that no reparation has been made; which must, confessedly, be confined to the case in which there is no ability to do so. But even in this case, upon the supposition that some one should be indebted to another of liberal disposition; and, that during the times of prosperity he has neglected to discharge the debt, but is afterwards incapacitated by adverse fortune to do so. Supposing, then, that the debtor should become sorry for his offence, and perceive that the only remedy he has now left is, to go to his creditor with the utmost sorrow and contrition, and confess his fault. Would not such liberally disposed creditor, in such a case, cancel both the debt and the crime?

Again, it has been said, (p. 116), "That it does not become a magistrate to pardon a criminal," which appears to be founded on the supposition, of some crime having been committed against the magistrate; but it has, in fact, been committed against the law and commandments of God. In this case, then, the crime affects the lawgiver; and the lawgiver is God. The

power of forgiving is, therefore, vested in his hands, and not in those of the magistrate. Instances, however, do occur, in which a crime is committed against a magistrate, but which does not involve an infraction of the law of God. In this case it is in the power of the magistrate to pardon. Now, allowing that God is a just judge, and supposing that some crime has been committed against him, what difficulty can there now be, in supposing him to forego his right of inflicting punishment, especially when reparation and repentance have been offered? Hence it is that the Prophet has laid it down as a law, that repentance comprehends the obligation of rendering to all their dues, when he who repents is in a capacity to do so; and that mere sorrow for the fault is not sufficient. The divine justice and government, therefore, by no means make it necessary, that every sin or improper action should receive its due punishment. But, on the contrary, the characteristic of good government, no less than the prosperity of the subject, consists in the observance of the principles already mentioned.

Most men, we know, whether it be from the temptations of Satan, or from a propensity to follow the suggestions of their own passions, have a disposition to indulge in sensualities to such a degree, that their sins greatly outweigh the rewards to be apportioned to all their virtues.

If, then, every sin receive its due punishment, and repentance and sorrow have no value, will not all men be overwhelmed with despair; and (which God forbid) be driven by a sense of their iniquities, to embrace every indulgence presented to their senses, and thus to fill the world with confusion and distress?

It is, therefore, incumbent on an all-wise God, first to threaten men to the utmost, that they should not implicate themselves in such sins as they were able to avoid: and, secondly, to afford them such declarations of his will, as would inspire hope; with the view of preserving their virtue, and obviating the possibility of their becoming at once refractory and disobedient. And, further, to make such distinctions between the different crimes of men, that they, whose object it has been to promote universal confusion and misery, may be punished without mercy: "For surely God will not pardon the giving him an equal."* And that others, whose crimes are the result of human infirmity, may be passed over: "For God will not punish you for an inconsiderate word in your oaths."* And that others, again, who occupy the middle state between pardon and punishment, may be so left, as not to become hopeless because of their sins, nor yet too much elated by the hopes of pardon; in order

* Sale's Koran, Vol. I. p. 98. † Ibid. p. 39.

that all may seek the protection of the Almighty, and that his dominion may be realized on earth.

It is also necessary that the perpetrator of any wicked action should be punished in his own person; and not, that one man should suffer for the faults of another, which would inevitably involve those who were truly obedient in great difficulties. For what justice can there be in the supposition, that Zaid should be made to suffer for the crimes of Omar?* The statement, therefore, of the Padre, namely; "That some one must, by way of atonement, suffer for others, in order to afford an assurance of salvation," (p. 117), is not only contrary to the decisions of right reason, but, if allowed, would be the means of producing the greatest evils. For, in the first place, to refer that which is manifestly unjust to the appointment of the Deity, is pure infidelity. And, in the second, as the life of Christ is here made the sole means by which salvation is to be obtained, and as he, in whose person this is vested, is necessarily of greater dignity than the benefit thus to be conferred, this sentiment is also that of an infidel.†

* Two fictitious names often used in treatises on Grammar, &c.

† I understand the Moola to mean, that this consideration would elevate the character of Christ above that of the greatest Saints or Prophets, which would be the same thing as to assert his

We would ask the Padre, in the third place, whether the ancient Prophets arrived at the same degree of dignity with him who is here called the *word of God* and the *spirit of God*, or not. If he reply in the affirmative, we then ask, how was it that they did not, in their own persons, severally become the atonements for those, to whom they had been sent? But, if he answer in the negative, it will follow, that salvation, either for them or their followers, was a thing impossible of attainment; and, further, that the laws and services which they established were of no avail; which, as before, is palpable falsehood and pure infidelity.

In the fourth place, as Jesus was put to death, we ask, Was this for the sins of all mankind from the days of Adam to those of Mohammed; or, for those of his own people only? In either case it will follow, that all those who had died before that event took place, must necessarily be consigned to everlasting punishment. And, that all, who should come after, may sin with impunity, because all their sins had already been atoned for: on the

---

his divinity. The passage is this: دوم انکه لازم میاید که حیات روح الله مقدمه نجات عباد الله باشد وذو المقدمه اشرف از مقدمه است بالضرورة واین نیز کفر محض است.

first supposition, positively; and, on the second, by merely acknowledging the reality of his mission.

In the fifth place, will sin, when committed in ignorance against an infinitely good and gracious God be forgiven, either from the consideration of the sinner suffering its due punishment, or becoming his own atonement? (For it has been proved that a person duly imbued with the knowledge of God cannot sin). Because, we usually pass over many faults in an ignorant person, not one of which would be pardoned in another, conscious of the impropriety of his own conduct.

In the sixth place, does the Padre consider Jesus as the first great Cause, or only as an effect produced by him? If only as something produced, then can he never arrive at infinity, on any other principle, than that held by the Soofees, which the Padre, in his third tract, wherein his own principles are stated, affirms to be false. The absurdity of supposing Jesus to be the first Cause is too apparent to need any refutation; and, therefore, the Padre proceeds to lay down his own erroneous belief of the existence of a plurality of persons in the Deity. "If it be asked," says he, "how it can be possible that three persons can be possessed of a dignity," &c. (p. 117, to the end of the following paragraph, p. 118.)

It is replied, we have already intimated (p. 179, 180.) that if the Padre does, like other Christians, maintain a plurality of Gods, there can be no necessity that we should frame arguments in reply; or contend on a question, in which no man of common sense, would think it worth while to engage: for, in truth, such a person would not deserve a reply. The Padre, however, as far as appearances go, avoids the confession of so corrupt a faith, while his arguments go to prove his belief in it, as it appears from the foregoing extract; which is indeed unworthy of any refutation, and the substance of which he appears to deny. Be this as it may, he plainly affirms, that Jesus is the *word of God* and the *spirit of God*; and that his relation to God is, as the relation of a *word* to the *speaker*; or, as the relation of the *spirit* to the person of a man:—that there is no difference whatever between the person of God, and that of the Messiah, except as to *the manner* in which they are usually mentioned: and that in reality they are one.

We may here ask the Padre, what possible reason there could be, for his passing from the doctrine of a Trinity here to that of a Quaternity, the evils resulting from both being precisely the same, namely; the associating of other beings with the Deity? But, besides this, and many other similarly corrupt doctrines, will be found that which involves the positive denial of any first

Cause whatsoever. For to suppose the existence of a first Cause, from which something might be subtracted, or to which addition might be made in the person of a son, and, what is still more strange, in a body and spirit, is absurd: which, if not self-evident, has been often enough proved in the writings of the orthodox.

We would further ask our opponent, with respect to the assertion, namely: "These, in fact, constitute the same person," whether he considers the essence of all bodies as one and the same, differing only in the different degrees of liberty or restraint, superiority or inferiority, with which they have been invested, as the Soofee Doctors hold? Since every one knows, that he has, in his third tract, represented these opinions as false and groundless; yet here, not knowing which way to turn himself, he virtually acknowledges their truth. We affirm, that those who hold these opinions, do not consider visible objects as having been produced without an adequate cause for their production; but look upon all being as emanating from the first great Cause: both the producer and the produced constituting in reality one Being.* But how can the Padre and other Christians affirm this of Jesus?

* It may perhaps assist the reader to see a statement of the opinions of the Soofees on this subject. In the Dabistán of Meer Mohsin Fáni, we have the following passage cited from a work

If however the Padre does not hold the doctrine of the unity (as held by the Soofees), but supposes every body to have a nature and properties pecu-

---

a work of the celebrated Jámi. It has been said by the Moolooi Jámi in his work entitled (رساله وجوديه) a "Letter on the nature of existence," that existence, considered merely as such, is independent of any appendages external or rational; because these, considered in the abstract, would constitute a sort of independent being. That is, existence, considered as such, is not confined to any one thing, nor to any accidental mode of being, such as restraint, liberty, generality, particularity, the best, that which is common, or in a unity or plurality, which may be considered as independent of the first and necessary existence, or additional to it: all these being properties, necessarily inherent in it, and constituting its character. Now, as it regards the nature of the Essence itself, considered independently of any adscititious circumstances, it has received the appellation of the Unity, and in this every attribute and name are annihilated. This, then, is what has been called the source of all existence. But, as it regards the nature of this existence, considered with respect to all other existing beings, which are but the necessary appendages of it, whether general or particular, it has received the attributes usually ascribed to the Deity. In this respect, then, it is termed the divine Unity; and the assemblage of all (perfection). This existence, again, considered without respect to any other, is termed Being (هويت), which is found to pervade all matter: and which, considered with reference to things which do or do not exist, is that which constitutes the visible forms in the world."—The text I shall give partly from a MS. in my own possession, and partly from the edition printed at Calcutta, as I shall deem to be most consistent with the views of the Author, and the idiom of the language.

مولوي جامي در رساله وجوديه آورده كه وچون من حيث هو

liar to itself, how can he say, that "these in reality constitute the same person?" For no one, if you except the Soofees, can, or do, speak of the union

هو هو غير وجود ذهني وخارجيست بلكه هر واحدي از ذهني وخارجي نوعي از انواع وجودند من حيث هو هو اي لا بشرط شي مقيد نيست باطلاق وتقيد ونه كلي ونه جزوي ونه خاص ونه عام ونه واحد است بوحدتي كه غير ذات وزايد باشد بر ذات ونه كثير بلكه اين اشياء لازم حضرت است بحسب مراتب ومقامات اما حقيقت وجود بشرط ان لا شي معها مسماة بمرتبة احديت وجميع اسماء وصفات در اين مرتبه مستهلكند اين مرتبه را حقيقت الحقايق خوانند اما حقيقت وجود بشرط جميع اشياء كه لازم اوست از كليات وجزييات مسماست باسماء وصفات مرتبة الهيت واين مرتبةرا وحدت مقام وجمع كويند* وحقيقت وجود نه بشرط شي ونه بشرط لا شي را هويت كويند واو ساريست در جميع موجودات† وبشرط شي ولا شي صور عالمست.

And, a little lower down; "It has been stated by Hosein Ibn Moeen Oddeen Maibadee, in a work entitled Fawátih (فواتح), that the first and necessary existence, is that which remains unchangeable under all circumstances;—that dependant existence is nothing more than the forms and modes of being, which

* See the note cited in page 265.

† The Soofee method of stating the sentiment delivered by Mr. Martyn in pp. 147-8-9.

of any two distinct substances; for, after the difference in their essences has been shewn, a difference in their natures must follow: but the Padre considers the existence of things, their natures, and properties, as convertible terms!

The truth is, therefore, the Padre can prove a quaternity of persons in the Deity, with as

---

which are subject to change. The production of the world is nothing more than the manifestation of that light which is peculiar to the divine nature, exhibited under numerous and various forms. In the books of the Soofees it is said, that as beauty receives pleasure from the contemplation of itself, whenever it views itself in a glass; so does the divine Essence contemplate its own beauty in the appearances and discoveries of things, which have been brought about by his own appointments; and beholds in every mirror that form which it has been calculated to present; and thus, by means of the multiplicity of lights in which he is viewed, presents himself in that various and multiform relation, which is visible around us.

وحسين ابن معين الدين ميبدي در فواتح نقل كند كه صوفيه كويند .... واجب الوجود اينست كه در جميع احوال ثابت است وممكن الوجود صور واحوال كه تبدل مي يابد ايجاد حق عالمرا ظهور نور حقيقت مطلقه اوست بصور مختلفه متعدده كه مشاهده ميكني .... در كتب محققين ديده شد كه جميل آنزمان از جمال خود بهره يابد كه حسن خودرا در آينه مشاهده نمايد وبنابرين وجود مطلق در مراياي تعينات ومجالي تشخصات تجلي كرده حسن خودرا در آينهاي مختلف ديده در هر آينه بصورت مناسب او نموده بحسب تعدد ومظاهر كثير پيدا شد.

much ease as he can speak of a Trinity; although, in appearance, he endeavours to avoid the question. According to him, one is *body;* another the *spirit* absolutely; another the appointed *spirit,* who is Jesus; another is compounded of *body* and *spirit.* Now, unless he allows each one of these individually to constitute the first great Cause, its existence must be virtually denied; because a first cause, capable of addition or subtraction, must be an absurdity.

It has also been stated, that the *spirit of God* and the *word of God,* have the same relation to God himself, as the spirit and word of a man have to a man, (p. 117). There can be no doubt, then, that the relation of a speaker to the word spoken, is that of an agent to the action done by him. But how can the essence of the agent, and the source of the action, here be said to be the same thing, unless it also be allowed, that *existence,* whether by necessity or possibility, is virtually the same with the *nature* of things; and, that this is in all things really one and the same? And, further, that the difference in degree which is every where observable, is that which it is stated to be in the numerous treatises by the Soofees on that subject, all of which has been denied by the Padre?

But, passing over other erroneous statements of the Padre, we further affirm, that the relation of a person to his spirit, is that of the whole to

a part of any thing. Now, supposing the essence of Jesus to be the same thing with the nature of the spirit of God, which, according to the foregoing statement, can only be a part of the Deity, still we are compelled to acknowledge a compound nature in his essence, which is incompatible with the supposition of his being the first Cause; unless our opponent turn round upon us and say, that the nature of the spirit is precisely the same with that of the body, which is to recur again to the principles of the Soofees.

Again, it is said, (p. 118), "When considered with respect to others." We wish to know, in what light the essence of a *spirit* can be considered to justify its being called a *body*, particularly when applied to the sacred person of Jesus; with respect to whom, no such suppositious or figurative language as would manifestly involve impossibilities, can be allowed: otherwise essence considered merely as such, must cease to be the subject of analogical enquiry. In any case, if figurative language be at all admissible in this place, as the body is the appointed residence of the spirit, it would be much more proper to term Jesus a *body* than a *spirit*. The title, *word of God*, is likewise much more applicable to a body than to a spirit. For a word is an effect produced by the expulsion of the breath from the lungs, and these are a part of the body, but have nothing to do with the spirit. It is, there-

fore, absurd to call Jesus either *the word* or *the spirit* of God.*

The statements (p. 118), "This was done by the appointment of sacrifices for sins, &c." (to the end of the paragraph), are perhaps more surprising than the foregoing; and are calculated to provoke the smile even of a child. For all this might have been obviated by one sentence which the angel Gabriel might have delivered and explained to any one of the Prophets. And, again, if to point out one sacrifice only, was the object had in view, what possible necessity could there have been, that so many thousands should have been reduced to services so difficult as those of sacrifice were? And further, if sacrifice was an intimation only that sin should be cancelled, we ask, by what means were the sins of those who sacrificed actually cancelled, unless it be supposed that their sins remained wholly uncancelled, until the sacrifice of the Messiah himself had been offered?

* It is certainly to be regretted that Mr. Martyn did not meet his opponents purely on his own ground. The title, *spirit of God*, seems here to have been adopted by way of accommodation, by which, however, nothing could be gained, but much lost, in the further prosecution of this question. The Moola, also, seems not to have been aware, that he was here arguing in manifest opposition to the Koran, which ascribes both these titles to the person of Jesus,—and that he himself, (pp. 173, 333,) has given one of them to the Messiah. See the notes to Marracci's Koran, p. 116.

But further, as the apparent want of relation in any two things is not sufficient to prove the absolute want of it, might it not be true, that sacrifice might have related to something of which we are yet ignorant, a supposition to which a great part of the divine law is liable? Wealth, we know, is often fatal to the soul; yet no one holds that it is not a desirable thing. Might not these sacrifices, then, have been appointed as expiations for sin, so that no one should, on account of it, give up all for lost; and have been instituted at first by Moses, for the benefit of those who had worshipped the calf in the wilderness? It is probable, therefore, that sacrifice was appointed for the following reason, namely: Since all who had committed sin, had, by this means, forfeited their lives to divine justice. And as most men were thus implicated, this would make it necessary that they should suffer death: an animal was then appointed to be slain for the redemption of the sinner.

The Padre proceeds, "Again, there is in the ancient prophecies every intimation, &c." (p. 118, to the passage, p. 119,) "that the seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head; but that he should bruise his heel."

It is replied; This passage neither proves, nor even hints at, the mission of Jesus: it can only prove, that Satan would make some impression upon his person.

In the next place it is said: "Again, the promise made to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, was, that he who should be a blessing to all mankind, &c." (ibid. to the end of the paragraph.)

We answer, the children of Abraham were not confined to Isaac: Ishmael was also of his posterity. If, then, we consider the usual meaning of this word (posterity), Ishmael must surely be comprehended in it: and indeed, the blessing pronounced as intended to benefit all mankind, ought rather to be looked for among his descendants. For every one knows, that the Prophets who were descended from Jacob, were commissioned to the Israelites only, while the last Prophet was sent to all mankind, as we have already shewn, (p. 269). Namely, that the angel announced to Hagar, that God would make Ishmael prosperous, so that his hand should be in all men; and that the hand of all should be in him. We have also shewn (ibid.) that this declaration can have no meaning at all, unless it be, that the person so promised should be sent to all; and that all should obey him. In another place, also, of the Pentateuch, (Gen. xvii. 20.), after speaking of Isaac, it is said; "Tidings respecting Ishmael are vouchsafed to thee. Him will I make exceedingly numerous. מְאֹד מְאֹד the promised nobles shall come forth of him." The phrase מְאֹד מְאֹד, which signifies *exceedingly*, has here been used in conjunction

with the word עוֹלָם (ver. 19,) meaning *a long period of time,* which is spoken with reference to Isaac; and, to shew that dominion and prophecy should pass from the house of Isaac to that of Ishmael. And how, we ask, could the event be otherwise? For, if the promise had been confined to the house of Isaac, then would that which God gave to Abraham have been false; otherwise the regal power could not have departed from Isaac's posterity until the day of judgment. The contrary of which has now been the case for upwards of two thousand years. The truth is, therefore, this promise could not otherwise be fulfilled than in the descendants of Ishmael: and this we, who hold the faith of the Shiah, see this day brought to pass, in the person of Mohammed Mehdi. For, multitudes innumerable are daily addressing their services to him: and, although he is now concealed from the view, yet at the period appointed by the Almighty, he shall again be revealed.* Then shall the

* As frequent allusion has been made in this Work to the reigning Imám, who is said to be concealed, it may not be amiss to give some of the opinions of the Persians on the advantages to be derived from his concealment. In the second volume of a Work entitled (حق اليقيين), by Mahmood of Shustar, which is held in great estimation among the Persians, we have the following passages on this subject: از عبد الله بن الفضل روايت كرده است كه حضرت صادق

Lord Jesus descend from heaven, and perform those miracles which have been foretold by the

صادق عم فرموده که البته صاحب این امررا غیبي خواهد بود که هر سست ایماني شك کند گفتم چرا حضرت فرموده که مارا رخصت نداده اند که علتش را بیان کنیم گفتم چه حکمت در غیبت الحضرت خواهد بود فرمود همان حکمت که در غیبت پیغمبران سابق واوصیاي ایشان بوده است وان حکمت معلوم نمي شود مگر بعد از ظهور ان حضرت چنانچه خضر عم بیان نکرد حکمت سوراخ کردن کشتي وکشتن پسر وبر پا داشتن دیواررا مگر در وقت جدا شدن از یکدیگر اي پسر فضل این امریست از امور غریبهٔ خدا وسریست از اسرار خدا وغیبي است از غیوب خدا وچون دانستم که خداوند عالم حکیم است باید که تصدیق کنیم بانکه افعال همه او منوط است بحکمت هرچند جهتش بر ما معلوم نباشد. It has been related by Abd Allah Ibn Ulfazl, as received by him from the Imám Jaafer Sádik, that the last Imám will be concealed in order to reduce those who are weak in the faith to a state of doubt. I asked why we were not permitted to know the reason for this concealment, and further, what wisdom could there be in it? He answered, the same with that which was displayed in the concealment of former Prophets and their Vicegerents, and which was not explained till after such person had been brought to light. Khizar, for instance, did not give his reasons for sinking the ship, killing the child, or supporting the wall till he was about to leave Moses. (This story has already been referred to pp. 125-6. See also Sale's Koran, Vol. II. p. 117. and Marr.

Marr. p. 426. note LXVII.) Son of Fazl! This is one of the secret things of God, 'tis a mystery and a wonder which must remain with him. But when I know that he is wise, I am convinced that it is our duty to believe; because his acts, although exceeding our comprehension, proceed from the decisions of infinite wisdom.

A little lower down it is related as coming from Kuleini, that a person wrote to the Imám enquiring the reasons of his concealment, and what advantages were to be derived from it. The reply was; "Company of the faithful, enquire not into those things, the knowledge of which will be injurious to you. Of my fathers, continues the Imám, there was none who did not suffer great injuries from the tyranny of the Calif of his times." He then assures the enquirer that he would come forth at a time when this should not take place. He goes on to say, that the advantages received by his concealment, may be compared to those received by mankind in general, when the burning rays of the Sun are intercepted by a cloud. After this, the most extravagant stories are related of persons who have been favoured with visions of the last Imám in their dreams,—of others who have been introduced to a conference with him in a most magnificent palace in the desert, and then dismissed with large purses of gold. And, finally, the rewards of martyrdom are promised to all who patiently wait for his appearance, with the assurance that they shall be called out of their graves to witness his glory and the destruction of their enemies; who also shall be resuscitated to receive, in his day, the punishment due to their crimes. Such, it may be remarked, are the arts universally resorted to with the view of recommending superstition to popular belief. Scriptural truth alone, needs no such expedients, and it cannot but be matter for thankfulness with the believer, that what God has proposed for his belief, is no less worthy of his own character, than calculated to exalt both the moral and intellectual character of its recipient.

The Padre's next citation, which is from the Psalms, is this; "Thou shalt not leave my soul in hell, neither shalt thou suffer thine Holy One to see corruption, (Ps. xvi. 10.) We answer, As we have not now a copy of the Psalms at hand, we cannot ascertain from the context, whether David here speaks of himself, when he says, *my soul,* or of the Messiah. But, we ask, may not this be intended to point out an article of faith held by the followers of Mohammed; namely, that the soul of the Prophet and of his holy vicegerents were not suffered to remain more than three days in the grave; that he was borne up into the highest heaven, and a guard placed before his sepulchre? If so, this passage must relate to the person of David alone.

The next is; "Be ye lift up ye everlasting doors, and the King of glory shall come in." (Ps. xxiv. 7). We reply; It clearly appears from some passages, which have already been cited from the Psalms, that Mohammed the son of Abdallah was the great Prophet who had been promised;* and he, we know, has placed the matter beyond all doubt, that Jesus was not the Son of God, but only one of his most favoured servants. Now, this being the case, why may not this passage relate to Mohammed's ascent to heaven? Or, if the preceding and following con-

* See p. 331.

text should require it, that it allude to the ascension of Jesus? But this cannot be determined without an examination of the context itself.

The next passage presented to our notice, is one from the prophecy of Micah: "But thou Bethlehem, though thou be little among the thousands of Judah, yet out of thee shall he come forth unto me that is to be ruler in Israel; whose goings forth have been from of old, from everlasting." (Chap. v. 2. p. 119.) We remark; this passage is taken from the fifth chapter of the book of Micah; and, that Bethlehem, as the Jewish writers themselves say, is one of the villages situated near Jerusalem, which, during the times of the Israelites, was in the possession of the tribe of Judah. They also call it Ephrata. The Padre, however, has omitted the passage which would go much farther towards proving his point; for, in the following verse, we have a context which clearly shews the person intended by the Prophet to be Jesus the Son of Mary. The passage is this: "Therefore will I give them," that is, the Israelites, "until the time when she who travaileth shall bring forth."* It is well known that the Jews reckon their genealogies from the father only; but here it is done from the mother. It is also well known that Jesus had no father. The Jews too, are agreed,

* This is a translation of the Moola's version.

that this passage relates to the Messiah;* they say, however, that he has not yet been born, but that he shall appear hereafter. Now, should it be allowed, that this passage clearly foretels the appearance of such a person as Jesus, and that he shall come forth out of Bethlehem; still, how are we to know that he has actually appeared, and that Jesus the Son of Mary is the identical person? This we leave to be cleared up by the Padre.

The next citations are from the book of Isaiah, which are these: "A virgin shall be with child, and shall bear a son." "He was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities; the chastisement of our peace was upon him; and with his stripes are we healed." "He poured out his soul unto death: and he was numbered with the transgressors; and he bare the sins of many, and made intercession for the transgressors," (pp. 119-20.)

We reply; This is all to the purpose; and further, it must be evident to any one who will carefully consider the prophecy of Isaiah, that the greater part of it relates to the coming of Jesus. But it also appears from this book, that at the coming of the personage who has thus been

* Aben Ezra, Kimchi, and Rashi agree in applying this passage to the Messiah: but, "She that travaileth" is by Rashi referred to Zion.

promised, it is necessary that the earth be so replete with justice, that the wolf and the lamb may pasture together; and that no one should by any means injure another: that the sucking child should lay his hand upon the hole of the serpent; and that the fierce lion should feed like the tame animals; and that the Holy Land* should be filled with knowledge and understanding, as the waters fill the sea.

The foregoing extracts have been taken from the eleventh chapter of the prophecy of Isaiah, after which we have the following, (ver. 10.) "In that day shall a branch be set up for an ensign to the nations. To him shall the nations be joined, and his place shall be that of power and greatness." Now, every one must see that this can apply to no one who has hitherto appeared:—certainly not to Jesus, before the period of his death and ascension into heaven. Indeed, from the creation of the world to the present day, no such times as these have been known: and, hence it is, that the Jews declare with one voice, that the promised Messiah has not yet appeared. And certain it is, that in the books of the ancient Prophets, there

* MS. کرۂ خاص من. Whether کرۂ meaning *land*, or گروہ meaning *people*, is the true reading, I have some doubt. In either case, the sense above given will express the author's meaning, which he appears to me to have taken from Kimchi's commentary; in which the phrase הארץ usually taken to signify the earth, is referred to the Holy Land.

are intimations of such miracles and other marks by which the Messiah is to be known, as do not fully and satisfactorily apply to the person of Jesus.

If then we allow, as the followers of Islamism hold, and as the last Prophet has declared, that Jesus never died, either naturally or by the hands of men; but that he is still living; and, for reasons best known to an all-wise God, has been carried to heaven:—that he was twice to appear upon earth: and, that in his first advent, he performed a part of those miracles which have been foretold by the Prophets; and, that in the second he shall perform the rest, we shall establish a rational view of the whole matter. On any other supposition the truth must be on the side of the Jews. For, to understand a part without being able to account for the rest, is nearly the same thing as to be ignorant of the whole. It is incumbent, therefore, on the Padre and other Christians, who hold that Jesus shall appear a second time, to give proofs of this from the Scriptures alone; because human intellect can do nothing in a question like this; and nothing on the subject occurs in the Gospels. Besides, it is one of the tenets of the Padre, that no Prophet has appeared since the crucifixion of Jesus, who could afford any information on this subject: and this, he says, is held by the Christians in consequence of the declarations of two or three historians, who

had heard it from two or three of the companions of Jesus. But this is not only destitute of that evidence which is obtained by general testimony, but falls very far short of the point in debate. For supposing our opponent himself to have heard the words of Jesus, and to have believed him to be a Prophet, still the testimony of the ancient Prophets would be wanting. But, it is well known, that the Prophet Isaiah speaks, not only of the coming of Jesus, but also of the appearing of Mohammed, as we have already shewn from the second, forty-third, forty-fifth, and fifty-first chapters of his prophecy.*

The Padre goes on: "Again, in the book of Daniel: Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people, and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophecy, and to anoint the most holy." (p. 120.)

We answer, the interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream (ch. ii. 4.) as given by Daniel; as well as of that of Daniel himself (ch. vii.) as given by the learned among the Jews, relates to empire. In like manner, the vision that was

* There is probably some mistake in the manuscript here, as the passages which have been considered, are taken from the 28th, 42d, 43d, 45th, and 51st chapters. See p. 280, &c.

afforded on the sea shore, (i. e. by the river Ulai, ch. viii.) intimated the promulgation of God's word, and the coming of Mohammed. The fifth kingdom, moreover, is that of Kedar, which took its rise, elevation, and extent, from Mohammed, who is the greatest and last of Prophets.

In the next place the Padre says: "At length, after John the son of Zacharias had made his appearance, &c." to the words, "thus unintentionally fulfilled their own Scriptures." (p. 120.)

We reply: The reader must know, that the truth is apparently on the side of the Jews; for, in most of the ancient prophecies, dignity and power are ascribed to the person of the Messiah, as it appears from some passages already cited: and power must consist in the possession of earthly pomp and greatness. Besides, there are other intimations, such as the just and peaceful character of mankind,* which cannot yet be applied in an endeavour to establish the mission of Jesus. The truth then is, that the mission of Jesus cannot be established from the declarations of the ancient Prophets, without the additional testimony of Mohammed, in conjunction with the miracles he performed, and the circumstances which accompanied his mission.

The Padre proceeds: "Three days after his death, however, he rose from the dead, according

* Page 439, above.

to the Scriptures, &c." (p. 120 to the passage, "because it is now in our power, &c." p. 122.)

The reply is: The answer above given, namely: "we answer, &c." (p. 121), is not of so conclusive a description as to reduce an opponent to silence. For, it might be suggested, that they underwent all that is there mentioned, merely with the view of deceiving the vulgar: and, that their retirement from the world was undertaken in order to secure to themselves the supreme power. Worldly minded men, will, we know, submit to any privations, and even practise the greatest austerities in order to obtain reputation and eminence.

The most strange, however, of the Padre's assertions is the following: "Besides had they (the disciples) spoken falsely in these instances, it was the duty of the Jews of those times to have refuted them." But how has he made out this want of refutation on the part of the Jews? Have they any where affirmed, that all which the disciples have said with respect to Jesus or themselves is perfectly true, but that it was out of their power to join them, or to receive Jesus as a Prophet? Would any man in his senses have expected such a declaration from them? The truth is, they did deny the reality of the mission of Jesus; and, whether right or wrong, paid no regard to the declarations of the disciples. Besides, the reader now knows, that all the predictions relating to

Jesus, which can be collected from the ancient prophecies, are not sufficient to establish the reality of his mission; because they have been but partially fulfilled.

It is said in the next place; "The spread of the Christian religion, &c." (p. 122, to the end of the paragraph). We answer; The spread of precepts opposed to the lusts of the flesh, is not an event contrary to common experience; and, consequently, is not miraculous. The religions established by the different Prophets were, we know, all opposed to the lusts of the flesh, having no other object in view than the service of God. If then the Padre had said, that these considerations tended to establish the truth of his religion, we should have had no objection. Again, when he remarks that *eloquence* is one of those objectionable means by which the interests of any religion may be promoted, we cannot help thinking the remark weak. But, if he means, that a religion should possess nothing calculated to recommend it, either to general or individual belief, this will be more objectionable still; because it would follow, that every religion must, on this supposition, be destitute of every thing tending to prove its foundation in truth. The Padre has also said, "that to have joined (Jesus) during his life-time, was much better than to defer doing so till after his death:"* although we know, that

* I find no such assertion in Mr. Martyn's Tracts.

the disciples did not join him generally till after that event had taken place. It may be remarked, however, that the people of those times might be divided into two classes; the first consisting of those who had seen Jesus and witnessed his miracles; but who, nevertheless, refused to join him: the second, of those who had not seen him. Now, in either of these cases, the circumstance of their joining the disciples, and receiving their instructions, is liable to some animadversions.

With respect to the first class, who had seen Jesus, and witnessed his miracles, but still refused to join him: we ask, How was it that the preaching of the disciples made a greater impression on their minds than the preaching of Jesus did, insomuch, that, in the latter case, they were brought to acknowledge and embrace the truth? Their joining the disciples must have taken place from one or other of these two considerations: namely, either from worldly motives; or, because they were fools. For, to have treated the preaching and miracles of such a teacher as Jesus with disregard, and afterwards to have given credit to that of his disciples, betrays too much folly to be mentioned as a circumstance upon which any reliance can be placed; because such people would have found no difficulty whatever in believing in the Godhead of a calf.

With respect to those who had not seen Jesus, we affirm, that no reliance can be placed on them:

because the number of the disciples was not such, as would, according to the opinions of the learned, preclude the possibility of their having conspired for the propagation of falsehood. For the number of the disciples, did not, according to the Gospels, exceed eleven; and what difficulty can there be, we ask, in a number not greater than eleven, or even twenty, or a thousand, conspiring for the circulation of accounts contrary to the facts to which they relate? As far as we are acquainted with the Armenians and other Christians, who believe in the mission of Jesus, or acknowledge his divinity, we know of none who do not repose their faith on the testimony of two or three reporters, who may be ranked no higher than so many historians. Add to this the want of agreement observable in the declarations of the ancient prophecies, when compared with the events which characterized the mission of Jesus: many important predictions, as all allow, and as we have already remarked, having never received their fulfilment in him. They also say, (and this they take upon the testimony of these two or three writers), that Jesus has promised to appear again, and then to fulfil these predictions. But now, nearly two thousand years have elapsed, and no such second advent has taken place!

Now, the great characteristic of Islamism is this: Thousands of persons who witnessed the events of Mohammed's career, and saw his mira-

cles, joined him in consequence of their convictions of the truth of his mission. They laid down their lives and fortunes, and submitted to services the most difficult, in order to further the interests of his religion. Many of them, who were men of education and intelligence, retired wholly from the world. After hearing from the mouth of the Prophet himself a detailed account of the miracles of other Prophets, notwithstanding their own excellency of knowledge and of character, they made no scruple in acknowledging his mission, dignity, and power; believing him to be superior to all the Prophets, and the bare recital of his name in their prayers as the only means of obtaining an answer from above, and of furthering their progress towards perfection.

Now, upon reviewing the subject, may we not ask, how is it that the Christians place their faith in the narratives of two or three historians only; and, at the same time, refuse their assent to the testimony of so many witnesses, which may be adduced against them, unless we suppose them to be entirely ignorant of the facts relating to Islamism? In any case, as they have no more seen the reporters of the miracles of Jesus, than they have the writers of those of Mohammed, to say that the one class is to be believed, while the other is to be disregarded, can surely result from nothing but mere prejudice, or the spirit of party. Every impartial reader will come to the conclusion, that

both, so far, have an equal claim on our belief; and that the question at issue must be determined by other considerations. But, according to the confession of the Padre himself, we are in possession of an argument, which, during the times wherein there is no open revelation, is the only one capable of producing conviction: and this is, the fact of the *greatest number of witnesses* being on our side of the question. Upon the whole then, the narratives derived from those who have recorded the miracles of both these Prophets, waving every other consideration, may be such as to claim confidence, or the contrary. But, taking other considerations into the account, we have, on the side of Islamism, the testimony of those to the miracles of Mohammed, who have themselves also wrought miracles. Nothing can be more certain, for example, than the fact, that Ali, who was one of the companions of Mohammed, and consequently one of those who have delivered down many of his miracles, wrought more miracles himself, than all the disciples of Jesus put together. The same may be said of all the others. If then on one consideration we allow them to be equal, we cannot in all; because those who have recorded the miracles of Mohammed, constitute a number sufficient to ensure universal credence. In any case, they exceed the number of *three historians*, or of *eleven disciples*. How then could the Padre have possibly come to the conclusion, that these

numbers must have given false accounts, while these three or four historians, or these eleven disciples, can alone be relied on as faithful reporters? May God, if it be his will, bring all to the knowledge of the truth!

The Padre proceeds, (p. 122), "The reason why Christians believe Jesus to have been the last Prophet, is this, &c." (to the end of the paragraph).

We reply, the obvious scope of the passage, namely; "The Law and Prophets were until John," appears to be this, that, as Jesus had, like Moses, been sent to the Israelites alone, prophecy should cease among that people with the mission of John; and that it should then be removed to the house of Ishmael. As to the passage, "Behold, I am always with you, even to the end of the world," the meaning is, that Jesus would always be present in the Spirit with his people; which has always been the case with respect to the former Prophets, and, is still so with respect to the saints and the followers of God. In this point of view, then, the passage cannot be cited as proving the continuation of the mission of Jesus till the consummation of all things; and further, because he himself has also said in the Gospel,* "I go away; and it is better

* The passage alluded to is probably John xvi. 7, which has already been referred to in p. 327. The sense in this

as

for you that I go; for, until I depart, the spirit of truth and the paraclete will not come. And he is better for you than I am." The reader also knows that this can, by no means, relate either to the angel Gabriel, or the Holy Ghost, as the Christians will have it.

Let praise then be ascribed to God from first to last, secretly and openly; and may the benediction of God rest upon Mohammed and all his house. Lead us, O God, by thy guidance, and keep us under thy care and protection.

---

as in most other instances, is erroneously given: nor have I found in any one, that the original Greek has been referred to, or the version of Mr. Martyn cited.

THE QUESTION

DISCUSSED IN THE PRECEDING PAGES RESUMED BY THE TRANSLATOR.

PREFATORY REMARKS.

In resuming the question discussed in the preceding tracts, it has not been thought advisable to follow the line of argument adopted either by Mr. Martyn or his opponents; because, however the particular topics discussed by them might be vindicated or refuted, the general question at issue may nevertheless not be advanced by such a method; and the reader, reduced perhaps to the mortifying consideration, that time and pains had been thrown away, may at last ask, To what purpose has been this waste? It is our intention, therefore, to take a different line of argument; and to endeavour to arrive at a conclusion, which will tend to place the subject before us in a profitable point of view, adverting occasionally to the arguments which have been given in the foregoing pages, as the nature of our subject may require.

Situated as Mr. Martyn was in Persia, with a short Tract on the Mohammedan religion before him, and his health precarious, the course he has

taken was perhaps the only one practicable : but, as an elaborate reply to him has now appeared, in which the principal arguments generally urged in favour of Islamism are to be found, it becomes a duty to examine them at some length, not merely to refute them, but to enable ourselves to propose a more rational and profitable creed, with the greater probability of success.

It must have appeared from what has already been detailed, that the arguments of a Mohammedan are not quite so easily to be met as it has sometimes been supposed. In addition to the opinion that our copies of the Scriptures have been corrupted, and, therefore, unworthy of credit, the professor of Islamism has fortified his system by metaphysical disquisitions, difficult to be understood, and more difficult to be refuted; not because they are true, but because a system of erroneous reasoning is also to be set aside, and documents, now believed to be authentic, to be proved unworthy of credit. In addition to this, we have to assail a system of mysticism, of almost too indefinite a nature to be made the subject of analogical enquiry.

In this, the Deity is not only considered as *one*, in opposition to polytheism, but as the only being in existence, from whom all that is seen, felt, or heard, is but the merely ideal emanation, which in a short time shall again be absorbed in his mysterious essence. Hence pain or pleasure, sin or

holiness, action or rest, are looked upon as the mere modes of existence necessarily entailed on all the imaginary characters introduced to this theatre of temporary being; and a state of stupor, which a moderately taught Christian would consider as little short of real madness, is considered as the highest degree of mental perfection to which man can aspire, and from which he shall glide into that union with the Deity, of which he is most desirous. In this state, the devotee considers the voluptuous paradise of his Prophet, as pointing out those spiritual provisions for the soul which await him in the higher stages of his progress:—that Jesus and all the Prophets have trodden this mysterious path:—that idolatry and faith are all but one thing,—all being God, and verging towards that state of union with him, at which, finally, they shall all arrive.

Whatever may be said of the approach of the Mystic to the truths of Christianity, and something like that is discoverable in the preceding tracts, the fact is, the real principle by which he is actuated, is that of heathenism. The Koran, which contains many things in common with the Scriptures, is mostly cited in a sense, of which, it is extremely probable, its author never dreamt: and hence, however the Mohammedans may be supposed by some to be a sort of heretical Christians, the truth seems to be, that, as far as mysticism prevails among them, they are much more nearly

allied to the Hindoos, or to the visionary followers of Plato.

In order, therefore, to bring our subject fully before such readers, I have taken the following line of argument as the most suitable to our question; viz. To shew, in the first place, that the principles, by which evidence has been estimated in the preceding Mohammedan Tracts, is not calculated to ascertain the truth in questions relating to religion. And, in the second, to propose others upon which reliance may be placed.

In the third place, since both parties allow, that a revelation has been made from above, and that the books of the Old and New Testament were originally so revealed, to shew, that those books are now mainly the same as they originally were; that is, that no wilful corruption has ever taken place in them, either affecting any point of doctrine, or article of history; although we are disposed to allow, that some variety of reading is found to exist in the different copies.

Having determined this point, and agreeing with the Author of the preceding tract, that all information relating to religion must necessarily be derived from revelation, we propose to enquire, in the fourth place, Whether revelation affords the criteria by which any one laying claim to a divine mission may be known. And, if so, Whether Mohammed's character answer the requirements of such criteria.

This point being determined, we intend, in the fifth place, to ascertain from the revelation, What is the real character of man,—What the word of God has laid down as necessary for his observance, and for what end that has been done. And, in the last place, to make a few remarks on the subject before us.

CHAP. I.

THE PRINCIPLES ADOPTED BY THE MOHAMMEDANS SHEWN TO BE FALSE. OTHERS PROPOSED ON WHICH RELIANCE MAY BE PLACED.

WE proceed then to shew, in the first place, that the principles by which evidence has been estimated in the preceding Mohammedan Tracts, is not calculated to ascertain the truth in questions relating to religion.

In pages 23, 24, &c. we have a sufficiently good account of the nature and application of these principles, with some remarks on them. We now affirm, that they are not only imperfect, but also inapplicable to the question before us, for several reasons. First, they are imperfect. The evidence which is termed *Mutawatir expressed* (متواتر لفظي) is said to be

conclusive, from the consideration of the number of witnesses being so large, as to make it unlikely they could have conspired for the propagation of falsehood, supposing their testimony to involve no impossibility. But here, as it has already been remarked (p. 26,) no number is specified, this being left rather to the *feelings* than to the *judgment* of the enquirer. Those who are disposed to believe, or in other words, have some motive for giving credit to the testimony offered, will limit the number to a very few, to five or twelve, for example, as stated in the citation from Soyuti, (p. 26). Others, inclined to object, will require a much greater number to make the matter at all credible. But, in either case, the numbers appealed to might have been actuated by mere prejudice, or might have borne testimony to facts of which they had no real knowledge, but which they had only heard from others; and this will involve the probability of their having misunderstood their informants. Of this sort is the testimony offered for all the miracles of Mohammed, no historian being now extant, who had written down what he had seen. All his sayings, many of which are said to contain prophetical declarations, are of this specific character, no one of them having been committed to writing by the first witness. In any case, therefore, no reliance can be placed on the evidence given.

Another defect is, the want of integrity of

character in those composing the imaginary number of witnesses; and another, the motives by which the witnesses might be actuated in tendering their several testimonies, of which no account is taken in the definition.

In the course of the preceding Tract, indeed, it has often been affirmed, that many of the witnesses adduced in favour of Mohammed's miracles, were themselves able to work miracles, such, for example, were Ali and his descendants the Imáms. But how, it may be asked, are the accounts of their miracles attempted to be proved? It may be answered, by an assumption of the principle here objected to; not to dwell upon the fact, that these witnesses were all deeply interested in the credit of the miracles thus attested. Their testimony, therefore, cannot be received merely on account of the miracles usually ascribed to them.

Another objection to the principle under consideration is, that it is inapplicable to the subject of religion. It has been said, that when the existence of such places as Mecca is asserted by a number of people sufficiently large to make the truth of such assertion probable, to refuse assent is to manifest a wrangling disposition: and hence it is inferred, that accounts relating to past events may thus be estimated and adjudged. But the accounts relating to the existence of certain places, and to past events, are of a totally different description: and while it is allowed, that the

truth of the one may be relied upon, in consequence of the testimony of a certain number of credible witnesses, it may be maintained, that the truth of the other cannot, notwithstanding the fact of the witnesses being equally, or even more numerous, unless, indeed, they had been eye-witnesses to the facts to which they bear testimony. In the former instance, the truth of the testimony may be ascertained from subsequent witnesses; but in the latter, subsequent enquiry can avail nothing, because the thing attested must necessarily have ceased to exist. The principle, therefore, is inapplicable in such cases: and of such does the question before us consist.

Another objection is, that by this principle, the decision of the majority is supposed to be exempt from error. In matters relating to business, it may be correct; because, as each is supposed to have had good means of information, the probability that the majority are right will be the greatest. But, when religion is the subject in question, this will not hold good. Here divine revelation alone must be appealed to, in the first place, and where that is not to be had, men must necessarily remain ignorant. In the second, the decision of one inspired writer will outweigh whole nations of others: and should such be accessible, who shall have decided on all questions of importance, he must ever be recurred to, when such questions are to be discussed. In the third

place, the testimony of the wise and good of any age is to be preferred to that of others who are of a contrary character. And even then, should they be found to differ in their opinions on certain points, the greater number is not always to be preferred, unless we have some further reasons for doing so. In the revelation, however, which we now have, all necessary information is given on points of importance. To this, therefore, we can always recur, and it will be shewn hereafter, that upon the accuracy of its declarations every reliance can be placed.

To illustrate our position by a few examples. Our Lord, we know, stood almost alone during his ministry on earth. Almost the whole Jewish nation was opposed to him, particularly the more learned part of it: and such was their obstinacy, that even miracles were found insufficient to convince them of their error. In this case, then, the greater number was manifestly in the wrong, notwithstanding the fact, that they had the Scriptures in their hands, with all the advantages of learning to assist them in interpreting their meaning.

Again, the followers of Mohammed, are probably fewer in number, than those of Buddha. The Buddhists are in possession of generally received accounts of the miracles of their leader, which have as regularly come down to them, as those which are in the hands of the Moham-

medans. Now, to which of the parties are we to give credit? Our principle says, to the Buddhists, because the number of witnesses is too large to allow of the supposition, that they have conspired for the propagation of falsehood. And, as the numbers are larger than those which bear testimony in favour of Islamism, the probability is, that they are right, and that the Mohammedans are wrong.

It will be answered, perhaps, as it has been in page 257 of the preceding tract, that the character of Buddhism is such, as to stand in need of no arguments to prove its falsehood. But this would imply a rejection of the principle in question, and upon which the Mohammedans endeavour to prove the truth of their religion. Here then, the Mohammedans have adopted a religion, supported by a principle which they are compelled to reject. How, it may be asked, could a Mohammedan have known, that the doctrine of the metempsychosis,—image worship, &c. are not true, unless he had adopted opinions formed upon the principle which he now takes the liberty to reject? How could he have known that the Koran contained precepts worthy of his regard, or that Mohammed had wrought miracles, if he had not adopted principles by which a Buddhist can shew, that his religion is the better of the two? The objector proceeds still further in page 259, and says, that any one laying claim

to a divine mission, and proceeding to establish a religion, which, in the estimation of those capable of forming a just opinion, is subject to no defect, it may be known, without having recourse to miracles, that such a person must have come from God. Here again, the opinions of the persons supposed to be capable of judging, must be formed on the adoption of the principle in question; and, when this is done, we are told that every principle by which we may judge of the equity of such claim, may be set aside at once! But, in page 172, we are told, that no one can know so much as how the morning and evening prayers are to be performed without the instruction of a Prophet, or his vicegerent, whose mission is to be sustained by miracles, &c. Some principles, therefore, are contended for occasionally, by which the doctrine of the metempsychosis, image worship, and the like, could be established beyond all doubt; but, when that is likely to be the case, the principles are to be entirely rejected, and we are to rely upon unassisted nature; which, after all, cannot inform us, how the morning and evening prayers ought to be performed! It certainly would be a much shorter way for the Mirza to tell us at once, that Islamism is right, because it was the religion of Mohammed; and that every other religion is wrong, because it is not Islamism. This would save us the trouble of receiving and

rejecting such principles as the feelings of our opponent may require, and would be equally conclusive in the end.

But suppose we adopt the principle under consideration, and apply it to the religion of Mohammed, what then? It would turn out, that there was a time, and a very important one too, at which Islamism could receive no support whatever from its adoption. Before the battle of Bedr had taken place, as Mr. Martyn has properly remarked (p. 88.) notwithstanding the miracles ascribed to Mohammed during his childhood, of which it is most probable no one had then ever heard one word, added to those of the Koran, not only the majority of the Arabs, but his own family, and even his wife Khadíja treated him rather as a madman than as a prophet. His account of having seen the angel Gabriel, and having been saluted by stocks and stones as a person commissioned from above, they considered as mere madness: nor was it till he had obtained power by the fortune of war, that his miracles were at all credited by the multitude. Besides, many years must have elapsed after the battle of Bedr, before the majority of the Arabs could at all be appealed to, and even then, their testimony to his miracles, if we except the Koran, could be of no use, because they must have already denied their existence, if we suppose them to have been eye-

witnesses; and if they were not, their testimony is good for nothing.

It is also well known, that about this time a rival prophet of the name of Moseilema arose, who succeeded in drawing considerable numbers after him. The Arabs were, therefore, divided in their opinion, as to which was the true prophet; nor was it until a considerable battle had taken place, in which Moseilema was slain, that any thing like unanimity prevailed on this subject. The majority of witnesses, therefore, cannot be cited in favour of Mohammed at the rise of Islamism; and, many years after, when his authority had been established by other means, their testimony cannot be relied upon; because, in many instances they could not have had knowledge of the facts in question; and, as they had now an interest to maintain, there is no probability that their testimony would be impartial.

Having shewn the inadequacy of the evidence already mentioned, as it regards our question, let us now examine that termed (متواتر معنوي) which we have styled, the *understood generally accredited accounts*. (p. 25, &c.) These accounts are said to be of the following description. When an account is given of the character of any one, and he is said, generally, to be learned, brave, liberal, or the like; but, in detailing the particulars, the different narrators give different accounts: the re-

sult on which reliance may be placed is, that the person, so described, is really of the character, which has thus been ascribed to him, however the particulars may have varied.

In this canon, as in the former, much is objectionable. In the first place, it is totally inapplicable to past events; and upon these, questions relating to the rise and progress of a religion, principally depend. Of these nothing can be known with any degree of certainty, which has not been committed to writing, by such persons, and at such times, as are likely to make the account itself probable. And should such narrations be found to disagree in particulars, the inevitable consequence must be, that it would be the less entitled to credibility. Something, indeed, may be collected by conjecture from the various or contradictory accounts given of the same transaction; but whatever this might be, it is totally inadequate to any of the purposes of religious belief. And, where nothing better is to be had, faith had better be suspended.

Besides, if reliance is to be placed on accounts such as these, it will follow, as Mr. Martyn has observed (p. 99.) that the authors of all the false religions have wrought miracles in proof of their several missions, there being no want of accounts thus varying as to the claims of such persons.

To say, as at page 24, that the miracles of all the ancient prophets are established on ac-

counts of this kind, is to betray an ignorance of the declarations of Scripture, and as such, is unworthy of refutation. The accounts found in the Koran and the Hadíth do certainly thus vary; but no proof can be made out, that reliance ought to be placed upon them, on that account.

In ancient histories also, considerable discrepancies are observable, but this does not tend to recommend the accounts contained in them to our belief, but the contrary: and until we shall be put in possession of knowledge sufficient to reconcile them, the questions which they involve must remain in doubt. The truth appears to be, that the greater the number of such discrepancies are, the less will our knowledge be, as to the things, to which they relate. Allowing, therefore, the utmost that we possibly can, as to conjecture in matters of little importance; yet in the momentous concerns of religion, we can by no means trust to principles so precarious as these manifestly are. And the conclusion must be, that where nothing better is to be had, belief must necessarily be withheld.

Having shewn that no reliance can be placed on the principles advanced in the foregoing Mohammedan tracts, we now proceed to propose others calculated to ascertain the truth in questions of this description.

We take it for granted, then, that in all matters necessary to be known, and of which we have no real knowledge, we must rely on the testimony of

others; and, that such testimony may be considered as entitled to our belief or not, in proportion to the strength or weakness of the probabilities with which it is accompanied. The principles, therefore, by which we must be guided, are those which will enable us to judge of the degree of probability to which any account is entitled: the grounds of which, according to Mr. Locke, may be reduced to two. "First, The conformity of any thing with our own knowledge, observation, and experience. Secondly, The testimony of others, vouching their observation and experience."

"In the testimony of others," continues he, "is to be considered, 1. The number. 2. The integrity. 3. The skill of the witnesses. 4. The design of the author, where it is a testimony out of a book cited. 5. The consistency of the parts and circumstances of the relation. 6. Contrary testimonies."

If, in the first place, any thing be presented to our belief, which is not conformable with our own knowledge, observation, and experience, it will require some additional considerations, at least, to make it probable. Of this description are miracles, which can become probable on no other supposition, than that they have been wrought by God: and this, to become credible, must be supported by the testimony of witnesses of whose veracity we can have no doubt. Other

events, with which we are familiar, will require no further recommendation to our belief, than that those who relate them possess the qualifications necessary to make their accounts probable, which we now propose to consider.

In this question, then, we are to consider, in the first place, the number of persons bearing testimony to any event. If we have only one witness, furnished with undoubted miraculous powers, his testimony may be received, and particularly if it be found agreeable to the will of the Deity as formerly revealed. But, if he have no such powers, and we have no great reason to suspect his testimony, in consideration of its own character, yet if it contain something new and important on the subject of religion, it will be our duty to hesitate, until we receive additional knowledge on the subject from some other quarter. The same will hold good, should the witnesses be many and respectable, and particularly so, should the thing attested tend in any way to oppose the declarations of a former revelation from above. The reason of the rule is this. God cannot be inconsistent with himself. His word will, therefore, ever be found consistent. Again, even good men may be mistaken in the views they take of certain things: and hence, although they may relate an event in the light, in which it had appeared, or had been represented to them by others, they may, nevertheless, have been mis-

taken. But, in every case, should the event, &c. related have every thing necessary to recommend it, the greater the number of the witnesses is, the stronger will the probability become, that such relation is worthy of credit.

In the second place, we must consider the integrity of the witnesses. It must appear that they have not been swayed by any worldly motive in tendering their testimony, whether it be the hope of acquiring wealth or influence, or the equally potent motive of leaving behind them the reputation of having been martyrs, however good the cause might be, which it was their intention to promote. Nothing, we know, recommends itself so strongly to universal support, as the cause of religion and virtue: and hence it has come to pass, that the far greater number of deceptions, which have been practised in the world, have been accompanied with pretensions of this kind, sufficiently strong to recommend them to the generous and unsuspecting part of society.

In the third place, the witnesses must have skill sufficient to ensure a confidence, that they have not been imposed upon themselves; or, if eye-witnesses, that they have not related something as miraculous, which, in reality, might be accounted for by the ordinary course of things. And, again, supposing them to have received their information from others, that they had discrimination sufficient to understand the scope and inten-

tion of their informants. And this is to be particularly regarded, in the fourth place, when the testimony is taken from a book cited, with the additional considerations of the scope, circumstances, and character of the author, from whom the citation is made. Because, not only may the language of the original author be misconstrued, but the author himself may be unworthy of credit; or the text of his work may have suffered in the course of time, from the ignorance or carelessness of his transcribers; or the thing related may have no other authority, than that of a doubtful tradition in the first instance. In cases of this kind, therefore, every intervening witness must be carefully examined. And if these are numerous and of doubtful character, the thing related will become scarcely worthy of credit, unless other circumstances concur sufficient to make it probable.

In the fifth place, the consistency or general agreement of the different parts of the testimony must be carefully considered. For, if we find one part of the testimony opposed to another, the truth of the whole will become matter of doubt. And, if, in addition to this, the circumstances attending the events contained in such testimony be incongruous in themselves, the testimony will cease to be probable. But if the whole be consistent, both with itself, and with the circumstances of the times, in which such event is said to have taken place, nothing, but the other requisites

necessary to produce probability, will be wanting to recommend it to belief.

We must consider, in the sixth place, the force and tendency of contrary testimonies. If, for example, the contrary testimonies should want all, or any of, the characters necessary to make them probable, then will the original testimony be unaffected by them. But should they, on the other hand, be entitled to credit, then will the original testimony stand in need of some further recommendations to make it credible: and, if no such recommendations should be found, it will become improbable.

Circumstances, however, may occur, in which probabilities and improbabilities may be so nicely opposed to each other, as to leave an enquirer in doubt, to which side of the question he should incline. In all such cases, the safe side should be taken whenever that can be discovered. If, for instance, many circumstances should be found to concur in recommending a new system of religious belief, (for in temporal concerns it may be but of little importance, which side is taken), such as good moral precepts, exalted notions of the Deity, the immortality of the soul, and the like; but should not, at the same time, recognize a prior revealed system, which had been established by miracles, predictions, and the like, encumbered perhaps with many inconvenient and apparently useless rites and ceremonies:—in such a

case, it will be our duty to adhere to the first revealed system, and to reject the other; and particularly, if we should have been warned in the first, not to receive any innovations unsanctioned by miraculous interposition. And, further, should it have been asserted by innumerable advocates of the new religion, that such system had been sanctioned by miraculous powers; and supposing the character of the witnesses to be such as to make their testimony probable; yet if the prior established religion has laid it down as a principle, that no religion is to be received, of which it has not given clear and undoubted intimation, (supposing the new system not to have been so predicted) we are bound to reject it.

The reason appears to be this: In the religion formerly revealed, nothing was left doubtful, if we except certain mysterious questions, which were of no use to mankind. And hence, those who refused assent and obedience, became guilty in the estimation of their Maker. Religion is a matter too important for it to be left in doubt, whether its requirements should be acceded to or not. If God has spoken, he must be obeyed. And where he has spoken, he has spoken plainly. But should a new system be recommended to our belief, the authority of which has been left doubtful, it becomes the duty of all who are desirous of obeying their Maker to hesitate. Besides all false religions are extremely plausible. The im-

provement and final happiness of mankind, is what they all propose. The requirements of society has made it necessary, that they should contain many good and virtuous maxims, in order to make them acceptable. The zeal of those who have invented or propagated them, has proved the fertile source of many an amusing and miraculous tale, now sanctioned perhaps by the usage of a remote antiquity, and recommended to credit, by national feeling, long established notions and prejudices, accompanied perhaps by the more dazzling ornaments of rhetoric and false philosophy. Besides, the imposing names of confessors and martyrs, which almost every system of superstition can recount, presents an appeal to the feelings, which it is not in the power of all to resist. It should be remembered, however, that notwithstanding all this, consent may involve rebellion against God, and that he has the power to punish; while a cautious adherence to that of which we have no reason to doubt, would at least preserve us from being implicated in error.

On the other hand, we are not to look for such evidence as the nature of our question will neither require nor admit of. Former revelations were indeed supported by miraculous powers, and were therefore irresistible: and such the circumstances of those times required. Those parts, which contained predictions of future events, are still equally convincing with respect to ourselves, when we are

assured by testimony on which we can rely, that these parts of the Scripture were really consigned to writing, before the events to which they relate had taken place: and in determining this, the rules already detailed will always suffice.

Having shewn, that the principles adopted by the Mohammedans in support of their religion are fallacious, and proposed others upon which reliance may be placed, we now proceed, in the third place, to enquire, whether the Scriptures, as we now have them, are, or are not, mainly the same as they originally were. That is to say, whether any such wilful corruption has ever taken place in their contents, as would affect any article of doctrine or of historical belief, so as to make it doubtful whether their declarations may be relied on in the present day. In making this enquiry we shall confine ourselves to those periods of time, which seem to be more immediately connected with our general question, which are these: First, that of the Babylonian captivity; secondly, that of our Lord's ministry; and thirdly, that in which Mohammed made his claim to prophecy.

CHAP. II.

SECTION I.

Examination of the question whether any corruption of the Scriptures took place during the Babylonian captivity.

We fix upon the Babylonian captivity, in the first place, because that period has been mentioned in the preceding Tract, (p. 250, &c.) as one, in which it is probable that some corruption might have taken place, or, which might have left the Jews without any adequate knowledge of the truths revealed in Scripture. The arguments there adduced seem to rest on the three following assumptions. First, that no written copies of the Scriptures were taken to Babylon at all. Secondly, from the circumstance of this captivity having continued seventy years, none of those who had been acquainted with the Scriptures during their residence in Canaan, could have been alive at their return, so as to teach their descendants the knowledge of divine things, which they themselves once possessed. And thirdly, as it has been said by some, that the Jews had entirely forgotten both their letters and language in the captivity, no doubt can remain of their having

forgotten the contents of their Scriptures also. We now proceed to examine the truth of these positions.

With respect to the first, then; namely, that the Jews had taken no copies of the Scriptures with them to Babylon, so as to have preserved them during the captivity, we may remark, There are several reasons which tend to prove the contrary. In the first place, it appears from the book of Daniel,* that he read and studied the prophecies of Jeremiah there. It also appears from Jeremiah, that he sent a part of his prophecy to his brethren who were in the captivity.† In the second place, the Prophet Ezekiel prophesied in the captivity: his book, therefore, must have been in the hands of the Jews in and about Babylon. Thirdly, the Book of Daniel was all written in Babylon. In the fourth place, we have no intimation whatever in these books of the Law of Moses and the other books of Scripture having been lost, in consequence of the invasion of Nebuchadnezzar, a circumstance which would hardly have escaped their observation, when enumerating their several calamities, had it ever taken place. And, further, upon the return from Babylon, we find Ezra, not dictating the Law from memory, as some have supposed, but actually producing the

---

* Ch. ix. 2. † Ch. xxix. 1, &c.

book in the presence of all the people, and reading it aloud from morning till evening.* Neither could the historical books have been lost; for we find Ezra actually arranging the Priests and Levites, according to the order prescribed by David, which is still to be found in those books.

With regard to the second position, namely, that all the persons must have been dead, who had read the Scriptures prior to the captivity. We affirm, it is far from being true: for we are told in the book of Ezra,† that those who had seen the first temple at Jerusalem, wept when they saw the second, after their return from the captivity.

As to the third assumption, that the Jews had forgotten both their letters and language, it is by no means probable. For first, with respect to their letters, although it has been maintained by both Jews and Christians, that this took place, their opinions seem to have been formed rather from conjecture, than from any information on which reliance can be placed. Others, both Jews and Christians, no less learned, have held the contrary opinion, namely, that the letters now in use among the Jews have been derived from the highest antiquity. It is, there-

* Neh. viii. 1, &c. ib. xii. 23—25, and 46.

† Chap. iii. 12.

fore, by no means certain, that such a change in the Hebrew letters ever took place. But if it had, as the Jews must gradually have learned the new letter in Babylon, their Scriptures would be also transcribed in that letter, which would have left them in possession of their contents, just as well as the old ones would have done. The supposition, therefore, of the letter having been changed, is both uncertain and useless, when applied to the subject before us.

Nor had the Jews lost the knowledge of their language in Babylon. Several of the books which we now have, were written in pure Hebrew, after their return from the captivity; of these, the greatest parts of the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah might be mentioned; the prophecies of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, and several of the Psalms. Now, for whose edification could these books have been written, if the Jews had entirely forgotten the Hebrew language? And again, to what purpose would it have been for Ezra to have read the Law of Moses to the people in Hebrew, if they had been totally ignorant of the Hebrew language? Some, it is true, have supposed that Ezra construed the Hebrew text in the Chaldee language; but this, from the consideration of what is there said, is entirely groundless. The truth seems to be, the Hebrew language did not cease to be spoken among the Jews till many years after

their return from Babylon:* and it never ceased to be cultivated, from that day to this, by the learned of that nation. The third assumption is, therefore, entirely false and groundless.

Nor is it true that Nebuchadnezzar made such a carnage in Judea, as to leave no Jews alive in those parts, as stated at page 248, whatever the Oriental historians may say on that subject; for it is stated in the Scriptures, (which we shall shew may be relied upon) that many were left as vine-dressers and husbandmen; and that a viceroy was appointed to govern them.†

If this then was the case, what reason is there for supposing, that those persons had not copies of the Scriptures in their possession? Or, that such copies would not be preserved in the Holy Land? We certainly know of no edict published by Nebuchadnezzar prohibiting the Jews the use of their own Scriptures; nor of any, in which he ordered their books to be destroyed. There is, therefore, no reason for supposing, that copies of the Scripture were not preserved in Judea during the captivity.

There is also another circumstance which might be mentioned here: namely, the religious instructions which the Cuthites, inhabiting Samaria, had received from a priest‡ sent from Babylon to instruct them, immediately after the captivity

* Lœscher. de causis Ling. Heb. p. 68.

† Jer. xxxix. 10. xl. 5. ‡ 2 Kings xvii. 27, &c.

which took place during the reign of Hoshea king of Israel (i. e. Samaria.) That this priest instructed them in the Law of Moses, is beyond all doubt: and that he gave them a copy of that law, has been called in question by none; a copy of it remaining in the hands of the Samaritans to this very day. The Jews in Judea must, therefore, have had a copy of their Scriptures. The Jews in Babylon must have had another, containing also the additional revelations which had been made during the captivity. The Cuthites must have had another of the law. We have no reason, therefore, to believe, that the Scriptures suffered on account of the captivity.

With respect to the Jews, they certainly could have had no motive for corrupting their Scriptures during this period: unless we suppose, that the severe denunciations of the Prophets were considered as a check to their national pride. These, however, are now contained in the Scriptures; and, in all probability, just as they had been delivered by the Prophets. Besides, had any wilful corruption taken place, the copy of the law preserved by the Cuthites, would, upon comparison, detect the fraud; as the same spirit of opposition, which formerly existed between the Jews and that people, still continues. But upon comparison of the two, no such corruption is, or has ever been, found. There are indeed considerable differences observable, but these, from the

consideration of their character, must have originated with the Cuthites.* The Scriptures of the Jews, therefore, underwent no wilful corruption during this period.

It has been remarked by the Moola (p. 252.) that the testimony of Ezra, was that of one witness only. But, after what has been said, this objection must fall to the ground. For it is probable, that most of the Jews in the captivity had copies of the Scriptures in circulation among them: and it is certain, that many returned who had received their knowledge of religion before the captivity. Besides, it is certain, that Nehemiah—a great number of the priests—the prophets Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, were all contemporary with Ezra, and acquainted with the Scriptures. To these we may add those poor inhabitants who had remained in Judea, since the times of Nebuchadnezzar, on the part of the Jews; and the Cuthites of Samaria, as independent witnesses. The objection, therefore, rests on a mere ignorance of the facts of the case, and is, therefore, unworthy of regard.

* Of this kind is the repetition of certain passages, the awkward emendations of others, and the change of the name of Mount Ebal to Gerizim in Deut. xxvii. 4.

SECTION II.

THE QUESTION EXAMINED, WHETHER ANY CORRUPTION OF THE SCRIPTURES TOOK PLACE SOON AFTER THE BIRTH OF OUR LORD. THE NATURE OF THE ARGUMENTS DRAWN FROM A CONSIDERATION OF THE DIFFERENT VERSIONS STATED. AND AFTER MAKING DUE ALLOWANCE FOR CERTAIN VARIETIES OF READING, THE CONCLUSION DRAWN, THAT NO CORRUPTION HAS TAKEN PLACE.

WE proposed to consider, in the second place, whether any textual corruption took place, in the Jewish Scriptures, during the period commencing with our Lord's ministry, and ending with the Hejira or flight of Mohammed from Mecca to Medina. But before we can enter fully on this question, it will be necessary to consider a few of the Mirza's statements on the subject of the ancient translations: for to these translations we occasionally appeal.

It has been affirmed at page 339, That the multiplicity of translations which have been made of the Holy Scriptures, has tended rather to multiply and give currency to corruptions than the contrary. But this opinion must have originated in a mistaken view of the subject. Learned men do not appeal to translations which are supposed to be immaculate: their object is to ascertain, after making every reasonable allowance for the faults of translation, transcription, and the

like, whether the translator appear to have had a copy of the original before him, corresponding in all respects to those now in our hands, or not. The accuracy and care of a translator will certainly give a critic a much greater confidence in his enquiries than he could otherwise have: but, the information of which he is in quest, does not depend on this consideration alone. If he can ascertain what the text was in the original, at the time such translation was made, he gains his end. If, for instance, a translation appears to have been made with great ability, the translator will be found uniformly to have rendered the phraseology of his original in such a way as to shew, that he was well acquainted with the language, in which it was composed. And, when this is the case, considerable reliance can be placed on every part of his translation; particularly, if it also be found that the translation has been preserved with care.

If, again, he is consistently uniform in giving the proper names of men, countries, and the like in his translation, it may be expected, that the same names will be found in the corresponding places in the original. If, again, he is found to translate the names of animals, precious stones, articles of dress, and the like, by the same words respectively, then it may be expected, that the same words will be found in their respective correspondent places in the original. But, if the original should not contain any

one of such words as found in the translation; and especially if it be found in a number of other independent translations, upon which reliance also may be placed, it will then become probable, that such word has either been omitted by an *ellipse*, or that it has been lost through the carelessness of the transcriber of such copy of the original. But if the idiom of the language of the original will account for the omission of the word by the ellipse, then the translations in question will shew, that they have all understood the passage in the same way, and that the text is, in all probability correct. Again, should it appear upon comparison, that the word under consideration, in the original, presents some letter similar either in form or sound to another, which, when substituted would make the original and the translations agree, it will then become probable, that the copyist has, in the hurry of transcribing, written one letter for another. And again, if, upon comparing the copy of the original with others, we find this to have been the case, we may be satisfied that the manuscript, and not the translation, is erroneous. But if all the manuscripts conspire in giving the same word, but the translators give it a sense in their translations not usually attached to that word, it will then become doubtful, whether the translators have been mistaken, or whether the word might, in ancient times, have also borne the sense, which they have attached to it. In such a case judgment

must be suspended until further light can be thrown upon the question. Again, should a translator entirely mistake the sense of any word or phrase, still if he is constant in translating it in the same way, his testimony, although of less value, than it would otherwise be, may nevertheless be added to others, in determining the true reading of such passage.

Numerous other illustrations of the principle in question may be given, to which also may be added the use of the sister dialects as applied in ascertaining the meaning of any passage in the text of the Hebrew Bible. The above will, perhaps, be sufficient to shew, in what way the ancient versions are applied in ascertaining what the text probably was, from which they were made: and that the Moola has totally mistaken the object which Mr. Martyn had in view, when he appealed to the ancient versions of the Scriptures. When we appeal, therefore, to the ancient versions of the Scripture, in endeavouring to prove that the original text has undergone no corruption, we mean, that upon comparing these versions with the text, as we now have it, we are authorized in coming to the conclusion, that no such corruption has taken place. It will avail nothing to say, that these translators have occasionally been mistaken, we can allow that, without invalidating our conclusion in the least. It will also avail nothing

to say, that these versions themselves stand in need of correction, this we may also allow, without giving up the least of our ground. We only rely on their conjoint testimony and usual mode of rendering, in conjunction with the testimony of a majority of independent and accurately written manuscripts.

Nor even then do we argue for absolute perfection. Some errors may have crept into the MSS. which we have now no means of correcting; but these must be few, and unimportant in their nature. No book has come down from antiquity, (not excepting the Koran, which is modern when compared with many others,) that can be said to be perfect. Some errors may, and do, exist in the Hebrew text of the Bible, as well as in the Greek copies of the New Testament, but these do not affect our question. We argue that no predictions have been altered:—no doctrines obscured:—no facts erroneously related:—no proper names erased or altered:—no transpositions fatal either to faith, practice, or historical information have taken place. Nor do we mean to assert, that we perfectly understand every passage either in the Old or New Testament, having no doubt, that the precise import of many is yet to be ascertained. But, of this we have no doubt, viz. that the great objects proposed to our faith, no less than the precepts recommended to our practice, are properly and fully understood.

On these then we can rely: but what has been urged upon us by Mohammedans and others, which we have no reason to believe is contained in the Scriptures, or may fairly be deduced from them, we are bound to reject. If indeed they can shew us by sound and good arguments, that they have received some new light on the principles of translation; or, have it in their power to propose a more correct edition of the Holy Scriptures than that which we now possess, we shall have no hesitation whatever, after due examination had, to adopt them.

Having then shewn what we mean when we appeal to the ancient versions in support of the original text of the Scriptures; we now proceed to enquire, whether any such corruptions as those already mentioned, could have taken place during the period on which we are entering.

It is well known from testimony entirely independent of the Scriptures, that at the time of our Lord's advent, considerable interest was excited throughout Judea, and even in a great part of the Roman Empire, as to the character and expectations which had been formed respecting his person. This would, of course, put the Jews upon the enquiry, whether he was the person, whom they had been taught to expect. The enquiry was made, and the conclusion was, that he was not the person they had expected. A few indeed thought otherwise, but this does

not affect our question; for the Jews, as a people, rejected Jesus, and procured his condemnation as a criminal, at the hands of the Roman Procurator Pontius Pilate.

Now, whether they did this in consequence of an erroneous method of interpreting the Scriptures, or from the want of a thorough consideration of the claims made by him as the Messiah, does not at all affect our argument, which goes to shew, that it cannot be affirmed, that they did, on account of the claim made by him, wilfully corrupt their own Scriptures. The magnitude and number of miracles, considered in conjunction with the spotless and virtuous life of Jesus, certainly makes it wonderful, how the leaders of the Jewish nation could have set at nought a personage thus characterized. But however strange that may be, it does not seem to have any connection whatever, with the supposition that they did, on that account, corrupt their own Scriptures.

But there is another consideration which makes it improbable, that they would have corrupted their Scriptures in consequence of our Lord's appearance. It is very well known, that the Jews did, at that period, expect their Messiah; and it is equally certain, that they still expect him. Is it then at all probable, that the appearance of a person whose poverty they despised, could have induced them to erase or corrupt

those prophecies, upon the completion of which their whole national glory depended? What could they have gained by such a measure? The utmost would have been, to thwart the expectations of a person, whom, in all appearance, they had no reason to fear. And the consequence might have been, to create a suspicion in the minds of the Jewish people generally, that Jesus of Nazareth was indeed the Messiah. Not to dwell on the consideration of destroying those criteria by which the true Messiah, according to their own mode of considering the question, was hereafter to be known. It has often been urged, indeed, both by the Mohammedans and others, that the Jews have explained away the real sense of the Scriptures by false glosses, and that they do so still: of the truth of which no one can doubt, who attentively compares the declarations of the Scriptures with their commentaries. But it will not hence follow, that they have corrupted the text. Our argument, therefore, will remain unaffected by this concession.

If then the Jews did not corrupt their Scriptures upon the appearance of our Lord, we may expect, that the tenor of his preaching may be appealed to as confirmatory of this fact. And, accordingly, the truth is, that although he repeatedly charges them with having given false interpretations of the Scriptures, he never hints

at their having corrupted them. In every instance too, in which he cites the Scriptures, he cites them as we now have them; and in no case does he mention either a prediction, person, or event, which is not now to be found in the Scriptures of the Jews.*

After the ministry of our Lord had terminated, the Apostles took up the same argument; asserting, that it appeared from the ancient Scriptures that Jesus was the Christ; and upon this did they much more frequently insist than on the miracles which they themselves had witnessed, or even the transfiguration on the mount, in which his dignity had been proclaimed by a voice from heaven, (2 Pet. i. 17, &c.)

After this, the first Fathers of the Christian church took up the subject, affirming that Jesus was the Christ, who had formerly been promised to the Patriarchs: and, although they have, in some instances, affirmed that the Jews had cor-

* There is, however, some difference observable in the tables of genealogies, in the numbers relating to chronology, persons, ages, &c. as also in some few names, such, for instance, as Zacharias the son of Barachias, (Matt. xxiii. 35). But there can be no doubt, that in most of these instances, reference was made rather to public documents, which are now, for the most part, lost, than to the Scriptures: besides, as these particulars do not interfere either with the claim made by our Lord or by Mohammed, there can be no reason for supposing, that any wilful corruption has taken place with respect to them.

rupted the Scriptures, it is most probable that an erroneous interpretation was all they meant; for, in no instance have they attempted to adduce any proof, that the original text has undergone any change. Besides, it is well known, that some new translations were made for the sole purpose of opposing the Christians, of which those of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus may be mentioned: from all of which, however, as far as they have been preserved to our times, it may be most clearly proved, that they translated from a text, in all respects corresponding to that which we now have.

Let us now suppose, for the sake of argument, that the Jews did corrupt the Scriptures, either upon the commencement of our Lord's ministry, or some time after, within the present period: and, in the first place, that they corrupted them during our Lord's ministry, in consequence of his teaching and miracles. If, therefore, a general corruption had taken place on this account, the passages which would have first occurred to the corrupters as offensive, would have been those which related to his birth of a Virgin:*—his humble life, sufferings, and death:†—his being cut off for the sins of the people, which he himself taught should take place:‡—his rising from

* Isai. vii. 14. † Ibid. liii.

‡ Dan. ix. 27. Matt. xxiv. 15, &c.

the dead, which had been predicted by the Psalmist, and which his Disciples taught related to him: *—the account of his coming forth from Bethlehem Ephratah: †—the prophecy relating to the departure of the sceptre from Judah, which so evidently alluded to the times in which he appeared, ‡ and many others which could have related to no other person.

In the second place, supposing the corruption to have taken place some time after the death of our Lord, then all the passages relating to that event would have been erased, such, for instance, as the 22d Psalm, the 53d chapter of Isaiah, the passage in Zechariah, "They shall look upon me whom they have pierced," ‡ as also the passage in Daniel, already noticed, relating to his death.

But, if the corruption had not taken place till after the destruction of Jerusalem, then the passage in Daniel, (chap. ix. 27), which mentions that event, as consequent upon the death of the Messiah, would have suffered. But the fact is, not only are all these passages in the Hebrew Scriptures now, but we have no reason to believe, that there were ever any other revealed, relating to him which have been lost. Neither the Prophets, our Lord, his Apostles, nor any of the ancient Fathers of the Church have ever so much

* Ps. xvi. 10. Acts ii. 27.
† Micah v. 2.
‡ Gen. xlix. 10.
‡ Zech. xii. 10.

as hinted at any other predictions to this effect. But supposing the Jews had thus corrupted their Scriptures, what end could they have gained by it? It was not necessary to do so in order to appease the people; for they never did, in any considerable numbers, join either our Lord or his Disciples. They knew, that this was a sect every where spoken against: and so far were they from attempting to rescue him, when he was brought to his trial, that, instigated by the priests, they were the first to cry out, to the astonishment of the Roman Procurator, Away with him, Crucify him, but release unto us Barabbas. Nor was their opinion changed after his resurrection; they followed the apostles from city to city.—Herod put one of the disciples to death in order to gratify them; and the Roman governor, Felix, was about to do the same thing with another, for the same purpose. It is said, indeed, in a few instances, that the common people heard him gladly; but there is too much reason to believe, that this was done, either through a vain curiosity or for the mere motive of partaking of the bounty which resulted from his miracles, to make that circumstance of much importance. We have no reason, therefore, to believe that the leaders of the Jewish people corrupted their Scriptures, with the view of avoiding any difficulty likely to arise from our Lord's preaching and miracles. Besides, had any general corrup-

tion taken place, the consequence must have been, that future generations could not have ascertained either the character of the Messiah, or the times in which he should appear. Fallen and degraded as they were, they still fostered the hope, that their great Deliverer should come: and in this hope they persevered to the very last moment of their commonwealth, trusting that he would appear and save them from their besiegers, the Romans. Nor have we any reason to believe, that the Jews, on any occasion, considered our Lord's claim of sufficient importance to induce them to go so far out of their way, as to alter the declarations of their own Scriptures.

Let us now try the merits of this question by external evidence. We know, that, as a consequence of the victories of Alexander, the Greek language had obtained considerable currency in the East before the times of our Lord; and that the Jews had made a translation of the whole of the Hebrew Scriptures into that language for their own use. This translation had, prior to that time, acquired so much confidence among the Jews, that it was read constantly in many of their synagogues, particularly in Egypt, and other places, where the Greek language prevailed. This version, appears to have been used both by Josephus and Philo in compiling their histories. It has been cited in many

places in the New Testament, and has moreover been translated into several languages of the East. We now have manuscripts in our hands containing this version complete, older than the times of Mohammed, and which must have been copied from others of a much earlier date. Copies of this version must have been universally in the hands of the Christians, during the apostolic times; many of which must have been of a much higher date than the period of our Lord's mission. This version has been cited by Clement of Rome, who was contemporary with the Apostles; by Ignatius, and many others who lived in the first century of the Christian æra. It was translated into Latin, probably during the first century, and that translation is, for the most part, still in our hands. It was translated into the Coptic language, probably as early as the second century, and into the Ethiopic early in the fourth. Now, from a comparison of the text of this ancient Greek version, with the citations and translations made from it in the earliest times, either by the Jews or the Christians, we have no reason to suppose, that it is not now mainly the same as it was in those days; and indeed in the times which preceded our Lord's mission. We have it therefore the same in the main, as it was before any corruption can be supposed to have taken place in the original Hebrew. Again, upon comparing this version with the original Hebrew,

although we find abundant proofs of the ignorance or carelessness of the translators, yet we find no instance, from which we can fairly infer, that the Hebrew text, as we now have it, is not, in the main, the same as it was when this translation was first made. There are, for instance, no predictions in the one, which are not found in the other. No particulars related in the one, as characteristics of the person of the Messiah, which may not be shewn to exist in the other. If there is any difference, it is in the declarations of the Hebrew Scriptures to this effect, being by far the most explicit. It is true, the Greek version contains one additional Psalm, namely, the 151st, as well as several moral and historical Books, which were written after the Hebrew Canon had been closed: but these contain nothing respecting the person of the Messiah, nor of any other prophet. Nor have they been considered by Christians in general, either of ancient or modern times, as of divine authority.

If it be replied, that the Jews might have corrupted this version, at the time in which they also corrupted the Hebrew text, we answer, this was impossible: for then it would have been in the power of the Apostles and Christians in general to have shewn, that such corruption had taken place. But instead of this, the Christians of the first two or three centuries argued against the Jews from this very version; and, it was not

until the Jews found the Christians to have had the better of the argument, that they appealed to the Hebrew text, asserting, that as the Greek was only a translation, no reliance could be placed upon it. Upon this Origen and Jerome betook themselves to the study of the Hebrew Scriptures: and the former compiled a work in which he wrote the Hebrew and Greek texts in parallel columns, in order that the agreement or disagreement of the original with the translations may the more clearly be seen. Jerome, for the same reason, undertook a new translation of the Hebrew Scriptures, which he completed by the assistance of a learned Jew whom he hired for that purpose: and, from his translation and commentary it clearly appears, that the translation which he intended should be opposed to the Jews, agrees almost word for word with the text of the Hebrew Scriptures as we now have it: and, in sense as far, at least, as it respects the person of the Messiah, with that of the Greek. Besides, Jerome himself occasionally appeals to the text found in the hands of the Cuthites or Samaritans, which shews, that he was aware of the existence of such a copy of the Law, (for their copies contain no more).

If then the Jews had corrupted their copy in consequence of the preaching of Christ, the Samaritans, having had no motive for doing so, would have retained theirs unaltered; and of this

circumstance Jerome would not have failed to inform us. But, even, if he had neglected to do so, as the Samaritan copies are still extant, we could have come to the conclusion for ourselves. But no such difference appears. The Christians have never heard of any such difference. Nor have the Mohammedans, who are alone concerned in this question, ever attempted to shew, that such difference existed in ancient times.

Proceeding upon the supposition, that the Jews might have corrupted the Scriptures in ancient times, the next witness we shall examine, as to the external evidence on this head, is, the ancient Syriac Version of the Old Testament, which is generally known by the title of the Peschito.

This version, we have every reason to believe, was not made later than the beginning of the fourth century of the Christian æra, and it is probable that it was made much earlier. That it was not made later, appears from the circumstance of a complete commentary having been written upon it, by an author who flourished in the fourth century, namely, Ephrem the Syrian; which has come down to us nearly complete. In this Commentary a great part of the text is cited, particularly those parts which relate to the Messiah; and these agree nearly word for word with the text of the version as we now have it, and with the sense of the original Hebrew.

From the character of the version itself, it is

certain, that it is a very close translation of the Hebrew text. In many instances, the same Hebrew words and phrases are retained; and, in all, as the learned are agreed, it is a very faithful translation. Now, upon a comparison of this version with the Hebrew Scriptures, we find an agreement, which can be accounted for on no other supposition, than that the Hebrew Scriptures could not possibly have undergone any corruption since this translation was made. The Commentaries of Ephrem above-mentioned, (which were written a century, at least, before Mohammed was born) never cite any fact, or allude to any circumstance not to be found in this version of the Scriptures: and, although there is good reason for believing that Ephrem had a knowledge of the Hebrew Scriptures, he never takes occasion to notice any discrepancy observable between the Syriac text of the translation, and the Hebrew original. It is true, some accounts are found, both in the Commentary and Sermons of Ephrem, which are not to be found in the Scriptures, but these are never grounded, by him, on any declarations of the text, but are only offered, either as received by tradition, or, as the best explanations of the text which occurred to him.

It should be observed, that soon after the times of Ephrem, the Syrians divided into two great sects, the Jacobites and Nestorians; and that both of these received this version of the Scriptures as their

text book, with the Commentaries of Ephrem upon it. Through their hands both have come down to us: which may be sufficient to shew, that no attempt could have been made by either sect, to alter the Comment or the Text, without subjecting itself to the probability of being detected by the other. There can be no doubt, therefore, that both the Text and the Commentary have come down to us, mainly the same as they were a hundred years, at least; before the birth of Mohammed.

Again, upon comparing this version with the Greek of the Seventy already mentioned,—with the Pentateuch of the Samaritans,—with the Latin Translation and Commentary of Jerome,—and with the citations found in the New Testament, and the first Fathers of the Church, we find no such discrepancy as would warrant the conclusion, that any wilful corruption had ever taken place in any one of them. We find no person predicted who was to appear after the Messiah,—no new law to be promulgated, which was to alter, or to abrogate, others previously given. Nor do the Commentators any where express an opinion, that either they, or others who had preceded them, had ever any expectation of the appearance of any such person, or new economy.

It will be of no avail to say, in this case, that the Christians joined the Jews in order to suppress the predictions of some future Leader. For it is

well known, that no such understanding ever prevailed between these parties. And further, that if there had, the disagreement of the Christians among themselves was such, as to make it next to impossible, that this could have remained a secret. Besides, neither party could have had any motive for suppressing such predictions. The Jews, we know, have ever been looking for such a person as Mohammed was. A great temporal Deliverer was exactly the person whom they had long expected. To suppress predictions therefore relating to such an one, could surely never have fallen in with their politics. Nor was there any reason, why the Christians should have concurred in erasing any such declarations from the Scriptures, as would seem to make most for their worldly comfort. With the faith of Jesus, we know, they were subjected to every difficulty that could be devised, which they cheerfully underwent, because they believed him to be the Messiah as foretold in the Scriptures. If then the Scriptures had also foretold the appearance of another person, who was to become a worldly Ruler, and to obtain universal dominion, what possible reason could there be, that they should have concurred with the Jews in erasing every mention of his person to be found in the Holy Scriptures? We are compelled to conclude, therefore, that no such corruption took place, during either of the above-mentioned periods.

Again, we have seen, that, before the appearing of Mohammed, the Scriptures had been translated into a number of languages,—that one of these translations had been made and circulated before the birth of our Lord; namely, the Greek of the Seventy,—and that a copy of the Law had been in the hands of the Samaritans, since the period which preceded the Babylonian captivity; and further, that from the comparisons made of these with one another in the times which preceded the birth of Mohammed, we know of no instance in which any remarkable discrepancy was discovered. We also have commentaries written on these Scriptures, which had been written before the appearance of Mohammed, and dispersed among the different sects of Christians, and which could not have been altered by common consent. And we now have manuscripts of one of these versions at least, which were written before the commencement of the period, in which his claim to prophecy was made.

Let us now suppose, that upon the appearance of Mohammed both the Jews and Christians concurred in corrupting the Scriptures, with the sole view of opposing his claim to prophecy. Now, supposing that they had altered the Hebrew original alone, it would now appear upon a comparison of it with the several versions, in what particulars this alteration had been made: and, supposing the versions had also been altered at

the same time with the original, then would the copy of the Samaritans, as far as it goes, the ancient MSS. of the Septuagint, and the Commentaries upon the versions, with the citations made by the Fathers, be sufficient to detect the fraud. And, supposing, in the third place, that there existed a confederacy to alter the original Scriptures, the Versions, the Commentaries, and the Citations of the Fathers, it would have been impossible this could have been carried into effect, without the knowledge both of the Mohammedans and of the heretical communities of Christians which then existed. The hatred which the Arians and others bore to the orthodox believers, would surely never have passed over so infamous an attempt, had it ever been made. Besides, the Mohammedans themselves would have retained copies of the unadulterated Scriptures,—of the versions, some of which were in their own language, or in the cognate dialects, the Syriac and Ethiopic,—and of the Commentaries and writings of the Fathers, as well as of the accounts, which would have been given by the Arians and others, of this grossly iniquitous attempt. Not one syllable of which, however, has ever been mentioned by them.

But suppose, in the next place, it be allowed, that the Christians and Jews succeeded in destroying all the genuine copies of the Scriptures,—of the translations,—of the Commentaries, and works

of the Fathers, in which the offensive passages had been found cited. How are we, upon this supposition, to account for the dexterity with which this was done? How could it have taken place, without the knowledge of the Mohammedans, the Arians, and others, who were opposed both to the orthodox Christians and to the Jews? How could the copies have been all called up, which had been dispersed throughout Arabia, Syria, Egypt, Abyssinia, Persia, Barbary, Greece, Rome, England, France, Spain, Germany, and other places? And further, how could all these countries have been supplied with the new and altered copies, without the knowledge of the heretical Christians, who lived every where among them?—of the Mohammedans, who had intercourse with the Jews and Christians of Arabia and Syria; and who, soon after, became masters of Syria, Egypt, Barbary, Greece, and Spain, in which many heretical communities were found, and in which every book of any credit on every subject, had been placed in their several libraries? Some of the writings of the Arians have come down to our times; we have histories written by the Mohammedans containing detailed accounts of the conquests of these several countries, and of the destruction of some of their valuable libraries: yet in no instance are we informed either of the existence of any such genuine copy of the Scriptures,—of any such general agreement

having ever taken place, or having been acted upon—nor of any general destruction either of the Scriptures—the Versions,—the Commentaries, or the other writings of the Fathers.

Again, upon the supposition of any such agreement having taken place, which had been followed up by a general destruction of the books, which the Jews and Christians might have been desirous should not be appealed to in after times, is it not likely, that all the spurious gospels, epistles, and other books purporting to be parts of the ancient Scriptures, would have also perished? But these have all, or nearly all, come down to our times complete, and have been published for general reading.* Many ancient MSS. of them have been preserved in our public libraries with great care, and are open to the inspection of every man of letters. But, even in these works, we find no intimation whatever, either of the promise of another Prophet, nor any allusion to such promise or person as existing in any other books. If it be replied, that these have also been altered, we reply: It was never in the power of the orthodox Christians to alter them, as they never were in their hands in any numbers, but in those of their enemies only, who never would have agreed to such a proposal; but

* See Jones on the Canon of the New Testament.

who would have immediately published it to the world, had such proposal been made. Nor, is it at all probable, that the general body of the Christians would ever have thought of altering those books, which had always been considered as false and spurious by them.

But why, it might be asked, should the Jews, of every part of the world, have concurred in corrupting their Scriptures for the purpose of resisting the claim of Mohammed? If we except the Jews of Arabia, nothing can be more probable, than that they, as a people, had never so much as heard of his claims. Why then should they be supposed to have made such sacrifices, as a general corruption of the Scriptures implies?* Besides, the sect of the Karaites must have arisen soon after the times of Mohammed, who, it is most likely, would have objected to the corruptions

* That the Jews have never been anxious to conceal the fact, that some literal discrepancies have been discoverable in their copies of the Scriptures, appears from the various readings found in the Masora,—those of the copies of Palestine and Babylonia, which must have been published as early as A. D. 800, and those of Ben Asher and Ben Naphtali, which appeared about A. D. 1000. Maimonides in the twelfth century confessed, that some inaccuracies had crept into the text: and the same was allowed by the Jews who corresponded with Dr. Kennicott on the subject of his collations. But these are of a very different description from the corruptions charged on the text by the Mohammedans: they are nothing more than what is visible in the copies of the Koran itself, and of every other book which has come down from antiquity.

made in the Scriptures on account of Mohammed, had any such thing taken place: but no objection has been made by them, nor by any Jew of ancient or modern times, although it is well known, that some have been induced to receive the creed of Mohammed.

The same argument will apply to the Christians of every part of the world, excepting those in the immediate neighbourhoods of Mecca and Medina. For, at the time in which Mohammed made his claim, and at which it is affirmed, that the Christians corrupted their Scriptures, the Christians of Syria, Persia, Egypt, Hindustan, Barbary, Greece, Italy, France, Spain, Germany, and England, had never heard of the existence of such a person, and consequently, could have had no motive whatsoever for engaging in an enterprize of so much difficulty and danger, as that of corrupting their copies of the Scripture was.

But, to return to the Jews, supposing they had succeeded in destroying all the genuine copies of the Scriptures, translations, &c. which were in their hands, how does it happen, that both their translations (or Targums as they call them) and Commentaries do, at this very day, contain many interpretations of the Scriptures directly opposed to their present belief, as to the meaning of those passages? They refer, for example, many passages to the Messiah, in common with the

Christians, which the Jews of modern times, interpret differently; and which, it is most probable, they would never have suffered to be continued, had any general corruption taken place.

Let us now suppose, that this corruption of the Scriptures took place at least in Arabia, in order to oppose the claims of Mohammed; and then consider, what must have been the consequence. A person, according to the Mohammedans, gifted in every respect with the requisites necessary for sustaining the office of a prophet, gentle, chaste, forbearing, in earnest about nothing but how he could advance the glory of God, and promote the good of mankind, makes a claim to prophecy, which he supports by actual miracles. He appeals to the Scriptures then in the hands of the Jews and Christians, asserting, that not only his character, but even his name, was to be found there. It should seem that the Jews and Christians unanimously denied the fact. The prophet then declares, that they had altered the text of their copies. His followers assert the same, upon his authority. Let us now suppose this all to be true; viz. that the Jews and Christians of Arabia did corrupt their Scriptures, in order to oppose the claim of Mohammed. It will be absurd to suppose, that the Jews and Christians of other countries did so, at that precise period, because, as we have already remarked, they could not have known

that such a claim was made. Now, if the Jews and Christians of Arabia had succeeded in making the corruption alluded to, that is, had taken out the passage in which Mohammed's name occurred, those of distant countries could not have done so, having had no motive whatever for such an act. We have then in our hands, in the library of this place, a manuscript of the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles in both the Greek and Latin languages, which was found in France, and which was written before Mohammed had been born.* There is another in London,† and another at Rome,‡ each containing the whole or the greatest part of the Bible, both of which were also written before the birth of Mohammed, and were never in the hands of the Christians of Arabia. We have also translations made from others, which must have been still older; the translations themselves having been made before the time of Mohammed's birth. We have commentaries equally ancient, citations in the works of the Fathers also preceding his times. The copies of the spurious gospels, &c. Yet in no one of these does any such passage occur, nor even the least intimation of it having ever existed. If then the copies of the Gospels and other books, found in the hands of those who objected to

* The Beza MS. † The Alexandrine.

‡ The Vatican MS. Walton. Prol. ix. §. 30—34.

Mohammed in Arabia, had been corrupted, the passages appealed to by him would still have existed in others, which would be found in countries far removed from that. Had such corruption, then, ever taken place, the Mohammedans have had abundant opportunity to make out the proof. For, in a very few years after this appeal was made, they took possession of some of the greatest libraries then in existence:* but so far were they from taking advantage of this circumstance, in order to prove the truth of Mohammed's assertion, and the perfidy of their opponents,—instead of bringing to light and preserving these precious copies of the Scriptures, and other books, that they destroyed the collections entirely, asserting, that every thing opposing the Koran ought to be destroyed, and every thing coinciding with it was unnecessary. And the fact is, the only collections of ancient books now to be found in the world, are in the hands of the Christians: the first followers of Mohammed having destroyed all the ancient books which fell in their way: and it is extremely doubtful whether they have a manuscript in their possession, which can be said to have been written 800 years ago.

* Namely, those of Alexandria and Cæsarea. In the former of these, there must have been ancient copies of the Septuagint; and, in the latter, the great work of Origen was seen by Jerome.

But, supposing the Mohammedans had overlooked the advantages which would have accrued to their cause, by preserving the ancient copies of the Scriptures thus brought into their hands, the means of doing so would still be in their power, unless it can be shewn, that the Christians and Jews, of other countries, had afterwards altered their Scriptures, in order to accommodate their friends in Arabia. The ancient MSS. which are now in our hands, and which preceded those times, are open to the inspection of Mohammed's followers. The ancient versions, commentaries, citations of the Fathers, and spurious Scriptures, are all accessible to every man of learning. And if it can be shewn from a diligent collation of these, that any such accommodation has ever taken place, the argument can still be applied in favour of Mohammed's assertion. It is remarkable enough, however, that those who argue in favour of this assertion, have never so much as appealed to the authority of any ancient document in their favour, either manuscript, version, commentary, citation, history, or even spurious Jewish or Christian Scripture. They never attempt to prove, or even hint at, a time wherein any such general confederacy took place: and what is more strange, they never cite, in their arguments with either Christians or Jews, any other books either by name or allusion, than those which are now

in our hands. They object to no passage, which can be adduced and explained in any way, so as to favour Mohammed. To the commentaries and translations of the Jews they have no objection, whenever they can be construed as throwing weight into their own side of the question: but to both, when this is not the case; because, say they, Mohammed has accused the Jews of corruption, and because they objected to the mission of Jesus: of this kind are all the objections in the foregoing tract (p. 336, &c.) Those, indeed, in which it is said, that the Christians burnt or altered their Gospels, fabricating four according to their own opinions, are unworthy of consideration.

But, we may perhaps be allowed to ask, what possible motive the Jews and Christians of Arabia could have had for objecting to Mohammed, so as to have altered their Scriptures in order to oppose him? Taking it for granted, as above, that Mohammed sustained a character worthy of a prophet, and that he had been particularly described in the predictions given in the Scripture, let us enquire, in the first place, what could have induced the Jews to have acted so inconsistently. It has been said again and again by the Mohammedans, that this was done from motives similar to those which induced them to reject our Lord: an assumption which will not hold, upon a moment's consideration of the case.

The Jews, as all allow, rejected our Lord, because he appeared in a sphere of life too humble to answer their expectations, as to the character of the Messiah. That he appeared at the proper time, they have allowed; nor have they ever denied the truth of the statements given of his miracles. Their only objection has been, that his character, and the meanness of his origin were such, as to make it impossible that the prophecies could have been fulfilled in his person. But this could not have been objected to in the case of Mohammed. He was descended of a noble tribe in Arabia; and proved himself, in the event, to be one of the most victorious generals the world had ever seen. His companions conquered the Holy Land, and had it in their power to reinstate the Jews there in all their ancient splendour and prosperity. The Jews could not, therefore, have objected to Mohammed on the grounds on which they objected to Jesus; but, it must have been from some other consideration: and the principal one probably was, his not having been descended through the line of Isaac, as foretold in the Scriptures: — another, that his character was not suitable to the dignity of a prophet; and another, his setting up a religion, directly opposed to that sanctioned by Moses, and the other Prophets. The Jews, therefore, could not have rejected Mohammed from the worldly motives, which manifestly actuated them in reject-

ing our Lord; when it was evidently in the power of Mohammed, in the first instance, to have conferred the greatest privileges upon them; and, of his followers in the second, to have reinstated them in the land of Canaan. Whatever then was the degree of worldly-mindedness, under which they laboured, in the case of our Lord, it never could have been this, which subjected them to that ruin and utter defeat, which has been so often alluded to in the case of Mohammed. To say, therefore, as it has repeatedly been said, by the Mirza and other Mohammedans, that the Jews rejected Mohammed from the same motives which actuated them in rejecting our Lord, is inconsistent with the history of the fact, and, therefore, inapplicable to the question before us.

Nor could the Christians of Arabia have rejected Mohammed from mere worldly motives. If they had found his character and name in their Scriptures, the nature of the case is sufficient to shew, that to have acknowledged his mission would have contributed, in every point of view, to their worldly prosperity. The rejection of him, we know, subjected them to most grievous privations and trials, which are continued to this very day, in all the countries in which they are subject to the Mohammedans. All this they underwent, for the reasons, whatever those might have been, which induced them at first to believe that Mohammed was no prophet: and for the same,

they still continue to submit to the same difficulties. What, it might be asked, could possibly have induced them thus to act, in direct opposition to their own worldly interests, and the express declarations of the word of God, unless we suppose they were impelled by their conscience to do so? But supposing that they acted, in the first instance, from mistake, or to further the views of some ambitious leader. How are we now to account for their continuance in this mistake, when those interests must have ceased; and when they must have learned from other Christians, that such predictions were still to be found in the genuine copies of the Scripture? Again, if the Jews and Christians of Arabia were originally swayed by worldly motives in rejecting Mohammed's claim, still the Jews and Christians of other countries could have had no such motives: nor could they have been so wrought upon as to alter their Scriptures, reject Mohammed, and persevere in what they must have known to be error, for no assignable reason whatsoever.

It has often been urged indeed in the preceding tract, that if Mohammed's assertion had not been true, he would hardly have acted so inconsistently as to have made it, when it was in the power of so many to prove its falsehood (p. 341, &c.) To this it may be replied: It can be shewn from the Koran itself, that both the Jews and Christians denied the truth of this

assertion: the consequence of which was, a new revelation said to be given, in which both these communities were charged with having corrupted the Scriptures, followed up by a prohibition, that none of the new converts to Islamism should either read or copy them out hereafter. The denial of the Jews and Christians was, therefore, set at nought; and no Moslem was permitted to enquire for himself, whether their assertion was true or not. But how did the Mohammedans act, with respect to this question, when they had made considerable conquests in countries inhabited by the Christians? Was the enquiry then made? No; the documents, as it has already been remarked, necessary for the prosecution of such enquiry, were all destroyed; and the sword was appealed to as the safest arbiter in such questions. Nothing can be more easy, we will allow, than to say that Mohammed was a prophet,—that otherwise the great Ruler of the Universe would not have suffered him thus to have imposed upon mankind, and, therefore, that we ought to place implicit confidence in all that he has said. This is indeed a summary way of settling our question. It is our duty, however, to examine first, and then determine: to ascertain whether the circumstances of the case are such as to demand our implicit confidence, and then to act accordingly. In the present instance, there is not a shadow of probability in the truth of

Mohammed's assertion; and, therefore, it is our duty entirely to reject it.

From what has been said it must appear, that there is no good reason for supposing, that any general corruption of the Scriptures took place from the times of the Babylonian captivity to those of Mohammed; because, nothing short of an universal consent between the Jews, Christians, and Samaritans, could have effected such an object: and because it is utterly impossible that such an universal consent could ever have taken place: and further, that if the attempt had been made, it must have been known to the Mohammedans, and others, who had every means in their power for discovering and divulging it. That any corruption has taken place since the times of Mohammed, has not been asserted; it will not be necessary, therefore, to pursue the enquiry through the subsequent centuries ending with the present time.

But, as some among ourselves have asserted, and others are still disposed to maintain, that there is some ground for the assertions on which the Mohammedans found their objections: namely, that the Jews have wilfully corrupted the Scriptures, with the view of weakening the testimonies relating to our Lord, it may not be amiss briefly to consider, whether these assertions have any foundation in truth or not.

SECTION III.

THE OPINIONS OF DR. KENNICOTT AND OTHERS, ON THE GENERAL CORRUPTION OF THE HEBREW SCRIPTURES EXAMINED. THE TESTIMONY OF CAPELLUS AS TO THE VERSIONS. THE PRINCIPAL VARIETIES DISCOVERABLE IN THE MANUSCRIPTS DO NOT AFFECT THE GENERAL DECLARATIONS OF THE SCRIPTURES ON POINTS RELATING TO RELIGION.

IT has been supposed, and strongly maintained by some, that the Hebrew Scriptures have undergone a wilful corruption by the Jews; and that this was carried into effect for the purpose of opposing the ministry of our Lord. Others have asserted, that although this corruption may not have been undertaken for any sinister purpose, yet, that it is so extensive and pernicious in its nature, as to make it necessary to call in the aid of the ancient versions, in order to correct the original text; and even to have recourse to conjecture, when the versions fail to elucidate certain obscurities, with which we may accidentally meet.

The grounds, on which these opinions appear to have been maintained, may be reduced to the following. First: The assertions found in some of the ancient Fathers of the Church. Secondly: The discrepancies observable in certain passages cited in the New Testament from the Old. Thirdly: A probability, that the text followed by some of the ancient translators differed considerably from that which we now have. And, fourthly: The varieties of reading discoverable

in the Hebrew manuscripts themselves, when compared with one another, and with the Samaritan copy of the Law.

It will not be necessary to dwell long on the assertions of the ancient Fathers of the Church, in the first place, because, unless it can be shewn, that these were grounded on documents in their hands, and adduced as facts, of which they had certain knowledge, they can be treated only as opinions, entitled to no particular deference on account of their antiquity; particularly, when we know, that these Fathers had it not in their power to consult the originals, in which it had been presumed the corruptions were made. Many of their assertions lay claim to no better a foundation, than that of the hatred manifested by the Jews to the Christian cause. Of this kind are most of the objections of Justin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, Eusebius of Cesarea, Jacob of Edessa, Eusebius of Emessa, Ephrem the Syrian, Epiphanius, Augustine, and Abulfaragius, as cited by Dr. Kennicott.* Some of them manifestly relate to the Greek text of the Septuagint, and not to that of the Hebrew Bible. Others involve the discrepancies discoverable in the chronologies of the Hebrew and Greek texts, which can by no means affect our general ques-

* Dissertatio Generalis, appended to Dr. Kennicott's edition of the Hebrew Bible, §. 75, &c.

tion, unless it can be shewn, that the period mentioned in which the Messiah should appear, had been involved in these presumed corruptions; but this cannot be done. The period foretold by Jacob and Daniel for his advent, as still extant in the Hebrew text, corresponds exactly with that, in which our Lord appeared in the flesh. However ill-disposed, therefore, the Jews might have been to Christianity, in the days of the Fathers of the Church, it is very certain that they have not corrupted these passages, and consequently that their surmises can be entitled but to little respect.

The only Fathers, indeed, who appear to have been qualified for making the necessary enquiry on this head, were Origen and Jerome: but we know of no proof made out by them, as to this fact. Dr. Kennicott has, indeed, adduced Jerome as bearing witness to this point;* but the utmost said by Jerome is, not that it appeared from documents to which he had access, that a wilful corruption of the Scriptures had taken place; but, that, in one or two instances, some corruption *might* have taken place. In like manner, his objections to Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, were, not that they had corrupted the Hebrew Scriptures; but that they had made such translations as were likely to obscure the

* Ibid. §. 84.

truth. Upon recurring to the fragments of these versions now remaining, we find that this is the case; and that they must have been translated from a text mainly the same with that which we now possess.

One of the assertions of Origen, indeed, has been construed by Dr. Kennicott as decisive on this question; and as tending to shew, that the Jews had wilfully corrupted a very remarkable passage in the prophecy of Isaiah (Chap. lviii. 8.) relating to the Messiah.* It is stated, that Origen, in his disputes with the Jews, never cited any passage which did not then exist in the Hebrew text. This, however disputable it might be, we will allow for the sake of argument. It is then said, that he reduced the Jews to silence by citing the passage ηχθη εις θανατον, which is still to be found in the Septuagint: and the conclusion is, that the reading נגע למות, which Dr. Kennicott thinks corresponds with the Greek above cited, must have then been the reading in the Hebrew text, instead of נגע למו as we now have it; and, consequently, that the Jews must have wilfully corrupted the passage.

It appears, however, from Dr. Kennicott's own shewing, that Theodotion and Symmachus, had, prior to the time of Origen, translated from a text corresponding with that which we now have: nor

* Dissertatio Generalis, §. 69.

have we any reason for supposing, that the Chaldee Targumist followed any other. It becomes probable, therefore, that this suspected text actually existed prior to the times of Origen.

Let us, in the next place, consider the grounds upon which this conjecture of Dr. Kennicott rests. It is assumed, in the first place, that this rendering of the Septuagint must have been a literal translation of נגע למות: notwithstanding the well known fact, that the translators of the Septuagint do not follow the Hebrew text so literally, as to be depended upon in criticisms of this kind. In the next, supposing the true reading of the last word in the sentence to have been מות, the construction, to make this conjecture probable, should have been אל מות, עד מות, or על מות, as the verb נגע is not found in construction with the preposition ל, except in the Hiphil conjugation. And, in the third place, למו is not necessarily in the plural number "illis," as he has given it; but may be construed in the singular.

Let us enquire in the next place, whether the rendering of the Seventy can be accounted for, on the supposition, that they read the text as we now have it. It is very well known, that they frequently make additions to their text, for which no corresponding words are to be found in the original; and these they may have supposed necessary for filling up such ellipses of the original, as they

thought existed in it. This is, indeed, done by all translators: but the Seventy seem to have been less sparing than most others. In the preceding context we have, כי נגזר מארץ חיים. "For he was cut off from the land of the living." Then follows מפשע עמי נגע למו, "for the transgression of my people, was there a stroke to him, or was his stroke." (Taking נגע as it is now pointed; and למו, as equivalent to לו) the sense will then be, as given in our authorized version, "Was he stricken." The Greek translator, as it has been remarked by Schindler in his Pentaglott Lexicon, has construed נגע in the passive voice Pubal נֻגַּע hence the ἦχθη of the Septuagint. If then we take למו as לו, the phrase נגע למו will be similar to the Arabic يُقَال لَهُ in which the pronoun, with the preposition, may be considered as redundant. The translator might, upon this supposition, have rendered the passage; "For his life was taken away from the earth; for the transgressions of my people was he led (to death)." Where the last words εἰς θανατον might be considered as added, with the view of filling up the ellipse, in a manner corresponding with the parallel passage in the preceding member, "from the earth." There would be no difficulty in shewing, that liberties much greater than this have been taken by the Greek translator of this prophecy, which can also be accounted for, without supposing the Hebrew text to have been cor-

rupted since his day. Besides, Origen might have supposed, that the reading of the Septuagint gave the true translation of the words מִבֶּטֶן, as we now have them in the Hebrew text; and to this, the Jews with whom he disputed, might have known no objection. Origen, therefore, might have read the text as we now have it. And, as Symmachus, Theodotion, and the Targumist, all read it in the same way, it becomes extremely probable, that no corruption whatever has taken place in the passage. Dr. Kennicott's remark, therefore, is of no weight.

Let us, in the second place, consider a few of the passages found as citations in the New Testament; and which Dr. Kennicott and others have urged, as conclusive on the question of the Jews having wilfully corrupted the Scriptures. One of the most remarkable passages adduced by Dr. Kennicott, is Psalm xvi. 10. in which he says (§ 17, 35, 64.) the whole force of the arguments adduced by St. Peter and St. Paul depends on the word חסידך *Holy One*, being read in the singular, and not חסידיך *Holy Ones, or Saints*, in the plural number, as it now appears in most of the MSS. and editions of the Hebrew Bible. He takes it for granted, therefore, that this must have been a wilful corruption, made by the Jews with the view of eluding the force of the Apostles' arguments. But it might be asked, if this had been the case, how are we

to account for the word occurring in the singular number in 180 copies of the Hebrew Scriptures which had been collated by him, either manuscript or printed, as well as the Targum, the Greek of the Septuagint, and in several editions of the Talmud,* as he himself allows? Surely, if this passage had been corrupted by the Jews, they never would have perpetuated the true reading in so many of their MSS., their Targum and Talmud. There is, moreover, a very remarkable mistake made by Dr. Kennicott, in his criticism on this verse. He has said, (§. 17.) "Hoc tamen certum est, vocem hanc non modo sæpius imprimi, sed in omnium editionum Masoreticè impressarum textu revera exprimi in numero plurali, חסידיך, &c." And, a little lower down, speaking of the number of MSS. and editions in which he found it in the singular number, he adds, "In quorum textu, *repugnante* quidem Masorâ.... legimus חסידך SANCTUM TUUM." Let us now turn to the Masora on the passage. In the Basle edition it stands thus in the text חסידיך. And, in the Masora, in the margin, we have this remark יתיר יוד, i. e. "Jod (י) is here redundant." According to the Masora, therefore, the word ought to be read in the singular חסידך, and not חסידיך. The expressions, therefore, "omnium editionum Masoreticè impressarum," and, "repugnante qui-

* Ibid. §. 35.

dem Masorâ," must now stand for nothing. The various readings discoverable here, have, most probably, arisen from some careless copyist, and certainly not from any intention in the Jews to corrupt the Scriptures.

Another passage of importance is Zech. xii. 10. which has been cited by St. John (Chap. xix. 37. §. 43, 65, &c.) "They shall look on him whom they pierced"—where the text, as generally received, has אלי on me, instead of אליו. But even in this case, the citation of St. John is not inconsistent with the text as we now have it; unless it can be shewn, that it was the custom of the Evangelists and Apostles to cite the Hebrew text verbatim, as they found it in the Old Testament; which every one knows is not the case. Besides, some of the best Commentators allow, that the text, as it now stands, is no less applicable to the person of our Lord, and to the general sense of St. John's citation, than it would be upon introducing another reading, corresponding more literally with the citation in question. There is no good reason, therefore, for supposing that the text has been corrupted since the days of St. John.

But, if we take the other side of the question, and suppose that the Jews have wilfully corrupted it, how can we, on this supposition, account for the other reading existing in a great number of Hebrew MSS. which Dr. Kennicott himself col-

lated? If then we allow, that an error has accidentally crept into the text, which is the utmost we can do, still that error is of no importance whatsoever, as the passage still relates to our Lord; and, in a manner sufficiently near to answer to the citation of the Evangelist.

Another passage cited by Dr. Kennicott (§. 64.) is Gen. ii. 24. which, according to the citations found in the New Testament, ought to have some word corresponding to the expression οι δυο, which is found in the New Testament; and properly, as he says, in the Samaritan Pentateuch. Eichorn, however, has shewn, that the Samaritan text has here been tampered with, the passage introduced being contrary to the Hebrew idiom, and therefore sufficient to indicate the quarter from which it originally proceeded.* Any one capable of reading the Hebrew text will instantly perceive, that it is sufficiently definite without this addition. And, as neither the writers of the New Testament, nor the translators of the Septuagint, have ever professed to give verbal translations of the Hebrew, their object having been merely to cite the sense, the words οι δυο being found either in the Septuagint or the New Testament, cannot be considered as affording any proof, that the Hebrew text ever contained words equivalent to them.

* See Koecheri, Nova Biblioth. Heb. Pars. II. Preface by Eichorn.

Another passage noticed by Dr. Kennicott (§. 66.) occurs in Jer. xxxi. 33. as cited Heb. viii. 10. The force of his remark rests on the word נתתי, which is rendered in the Septuagint by διδους δωσω, and in the Epistle to the Hebrews by διδους. Dr. Kennicott thinks, that as נתתי is in the tense of the verb which the grammarians usually call the preterite, some corruption must have taken place; and he has actually cited a Rabbinical note to shew, that this reading was a sufficient answer to the Christians, who had taken the improper liberty of construing the verb in the future. He then proceeds to shew, that he had found ונתתי in twenty MSS. *certissime futuro tempore*. Now, without stopping to make any remark on the value of the additional ו discovered by him, it may be sufficient to say, that grammarians have unanimously allowed the preterite tense, as they call it, to stand for a future, in prophetical declarations, as intimating the certainty of the thing predicted. They have also supposed, that when a verb in the future tense precedes, the following verbs must also be construed in the future, although they should have the form of the preterite.* And, in this case, such a verb does precede, viz. אכרות. Our own translators had accordingly translated this word very properly in the future tense.

* Buxtorf. Thes. Gram. p. 94. Schroeder. Gram. Heb. Reg. 46.

It is truly astonishing, that Dr. Kennicott should have grounded his arguments on such trifling considerations as these.

The next passage we shall notice, is one occurring in (§. 67.) Amos ix. 12. as cited in The Acts of the Apostles, chap. xv. 17. Here Dr. Kennicott argues, that we should read not שארית אדום, but שארית אדם, although not so much as one MS. is in his favour, while the Chaldee and Syriac are manifestly against him. Starck* indeed has said, that the Syriac MSS. read differently, i. e. in support of Dr. Kennicott's emendation: but this is not true, as far as my enquiries have gone. If, however, the Prophet had meant to be understood by the last of these words, as speaking of mankind in general, as the words καταλοιποι των ανθρωπων mentioned in The Acts would imply, this would require the article to be prefixed, thus שארית האדם, which is found in no MS. whatever. But, as it has already been remarked, that verbal translations are not to be expected, either in the citations of the New Testament, or in the Septuagint, there is no good reason for supposing, that any alteration has ever taken place in this portion of the Hebrew text.

There are, however, some other considerations, which should be mentioned here. They are these; If we adopt Dr. Kennicott's emendation, the

* In a note cited by Dr. Kennicott at the foot of the page.

Prophet will become guilty of a tautology, for which, perhaps, no good reason can be given. Let us, then, read the text, as he would have it: "That they may possess the residue of mankind, and of all the heathen, &c." But this is not all, the citation differs in other respects from the Hebrew text, and agrees, for the most part, with the Septuagint. St. Peter, therefore, may have cited that text, as containing all that was necessary for his purpose, which was, to declare the purposes of God with respect to the Gentiles. The part contained in the prophecy relating to Edom, had now ceased to interest the Jews, and, therefore, it was not necessary that he should bring it forward on this occasion. Had it fallen to his lot to prove, that the Hebrew Scriptures had undergone no corruption, he probably would have cited the text in exact conformity with the prophecy, as we now have it. We may, therefore, dismiss Dr. Kennicott's remark as of little importance.

Having considered some of the most formidable allegations of Dr. Kennicott, it may not be necessary to go through the whole of his Dissertatio to shew, that no reliance can be placed on the charge of wilful corruption, with which he has charged the Jews. Should it be necessary, this can be done at some future time. We proceed, therefore, thirdly, to notice the varieties which are found to exist between the

ancient versions of the Scriptures, and the Hebrew text, as we now have it.

The most learned and elaborate work, that has appeared on this subject, is the Critica Sacra of Capellus; a work, which cost its author the labour of more than thirty years. Upon the opinion of Capellus, therefore, some stress may be laid, as to the facts which had been the result of his own enquiries. After a most minute investigation of this subject, then, the following is among his conclusions. "Non minus ex iis, quæ supra disputata sunt, planum est id quod statim initio monuimus, et sæpius toto opere inculcavimus, plerasque omnes, quæ observari et deprehendi in sacris libris possunt, varias lectiones, levissimi esse ac pene nullius momenti, ut parum admodum intersit, aut vero perinde omnino sit, utram sequaris, sive hanc sive illam."* And again, "Raro admodum aut vix unquam sensus ex varia lectione oritur vel nullus prorsus, vel falsus, vel ineptus atque ridiculus, vel rectæ fidei et bonis moribus adversus atque contrarius."

The utmost made out by Capellus was, that the translators appeared in several places to have read a word differently, either with regard to the vowels, — the consonants, — their position, — the collocation of words in a sentence or the like;

* Critica Sacra Capelli. edit. Scharfenburg. tom. II. p. 928-9.

which, in some instances, would cause a little variety in the sense, construction, or pronunciation: but in no case, does any difference appear as to doctrine, predictions, or historical facts. These appear the same, both in the versions, and in the Hebrew copies, as we now have them. The only difference discernible is, that those which respect the Messiah are much more explicit and clear in the Hebrew copies, than they are in the versions. Some of the versions made by the Jews and others unfriendly to Christianity, have, no doubt, wilfully obscured some of the declarations respecting the Messiah: but this affects not our question. We profess not to gather our religious knowledge from them. We only make use of them to ascertain, whether they translated from the Hebrew text as we now have it. Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus, for example, have given in Isaiah vii. 14. η νεανις, *the young woman*, instead of η παρθενος, *the virgin*, as given by the Septuagint. Yet here we can have no doubt, that both translated from the word עַלְמָה, as we now have it in the Hebrew copies. This sort of errors, therefore, does not affect our question.

The real discrepancies, however, appear to be much fewer than Capellus has represented them, as his editor Scharfenburg has ably shewn. We need not, therefore, be at all disturbed on their account.

Let us, in the last place, notice the discre-

pancies found to exist among the Hebrew manuscripts themselves. After the laborious collations of Dr. Kennicott and De Rossi of all the Hebrew MSS. of any note to which they had access—of the several editions of the Hebrew Bible—the citations found in the Talmud, the Commentaries, and other writings of the Jews, it appeared, that very few various readings of any importance existed: and that those which did, affected no point of doctrine, prediction, or historical fact whatsoever. The far greater number consisted in the addition or omission of the letters א, ו, or י, which seldom affect the sense: and never on any important point. Some arose from the Scribes having mistaken one letter for another, similar either in form or sound. But in no instance has it appeared, that even these variations can be ascribed to a vicious disposition on the part of the copyists. The whole may be satisfactorily accounted for, on the consideration of human infirmity, from which nothing, with which man has any thing to do, is entirely exempt. Similar varieties of reading, we know, exist in the several copies of the Koran, yet no one has thought of accusing the Koran, on this account, of having undergone any wilful corruption.

That the Jews have given false glosses on the Scripture is certainly true: but, as they can lay claim to no exclusive knowledge of the meaning of its context, we are at liberty to shew, that those

glosses are false whenever we meet with them. The same may be done either by a Mohammedan or Hindoo, who has previously furnished himself with the knowledge necessary for such enquiry. But no one can assume the position, that because the Jews have been inimical to Christianity or Mohammedanism, they have therefore corrupted the Scriptures: or, because they have given false glosses on its meaning, we may therefore be excused if we neglect to make out their real meaning.

CHAP. III.

THE USUAL DEFINITIONS OF MIRACLES DIFFICULT OF APPLICATION IN OUR QUESTION. THE STATEMENTS OF THE SCRIPTURE, ON THIS SUBJECT, THE SUREST CRITERIA BY WHICH ANY ONE MIGHT BE KNOWN TO BE A TRUE PROPHET: NAMELY, THE PREDICTION OF FUTURE EVENTS, IN SUPPORT OF DOCTRINES CONFORMABLE WITH THOSE ALREADY REVEALED. MOHAMMED'S CLAIM TRIED BY THESE CRITERIA. SOME STATEMENTS OF THE MOOLA CONSIDERED AND REFUTED.

HAVING shewn, that the context of the Holy Scriptures, as we now have them, may be relied on, we proceed, in the third place to enquire, what the intimations are, which they have given of the character of a prophet, by which it may certainly be known, that he has come from God. Of the various definitions of miracles and other

criteria, which have been laid down as distinctive of the character of a prophet, the best are inapplicable to our question. The definition, which lays it down, that a miracle is some act brought about by the suspension of the usual laws of nature, appears to be inapplicable to our subject: because, other questions will necessarily arise, as to the persons who are to determine when such suspension, &c. has really taken place. But it is not necessary to our subject to introduce such a question at all; because, I believe, we can come to a good conclusion without it. The definition, in the second place, which lays it down, that a miracle must be some act exceeding the extent of human power, also appears to be inapplicable to our question. For here we are at loss to know, what is the real extent of human power. And, as our opponent seems to lay so great a stress on the performances of magicians, as to make it extremely doubtful what is, and what is not, a miracle, we have thought it both the shortest and safest way to avoid the introduction of questions turning on these considerations, which can only have the effect of puzzling the reader, and leaving the question, at last, in as much mystery and darkness as we found it.

The criteria then, by which it is our intention to try the question before us, are those which are to be found in the Scriptures themselves;

which, if we are not much mistaken, we shall find more certain and easy of application, than any we can discover for ourselves.

They are these. I. Any one laying claim to the office of a prophet, but unable to predict future events, is a false prophet. II. Any one making a prediction, which does not come to pass, is also to be considered as a false prophet. And III. Any one making a prediction, which comes to pass, but with the view of establishing a religion, contrary to that which had already been revealed, is also to be treated as a deceiver.

The passages on which these rules are founded, are the following. First, as to prediction in general. Isai. xli. 22, "Let them bring them forth (i. e. their strong reasons, or proofs) and shew us what shall happen: let them shew the former things, what they be, that we may consider them, and know the latter end of them; or *declare us things for to come*. Shew the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are gods: yea, do good, or do evil, that we may be dismayed, and behold it together. Behold, ye are of nothing, and your work of nought."

St. Peter, upon this principle, says, 2 Pet. i. 19. "We have also a more sure word of prophecy; whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place."

And it should be observed, he looks upon this as a much surer criterion of the truth of the Christian religion, than the transfiguration of our Lord, which he had witnessed on the holy mount.

In the second place, with respect to predictions which do not come to pass. Deut. xviii. 22. "When a prophet speaketh in the name of the Lord, if the thing follow not, nor come to pass, that is the thing which the Lord hath not spoken, but the prophet hath spoken it presumptuously: thou shalt not be afraid of him."

In the third place, with respect to those which actually come to pass, but which tend to oppose a former revelation, we have Deut. xiii. 1, &c. "If there arise among you a prophet, or a dreamer of dreams, and giveth thee a sign or a wonder. And the sign or the wonder come to pass, whereof he spake unto thee, saying, Let us go after other gods, which thou hast not known, and let us serve them; thou shalt not hearken unto the words of that prophet, or dreamer of dreams, &c.... and that prophet, or that dreamer of dreams, shall be put to death: because he hath spoken to turn you away from the Lord your God, which brought you out of the land of Egypt, and redeemed you out of the house of bondage, *to thrust thee out of the way which the Lord thy God commanded thee to walk in.*"

It appears from the first citation, that predictions of future events may be expected from a true prophet; and it is a fact, that under the Old Testament, not only several of the Patriarchs, but all the Prophets were possessed of this extraordinary gift. Our Lord too, and several of his disciples, exercised it, in addition to the many other miracles which they performed, with the view of establishing a religion in every respect conformable to the former revelation. From what has been said, therefore, the character of a true prophet also may be known. Let us proceed in the next place, to try the claims of Mohammed according to these rules.

In the first place, then, Mohammed never laid claim to the power of foretelling future events at all: the few passages occurring in the Koran, which his followers would have to be considered as predictions, do not merit that character, as it has been shewn at page 72, &c. According to our first rule, therefore, he was not a prophet, but a pretender.

In the second place, if we allow that he did make predictions (which in reality he did not) yet, his religion is not only different from that revealed to the ancient Prophets, but confessedly intended to oppose it. By our third rule, therefore, he is no prophet.

In the third place, if we allow that he actually performed miracles (of which, however, no ade-

quate proof can be adduced) yet, as he has not only opposed the law of God, as formerly revealed, but has made no prediction whatsoever, he cannot be considered as any thing more than a pretender.

In order to evade the objection, however, that Mohammed taught a new religion, the arguments mostly resorted to by the Mohammedans, are the following: As men became more and more advanced in human knowledge; or, in other words, as their intellectual capacities became fitted for further communications of the divine will, revelations were made, in some measure superseding those which had gone before them. Thus, the law of Moses, which was encumbered with numerous rites and observances, was superseded by the Gospel: and the Gospel, by the revelation of the Koran: and, as the Koran reveals a religion in every respect perfect, it will not be superseded until the appearance of the last Imàm; who, with Jesus, will establish an universal religion, which shall remain till the consummation of all things.

Unfortunately, however, for this chain of argument, the whole rests on a false assumption; nothing being more certain than that the Gospel did not supersede the Law.

It should ever be remembered, that it was the custom of the ancient Prophets to teach by symbolical representations: thus, Zedekiah made his

horns of iron,* Jeremiah his yoke,† and his linen girdle.‡ St. Paul tells us, that the whole of the ceremonial law of Moses was of this description, intended to shadow forth things to come.|| Now, as we are expressly told by Daniel, that this should come to an end at the death of the Messiah; and, as he has also informed us, when that event was to take place, there can be no doubt that these types and shadows received their accomplishment in that event. And St. Paul himself has informed us, that there was no further necessity for them.§ The appearance of Christ, therefore, made it necessary that these should be discontinued; which was nothing more than fulfilling another prediction which had declared, that a new covenant should be made, differing in many respects from that of the ceremonial law.¶ But, did this abrogate the law, in the sense of that term as used by the Mohammedans? Certainly not: for our Lord himself positively declared, that he came not *to destroy*, but *to fulfil* the Law; and further, that not a jot should pass from the Law, till all should have been fulfilled.** The Gospel of Christ, therefore, did not abrogate, but fulfil the Law: for although some of its ceremonies

---

* 1 Kings xxii. 11.
† Jer. xxviii. 10, &c.
‡ Jer. xiii. 1.
|| Heb. ix. 10. x. 1.
§ Heb. x. 9, 18, &c.
¶ Jer. xxxi. 31, 32.
** Matt. v. 17, 18.

were discontinued; yet that which the Law had principally in view, namely, the glory of God, and the salvation of man, was now made more intelligible than it had hitherto been, but no less binding. The Gospel, consequently, was not the abrogation, but the completion of the Law: it having been originally given as a guide to bring sinners to Christ, and now continuing to act precisely for the same end; though not in the same way. The Law, therefore, is not abrogated; but is still in force, as far as the nature of its fulfilment, or completion in Christ, will allow.

But, with respect to Mohammed's religion, we would ask, did either the Law or the Gospel give intimation of any such subsequent form of religion? We know of no such thing from the Scriptures, as we now have them: and it has been shewn that they are to be relied upon. But further, both Moses and our Lord have warned us against such claims as those made by him. St. Paul too has said, that if even an angel from heaven should preach a different Gospel, or, in other words, inculcate a religion different from that already revealed, he was to be considered as accursed.* And, again, that though miracles should be performed in support of such doctrine, they ought to be considered as lying wonders, and to be avoided as such.† And our Lord him-

* Gal. i. 8, 9, &c. † 2 Thess. ii. 8, &c.

self has said, that wonders such as were likely to deceive even the elect of God, would be performed: but that they ought not to be regarded.*

According to the Scripture, therefore, we had no reason to expect another revelation, opposing that already made, and laying claim to a higher degree of perfection. The arguments alluded to, therefore, must stand for nothing, because they are sanctioned by nothing better than the opinions of fallible men; and fabricated for the purpose of recommending that, which we have every reason to believe is false.

As some remarks have been offered by the Moola, on a passage cited from Deut. xviii. 15. in page 277. it may be proper to notice them here. The Moola there argues, that as Mohammed was descended from Ishmael, he may be properly and exclusively considered as the prophet there foretold, who should arise from among the brethren of Isaac's posterity. This is ingenious enough, but it is erroneous: for in Gen. xxi. 12. it is expressly said, with the view of excluding Ishmael; "In Isaac shall thy seed be called." And, again, in the book of Numbers, ch. xxiv. 17. "There shall come a star out of Jacob, and a sceptre shall rise out of Israel." We are also told, in other places, that the person thus promised should be of the house and lineage of

* Matt. xxiv. 24.

David, who was not a descendant of Ishmael; but of Isaac. This prophet was, therefore, to arise from among his brethren properly so called, and not from the stock of Ishmael.

Another consideration frequently urged by the Mirza is, that our Lord's mission extended only to the Jews; but this is a mistake: prophecy had declared, that he should be for salvation to the ends of the earth.* And we know, that he commissioned his disciples to go and teach all nations.† No reliance, therefore, can be placed on that consideration.

As to the Koran and other miracles so frequently urged in favour of Mohammed's claim, we answer: If we allow the Koran to be so far inimitable as to be miraculous (which after all is not true) still the miracle is of the wrong sort; besides its miraculous character has been urged in support of a religion, professedly opposing that which we know to have come from God. These asserted or supposed miracles, therefore, are of no use in our present enquiry.

But, with respect to the other miracles ascribed to Mohammed, they want all the requisites, which, according to our principle, are necessary to recommend them to our belief. No reliance, therefore, can be placed on them.

* Isai. xlix. 6. Acts xiii. 47. Luke ii. 32.

† Matt. xxviii. 19.

The character of Mohammed too, has often been urged with great seriousness: yet if we allow him to have been a good and temperate man, which, according to his historians, however, is far from being the case, this will by no means suffice to establish his claim as a prophet.

The miracles of his followers, as of the Imams, for example (p. 343, &c.) have also been urged as proofs of the truth of his religion. But as the accounts of these miracles are ill-attested, as already remarked; and, as we know that great impositions of this kind have always been practised in favour of false religions, and are so practised, even in Europe itself, we can have no difficulty whatever in rejecting them.

The devotedness of the first followers of Mohammed, and of the Imams in particular, have also been urged as of great importance in this question. But here we may reply: A similar devotedness may be appealed to in support of every impostor of any note that has ever yet appeared. This, therefore, can avail nothing, unless it can also be shewn from other considerations, that the faith they embraced was the true one.

Another argument has been grounded upon certain predictions found in the Old Testament, in which some mighty warrior seems to have been foretold. But unless we can ascertain from some considerations independent of the warlike at-

chievements there mentioned, those predictions may just as well be referred to Tamerlane or Nádir Shah, as they can to Mohammed. But, as we know that nothing is more common in the language of Scripture, than to speak of the conquests to be made by true religion in the hearts of men, as a mighty warfare, we need not be much perplexed in interpreting such passages whenever they occur. This perhaps will be sufficient reply for all that has been said by the Mirza on these points.

The conveniency of Mohammedanism has also been urged as an argument in its favour (p. 379, &c.) but this is no proof of its truth: and, as polygamy, slavery, and many other things sanctioned by it, are not only inconvenient, but base and tyrannical, and directly opposed to the declarations of God's word, if they prove any thing, it is, that Islamism is an imposture.

The most famous passage cited from the Gospels in favour of Mohammed is the promise of the paraclete. In John xiv. 16. (p. 326.) it is said: "I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another *Comforter*, that he may abide with you for ever." But here, the very next verse will shew us, that this cannot possibly be applied to Mohammed. "Even the spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive, *because it seeth him not, neither knoweth him:* but ye know him; for *he dwelleth with you, and shall be in you.*" And again,

in the 26th verse, "He shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you."

Nothing can be more certain, than that Mohammed could not have been meant by these declarations. No one can suppose, that a person to be born nearly 600 years afterwards, could be said to be *in and with the disciples,* and to bring to their remembrance the instructions which they had received. But, should any doubt yet remain on this point, the following passage from the Acts (Chap. i. 4, 5.) would clear all up. "And being assembled" (i. e. our Lord) "together with them, commanded them" (the disciples) "that they should not depart from Jerusalem, but wait for the promise of the Father, which, *saith he,* ye have heard of me. For John truly baptized with water; *but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence.*" Again, at the 4th verse of the next chapter it is said, "*They were all filled with the Holy Ghost,* and began to speak with other tongues, as the *Spirit gave them utterance.*"

That this cannot apply to Mohammed no one can possibly doubt: and it is equally certain, that these are correct and genuine readings of the passages cited. The Mirza has said, indeed, that the interpretations which the Christians have put upon these passages are erroneous; because he thinks no descent of the Holy Ghost can possibly

take place:* but this opinion has been formed upon the principles of a false religion. The Mirza himself too has allowed, that all our knowledge of religion must be derived from revelation. In this case, then, revelation is directly against him: not to urge the improbability that even the Koran inculcates the mystical tenets, upon which his objection is grounded.

After what has been said, it will not be necessary to dwell on the consideration of Mohammed's character, in connection with the high office to which he aspired. His followers may believe him to have been a very good man. But, if we allow this (which, however, the character given by his historians forbids) still he possessed none of those powers, which the Scripture has laid down as necessary for a prophet. He taught a religion not only differing from that already revealed, but opposed to it; and this religion he established by methods condemned by our Lord expressly,† and by the practice of all the Prophets and Apostles. If he performed miracles at all, which no one can believe, from the consideration of the evidence by which they have been urged, they will avail nothing in our present question, as they might have been "lying wonders," like many others which are daily resorted to, for the purpose of keeping up a system of imposition. And, as to

* P. 329-30. † Matth. xxvi. 52.

the Koran, the great and permanent miracle, as it has been termed, it is a mere farrago of erroneous accounts of the former Prophets; detailing, in many places, manifest absurdities, as Mr. Martyn has shewn; and is, in many others, inconsistent with itself. That there is a smoothness in its style very pleasing to the ear of an Arab, no one will doubt; but, even in this respect, it is perhaps inferior to other books, which have been written since its publication. But allowing the utmost, this will give it no higher a place in the estimation of any intelligent person, than may be claimed for the works of Homer, Virgil, or any other writer of eminence, as Mr. Martyn has properly remarked.

According to Doulatshah, no one has hitherto been able to write any thing comparable to the Sháh námah of Firdausi.* With ourselves, the writings of Shakespeare stand unrivalled. Which entitles them to rank high as poets, but can by no means be construed as proving that they were prophets. The Mirza will reply; that they made no claim to prophecy. Very true: still this will

---

* On the life of Firdausi اکابر واناضل متفقند که شاعري در مدت روزکار اسلام مثل فردوسي از کتم عدم پاي بمعمورهٔ وجود ننهاده است. The learned are all of opinion, that no such poet as Firdausi was has appeared during the times of Islamism.

not alter the state of the question. They are only poets at last. Had they made a claim to prophecy, they would then have been impostors: and such, we have no hesitation in pronouncing, Mohammed was, with claims infinitely inferior to theirs to the title of poet.

As to what has been urged in favour of Mohammed from the prophecy of the Hebrew child, (p. 302, &c.) we consider it as of too childish a character to deserve a moment's consideration: and cannot but express our pity for those, who are compelled to have recourse to documents so utterly unworthy of consideration or credit.—Having said thus much on the character of Mohammed and his claims, we do not think it at all necessary to reply to every particular advanced by the Moola: we now proceed, therefore, to the next division of our subject.

CHAP. IV.

MAN'S GENERAL CHARACTER AS DETAILED IN THE SCRIPTURES. THE PROVISIONS BOTH TEMPORAL AND SPIRITUAL PROVIDED FOR HIM BY HIS MAKER. OBJECTIONS OF THE MOHAMMEDANS ANSWERED. THE TESTIMONY IN FAVOUR OF MOHAMMED FAULTY. THE BELIEVER CONSIDERED AS GOD'S ADOPTED CHILD. HIS COVENANT OF GRACE IN THE ATONEMENT OF THE REDEEMER. MAN'S DUTY TO GOD AND TO HIS NEIGHBOUR. THE DOCTRINE OF THE RESURRECTION STATED. SOME REMARKS ON THE WHOLE.

HAVING laid down our principles of reasoning, and determined by them that the Scriptures, as

we now have them, are to be relied on in the investigation of subjects of this nature, we now come to the last division of the question before us, which is to shew, what the real character of man is; and to point out those instructions which God has given for his guidance to happiness.

We may remark, in the first place, that it is not our intention to enter on the consideration of the attributes of infinite power, wisdom, justice, and mercy, as centering in the Deity; it is enough for us to know, that he is powerful, wise, just, and merciful: to what extent these may be severally exerted, or how they may concur with, or oppose, each other, has nothing to do with a question conversant solely on the character and requirements of man: which is indeed all that can be necessary for the humble enquirer, as to the nature of the revelation of his God. Of the questions, therefore, grounded on these considerations, namely, predestination, election, reprobation, and the like, we shall take no notice; because they are not at all likely to advance our enquiry; and because they involve considerations of which we possess no real knowledge, and but little in the shape of probability.

To proceed then with our question. We find in Scripture, that man is treated by his Maker as a reasonable, accountable, and passible being. Precepts are laid down to be observed by him, and rewards or punishments are promised or

threatened, just in proportion as he shall regard or disregard them. To what extent his power of obedience will enable him to go, does not now concern us; but, that obedience and disobedience, are in some measure placed within his own power, both the Scriptures and experience declare; and we contend for nothing further at present.

Man is, therefore, an accountable being. The Scriptures also inform us, that all men are sinners in the estimation of the Almighty: that no man has obeyed his Maker, or can obey him, in a way so perfect, as to entitle him to the rewards promised in the Scripture. And for this, a reason is given; it is this: The nature of our first father became so far implicated in sin and infirmity, in consequence of his having transgressed the will of his God, that all his children, inheriting the same nature from him, have been unable to render that perfect obedience which the just character of God requires. The consequence of which is, that it is in the power of no one to claim those rewards, which God has promised to the merits of such obedience.

It will be foreign to our purpose to enquire, why God permitted this state of things to exist: that must be left to his inscrutable wisdom; it is enough for us to know, that Scripture declares this to be the case: and that our own consciences bear witness to the fact.

Man being thus situated then, with respect to his Maker, the Scripture further declares, that God himself has pointed out a way by which he can have an assurance, that he shall receive the rewards which have been thus promised. It would be almost endless to cite all the passages, in which intimations are given as to this way of salvation (for by that name may it be called). It had been declared from the very highest antiquity, that some great personage should be sent into the world, by whom all mankind should be finally blessed. The intimations, thus given, may be considered as of two kinds, first, as verbal, and secondly, as symbolical. The verbal intimations have been termed prophecies; and of these the following are some of the most remarkable on this subject: "The seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head, but he shall bruise his heel."* "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come; and to him shall the gathering of the people be."† "There shall come a Star out of Jacob, and a Sceptre shall rise out of Israel."..."Out of Jacob shall come he that shall have dominion," &c.‡ "The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a Prophet from the midst of thee, of thy brethren, like unto me; unto him

* Gen. iii. 15. † Ibid. xlix. 10. ‡ Numb. xxiv. 17, 19.

ye shall hearken."* "For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given; and the government shall be upon his shoulder: and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, The mighty God, The everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace. Of the increase of his government and peace there shall be no end."† "A virgin shall be with child, and bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel."‡ "For he shall grow up before him as a tender plant, and as a root out of a dry ground,"|| &c. to the end. "Know therefore and understand, that from the going forth of the commandment to restore and to build Jerusalem, unto the Messiah the Prince shall be seven weeks, &c.... And after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be cut off."§ In all these passages it is declared, that some great personage should appear. In some the family is mentioned, and in others his character, title, and the times in which he should come. These then, to which many others might be added, are predictions of the appearance of a person, by whom the Scripture has also declared, that man should be so far restored to the favour of his God, as to have an assurance, that the rewards there promised should be finally his.

The second sort of intimations given in the

* Deut. xviii. 15.
† Isai. ix. 6, 7.
‡ Isai vii. 14.
|| Isai. liii. 2, &c.
§ Dan. ix. 25, 26.

Scriptures as to this great personage, are those of symbols: that is, they are such as to represent by some rite or ceremony something relating to him. Of these mention is made in the passages already cited, in which the sacrifice to be made for sin is foretold.

Of these symbols then, the sacrifices offered up, prior to the giving of the law and under it, form the most prominent and important part: for, by these it was declared, that the Messiah should be cut off, not for himself, but for the sins of the people. That Jesus of Nazareth was the person thus foretold and prefigured, the Scriptures also assure us: and that he became a sacrifice for sin, that those who should believe should not perish, but have everlasting life: which is the great reward constantly presented to the believer. Men are then exhorted to repent, and to believe in the efficacy of this atonement as the only means appointed by God, whereby they can be saved. And, it is at the same time declared, that those who refuse to do so shall finally be condemned.

In one of the predictions already cited, it is declared, that after the death of the Messiah, the service of sacrifice should cease, because everlasting righteousness should now be brought into the world by his meritorious sacrifice.* In the New Testament the same thing is declared; and, that

* Dan. ix. 27.

it is by the exertion of faith alone, in the merits of him who hath thus suffered for mankind, that man can be brought into a state of acceptance with his Maker.

But this does by no means relax man's responsibility. It has neither reduced nor diminished any of his obligations, although it has instructed him how to exercise them; that is, by the observance of ordinances less cumbrous than those of ancient times, though manifestly established for the same end. Under the ancient dispensation, man was accepted by faith in the merits of the Messiah's sufferings, which were daily presented to him in the types and shadows of animal sacrifices. Under the last dispensation, he is accepted by faith in the sacrifice, of which those were only emblems; and hence he receives the assurance, that he shall finally receive the promises of God.

Under the first dispensation, certain precepts were laid down, and men were commanded to obey them. Under the new dispensation, additional precepts are laid down, which we are also commanded to observe. Our obligations, therefore, to practise holiness, and to follow every good word and work, are rather increased than diminished: and it is positively declared, that without the holiness which these recommend, no man shall see the Lord. We, therefore, have no reason to suppose, that men are allowed to be

unholy, because another has, by his merits, purchased their salvation. No, his blood was shed, not to purchase indulgence for their crimes, but the favour and approbation of God on their services. See page 564 ?

It will here be objected, perhaps, as it has been by the Mirza (p. 420, &c.) and others, that it is unreasonable and unjust to suppose, that the atonement of one person can be accepted for the sins of another; and, that it is inconsistent with the character of the Deity, to inflict the punishment due to the crimes of men, on the righteous person of Christ. We answer, what has been declared to be the wisdom of God in the Scripture, it is not our duty to call in question.* Infinite wisdom may have reasons, of which we, as finite creatures, can have no adequate conception. Of his proceedings farther than they have been revealed, we can have no knowledge: but if it be found, that as far as revealed they are such as to make us gainers in the end, this should be matter for thankfulness with us, and not for objection or complaint.

For the same reason, we dismiss all the Mirza's arguments, which have no better a foundation than the metaphysics of Persia, or the doctrines of mysticism: because, metaphysics are inadmissible when treating on questions of which they

* 1 Cor. i. 24, &c.

can take no cognizance. And, as to mysticism, as its authority goes no farther than the reveries of enthusiasm, it will be perfectly nugatory to pay it the least attention on a question, in which nothing short of revelation can be of any avail.

We may now notice a few objections to our positions as stated in the preceding tract. The Mirza has said (p. 413, &c.) speaking of the circumstances of a servant and his master, that although the master may have declared that ruin shall follow upon transgression, it is notwithstanding in his power to pardon; and that, unless he be cruel and tyrannic, he will pardon upon repentance being tendered. We remark, this objection would have considerable weight, had we no other principles by which we could arrive at the truth, than those which are to be collected from the general practice of mankind. But, the fact is, we are bound, in questions of this nature, to think and act upon the principles detailed in God's word. And, according to these, no one can or will be justified in his sight either by means of his principles or his actions, unless they be conformable to God's revealed will. If then, the sinner tender his repentance in the way which God has pointed out, it will most certainly be accepted; but if he tender it in any other, it will be of no avail. The question, therefore, will now be, whether the repentance tendered be such as God has declared he

will be willing to accept; or, whether it be only such as the sinner himself supposes to be correspondent to the nature of his offence. If, as in the first case, it be conformable with God's revealed word, it will, of necessity, be accepted; but, if it be only such as the sinner himself supposes to be sufficient, then no one could possibly object, should God, in his infinite wisdom, adjudge it to be unworthy of acceptance. Now, in this case, who is to be judge, God or man? If God is to be judge, then the requirements of his word had better be consulted: because, it is most likely that his decision will be given in conformity with its declarations. And, its declarations are, that man can be justified by no other means, than those of repentance and faith, as there taught. In this case, therefore, repentance will imply, not only sorrow for sin, and reparation to the uttermost of the sinner's ability; but also, the determination to lead a new life, followed up by the use of every means of improvement which God himself has laid down. Of such a repentance as this, then, any temporal Lord, would be ready to accept, consisting as it would of those requirements, which he himself had suggested as the means of reconciliation; and, as these involve no impossibility in their performance, but are such as are best adapted to the temporal happiness of man, they are both reasonable and right. But should the sinner tender no

other obedience, than that which his depraved mind should suggest, (and in this case opinions would vary with the dispositions of the mind) then it is but reasonable and right, that such repentance should not be accepted. And this is the language of revelation: "Obedience is better than sacrifice, and to hearken than the fat of rams." *

Repentance alone, therefore, is not sufficient to justify a sinner in the sight of God. It is indeed among the means, whereby he may obtain pardon; but even then, it must be conformable to God's word, and followed up by all its requirements.

It is true, a supreme Magistrate may have it in his power (as observed by the Mirza, p. 417, &c.) to forgive a culprit. But, if he should have declared, that he will only forgive on certain conditions, it will be inconsistent in him to afford pardon on any other terms. And this is the case in the revelation of God. He has declared that he will shew mercy, and pardon the sinner fully; but he has at the same time declared, of what kind the repentance is to be which sues for this pardon. And, it is but reasonable to suppose, that if the repentance be not such as he prescribes, he will reject it.—It will be dangerous, therefore, to expect pardon on any other grounds; and extremely absurd to sue for it in any other

* 1 Sam. xv. 22.

way, than that which God himself has prescribed. The *power* of the Magistrate to do this or that, has nothing to do with our question. It is our business to determine what he has declared he will do; and, the result of our enquiry is, that it is not to be expected, that he will act inconsistently with his own published declarations.

In page 421, it is asked: If the ancient prophets arrived at the same degree of dignity with him who has been called the Word of God, how is it that they did not severally become the atonements for the sins of those, to whom they had been sent? The answer is obvious. They were only sent as ministers, either to admonish those to whom they had been sent of the will of God, which had already been revealed, or to make further revelations of it. And we are informed by the express declaration of the Scripture, that they testified of Jesus the Messiah, as the great object of faith, by whom alone salvation was to be obtained.*

On the other supposition, (ibid.) it is said, that it will follow, that their services were of no avail. But this is not the case. Their services were necessary, not only to the people of their times, but to us also: their declarations and predictions being of the greatest importance to the believer at this day.

* Acts iii. 24. and x. 43.

In page 430, it is said, "All this" (i. e. the sacrifices under the Law) "might have been obviated by one sentence, which the angel Gabriel might have delivered, &c." We answer: However this *might have been done* concerns not us to know. Our question is not, as to *what might have been done*, but, what has been done. If the Almighty had thought proper, he might have revealed his will in ways totally different from those which he has chosen; but as his will has been revealed, it is our duty to enquire what that is: and not to suggest what it might have been.

The next objection worth noticing occurs at page 439, where it is affirmed, that as times like those predicted in the ancient prophecies have never yet been experienced, those prophecies cannot apply to the person of Jesus. This objection, however, is ill founded. If indeed the prophecies manifestly relating to the person of the Messiah, could be shewn to be inapplicable to Jesus, the objection would have weight: but to say, that those things have not yet come to pass, which have been foretold as consequents of the mission of the Messiah, and that Jesus, therefore, is not the Messiah, is as inconclusive, as can well be imagined, unless it had also been shewn, that the period for their accomplishment had also been confined to that of his mission. But this is not the case. It is the duty, therefore, of the believer to wait patiently, till the Almighty himself shall please to bring about that period.

But there is another consideration which must silence all such objections as this. The Scriptures have declared that Jesus is the Messiah. And upon these we may rely. It will therefore be unnecessary to follow this train of reasoning any farther. There is an objection, however, occurring at page 443, directed against the authenticity of the New Testament itself, and which, therefore, calls for particular consideration. It is to this effect: The Jews, in the first place, have not given their testimony in favour of the accounts found in the New Testament: and, in the second, the number of those who have is too small to produce assurance as to their credibility.

With respect to the first of these objections, We reply, It is not necessary that any account should have the testimony of foes, as to its accuracy, in order to make it credible. If, indeed, those who oppose the credibility of any account, advance authentic history to the contrary: that is, history carrying with it all the marks of probability, then will such account become suspicious. But if no such contrary account has been, or can be, produced, no suspicion can be attached to the original narrative on that score. This is enough for our present purpose. The Jews, we know, have produced no contrary accounts: and, supposing they have said nothing favourable, their silence cannot be construed as affecting the truth of the statements in question. The

statements themselves, therefore, do not become suspicious, because those who have been opposed to their reception, have said nothing in their favour.

With regard to the second objection, as to the number of witnesses which can be adduced in support of the statements found in the New Testament, We answer: The number is not large we allow; but it will not hence follow, that it is insufficient to insure confidence, as to the truth of the statements there found. In the first place, these accounts have never been contradicted by Writers acquainted with the events to which they relate, and who opposed themselves to those who advanced them as true. No suspicion can attach to them, therefore, on account of contrary testimony. In the next place, they relate to events, which are said to have taken place in the eyes of the public; and, consequently, in the presence of those who spared no pains to ruin their credibility.

In the next place, the reception of them proposed no worldly advantage to those who recorded them, in the first instance, nor to those who should believe them, in the second. In the next place, those who recorded them were not only exposed to persecution, labour, and poverty, on account of them; but submitted to death, in attestation of their truth.

And again, great numbers, who could not

have been mistaken, as to the facts to which these narratives related, submitted to similar difficulties, pains and death: and of these, some were men of education and learning.

There is another consideration, of great weight, which is this: We know from their constant appeals to the Scripture, their orderly life, and the instructions which they have laid down in their writings, that they were men who feared God.

As to their general conduct, they were neither desirous of novelty nor vain-glory. In their disputes with the Jews they argued universally from the Scriptures; and we know of no instance, in which they accepted either of wealth or homage from their followers; but in all they inculcated the contrary, as constituting the character of the true minister of Christ.

We are informed, in some instances, of predictions having been made by them and their followers, which actually came to pass: of miracles performed in the presence of both friends and foes: but had no such thing taken place, these passages would have been cited as affording an effectual answer to all their pretensions. Yet have neither their honesty nor their statements ever been impugned by those who had the best means in their power for doing so: and hence it was, that their preaching gained ground, not only among the Jews, but among the heathen throughout the

Roman empire; and that many joined them as converts. We have, therefore, no reason to suspect their testimony; but, on the contrary, every reason for believing it to be true.

There is another consideration, which may properly be mentioned here, which is, the concurrence of the events in question with the declarations of ancient prophecy.

We are informed by the Prophets, that a certain person of the seed of Abraham, of the line of Isaac, and of the house of David, was to be born at Bethlehem, at the precise period of time when the regal power should depart from the house of Judah; and at a certain definite period of time from the return of the Jews from Babylon; and that his birth should be of a pure Virgin. The time, place, and circumstances of the event are, therefore, foretold by men acknowledged by all to have been Prophets. The Evangelists inform us, that such a person was born at the time, the place, of the house of David, and of the Virgin, in exact conformity with these predictions. That, at a certain period, he commenced his ministry, not with the view of setting up a new system of religion in opposition to the old; but by reforming the opinions of the times, as to the true import of the religion which had already been revealed: not with the view of destroying, but of fulfilling it. He goes about healing the sick, and suffering persecutions, just as it had

also been predicted. He performs miracles and makes predictions sufficient to shew, that he possessed powers superior to those of man: and he at last suffers death, both in conformity with the declarations of prophecy, and for the very end which they had assigned. After this he rises from the dead, and appears openly to many; and, on one occasion, to not fewer than five hundred, many of whom afterwards shed their blood in attestation of the truth of this event. And this also took place according to prophecy. In the next place, miraculous power is bestowed upon the disciples, which also had been foretold: and upon the testimony of prophecy, as we have already remarked, the disciples placed a greater reliance than they did on the transfiguration which they themselves had witnessed.

Now, it is in our power to examine the accuracy of these allegations. And upon examination we find them to be well grounded and true. The nature of the statements made by the disciples, therefore, is consistent with the claims which they advanced, and with the grounds upon which those claims had been made. Besides, if prophecy might be depended on; and, if it be thus definite as to the circumstances relating to Jesus, we have every reason to believe, that such events, as those related by the Evangelists and Apostles, would take place at that particular time. And it is a fact, that the Jews themselves expected it, as may be seen from their own writings.

The number of the Evangelists and Apostles, therefore, is not to be objected to, accompanied as their statements are with testimonies thus convincing; and which are sufficient to shew that the hand of God was really engaged in the work. One witness only, attended by circumstances such as these, must command the assent of every rational person: and as we have every reason to believe, that the numbers were large who witnessed the greater part of the events contained in their narratives, the evidence in their favour is worthy of all acceptation.

But how does the case stand with respect to Mohammed. Of him prophecy knows nothing, unless he be marked out as the antichrist, or as one of those pretenders who should almost deceive the very elect. The religion recommended by Moses and Jesus, he confessedly opposed, laying down laws and precepts which they had reprobated. In appealing to the prophets, his blunders are those of ignorance: and, in charging the Scriptures with corruption he is guilty of palpable falsehood. His conduct in war is that of a man of the world, bloody and avaricious. As to the miracles related of him, they are either said to have been performed in private, such, for example, as his being saluted as a prophet by stocks and stones when he was a child; or are false, such as his dividing the moon, causing the sun to stand still, &c. which would have been recorded by

the Greeks and others, had any such things taken place. Or, they were exerted for no adequate purpose whatever; such, as the poisoned shoulder of mutton speaking, which, after all, was silent sufficiently long to suffer the prophet to be poisoned,* and many others, which it would be tedious to recount. Again, as to the number of the witnesses to these miracles, they may generally be reduced to one: Ali, for instance, or Ayesha, or Hasan, or Hosein, who delivered the account orally to some one, who delivered to another in the same way:—and so, after many generations, the account is committed to writing by Kuleini or Bochári, or some other respectable collector of the traditions. These then are copied by a number of compilers who follow; and then the number calculated to produce assurance is cited as worthy of all credit!

Another failure in these accounts is, the witnesses are all parties concerned. Or rather, the original witness is either the wife or the favourite of the prophet, who receives the account in his bed-chamber, and then, many years after the prophet's death, mentions it to another, and so on. The whole, therefore, from first to last, may be a mere fabrication. Besides, these credible accounts are very often found to oppose and contradict one another in a very unmannerly way;

* Annales Moslemici, Vol. I. p. 135.

and, to meet this difficulty, have certain rules been devised, which have already been detailed (p. 74.)

Another difficulty is, the contending sects either deny or assent to these traditions, according to their own favourite opinions. The Sonnee, for example, hold traditions relating to facts, &c. which the Shiah positively deny, and *vice versâ*. And even the text of the Koran itself, miraculous and inimitable as it is thought to be, is suspected nevertheless by the Shiah of having undergone certain corruptions, and to have lost certain portions,* in consequence of the perfidy of its first collectors, who were opposed to the Shiah interest. It should seem from this, that there can be nothing very certain either in the Koran, or the traditions: that the witnesses for both are neither numerous nor respectable; and that they want many of those concurring circumstances, which are indispensably necessary to make any account credible.

With respect to the Christian sects, the case is quite different. They all hold the same documents as the ground of their faith. They all believe the facts stated therein upon the same evidence. And, if we except the Roman Catholics,

* In the sixth section of the Dabistan of Mohsin Fáni, we have a whole chapter of the Koran given, which some suppose was denied a place in the book, because it had spoken too respectfully of Ali and his house.

who appear to have lost almost all that distinguishes Christianity from heathenism, they pay no regard whatsoever to traditionary stories. The differences found to prevail among these sects, are just what might be expected from the infirmity of human nature: but, which can by no means be construed as tending to impugn the authenticity of the common documents, on which their faith is founded.

Having noticed then the main objections to our view of the Christian religion, we shall now proceed with our account of its doctrines and requirements. We have shewn that man is a reasonable and accountable creature; and that he is to be saved by faith in the merits of Christ alone. Now, that God has a right to assume any position he may please with respect to his own creatures, there can be no doubt. That he is the Supreme Ruler of heaven and earth; and that he is judge of both the quick and dead, he has declared in his word. To those, however, who love and serve him, he has placed himself in the predicament of a father; and them he has represented as his children.

On his own part, he has laid down certain precepts for their observance; and, upon compliance with these, he has promised to bestow every blessing both in time and eternity. On their part, nothing less than obedience to the utmost of their power, will be of any avail, as

to the acquirement of these blessings: but, by means of this, he has declared, that every blessing shall be obtained. Of the principles of súfeeism, we find no intimations whatever in the Scriptures. Man is declared to be an accountable creature; and, that in proportion to his obedience here, he shall be blessed hereafter in a better state of being. Those principles, therefore, it is our duty to reject, not only because they are the principles of heathenism; but because they are not to be found in the word of God; and further, because they are repugnant to its declarations.

The first article of this covenant, as it respects man, is, that he acquiesce in all things proposed by God for his belief and acceptance: in other words, that he take heed to all the statutes and judgements of his Maker. These may all be comprehended in the two following: I. Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart. And II. Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. Of these precepts then, the first respects our duty towards God, the second that to our neighbour.

On the part of God, as it has already been observed, every provision has been made necessary for the instruction and support of man. In this point of view then, the provision which he has made for the soul, claims the first consideration: and that consists in the gift of his son Jesus Christ our Lord, to suffer for our

transgressions, that we may appear before God without spot or blemish. It is not for us to enquire why God chose thus to save us from the consequence of sin: it is enough for us to know, that this is his will: it is then our duty to acquiesce. By acquiescing in this gracious provision of our heavenly Father, we are said to be justified in his sight: or, in other words, to be considered as just persons, who have never transgressed his holy laws. In our own natural strength, we never could have effected such a consummation as this: because, being guilty of sin, we had no means of cancelling that in his sight. To rely on repentance alone would not be safe; unless his word had assured us, that this would be accepted: but it has no where given any such assurance. We are, therefore, esteemed just in the sight of God, solely by the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ, for by him alone we are provided with the atonement for our sins.

Being thus brought under the gracious hand of our heavenly Father by the meritorious death of our Redeemer, we are then placed in a situation fitting us for the reception of those further blessings, which God has prepared for them that love him: and these are twofold. Spiritual and temporal. Of these, the first and greatest is the gift of God's Holy Spirit, whereby we are enabled to practise that purity and holiness, which makes us like unto him, and fit inhabitants either for

earth or for heaven. By this, we are enabled to love God with all our hearts; and to such a degree, as we could not before that gift was bestowed. By this too, we are enabled to wait with patience, with confidence, and with hope, for all those blessings which God has prepared for them that love him, beyond the grave. It is by this also that we are enabled to bear temptations without falling into sin; and to suffer trials, disappointments, sickness, and death, without impatience or complaint.

How this is given, or what it is, as to particulars, it concerns not us to know; it is enough for us, that the word of God has declared that it shall be sufficient for us. When thus provided with the best means of knowing ourselves and God, we have not only the strongest reasons, but the power, to love him as we ought to do. His word now becomes our delight, his will our greatest pleasure, and to consider and love him as our Father, our highest privilege.

With respect to the temporal blessings which it is declared in the Scriptures God has prepared for them that love him, they are such as will be sufficient and satisfactory. "The Lord is my shepherd," says David, "I shall lack nothing. He maketh me to lie down in green pastures: he leadeth me beside the still waters. .... Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life; and I shall dwell in the house of the

Lord for ever."* And our Lord, "I say unto you, Take no thought for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on. Is not the life more than meat, and the body than raiment? Behold the fowls of the air: for they sow not; neither do they reap, nor gather into barns: yet your heavenly Father feedeth them. Are ye not much better than they?.... And why take ye thought for raiment? Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin. And yet I say unto you, That Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these. Wherefore, if God so clothe the grass of the field, which to-day is, and to-morrow is cast into the oven, shall he not much more clothe you, O ye of little faith? Therefore take no thought, saying, What shall we eat? or, What shall we drink? or, Wherewithal shall we be clothed? For after all these things do the Gentiles seek, for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things. But seek ye *first* the kingdom of God, and his righteousness; and *all these things shall be added unto you.*"†

God has, therefore, declared in his word, that he will provide all things necessary for the spiritual and temporal support of those who love

---

* Psalm xxiii. † Matth. vi. 25, &c.

and serve him: and were it necessary, the testimony of all ages may be cited to shew, that he has never been slack in fulfilling these his promises. His provisions, therefore, whether of providence or grace, are complete in all their parts: and thus he fulfils the office of a kind and indulgent Parent. We have, therefore, every reason to love him. But this will also include the duty of obeying him. A continued and complete obedience, therefore, is expected and enjoined. Not absolutely perfect, indeed, that would be impossible; but so much so, as the nature of our knowledge, abilities, and circumstances will admit of. As it is expected, in the case of a child and parent among men, so it is in the case of the believer and his heavenly Father. In the one, it is not a service of constraint, but of affection. In the other, the same holds good. The believer has become an adopted child of his heavenly Father, his service, therefore, is that of obedience and love; and, should he fail through the manifold infirmities of his nature, he has an advocate with his Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and he has been made the propitiation for his sin.* In this state of faith and obedience, he is so assisted from above, that he is enabled to become more and more perfect: or, in the words of Scripture, he is so purged as to be enabled to bring

* 1 John ii. 1.

forth more fruits.* And thus from day to day, does he become more holy and more happy, until he is at last made fit to be a partaker of the inheritance of the saints in light.

But the Scripture does not teach by precept only. It also proposes example for our imitation. In the lives of the saints of old, we are both warned to avoid their failings, and exhorted to follow their faith and piety. In the life and death of our Lord, it is most clearly laid down what manner of men we ought to be in all holy conversation and godliness:—how we should act in circumstances of difficulty; and how we should demean ourselves if possessed of wealth or power. Not to render evil for evil, nor railing for railing; but contrariwise blessing, and to commit our cause to him who judgeth righteously. Thus is the believer thoroughly furnished to every good work; and enabled, by the grace of God, to present his whole soul and body a reasonable and living sacrifice to him. And the end of this is, eternal life in the kingdom of heaven.

Another branch of our duty is, to love our neighbour as ourselves. When we have been made children of the same Father, and that Father is God, it is our duty to consider ourselves as brothers in Christ, "and every one members one of another. "Having then gifts,"

* John xv. 2.

as the Apostle Paul has said, "differing according to the grace that is given to us, whether prophecy, let us prophesy according to the proportion of faith,"* &c. to the end.

But God does, in other respects, deal with those who believe in him, as a Father. "If they break my statutes," says he, "and keep not my commandments, then will I visit their transgression with the rod, and their iniquity with stripes."† And again, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, "Whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth. If ye endure chastening, God dealeth with you as with sons; for what son is he whom the father chasteneth not? But if ye be without chastisement, whereof all are partakers, then are ye bastards and not sons."‡ In the Epistle to the Corinthians we find, that chastisement of this kind had actually been given; for there the Apostle says, in consequence of certain abuses among the Christians, "For this cause many are *weak* and *sick* among you, and many *sleep*," that is, *die*.§ God, therefore, deals with those who believe in him as with his own children, encouraging them when obedient, and dealing out stripes and castigation when they disregard him, or rebel against his commandments.

---

* Rom. xii. 5, &c.
† Psalm lxxxix. 31-2.
‡ Heb. xii. 6. &c.
§ 1 Cor. xi. 30.

Another important article taught in the Scriptures, is the resurrection of the body from the grave. Of this many intimations are given both in the Old and New Testament. "After my skin worms destroy this body," says pious Job, "yet in my flesh shall I see God."* "I shall be satisfied," says David, "when I awake with thy likeness."† And Daniel, "Many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt. And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars for ever and ever."‡ And Saint Paul, "The trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed. For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality. So when this corruptible shall have put on incorruption, and this mortal shall have put on immortality, then shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, Death is swallowed up in victory."§

The same Apostle grounds the truth of this doctrine upon the fact of Christ having risen from the dead: for in the same chapter he says, "Now if Christ be preached that he rose from the dead, how say some among you that there is no resur-

* Job xix. 26. † Ps. xvii. 15.
‡ Dan. xii. 2, 3. § 1 Cor. xv. 52, &c.

rection of the dead? But if there be no resurrection of the dead, then is Christ not risen: and if Christ be not risen, then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain. Yea, and we are found false witnesses of God; because we have testified of God that he raised up Christ: whom he raised not up, if so be that the dead rise not."* Hence we may conclude, that the Scriptures do most clearly inculcate the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead: that is, that these bodies shall hereafter be raised again from the dust, and be put in possession of everlasting life: that those who have followed Christ in this life, shall like him ascend to heaven in their own bodies, and there shine as the brightness of the firmament for ever and ever: and that those who have refused to obey him, shall with the same bodies go away into everlasting torment, shame, and contempt. How this is to be brought about, it concerns not us to know. That God is all-powerful the creation of the world is sufficient to prove: and, as he has declared in his word, that this shall take place, there is no possible reason why we should doubt of its actual fulfilment. The believer, therefore, who trusts in his Maker and heavenly Father knows, that in his flesh he shall see God:—that his body, which may here have been subject to difficulties, pains and distresses, shall

* 1 Cor. xv. 12, &c.

there live for ever; and enjoy the love and presence of his Father, when this perishable system of things shall have passed away like a watch in the night: and, that with the company of the redeemed of every people, nation, and language, he shall be permitted to sing his praise for ever and ever.

Let us now make a few remarks on the subject before us. We may ask, in the first place; If God has so provided for the wants of mankind in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, what probability can there be, that he would make another revelation of his will, such as the Koran is thought to be, in which no such provisions are even hinted at; but in which a number of unmeaning ceremonies, such as praying with the face towards Mecca, the pilgrimage, washings and other cumbrous and unprofitable ceremonies, are imposed upon mankind? What necessity could there have been for sending a mere temporal commander, such as Mohammed confessedly was, in order to undo a system comprehending every necessary requisite for the believer, and to substitute for it a creed inconsistent with the prior revealed will of God, and inadequate to the wants, comforts and improvement of man? But what are we to think of such a system of religion when we know, that it not only opposes the declarations of the Scriptures; but that the Scriptures have warned us from being deceived by any

thing of its description?—and when we are told, that lying signs and wonders would be wrought by some, such as were likely to deceive even God's best servants? But this is not all, a system of mysticism is also superadded, contradictory in every point of view to the express declarations of the Scriptures. The frail and sinful person of man, whose thoughts from his very youth are iniquity, and whose ways are false, is represented as an integral part of the great Ruler of the Universe, who, as the Scriptures inform us, is of eyes too pure to behold iniquity! This frail worm is then advised to consider the works of God which he sees around him, as the visions of a waking dream,—as the mere trifles set up for his momentary amusement which shall disappear at a time when the curtain of this illusive exhibition shall be commanded to fall; and when he, with all his impurities and follies, shall again be taken back into that ocean of holiness and of light, of which he may now be considered as a drop. But God says: Man shall live for ever: and shall be happy or miserable in a future state of being, just in proportion to his obedience or disobedience tendered in this. What then are we to think of a system like this, manifestly opposed to the declarations of God's word, and claiming no better an origin than the philosophy of pagans? What are we to think of the Koran, which is appealed to,

as affording the ground work of such a mystery of iniquity as this manifestly is? Of the blasphemy of those who have presumed to boast of themselves as being the Gods of nature, and then deluding their disciples with recitals of lying wonders, which they have supposed themselves able to perform?*

In the next place, what are we to think of the character of its author? A man whose main object appears to have been ravage and warfare; and whose character is, in every respect, inconsistent with that, which the Scriptures declare must designate a Prophet? Whose miracles, as they are reported by his followers, manifestly stand in need of every requisite necessary to recommend them to belief: and which, in many instances, are palpably false. The book, which he has left behind him for the instruction of his followers, composed indeed in a style tolerably smooth and fluent; yet abounding with accounts contradictory to those found in the Scriptures, and in many instances perfectly childish; which the Shiah themselves believe to have been corrupted, but upon which they nevertheless have the inconsistency to repose their faith. The true copy, say they, is kept in the possession of the

* Nothing is more common than for a Soofee who supposes himself at the top of his profession, to make these assertions.

reigning Imàm.* But where is he? Reduced to ashes in the grave, and his soul gone to its place. But *truth* may be with the unseen Imàm. And where is he? In the chambers of the grave, and his soul consigned to a place, from which it can never return. But truth may be with the traditions. What are they? The mere devices of men, either leagued in the mystery of iniquity, or led captive by the great enemy of man:—tales trifling and contradictory, the last props of a vain and tottering system, which will scarcely bear the touch of trial.

Let him, then, who is desirous of knowing the truth, hear the word of the Lord. In that he will find truth, mercy, and peace, such as will endure for ever; and the path which leads to holiness and happiness so clearly marked out, that he who runs may read. By that he will learn, that the heavens declare the glory of the Lord, and that the firmament sheweth forth his handy-work:—that the law of the Lord is complete, converting the soul; that his testimonies are sure and will endure for ever: that by them is his servant taught; and that in keeping them there is a great reward:—that they are more precious than the finest gold, and sweeter than honey, or the droppings of the honeycomb.† Such are the declarations of the Almighty re-

* P. 387. † Psalm xix.

specting the last and best of his works, man: and happy is he who is blessed with the knowledge and experience of their efficacy: yea, happy is the people whose God is the Lord.

One declaration more of God's word we shall notice, and then we shall conclude: and this is one which should nerve the arm of every Believer. However sin, error, and sorrow, may now prevail in God's creation,—however the powers of darkness may now delude the sons of men, the day is in prospect when the spell shall be broken, the mystery be dissolved, and the light and the truth shall shine forth to the perfect day. "The knowledge of the glory of the Lord," says the Prophet, "shall cover the earth as the waters cover the sea:"* and then shall all know him from the least even to the greatest. Then shall his love, power, and truth be triumphant; and those sheep, which our Lord tells us shall hereafter hear his voice,† shall return to the great Shepherd and Bishop of their souls; and shall go in and out and shall find abundant pasturage. Then shall the Idolater, the Hindoo, the Mohammedan, and the Jew, fall down before him, offer the tribute of sacrifice and praise, and be made his children. Then shall the wolf pasture with the lamb, and the lion lie down with the kid, and a little child

* Habakkuk ii. 14. † John x. 16.

shall lead them. The Lord shall hasten it in his time.

Having conducted the enquiry which we proposed, on principles calculated to ascertain the truth, and given some account of the instructions to be found in the Holy Scriptures, we now refer the enquirer to them for further information on this important subject, with the prayer, that God would of his infinite mercy, lead him to the knowledge and experience of the truth, which the Scripture has declared shall make him free, and shall put him in possession of such a hope as shall never end, until the blessings of heaven shall have begun in the kingdom of his Father. Amen.

THE END.

