

THE
LIFE OF MUHAMMAD

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PREFACE

IN this book no important subjects in the life of the Arabian Prophet have been overlooked, and some, indeed, have been treated very fully. I have based my statement of facts upon original authorities and in my deductions therefrom have tried to be fair and impartial. I have given some prominence to what has been called the 'political factor', as I think it has been too much overlooked. Certain modern Muslim writers of the liberal school now growing up in India have produced defences (which may be termed apologies) of certain events of importance; these I have dealt with at considerable length. I have used the better authenticated Traditions, for, after all, it is Muḥammad, as revealed in his life and character in the Traditions, whom the Muslim people know and revere. For this use I have the authority of so great an oriental scholar as the late Emmanuel Deutch who in his famous article on Islām has said: 'If we make use of the Sunna for our purpose no one will blame us. This "Midrash" of Muḥammadanism, as we should call these traditional records of the Prophet's sayings

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and doings, both in the legendary and juridical sense of the word, has, albeit in exalted tones and colours often, told us much of his outer and inner life. Used with the same patient care with which all documents are used by the impartial historian, it yields precious information.¹

In order to save space I refer in the foot notes, under the names of their respective authors, to the following books:—

Muir, *Life of Mahomet* (ed. London, 1861); D. S. Margoliouth, *Mohammad*; Dr. Koelle, *Mohammad and Mohammadanism*; Aṭ-Ṭabarī, *Ṭarīkhul-r-Rusul-wa'l-Milal* (De Goeje's Edition, 1882); The Rt. Hon. Syed Amīr 'Alī, *The Life and Teachings of Mohammad* (ed. 1891); Maulavī Cherāgh 'Alī, *Critical Exposition of Jihād*; Muḥammad bin Khāvendshāh bin Maḥmūd,² *Rauḍatu's-Safā* (ed. Lucknow, 1904); Baiḍāwī, *Commentary on the Qur'ān* (ed. Leipsic, 1848); and Mas'ūdī, *Murūju'dh-Dhahab* (ed. Paris, 1864).

The Traditions recorded in the *Ṣaḥīḥul-Bukhārī* are quoted from the *Faiḍul-Bārī* (Lahore ed. A.H. 1318), which gives them with an Urdu translation.

¹ *Literary Remains of Emmanuel Deutch* (ed. 1874), p. 70.

² This author is commonly called Mirkhūnd, which name I use.

I refer to them under the name Bukhārī. The Traditions recorded in the *Jāmi'u't-Tirmidhī* (Lucknow ed. 1903) are referred to under Tirmidhī. My own *Historical Development of the Qur'ān* (3rd ed. S. P. C. K., London and Madras), I refer to as *H.D. Qur'ān*. In the case of all the other books I give the names in full. I have used the Madras edition (A.H. 1274) of the *Mishkātu'l-Maṣābiḥ*. The quotations from Ibn Hishām are made from Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, which is a guarantee of their accuracy. I have adopted Rodwell's translation for all verses quoted from the Qur'ān.

I have not given an exposition of the dogmas of Islām, as it does not fall within the scope of this work. I have dealt exhaustively with that subject in my *Faith of Islām* (3rd ed. S. P. C. K., London and Madras).

In other books I have already written on some of the subjects contained in this one. In such cases I have not hesitated to use passages taken from such writings of my own.

EDWARD SELL.

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

THE STATE OF ARABIA

PAGE

Idolatry of the Arabs—Jews and Christians— Influence of Foreign States—Rome, Persia, Abyssinia—Need of a leader—National reli- gion a bond of unity	1
---	---

CHAPTER II

YOUTH AND EARLY MANHOOD

Birth of Muḥammad—Early infancy—Life with the Baní Sa'd—Visit to Madína— Death of Ámina—Life with his grandfather, 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib—Abú Tálíb as guardian— Mercantile journey to Syria—The Fijár war —Employed by <u>Khadija</u> —Personal appear- ance—Marriage with <u>Khadija</u> —The Hanífs— Weak political situation—'Alí and Zaid bin <u>Hāritha</u>	7
--	---

CHAPTER III

THE CALL TO PREACH

Mount Hírā—Various forms of inspiration— First revelation—Muḥammad's alarm and	
---	--

	PAGE
anxiety—Fits or swoons—The Fatra— Further revelations—Nature of revelation— Various views as regards Muḥammad's claims, Muir, Koelle, Macdonald, Geiger— Early converts, <u>Khadija</u> , 'Alī, Zaid bin <u>Hāritha</u> , Abū Bakr—Call to preach—The house of al-Arqam as a place of refuge ...	24

CHAPTER IV

PERSECUTION AT MECCA

Persecution by the Quraish—Dissembling allowed—Emigration to Abyssinia—Indiffer- ence of the Meccans to the message of the Prophet—Abū Lahab denounced—Suggested compromise—Deputation to Abū Ṭālib— Muḥammad's fall and recovery—Increasing anger of the Quraish—Fresh converts, Hamza, 'Umar—Quraish severely denounced —Rising courage of the Muslims—Muslims boycotted—Muslims seek refuge in the Shi'b—Distress of the Muslims—Death of <u>Khadija</u> —Marriage with Sauda—Death of Abū Ṭālib—Muḥammad retires to Ṭā'if— Persecution at Ṭā'if—The Jinn—Failure of work at Mecca ...	47
---	----

CHAPTER V

PREPARATION FOR FLIGHT

Thoughts of departure—Pilgrims from Madīna —First pledge of 'Aqāba—Mus'ab bin 'Umair	
---	--

	PAGE
sent to Madīna—The Mi'rāj—Mus'ab's suc- cess at Madīna—Another annual pilgrimage from Madīna—Muḥammad meets pilgrims— —Pilgrims accept him—Second pledge of 'Aqāba—Importance of Madīna—Order given to Muslims to depart from Mecca—Muḥam- mad and Abū Bakr follow—Revelations of the Meccan period ...	69

CHAPTER VI

MADINA AND ITS PEOPLE

Entry into Madīna—The political position in Madīna—The Immigrants (Muhājirūn)—The Helpers (Anṣār)—Banī Aws—Banī <u>Khazraj</u> —The Hypocrites (Munāfiqūn)—Christians —Jews—The charter of Muḥammad—Posi- tion of the Jews—Revelations concerning the Jews—Change of Qibla—The Ramaḍān fast —Changing policy—Resentment against the Jews ...	84
--	----

CHAPTER VII

EARLY GHAZWAS AND SARIYAS

Attacks on Meccan trading caravans—Sariyas of 'Ubaida and of Sa'd— <u>Ghazwas</u> of Abwā, of Buwāt, of 'Ushaira—Sariya of <u>Nakhla</u> — Defence and criticism—Battle of Badr— Importance of the battle of Badr—Discussion as to who was responsible for the battle—As- sassination of Abū 'Afak—Attack on the	
--	--

PAGE

Banī Qainuqā'—Assassination of Ka'b ibn Ashraf and of Abū Rāfi'—Conflicting views on assassinations—Zaid bin Hāritha captures a Meccan caravan—Battle of Uḥud—Defeat of the Muslims—Revelations explain cause of the defeat—Assassination of Sufyān bin Khālīd—Sariya of Bir Ma'ūna—Attack on the Banī Naḍir	... 108
--	---------

CHAPTER VIII

SOME DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

Marriage with Zainab—Revelations approving of the Prophet's conduct—Restriction of social intercourse—Victory over the Banī Muṣṭaliq—Marriage with Juwaira—Scandal about 'Āyisha	... 152
--	---------

CHAPTER IX

SUPPRESSION OF THE JEWS

Meccans attack Madīna—Failure of the attack—Banī Quraiza besieged—Good conduct of the Banī Aws—Their intercession fails—Muḥammad chooses Sa'd as umpire—His verdict—Massacre of the Jews—Criticism of apologies for this cruel act—Notes on the appointment of the umpire	... 160
---	---------

CHAPTER X

THE CONQUEST OF ARABIA

Expedition of Zaid against the Banī Fazāra—	
---	--

PAGE

Punishment of the Banī 'Arniyya—Desire to secure Mecca—Muḥammad's dream about the Pilgrimage—Pilgrims start—Not allowed to enter Mecca—Encamp at Ḥudaibiya—Oath of fealty—Treaty with the Meccans—Rulers of other lands summoned to accept Islām—Mary the Copt—Marriage with Umm Ḥabība—Attack on Khaibar—Marriage with Ṣafiyya—Attempt to poison the Prophet—Pilgrimage of 629—Pilgrims perform the Ḥajj ceremonies—Marriage with Maimūna—Converts made—Sariya of Mūta—Attack on Mecca—Conversion of Abū Sufyān—Submission of Mecca—Destruction of idols—Ghazwa of Hunain—Ghazwa of Ṭā'if—Divisions of the spoils of Hunain—Birth of Ibrāhīm—The verse of the sword—Ghazwa of Tabūk—Christians of Najrān—Compulsion of Jews and Christians—Submission of the people of Ṭā'if—Abū Bakr and 'Alī make the Ḥajj of 631—The Pilgrimage of Farewell—Ceremonies of the Ḥajj—Importance of the Ḥajj	... 176
---	---------

CHAPTER XI

CLOSING DAYS

The Sariya of Usāma—Last illness of the Prophet—Address to the Companions—The Muhājirūn and the Anṣār—Injunctions to the Companions—Abū Bakr directed to say the	
--	--

	PAGE
public prayers—Pardon of the Prophet's sins—The coming of the angel of death— The grief of Fāṭima—Death—Muḥammad's work, character and true position	... 221
VERSES CITED FROM THE QUR'AN	... 233

THE LIFE OF MUḤAMMAD

CHAPTER I

THE STATE OF ARABIA

THE Arabs adored many gods.¹ The belief in the influence of the Jinn was common; yet above the Jinn, above all the gods in the Ka'ba, there was the Supreme One, Alláh, the God. Ma'súdí tells us that in the 'days of ignorance', as pre-Islámic times are called, some of the Quraish also proclaimed the Unity of God, affirmed the existence of one Creator, and believed in the resurrection; whilst others denied the existence of prophets and were attached to idolatry.² Many of the people looked upon the idols as intercessors with the one God. Still the doctrine of the Unity of God was not altogether unknown

¹ Súratu's-Sabá' (xxxiv) 43 and Súratu Yá Sín (xxxvi) 5 show that they lived in heedlessness and needed a warner. For further information on the religion of the Arabs. See *The Encyclopædia of Islám*, pp. 379-80.

كانت العرب في جاهليتها فرقا منهم الموحّد المقرّ بخالفه المصدّق²
بالبعث والاعادة وانكر الرسل وعكف على عبادة الاصنام.
Murúju'dh-Dhahab (ed. Paris, 1864), vol. iii, pp. 256-7.

to the Arabs. It was not something new which Muḥammad brought to a people hitherto ignorant of it. The Arabs, however, were not a pious people, and the fear of Allāh and the reverence of their numerous minor deities degenerated into a form of fetish worship. The superstitious reverence for natural objects led to the separating off of certain places as sacred. What they lacked in devotion to the gods was more than made up for by devotion to the clan. 'The original religious society was the kindred group and all duties of kinship were part of religion.'¹ Infanticide was common, polygamy was practised and the moral condition was low.

The Pagan Arabs were a tolerant people and Zoroastrians, Jews and Christians were allowed to settle down amongst them. In South Arabia some tribes were largely Christian and had bishops and churches of their own. Their Christianity was weak and gave place to Judaism. The Jews then began a bitter persecution of the Christians, and this led to the intervention of the Abyssinians, who coming over to the successful help of their co-religionists remained in the land. The Jews, however, were still a numerous people, and it is said that there were twenty tribes of Jewish origin in Madīna alone. In many cases they seem to have been clients (Aḥlāf) or allies of neighbouring

¹ Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 47.

Arab tribes, to whom they looked for protection. These Jewish communities were industrious and wealthy, with some reputation for learning. They were, in fact, the most cultured people in Arabia. Their influence was considerable, and this would have been a source of strength to them, if only they had had the wisdom to see how important united action was in resisting the attacks made upon them. They failed in this respect and so were easily overcome in detail. They formed a very important section of the community in the city of Madīna.

The Jews and Christians were known as the 'people of the book', and some of the more inquiring minds at Mecca, as we shall hereafter see, gained much information from them, though it was information largely derived from Talmudic and Apocryphal sources. Such, then, was the religious position in Arabia at the end of the sixth century.

At the same period there was a serious loss of political power, and it seemed as if Arabia would soon become the possession of its powerful neighbours. The inter-tribal feuds and the lack of a strong central government led to Roman, Persian and Abyssinian domination. Roman influence was strong in Northern Arabia, and in the year A.D. 610, the emperor Heraclius sent 'Uṭhmān, formerly a Ḥanīf, and now said to be a Christian,

to be governor of Mecca. He failed to win the Meccans to the acceptance of a foreign rule and soon had to leave the city. The Abyssinians had established themselves in Yemen and their leader Abraha built a magnificent cathedral at Ṣan'a. The king of Abyssinia expressed the wish that it should be made the centre of a national religion and thus become the rival of Mecca. This so enraged the Pagan Arabs that one of them polluted the cathedral. Abraha then resolved to destroy the Ka'ba and set out with a large army to capture Mecca. He himself rode on an elephant. The year in which this took place was afterwards known as 'the year of the elephant'. It was the year in which Muḥammad was born. The Abyssinians were defeated, according to the Arab historians, by a miraculous interposition of Providence. It is said that a large flock of birds came flying from the sea coast, each one carrying three stones, one in each foot and one in its bill. These stones they threw down on Abraha's men, killing every one they struck. Abraha died on his way back to Ṣan'a. Sale gives the Tradition in full in his notes on *Súratu'l-Fil* (cv) which thus describes it:—

And he sent against them birds in flocks,
Clay stones did they hurl down upon them. 3-4.

As a matter of fact, a pestilence broke out in the Abyssinian camp, probably small-pox.¹

¹ It is said that the word 'al-bazabat' translated 'clay stones',

The Abyssinian power which had lasted for seventy-five years then came to an end, for the people of Yemen, seeing the weakened state of their foreign rulers, applied to the Persians for aid to expel them. They responded to the call and, after a victory over the Christians, remained themselves as rulers in Yemen and Ḥirá. Thus foreign States had encroached on Arabian territory and apparently there was no sufficient power to resist them. A national movement required a central authority, a commanding personage, and a religious basis. The tribal factions, the lack of leaders, and the idolatry of the Ka'ba precluded the realization of these important conditions.

The position of affairs then was such that, if the political existence of Arabia was to be saved, a change had to take place. The hour was ripe for it. A leader was needed who could unite the Arab tribes on a religious basis, and still preserve their conservative superstitious reverence for the Ka'ba and the Ḥajj, or annual pilgrimage to Mecca. Such was the position when Muḥammad was of an age to understand it, and it is no discredit to him to assume that he was a patriotic Arab, desirous to see his native land freed from her enemies and thus made united and strong. It seems more than likely that also means 'pustules', and this may have been the origin of the legend [Syed Amir 'Alí, *The Life of Mohammed* (ed. 1873), p. 26]. This explanation assumes that the statement in the *Qur'án* is figurative, and not a record of the actual fact.

the patriotic sentiment had some considerable influence in shaping his life's work, and that his first idea was to found a national religion as a bond of strength and unity, rather than a universal one. He certainly at times made it clear that he viewed Islām as a religion co-ordinate with the religious systems of Judaism and Christianity. Even quite late in his career he seems to have fallen back on earlier principles, for we read in the Qur'án these words:—

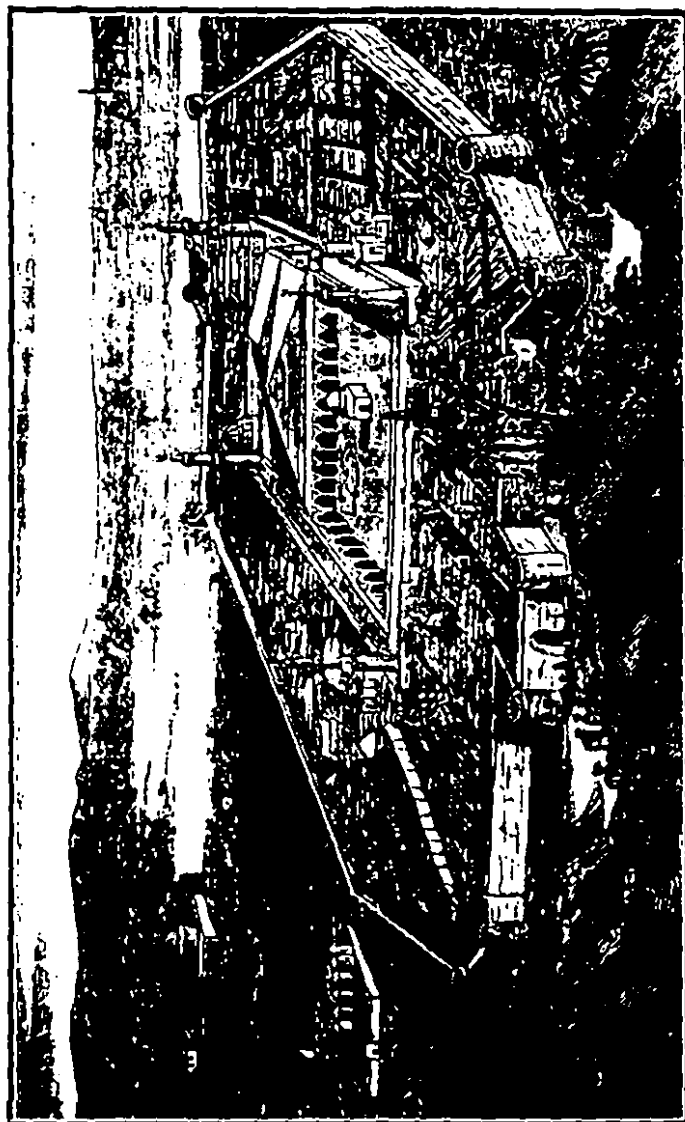
And if God had pleased He had surely made you all one people, but He would test you by what He hath given to each. Verily, they who believe, and the Jews and Šábians, and the Christians—whoever of them believeth in God and in the last day, and doth what is right, on them shall come no fear. Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 73.

This sentiment, however, was not the ruling one, for the idea of co-ordinate religions gave place in time to the narrower one of the supremacy of Islām. Thus:—

It is He who hath sent His Apostle with the guidance and the religion of truth, that He may exalt it above every religion. Súratu'l-Faḥ (xlviii) 27.

Whoso desireth any other religion than Islām, that religion will never be accepted from him, and in the next world he shall be among the lost. Súratu 'Alí 'Imrán (iii) 79.

The special Islāmic rites were not fixed till Muḥammad had become a political ruler in Madína, and had thus practically achieved his patriotic purpose.



MECCA

CHAPTER II

YOUTH AND EARLY MANHOOD

MUHAMMAD, the son of 'Abdu'lláh and his young wife Ámina, was born at Mecca in the year A.D. 570.¹ 'Abdu'lláh died at Madína before his son was born.² He left very little property, a house, some camels and a slave girl called Baraka, who became a faithful attendant of the child. In due course Ámina gave birth to a son³ and sent the good news to his grandfather 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib, who took the infant to the Ka'ba, gave thanks to God and called the child Muḥammad.⁴

¹ There are various opinions as to the exact date. M. Caussin de Perceval says it was August 20, 570. M. de Sacy fixes it at April 20, 571; but Perceval's date seems to be fairly correct. See Muir, vol. ii, p. 14.

² This is the generally received view, but some say that he died after the birth of the Prophet: See Ma'súdí, *Murúju'dh-Dhahab* (Paris ed.), vol. iv, p. 130, who says: 'There are doubts about it.' قد تنزع في ذلك.

³ For the traditional accounts of the marvels said to have accompanied Muḥammad's birth, see Mirkhúnd, vol. ii, p. 23-5. These are not to be taken as sober historical facts and the author himself says: 'The events of his lordship's life up to the time of the opening of his breast are narrated in voluminous books, composed by authors of former and of latter times down to our own day; but "Alláh knows what is correct."' والله أعلم بالصواب

⁴ This word, which means 'the praised', is derived from ḥamd,

It was customary in Mecca for ladies of the better classes to put their infants out to nurse, and for a few days only Thuweiba, a slave in the household of Abú Lahab, attended to the child. About this time, several women of the Baní Sa'd appeared at Mecca with a view to obtain infants to nurse. They were averse to taking a fatherless child, as it was from the father they expected a good reward, but at last a woman, named Ḥalíma, consented to do so.

Muḥammad passed his early infancy among the Baní Sa'd. When two years old he was weaned and taken to see his mother. Ámina was so delighted with the healthy appearance of her son, that she sent him back again to his desert life.¹ Two years more passed by, when an event happened which thoroughly alarmed Ḥalíma. It is difficult to arrive at the real historical facts, owing to the mass of legendary matter which has grown up around the circumstance. Briefly told the account is as follows: One day Muḥammad was playing with other children, when two men descended from the sky, bringing a golden platter full of snow-water, laid him down, opened his breast, took from it a small black grain, washed the wound and filled it with light. They then weighed him

praise. Aḥmad and Maḥmúd are varieties of it. The name was not uncommon.

¹ A Tradition recorded by Mirkhúnd (vol. ii, p. 30), places this event two years later.

against ten men, then against five hundred, and then against five thousand, but his weight preponderated over all. Then said one: 'Leave him alone, he would weigh more than the whole nation.'¹

This is the substance of what is related with many embellishments.² Ḥalíma and her husband were frightened. He thought that the lad had a fit, which was very probably the case. They determined to take him to Mecca, and to let Ámina know about the wonderful events which had happened. Evidently she guessed what may have been in the mind of Ḥalíma, for she said: 'Didst thou fear that a devil had possessed him?'³ She then went on to explain that such a thing could not happen to a child whose birth had been attended with marvels so great. At Ámina's request,

¹ Mirkhúnd, vol. ii, p. 29.

² See *Murúju' dh-Dhahab* (Paris ed.) vol. iv, pp. 131.

³ انجرت عليه الشيطان Muir, vol. ii, p. 21.

Later on in life when comfort was needed at a time of deep depression, God's favour shown in thus cleansing his heart gave consolation to Muḥammad. It is probable that the traditional accounts of this event were in the Prophet's mind and led to the revelation:—

Have we not opened thine heart for thee? And taken off from thee thy burden, which galled thy back? *Súratu'l-Insharáh* (xciv) 1-3.

Baidáwí's comment on this is, 'Did we not enlarge it so that it might contain truth and the desires of thy people;' or 'that we might give to it wisdom, and put far away the narrowness of ignorance.' Vol. ii, p. 466.

Halima consented to take the child to the desert again, but 'after she had attended to him one year more his lordship occasionally disappeared from sight. Getting alarmed at this, Halima took him again to Mecca and restored him to his mother.'¹

When Muhammad was about six years old he went with his mother to pay a visit to their relatives in Madina. The faithful nurse-maid Baraka was with them. They stayed a month in the house where 'Abdu'llah had died. His maternal relatives were, no doubt, delighted to see Amina and her son, who long years after, when he came to reside in Madina, recalled with pleasure the events of his stay there as a child. He remembered the house in which he had then stayed with his mother.² The recollection of that visit, and the fact that he had relatives there may have been some amongst other reasons why he chose Madina as his residence when he could no longer remain in Mecca. On the way back to Mecca Amina died at a place called Abwa'. This was a great blow to the lad. He refers to his orphan state thus:—

Did he not find thee an orphan and gave them a home? *Súratu'dh-Dhuhá* (xciii) 6.

¹ *Mirkhúnd*, vol. ii, p. 30.

² چون نظر بسرای میکرد میگفت در این منزل نزول کرده بود
Mudáriju'n-Nabuwat, vol. i, p. 497.

That home he found with his kind grandfather 'Abdu'l-Muttalib, now eighty years of age, with whom the lad was a great favourite. The faithful nurse Baraka still had charge of him, and Tradition records that the old man used to charge her to take great care of him saying: 'Beware lest thou let him fall into the hands of the Jews and Christians, for they are looking out for him and would injure him.'¹ It is extremely improbable that they knew anything about him, and the Tradition evidently arose from a desire to show the affectionate care 'Abdu'l-Muttalib bestowed on his grandson. Two years of his boyhood thus passed under the care of one who, as the head of the clan, occupied a commanding position and who, by his liberality, had won the esteem of his friends and neighbours. It was a good training for the future leader. Then grief and sorrow came to Muhammad, for his grandfather who loved him so well passed away.

'Abdu'l-Muttalib before his decease appointed his son Abú Tálíb as guardian of his grandson. Abú Tálíb executed his office kindly and well. It is recorded that, 'on account of the great love he bore for Muhammad, he could not allow him to be absent from him for a single moment. During the night

¹ See *Katibu'l-Waqidi*, p. 22, and *Ibn Hishám*, p. 35, quoted by Muir, vol. ii, p. 29.

he made him sleep by his side, and in the day he fed him with delicious food.'¹

When twelve years of age Muḥammad went with his uncle on a mercantile journey to Syria. In connexion with this journey the biographers record a marvellous event to show that Muḥammad's future career was foreseen². They relate how a monk, called Baḥírā, at once recognized Muḥammad from a description of him given in a book in the monk's possession. Baḥírā questioned him thus: 'I adjure thee by Lát and 'Uzzá to answer my questions.' Muḥammad then replied: 'Do not adjure me by these for I hate them.' Baḥírā replied: 'I ask thee by Alláh.' Then followed many other questions and, as Baḥírā found the answers correct, he further searched for the 'seal of prophecy', and found a mark, probably a cicatrice left after cupping during his illness in his boyhood. This mark he declared to be a true sign of prophetship, and advised Abú Ṭálib to send him home at once.

A serious blood feud now broke out between the Quraish³ and the Baní Hawázin. Muḥammad was

و هبها اورا در پہلوی خودی خوابانید و طعامهای لذیذ میداد

Mirkhúnd, vol. ii, p. 30.

² A full account is given by Mirkhúnd, vol. ii, p. 31.

³ The Quraish were a branch of the Baní Kinána. Kinána had six sons from one of whom descended Fihr (b. A.D. 200), surnamed Quraish (Muir, vol. cxcvi). 'The word is derived from *karush*, to trade, because Fihr and his descendants were devoted to commerce.' Syed Amir 'Alí, p. 61.

present with his uncles at some of the battles, though he does not appear to have taken a very active part in the actual fighting. This war, known as the Fijár war, lasted some four years and was finally settled by the payment of diyat, or blood-money. It is probable that the contests for eloquence at the annual gathering at 'Ukaz and the varied scenes of mercantile journeys were more attractive to Muḥammad than the episodes of the Fijár war. Soon after¹ the conclusion of this war, a confederacy was formed at Mecca, called the Hilfu'l-Fuzúl, for the maintenance of order and the execution of justice. There was no strong central authority in Mecca, able to punish wrong doers and to protect the innocent; Muḥammad was a prominent member of this association, which appears to have done good and useful work. In Mecca many trades² were carried on and on all imports a tax was levied. Its shopkeepers were prosperous and its merchants sent their caravans far and wide. The prosperity of Mecca largely depended on the safety with which these mercantile caravans could come and go; a fact well known to Muḥammad. In later years he used this knowledge with great effect. Muḥammad often

¹ The *Katibu'l-Wāqidi* (Muir, vol. i, p. 10) says it was formed a month after the conclusion of the Fijár war; Syed Amir 'Alí (p. 77) places it after Muḥammad's marriage with Khadíja.

² Muḥammad at one time entered into a trade partnership with Kais binu'l-Sa'ib. Al-Athir, quoted in Arnold's *Ishmail* p. 60.

accompanied these caravans and in this way he gained a good deal of desultory information, which was added to what he gathered from intercourse with Arabians, Christians and Jews. This contact with different men in various lands helped to create or improve in him a knowledge of men, and the capacity to form a rapid judgement about them. His time when not on these journeys was spent in tending sheep and goats in the surrounding region, and thus he earned something for his now needy uncle.

Abú Tálíb was not a rich man, and as his family increased it was necessary to find some other more permanent occupation for his nephew; so, when Muḥammad was about twenty-five years of age, his uncle told him that he was now poor.¹ He then said: 'Khadija bint Khuwailad, a wealthy lady, gives her wares to several individuals, on condition of receiving half the profit. If thou requestest her to send thee to trade, she will, considering thy great honesty, probably not refuse thee.'²

The request was made and in due course Khadija replied: 'I have heard that thou art inclined for commerce, and on account of thy truthfulness, good behaviour, uprightness and perfect honesty,

¹ مرا مالی در دست نمائده است *Mudárijū'n-Nabuwat*, vol. i, p. 500. *The Encyclopædia of Islām*, p. 109.

² *Mirḡhūnd*, vol. ii, p. 32.

I will give thee double the property which I entrust to other men of the Quraish tribe to trade with.'¹ Thus a compact was made and in due course the caravan took the usual route to Syria. Tradition² records how Muḥammad on this journey met with a monk, named Naṣṭūr, and a Jew; both of whom, it is said, bore testimony to his future career as a prophet. Though the marvellous events connected with this circumstance have no historical value, there is no doubt Muḥammad met many Christians and Jews on this journey, and received kindness at their hands which he afterwards gracefully acknowledged.³

It is to be regretted that this kindly feeling was not permanent⁴ and that the form of Christianity with which Muḥammad was now brought into contact was one so debased and superstitious. Muir says: 'Instead of the simple majesty of the Gospel as a revelation of God reconciling mankind to Himself through His son, the sacred dogma of the Trinity was forced upon the traveller with the misguided zeal of Eutychian and Jacobite

¹ See *Mirḡhūnd*, vol. ii, p. 32; *Mudárijū'n-Nabuwat*, vol. i, p. 500.

² *Mirḡhūnd*, vol. ii, p. 33.

³ Thou shalt certainly find those to be nearest in affection to them (i. e. to Muslims) who say: 'We are Christians.' This because some of them are priests and monks and because they are free from pride. *Súratu'l-Má'ida* (v) 85.

⁴ *Súratu't-Tauba* (ix) 30.

partisanship, and the worship of Mary was exhibited in so gross a form, as to leave upon the mind of Muḥammad the impression that she was held to be a god, if not the third person and the consort of the Deity.' ¹

The commercial result of this mercantile journey was very successful, and Khadīja lost her heart to the handsome young trader who had attended to her interests so well. She was possessed of a considerable fortune, and was a lady of high character and pleasing manners. She had received and declined offers of marriage from many of the Quraish clan.² Now through a faithful servant she let Muḥammad know of her preference for him.

The Traditions give a very full account of Muḥammad's personal appearance, his habits, his dress, his food, and the details of his daily life. From them we gather that in the prime of manhood he was handsome, rather above the middle height, with a broad and open chest. His head was large with a lofty brow, his jet black hair was slightly curly and fell down to his shoulders. His eyebrows were long and finely arched, and the heavy eyelashes covered large black piercing eyes. The nose

¹ Muir, vol. ii, p. 19.

جمع الشرف قریش حریص بودند نکاح وی و عدیجه قبول نکردہ²
Muddriju'n-Nabuwat, vol. i, p. 500.
 وکان کل قریش حریصا علی نکاحها Tabarī, p. 1129

was aquiline, the teeth white and regular, and a long black beard added dignity to his appearance. His skin was clear and soft. He walked with a firm but hasty step. As a rule he was taciturn and reserved, but in congenial company he could unbend and enter into the social pleasures of his friends. He was simple in his habits and in the matter of dress and food. He abhorred strong drinks but loved perfumes. He was fond of children, sympathetic with those in trouble, and kind and considerate to his friends and family. His passions were strong though he had the power of self-control. To his opponents, so long as they resisted him, he was vindictive. A handsome man, kindly in disposition, except to his foes; a man with a high resolve, a strong will and a determination to achieve his purpose at all costs, it is no wonder that Khadīja fell in love with him, and that the attachment of his followers was strong and lasting.

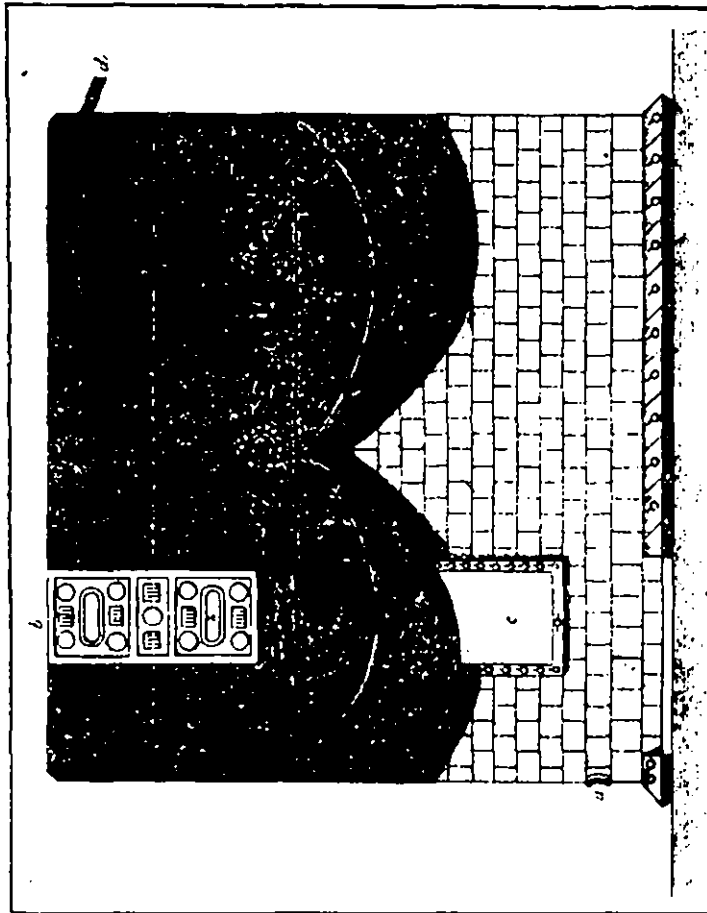
Khadīja took her cousin Waraqa into her confidence and told him how on the journey just concluded a monk had foretold Muḥammad's prophethood, and that angels had overshadowed him. Waraqa then said: 'If this be true then Muḥammad will become the Prophet of this nation.' The Tradition, if authoritative, shows that already his position was such that a career out of the ordinary course was looked upon as probable. His

marriage with Khadíja, the command of wealth, and the higher social position thus gained would still more prepare the minds of his friends for an exalted future position for him. The marriage proved a very happy one. The first-born child was a son named Qásim, who died when two years old. Then came four daughters, Zainab, Ruqayya, Fátima and Umm Kulthúm. The youngest child, a son named 'Abd Menáf, died in his infancy.¹

The general esteem in which Muḥammad was held is seen from the following incident. The walls of the Ka'ba² were seriously injured by a violent flood, and it was necessary to rebuild them. The work proceeded harmoniously until the walls were raised to such a height that the famous black stone could be placed in position. Then disputes arose, for each clan asserted its right to do such a sacred work. So great and dangerous

¹ On the authority of 'Alí a Tradition is recorded stating that Khadíja once asked about the present condition of her two children, who died before the days of Islám. The Prophet said they were in hell, but that her children born after Islám, that is, his children, would be in paradise. *Mishkátu'l-Maṣābiḥ* (Madras ed., A.H. 1274), p. 23.

² The Ka'ba is an oblong massive stone building, eighteen paces long, fourteen broad and about thirty-five feet high. At the south-east corner is the Hajru'l-Aswad—the black stone—which is probably an aerolite. Its existence as an object of worship in an iconoclastic religion is an anomaly and a relic of paganism in the very heart of Islám.



THE KA'BA
(a) The Black Stone (c) Door (d) Spout

was the dispute that for several days the re-building was stopped altogether. At last the Quraish met to settle the dispute. Abú Ummaiya then said: 'O Quraish hearken unto me!' My advice is that the man, who chances first to enter in at the gate of the Baní Shaiba, shall be chosen to decide the difference amongst you, or himself to place the stone. Just then Muḥammad entered through the gate. The parties exclaimed: 'Muḥammad the faithful one (al-Amín) has arrived, we abide by his decision'.¹ It was not easy to give one which would satisfy all the parties, but Muḥammad succeeded well. He spread his shawl upon the ground, placed the stone on it, and called for four men one from each tribe. Four men stepped forth, took up the shawl, and conveyed the stone to the eastern corner of the wall of the Ka'ba, and so placed it there that the pilgrims could easily kiss it as they passed by on foot.

We have already seen that Muḥammad in his journeys had gained some elementary knowledge of Judaism and Christianity, and now in Khadíja's house he was brought into contact with a small body of ardent patriots and reformers known as

¹ أول من دخل عليهم رسول الله صلعم فلما راوه قالوا هذا الامين .

Tabari, Series i, vol. iii, p. 1138.

محمد امين رسيد و هرچه او در اين باب فرمائد آنرا مطيع ميماهيم .

Mirkhúnd, vol. ii, p. 34.

the Hanífs.¹ The word Haníf means 'sound in the faith' and in the Qur'án is applied to Abraham.² Zaid and his friends said that they wished to follow the religion of Abraham, and to desire its adoption. It is supposed that Muḥammad received this idea from them. Certainly just before the flight to Madína, and also in that city, he did assert that the religion of Abraham was the true one, and that he was sent to confirm it and to urge men to follow the faith of Abraham, the Haníf. But whether this view of the case came to Muḥammad's mind from his Haníf friends in Khadíja's home, or was a much later development at Madína is a subject on which scholars differ.³

The future careers of some of the leading Hanífs is interesting. Ubaidu'lláh ibn Jahsh accepted Islám but, when the Meccans persecuted the Muslims, he fled to Abyssinia and there embraced Christianity; Waraqa ibn Naufal, if he did not actually embrace Christianity, was favourable

¹ Muir (vol. ii, p. 66) quotes from Sprenger's *Life of Muḥammad* (p. 100) the following: 'Ṭabarí informs us that when Muḥammad first entered on his office, even his wife Khadíja had read the Scriptures and was acquainted with the history of the prophets.' But this is taken from a Persian translation of Ṭabarí, and is not in the Arabic. It reads thus:—

حديثه بكتابهها پيشين خوانده بود و خبر به پيغمبران دانسته .

² Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 129; Súratu'li 'Imrán (iii) 60, 89; Súratu'l-An'ám (vi) 79, 162; Súratu'n-Nahl (xvi) 121.

³ For a full discussion on this point, see *The Hanífs* (C.L.S.).

to it;¹ 'Uthmán bin Huwairis became a Christian, and sought to establish a central authority in Mecca. He became Governor of the city by the aid of the Roman Emperor, but the Meccans feared that 'Uthmán's mild rule would bring them under the yoke of the Roman or Abyssinian sovereigns, and so drove him away; Zaid ibn Amr remained a Haníf all his days. He protested against the idolatry of the Meccan people, and so roused their anger that he was obliged to leave the city and take up his abode at Mount Hírā. After passing some time there in solitude and meditation, he died and was buried at the foot of the Mount. He had great influence over Muḥammad, who then and ever afterwards held him in high esteem. No doubt these men, and others like-minded, often held counsel together about the degraded state of Arab society. The abounding idolatry and the weakened political situation would be subjects of deep regret. 'Uthmán had failed to establish a central authority, for he relied on a foreign Power; yet such central rule was necessary. Obviously it must be more strictly national, and must recognize the central sanctuary of the Ka'ba as the unifying force. How to do

¹ Ṭabarí, quoted by Muir (vol. ii, p. 51) says that he had embraced Christianity, had read the Scriptures and had listened to Jews and Christians.

و قد كان تنصر ... وقرأ الكتب وسمع من أهل التوريت والانجيل .

this and yet abolish the idolatry connected with it was the problem. 'The Jews, the Christians, the Magians, the Šábians, had all one thing which the Arabs had not, a legislator who had acted as a divine commissioner. None of the members of these sects hesitated a moment when asked what code he followed, or from whom it emanated; Moses, Jesus, Zoroaster, St. John the Baptist they would severally and immediately reply, but whom did the worshippers of Hubal, al-Lát and al-'Uzzá follow? No one at all . . . yet each nation ought to have a leader. Here then was an opportunity for a prophet.'¹ The preparation for his approach was now drawing to a close, and soon a prophet, with much personal force and great political sagacity, was to appear with a definite message to the Arab people.

Abú Tálíb was now very poor and Muḥammad, who loved him very much, thought that it would be a relief to him, if two of his sons were adopted by his wealthier relatives. A rich uncle, 'Abbás, adopted Ja'far, and Muḥammad, now in a position of affluence, took charge of 'Alí, a lad then five or six years old. Their affection for each other grew in strength as the years rolled on, and Alí, one of the earliest converts to Islám, became one of its most renowned leaders.

¹ Margoliouth, p. 73.

Another faithful follower was now received into his household. Zaid bin Háritha, a member of the noble tribe of the Baní Kalb, when quite a young child, one day was taken by his mother to pay a visit to her own tribe. On the way they were captured by some Arab robbers, who put the lad up for sale at 'Ukaz, when he was bought by Khadíja. She presented him to her husband. Sometime after, Zaid's father chanced to hear of his son's welfare and came to Mecca to see him. Muḥammad gave Zaid permission to go or stay. He elected to remain with his kind master. Delighted with his answer, Muḥammad publicly declared that he should be his son and heir. The slave now became a free man, and was called Zaid bin Muḥammad. Later on, as we shall see, he had to revert to his old name Zaid ibn Háritha. He was an early convert and followed his master's fortunes to Madína. There were many Christians in the tribe from which Zaid came and, though he had left his home when young, he doubtless was able to give some information about their views and practice to his master. He married Muḥammad's faithful nurse Baraka.

CHAPTER III

THE CALL TO PREACH

It appears to have been the custom of many of the Meccans in the month of Ramaḍān to retire to a cave in Mount Ḥirā, situated about three miles from the city, to practise Taḥannuṭh, which has been described as a kind of penance.¹ In Mecca Muḥammad had to conform to the worship of al-Lāt and al-'Uzzā; here, where Zaid bin Amr meditated on higher and purer things, Muḥammad could ponder over the many religious topics he and his friends had talked about. Mount Ḥirā was also the permanent abode of the Ḥanīf, Zaid ibn Amr, and the prospect of intercourse with one whom Muḥammad respected so much was doubt-

¹ Dr. Koelle, on the authority of Ibn Hishām, who comments on Ibn Ishāq's statement that Muḥammad went to do penance, says that it was an Arab custom to pronounce the final letter of Taḥannuṭh as f, i.e. Taḥannuf, which would mean Ḥanīfism. Thus, it would refer rather to the contemplation of, or the practice of the 'true faith', which with Zaid and the Ḥanīfs was pure Deism, as opposed to the idolatry of the Meccans (p. 62). In the *Mishkāṭu'l-Maṣābiḥ* (p. 842) Taḥannuṭh is said to mean worship.

less an additional attraction to it. In any case, if the time was spent in ascetic observances, thoughts of a more spiritual religion doubtless came into his mind. In doing this he was not doing something out of the common, but simply following a practice common with the more religious Quraish,¹ to whom a change from a confined city to the purer mountain air was suitable for religious exercises. It is a mistake to portray Muḥammad as retiring from his family, going forth alone as an ascetic, and enduring many hardships. Khadīja and his family went with him.² The cave itself was small but they could live near by. The scenery around Mount Ḥirā was wild. 'There was harmony between the desert scenes of external nature and the troubled chaotic elements of the spiritual world within.' Burckhardt thus describes it: 'The country before us had a dreary aspect, not a single green spot being visible; barren, black and grey hills, and white sandy valleys were the only objects in sight.' It is possible that the

¹ His grandfather Abū Muṭṭalib used to go there for religious exercises. Al-Aṭhīr, quoted in Arnold's *Ishmael*, p. 62.

² 'Every year the month of Ramadān, he spent with his family on the Mount of Ḥirā' Syed Amīr 'Alī, *Life of Moḥammed* (ed. 1873), p. 33. Mīrkhūnd (vol. ii, p. 38) describes how in terror when the first revelation came, lest some evil, such as soothsaying or madness had come upon him, Muḥammad went out from the cave to commit suicide, Khadīja at once sent messengers to find him, so she also must have been at Mount Ḥirā.

reminiscence of this view suggested the words:—

Seest thou not . . . that on the mountains are tracks of varied lines, white and red, and others of a raven black. *Súratu'l-Fátir* (xxxv) 25.

One day when Muḥammad slept in the cave Gabriel appeared in the form of a man and delivered this message commencing thus:—

Recite thou, in the name of thy Lord, who created;
Created man from clots of blood.

Súratu'l-'Alaq (xcvi) 1-2.

It may be well to introduce here an account of the various forms in which the inspiration (*waḥí*) of the Qur'án is said to have come upon him. The Qur'án is believed to be in the very words of God, written from all eternity on the preserved table (*al-lauḥu'l-maḥfúz*). It was then in the month of Ramaḍán, on the *Lailatu'l-Qadr*—the night of power—brought by Gabriel to the lowest heaven and there stored up in the 'Temple of Majesty', from whence during a series of years the angel brought it, in smaller or larger portions as occasion required, to Muḥammad. The modes in which it was brought is thus described in the *Mudáriju'n-Nabuwat* (pp. 508-10).

1. It is recorded, on the authority of 'Áyisha, that a brightness like the brightness of the morning came upon the Prophet. According to some commentators this brightness remained six months, and in some strange way Gabriel through this brightness made known the will of God.

2. Gabriel appeared in the form of *Duḥayya*,¹ one of the Companions of the Prophet, renowned for his beauty and gracefulness. At times the angelic nature of Gabriel overcame Muḥammad, who was then translated to the angelic world. This happened when the revelation was one of bad news, such as denunciations or predictions of woe. When the message brought by Gabriel was one of consolation and comfort, the human nature of the Prophet overcame the angelic nature of the angel, who, in such case, having assumed a human form, proceeded to deliver the message.²

3. The Prophet heard at times the noise of the tinkling of a bell. He alone could distinguish it, and through it the words which Gabriel wished him to understand. When his ear caught the sound his whole frame became agitated. On the coldest day the perspiration, like beads of silver, would roll down his face. The glorious brightness of his countenance gave place to a ghostly hue, whilst the way in which he bent his head showed the intensity of the emotion through which he was passing. If riding, the camel on which he sat would fall to the ground. The Prophet one day,

¹ The commentators bring this alleged fact forward as an illustration of the verse,

'And if we had appointed an angel, we should certainly have appointed one in the form of a man.' *Súratu'l-An'ám* (vi) 9.

² See *Mírkhúnd* (vol. ii, pp. 36-8) for the traditional account of what took place.

when reclining with his head on the lap of Zaid, heard the well-known sound. Zaid too knew that something unusual was happening, for so heavy became the head of Muḥammad that it was with the greatest difficulty he could support the weight.

4. At the time of the Mir'āj, or night ascent into heaven, God spoke to the Prophet without the intervention of an angel. It is a disputed point whether the face of the Lord was seen or not.

5. God sometimes appeared in a dream, and placing his hands on the Prophet's shoulders made known His will.

6. Twice angels, having each six hundred wings, appeared and brought the message from God.

7. Gabriel, though not appearing in bodily form, and not delivering a verbal message—the waḥī mode of inspiration—so inspired the mind of the Prophet, that the words he uttered under the influence of Gabriel were divine. This is technically called *ilqa*, and is said to be the degree of inspiration to which the Traditions belong.

It is said that Muḥammad was honoured as no other prophet ever was, by sometimes receiving communications direct from the 'Treasury of Mercy' below the throne of God. The first revelation came in the cave at Ḥirā.¹ When Gabriel

¹ On this occasion, Gabriel is said to have taught the Prophet the use of waḥlū, or ceremonial ablutions, and the proper way of

came and said, 'Recite'¹, His Lordship answered, 'I am not a reciter'. Gabriel squeezed him so hard that he thought his death was near, and again said, 'Recite'. On receiving the same answer, the angel again pressed the body of his holy and prophetic Lordship. Thrice this was done, and thrice the command was given:—

Recite thou in the name of thy Lord who created;
Created man from clots of blood.

Recite thou! for thy Lord is the most Beneficent,
Who hath taught the use of the pen,
Hath taught man that which he knoweth not.

Súratu'l-'Alaq (xcvi) 1-5.

When Muḥammad awoke from his trance he was much alarmed. Then Khadija, knowing what had happened, and hearing him say that he feared that he was mad, took him to Waraqa bin Naufal and said:² 'O cousin, listen to Muḥammad and hear what he is saying.' Waraqa replied: 'O! my brother's son what hast thou seen?'

making the rak'at, or prostrations, in the namáz. The ritual has thus acquired the sanctity of a divine command. *Mudārijū'n-Nabuwat*, vol. i, p. 505.

¹ This of itself does not show that Muḥammad could read for the word means 'recite', and in the cognate dialects is used for crying out as a prophet. Thus 'The voice said, Cry *نڤي*, and he said, What shall I cry?' (Isa. xl. 6). Muḥammad had probably heard on his journeys some such phrase from Jews, whom he had met, and now in a time of intense emotion it came to his memory. See Macdonald, *Aspects of Islām*, p. 65.

² Ṭabarī, series i, vol. iii, p. 1147.

Then Muḥammad told him what had happened. Waraqa on hearing the account said: 'This is the Namús¹ which God sent down upon Moses.'

In connexion with the curious phenomena just described, it is supposed that Muḥammad suffered from some kinds of fits. Professor Macdonald says: 'That he was subject to fits of some kind can be open to no doubt. That he was possessed by a Jinn—for him, with his beliefs, an evil spirit—was his first thought, and only gradually did he come to the conviction that this was divine inspiration, and not diabolical obsession.'² Margoliouth says: 'The notion current among Christian writers that he was subject to epilepsy finds curious confirmation in the notices recorded of his experiences during the period of revelation.'³ On the other hand, Margoliouth points out that 'some of the severe signs of epilepsy—biting of the tongue and gradual degeneration of the brain—were wanting.'⁴ Muir, speaking of Muḥammad's ecstatic periods, says: 'Whether they were simple reveries of profound meditation, or swoons connected with a morbid excitability of the mental or physical condition—or in fine were connected with any measure

¹ Namús is probably νόμος the Law; but commentators usually say that it means Gabriel.

² Macdonald, *The Religious Attitude and Life in Islām*, p. 33.

³ Margoliouth, p. 46.

⁴ Ibid., p. 46.

of supernatural influence—it would be difficult to determine.'¹ Professor Macdonald discusses the question as to whether Muḥammad had the 'means of bringing on the ecstatic condition.'²

Muslim writers do not admit this theory of fits, yet the phenomena which accompanied the production of revelations needs some explanation. Waqidi says: 'At the time of inspiration anxiety pressed upon him and his countenance was troubled.'³ A Tradition, recorded on the authority of Abú Salma bin 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán, states that, when much agitated, he said to Khadija, 'Cover me with a cloth. Then they covered him with a cloth, and sprinkled cold water on him;' ⁴ which seems to imply that a fit of some kind was coming on.

Then followed a period known as the Fatra when no revelation came. The duration of the period of intermission probably lasted about three years, though some authorities place it at less. It was a time of deep mental depression, which is thus referred to: 'His holy and prophetic Lordship became so melancholy that he intended on several occasions to throw himself down from the

¹ Muir, vol. ii, p. 87.

² The subject is discussed in Macdonald's *The Religious Attitude and Life in Islām*, pp. 68-9.

³ Muir, vol. ii, p. 87.

⁴ فقلت دثروني دثروني و صبروا على مائة بارداً

Mishkātu'l-Muṣābiḥ, p. 846.

top of the mountain. Each time, however Gabriel appeared and said: "O Muḥammad thou art indeed the Prophet of Allāh."¹ It is said that, on another occasion when borne down with sorrow, he went out with the intention of committing suicide. Then he looked up and saw Gabriel sitting on a throne, suspended midway between earth and heaven. He was much agitated and hastening home said to Khadija: 'Cover me with a cloth.'² The revelations then re-commenced with the words:—

O! Thou enwrapped in thy mantle!
Arise and warn!
The Lord—magnify him!

Súratu'l-Mudaththir (lxxiv) 1-3.

The revelations came in regular succession after this for, as Bukhári puts it, 'inspiration became warm'.³ The general opinion is that Gabriel was the medium of these revelations, though it is only once stated in the Qur'án that it was so. Thus:—

Say, who is the enemy of Gabriel. For it is he who by God's leave hath caused the Qur'án to descend on thy heart. Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 91.

Other references to the revelation of the Qur'án are:—

Verily, from the Lord of the worlds hath this book come down:

چند نوبت قصد کرد که خود را از قلعه جبل بیندازد و همراه جبرئیل
حاضر میشد و میگفت ای محمد تو پیغمبر خدائی هستی.

Mírkhúnd, vol. ii, p. 38.

² *Ṣaḥīḥu'l-Bukhári* (ed. Leyde, 1862), vol. i, p. 2.

³ *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 16.

The Faithful Spirit (Rúḥ'l-Amín) hath come down with it. Súratu'l-Shu'ará' (xxvi) 192-3.

The Qur'án is no other than a revelation,

One terrible in power (Shadídu'l-Quwa) taught it him. Súratu'n-Najam (liii) 4-5.

The Holy Spirit (Rúḥu'l-Quds) hath brought it down with truth from the Lord. Súratu'n-Naḥl (xvi) 104.

Baidáwí in his commentary on these verses says that the Faithful Spirit, the Shadídu'l-Quwa, and the Rúḥu'l-Quds all refer to Gabriel, and this is the general view of the commentators.

The use of the word 'taught' in the quotation from Súra liii, and the use of the word 'recite' in Súratu'l-Qiyámat (lxxv) 18-19,

When we have recited it, then follow thou the recital,

And, verily, afterwards it shall be ours to make it clear to thee.

show that the Qur'án is entirely an objective revelation, and that Muḥammad was the passive recipient of it, and simply recited what was recited to him, or in some other objective way made known to him. Ibn Khaldún, one of the greatest of Muslim historians, says: 'Of all the divine books, the Qur'án is the only one of which the text, words, and phrases have been communicated to a prophet by an audible voice. It is otherwise with the Pentateuch, the Gospels, and the other divine books; the prophets received them under the form of ideas.'¹

¹ *Les Prolégomènes*, d'ibn Khaldún (ed. Paris, 1863), vol. i, p. 195.

Add to this the curious belief that the Qur'án is eternal and uncreated,¹ and it can be easily understood how such a mechanical view of inspiration has tended to hinder intelligent criticism, and to bind Islám to the dead letter of a book.

It is the universal belief that Muḥammad in all his words and deeds was divinely inspired by a subjective method, and that, therefore, such words and deeds form a Sunna, or divine rule of faith and practice, for all Muslims in all lands and for all time. In order to enter intelligently into the history of the Prophet's life, and to understand his influence upon men it is necessary to bear in mind these two forms of inspiration; the objective in the Qur'án, the subjective in the Sunna; both forming for those who believe a sacred rule of life, and a standard of practice.

'The "Prophet" or "Apostle" [at different times he (Muḥammad) employed both the Jewish and the Christian phrase] was the divinely appointed dictator of his community; if he were not obeyed, divine vengeance would overtake the disobedient. This is the theory of the prophetic office which pervades the Qur'án, wherein the doctrine is formulated that every nation had its divine guide and that Mecca before Muḥammad's time had none.'²

¹ This was denied by the Mu'tazilis. See *Faith of Islám*, (3rd ed.), pp. 212-17.

² *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1911), vol. xvii, p. 401.

It may be convenient at this stage to give some account of the various views held as regards Muḥammad's position with reference to his claim to be an inspired apostle, and of his mental condition at this critical period of his life. There are three well-defined views taken by men, good oriental scholars, who speak with authority on the subject.

1. First in order of time stands Sir William Muir, whose *Life of Mahomet*, first published in 1861, still ranks as a standard book on the subject. His view may be thus summarized. He was a man of impulsive temperament and when meditating on great matters of religious moment, especially in his retirement at Mount Hírá, was engaged in an earnest struggle for truth.¹ Brooding over the sad spiritual condition of his native land, he unburdened his mind in rhapsodies which often assume the character of soliloquies.² In these he reflected upon the state of Arabia and so was led to much distress and perplexity of mind. We have seen how the visions he saw, and the words he said he heard, so affected his bodily frame, that he even feared that they might arise, from the influence of the Jinn (Genū), or from evil spirits. Is this the result of the imagination or has it any foundation in

¹ Muir considers that Súras i, c, ciii probably portray his mental condition at this time.

² Such are Súras xci, xcii, xcv, ci, civ, cvi.

fact? Sir W. Muir thinks the latter possible. He then proceeds (vol. ii, p. 96) to draw a parallel between the temptation of Jesus Christ, tempted to seek spiritual and lawful ends by unlawful means; and Muḥammad's temptation to make a compromise between religion and the world. In Muir's opinion Muḥammad fell, and the result was 'a politico-religious system, forming the very closest combination imaginable between worldliness and spirituality, between good and evil.' The life at Madína exhibits this tendency. The view is then tentatively put forward that Satan, for the purpose of misleading Muḥammad, may have assumed the form of an angel of light.

2. Dr. Koelle, an oriental scholar who spent a long life in the east, does not endorse the above view. He considers that the patriotic sentiment was a very important factor in the inception of Islām, and argues with much force in support of this view. We have already described the almost hopeless political state of Arabia at the close of the sixth century. As a matter of historic fact Muḥammad did become the political ruler of Arabia and freed his country from her foreign foes. He succeeded as a patriotic Arab. The question is whether all this came about as an afterthought and as an unseen result, or was it in the Prophet's mind at the outset of his career? Is the popular conception that Muḥammad at Mecca was a religious reformer

pure and simple, and then at Madína passed on to the position of a secular ruler a correct one? Was he a true, earnest, and honest religious and social reformer at first, then, afterwards, intoxicated with power, did he use his prophetic office for worldly ends? Koelle holds that there can be no such division in his career, and that from the first there is continuity in the Prophet's public life. 'The ardent preacher, the zealous reformer, the austere Prophet at Mecca, pleading amid annoyances and oppositions for mere toleration and the bare recognition of his teaching, is in reality the seed and the precursor of the military commander, the insatiable conqueror, the despotic autocrat of Madína. In both cases he is essentially the same man. Only in Mecca he is trying to succeed with his plan, and in Madína he actually succeeds.'¹

3. The most exhaustive and the most philosophical view is that provided by Dr. D. B. Macdonald.² He gives a full account of the position of the *kāhins* or soothsayers in Arabia at the time. To them men referred what was mysterious and obscure, and they were supposed to have power to foretell the future. Their utterances were given forth in a sort of rhymed prose called *ṣajʿ*, a word

¹ See Koelle, pp. 3-17, 72-6; Margoliouth, in *Mohammed* apparently takes a somewhat similar view.

² His views are lucidly set forth in *The Religious Attitude and Life in Islām*, ch. i, and in *Aspects of Islām*, lecture ii.

also used of the cooing of a dove. It consists of a series of short phrases in prose, that is, without a fixed metre; but it may be with rhymes, all rhyming together. Now this is the literary form of the Qur'án. Muḥammad's first utterances were in genuine káhin form and káhin spirit.¹ When the prophetic spirit came upon a káhin he was for a time out of himself. This was exactly the state in which Muḥammad often was, when giving forth his utterances. Under the stress of intense emotion, having begun in this way, he had to go on with it. This identified him with the káhin class, and naturally his opponents looked upon him as a káhin,² but he had to make it clear

¹ In Rodwell's Qur'án these earliest utterances stand first in this book, and so their character can easily be ascertained, though, of course, the rhythm of the Arabic original is lost. 'The short clauses of the earlier revelations, borne on a free gliding rhyme, must have been clearly akin to the saj' of the old soothsayers' (*The Encyclopædia of Islám*, p. 414). When the Quraish came to Abú Ṭálib and requested him to restrain his nephew, this was one of the charges brought against him. They said he was a poet, a magician, a mad man. His defenders denied that his compositions were like the saj' of the soothsayers.

كلام رى برمرمه و مجمع كاهنان نسبتى و مشابهتى ندارد
(*Mudárijū'n-Nabuwat*, vol. i, p. 512.) This shows that many did recognize, in his style of composition, the saj' of the káhins.

² Revelations came to rebut this accusation:—

'Warn thou then. For thou by the favour of God art neither soothsayer nor possessed.' *Sūratu't-Tūr* (lii) 29.

'Neither is it the word of a soothsayer.' *Sūratu'l-Ḥaqqā* (lxix) 42.

that the influence exerted upon him was that of an angel. What raised Muḥammad above the káhin clan was his care for the poor, and his doctrine of the unity of God. God himself, the One, reveals himself through prophets and otherwise, and man in prayer can come directly to God. This is Muḥammad's great glory. The conclusion arrived at is this. 'Muḥammad was not in his beginnings a self-seeking, insincere imposter—of that we may be assured as a fundamental fact. He was a *pathological case*, his revelations came to him in trance and, like all trance mediums, he had strangely perverted ideas, but an imposter certainly he was not.' 'I am speaking of what he was in the beginning, what he was before temptation fell upon him, and he fell before temptation; what he was on one side of his character, even through those ten years' (i. e. at Madína).

These are the three main views. The two last differ fundamentally as regards the dual aspects of Muḥammad's official life, but are both worthy of serious study.

4. Rabbi Geiger's view is thus stated: 'Muḥammad seems to have been a genuine enthusiast, who was himself, convinced of his divine mission. He so fully worked himself into this idea in thought, in feeling and in action that every event seemed to him a divine inspiration. Everything necessary to the attainment of his end stood out

clearly before him, just because this one idea ruled him. There is no question here of design. Of course, in the most fanatical minds there are occasional lucid intervals, and during these Muḥammad deceived himself and others; at times ambition and love of power were the incentives to his actions.'¹

It is not necessary to consider the views of writers like Bosworth Smith and Carlyle. Though brilliant essayists, they were not oriental scholars and had no acquaintance with original sources of information. Carlyle's depreciation of the Qur'án² is as unfair as his glorification of the Prophet is unreal.

During the Fatra, or a period of about three years when no revelations came, Muḥammad was making known his views in a quiet way. 'It is related that during three years his holy and prophetic lordship was secretly inviting the people to accept the immaculate law, and some professed Islām, one by one, or two by two.'³ The secret⁴ nature of the pro-

¹ *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthum auf genommen* (ed. Bonn, 1833), p. 35.

² *Heroes and Hero-worship* (ed. 1840), p. 77.

³ آورده اند که مدت سه سال حضرت مقدس بنوی مردم را در خطبه قبول
هریعت مطهر دعوت میکرد -
Mirkhūnd, vol. ii, p. 41.

⁴ 'As it was obvious that the claim to be God's mouthpiece was to claim autocracy, Muḥammad employed the utmost caution in the mode of asserting his claim.' Margoliouth, in *Encyclopædia Britannica* (ed. 1911), vol. xvii, p. 401.

paganda may be inferred from the fact that the earliest converts were from the circle of his own family, dependants and friends, who were already more or less influenced by the teaching of the Ḥanífis. His wife Khadīja was the first convert.¹ Ibn Ishāq says: 'She was the first who believed in God in His Apostle and in the revelation. Thereby God sent him comfort; for whenever he heard something unpleasant, or was grieved by contradiction or charges of lying, God comforted him by her; when he returned home to her she cheered him, made things easy for him, assured him of her faith in him and represented to him the talk of the people as utterly insignificant.'² Khadīja from her connexion with Waraqa, and her knowledge of the men who had already opposed the idolatry of the Meccans, was well prepared to accept a higher form of belief than the popular religion of the Meccans.

'Alī was now about thirteen or fourteen years old. It is related that, when Gabriel appeared to his Lordship commanding him to perform the orisons with two prayer flexions,³ 'Alī happened to see his Lordship engaged in prayers with Khadīja, but as he perceived naught in front of them during

¹ اول من صدقه و آمن به زوجة خديجة رحمها الله -

Ṭabarī, series 1, vol. iii, p. 1156.

² Quoted by Koelle, p. 78.

³ ركعت. This shows that some ritual had already been taught.

their prostrations, he was astonished and said: 'O, Muḥammad what art thou doing?' His lordship replied: 'This is the religion which Allāh, the Most High, has selected for Himself, and I invite thee to believe in Him who has no partner.' According to one Tradition 'Alī became a Muslim at once; according to another he said that he must first consult his father Abū Ṭālib.¹ Then 'Alī meditated on it one night and on the morrow embraced Islām. In after years 'Alī became one of the most devoted followers of Muḥammad, and a valiant warrior. He rose to the dignity of being the fourth Khalīfa, and is now idolized and almost worshipped by a large section of the Muslim world.²

Zaid bin Ḥāritha was now a free man and the adopted son of the Prophet. He owed much to Muḥammad and for this he was very grateful. His entire dependence on him is seen by the submissive manner in which in later years he allowed his wife Zainab to be taken from him by the Prophet.

The next convert, Abū Bakr,³ was in a more

¹ Abū Ṭālib is reported to have said: 'Well, my son, he will not invite thee to aught but that which is good; wherefore thou art free to cleave to him.' Ibn Hishām, p. 66, quoted by Muir, vol. ii, p. 99.

² See *'al-Khulafā'u'r-Rāshidiūn* (C.L.S.), pp. 43-59; *The Cult of 'Alī* (C.L.S.).

³ His proper name was 'Abdu'llāh bin 'Uthmān, but after Muḥammad married his daughter 'Āyisha, the only virgin wife of the

independent position. He was two years younger than Muḥammad, and lived in the same quarter of the city as Khadīja, and so must have been well acquainted with the Ḥanīfs and their views. In this respect he was prepared for the reception of Islām. He was an intelligent man, a successful merchant, kindly in disposition and charitable to the poor. He was 'famous for his pleasing manner, good works and laudable qualities, and there was no one in Mecca equal to him in his hospitality. The Quraish were his intimate friends. They associated constantly with him, and consulted him in their greatest difficulties.'¹ The adhesion of such a man to his cause was of the highest importance to Muḥammad, whose love for and reliance on Abū Bakr continued to the end of his days. Abū Bakr was an active though prudent man. He began at once to proselytize, but in a cautious manner, for he communicated only with those in whom he could place confidence.

The result of the mission was that in a year or so five converts were made, more or less connected by family ties with the Prophet. Sa'd bin Abū Waqqās was a nephew of Āmina, and so a cousin of Muḥammad; Zubair bin al-'Awwām was a nephew of Khadīja; Ṭalḥa bin Ubaidu'llāh

Prophet, he was called Abū Bakr, the 'father of the virgin'. He also received the name of Aṣ-Ṣiddīq—the true.

¹ *Mīrkhūnd*, vol. ii, p. 40.

afterwards a famous warrior, was related to Abú Bakr; 'Uthmán bin 'Affán, a grandson of 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib, married Ruqayya the daughter of Muḥammad; 'Abdu'r-Raḥmán was a wealthy merchant, and so probably well acquainted with his fellow-merchant Abú Bakr. These were followed by others, to the number of about forty, including the converted slaves, Bilál,¹ Amr ibn Fuḥarra, 'Abdu'lláh ibn Mas'úd and Khubáb. As foreigners these slaves had some sort of acquaintance with Christianity and Judaism, and were anxious to seek in a new non-idolatrous religion freedom from servitude.

It is said that the order of God, 'arise and warn',² now came, and that the missionary propaganda took a more active and wider form. The believers met, though as yet as a secret Society, in the house of al-Arqam, a recent convert. It was situated on the slope of Mount Ṣafa, Muḥammad removed to it about the fourth year of his mission, as a place where he could carry on his work peacefully and without interruption.³ It was far more suitable for

¹ Bilál was a tall dark man with a powerful voice. He is famous as the first Mu'addhin, or caller to prayer, in Islám.

² Súratu'l-Muddaththir (lxiv) 2.

³ Tirmidhí (vol. ii, p. 390) states that when Muḥammad and his Companions were hiding in Mecca, the idolaters used to hear them reciting the Qur'án, and mocked and abused it and Alláh who sent it. Then came the verses:—

'Say: Call upon God (Alláh), or call upon the God of Mercy

meetings, for which publicity was not required, than rooms in the crowded city would have been. All who were inclined to Islám were brought there and received teaching. There seems to have been a certain amount of mystery kept up by Muḥammad. It is said he habitually wore a veil, and this practice may have begun at the time of these mysterious seances, of which it served to enhance the solemnity. Scrupulous care was bestowed by him on his person; every night he painted his eyes and his body was at all times fragrant with perfume. His hair was suffered to grow long till it reached his shoulders.¹ It seems evident that in these gatherings there was an attempt to incite a spirit of wonder and awe in the minds of the neophytes.

Soon after Muḥammad had sought refuge in the house of Arqam, Jabr and Yasár, both Jewish slaves, became converts, followed by Suhaíb, a Greek slave, to whom some time before freedom had been given. From these men Muḥammad doubtless gained much scriptural information. At all events

(Ar-Raḥmán), by whichsoever ye will invoke him. He hath most excellent names. And be not loud in thy prayer, neither pronounce it too low; but between these follow a middle way.' Súratu Baní Isrá'íl (xvii) 110.

When the Meccans heard Muḥammad saying Ya Alláh! Ya Raḥmán! they thought he was calling upon two gods.

¹ Margoliouth, p. 105. References are given to the original authorities for these details.

the Meccans believed it to be so, and to rebut the charge a revelation came:—

We also know what they say, surely a certain person teacheth him, but the tongue of him at whom they hint is foreign, while this Qur'án is in plain Arabic. Súratu'n-Nahl (xvi) 105.

Muḥammad probably stayed in the house of Arqam for about two years.

CHAPTER IV

PERSECUTION AT MECCA

SOME authorities say that the words: 'Warn thy relations of nearer kin'¹ constitute the first call to a more open propaganda. Be that as it may, the Prophet believed that he had now a divine command to make his appeal to the people generally. This appeal, made by a man who had now about one hundred followers, roused the anger of the Meccans. The national religion was attacked; their gods whom they worshipped were declared to be no gods. The material prosperity of Mecca as the religious centre depended on its pagan institutions; but these innovators prayed towards Jerusalem and not in the direction of the Ka'ba. National feeling, ancient superstition and vested interests, all rose in hostile array against the new sect. Muḥammad, to his credit be it said, did not avoid the conflict, though, as we shall presently see, for a moment he fell.

The Quarish now began to persecute some of the poorer Muslims and the slave converts. They

¹ Súratu'sh-Sbu'ará' (xxvi) 214.

urged against Muḥammad's claims the low estate of some of his converts.¹ Muḥammad was much distressed at the sufferings his humble followers were called upon to endure, and even encouraged them to dissemble in order to escape torture. One day he saw 'Ammár bin Yasír weeping, and learnt from him the following story: 'Oh Prophet, they would not let me go till I had abused thee and spoken well of their gods.' Muḥammad said: 'But how didst thou find thy heart?' He replied: 'Sincere and steadfast in the faith.' 'Then,' said Muḥammad, 'if they repeat their cruelty, repeat then also thy words.'² This permission to dissemble was confirmed by a revelation said to have been delivered now:—

Whoso, after he hath believed in God, denieth Him, if he were forced to it, and if his heart remain steadfast in the faith, *shall be guiltless.*³ Súratu'n-Nahl (xvi) 108.

¹ 'Then said the chiefs of the people who believed not, "We see in thee but a man like ourselves; and we see not who have followed thee, except our meanest ones of hasty judgement, nor see we any excellence in you above ourselves. Nay, we deem you liars."' Súratu Húd (xi) 29.

² *Tafsir* of 'Abdu'lláh bin 'Abbás and the *Khulāṣatu't-Tafsir* (vol. ii, p. 578) where the story of the persecution is told.

³ The Commentators add the words in italics to complete the sense. Thus *أَمْسَ عَنْ غَضَبِ رَبِّي هِيَ* 'free from this wrath'. (*Khulāṣatu't-Tafsir*, vol. ii, p. 578.) *—أَمْسَ مِنْ كَلِمَةٍ مَوَاحِدَةٍ نَهْنِ* — 'For him there is no calling to account'. Maulaví Háfiz Nadhír Aḥmad Khán's Urdu translation.

Though the persecution was relentless, it is said that only five converts returned to paganism. It is probable that many acted on the advice given to 'Ammár. Muḥammad, being unable to protect them, advised them to emigrate to Abyssinia, where they could live in peace.

He described it as a country where no one is wronged, as a land of honesty, and advised them to seek refuge there. So in the fifth year of the Prophet's mission a small party of eleven men and four women¹ set forth and were received with much kindness by the Abyssinian ruler and his people. This is known as the first emigration to Abyssinia. A little later on, when there seemed some hope of a compromise with the Quraish, they returned; but, as all attempts at peace failed, they and other refugees from time to time found a home in Abyssinia. In all about eighty-three people emigrated.

The indifference of the Meccans to the Prophet's message embittered him.² There is also a marked difference in the revelations now delivered. He had described God as the most beneficent, the Lord to

¹ Tabarí, series 1, vol. iii, p. 1181.

² They taunted him by saying God had forsaken him. Then, according to Tirmidhí (vol. ii, p. 469), Gabriel brought the words:—

Thy Lord hath not forsaken thee,
Nor hath He been displeased. Súratu'dh-Dhuḥá (xc) 3.

At this period of depression this Súra and Súratu'l-Inshiráh (xciv) were revealed for his consolation; and Súratu'l-Káfirún (cix) and Súratu'l-Ikhlás (cxii) were addressed to the people.

be magnified, whose will is absolute; the Lord of the east and west, there is no God but He; the Lord of men, the Lord of the world, compassionate, merciful, king of the day of reckoning; God the One, God the eternal, who begetteth not and is not begotten, like whom there is none. God, the merciful, the absolute ruler, the judge of men at the last day, the unique, had been the burden of his message.¹ Now it takes the more personal form of denunciation of his opponents, a more distinct attitude of hostility to idolatry, and a more prominent pronouncement of his own claim to be heard.² The leaders of the opposition, according to Baiḍāwī, were Walid bin Muḡhaira, who is referred to thus:—

Leave me alone to deal with him.
I will lay grievous woes upon him.
We will surely cast him into hell-fire,
And who shall teach him what fire is?
It leaveth nought, it spareth nought,
Blackening the skin. Súratu'l-Mudaththir (lxxiv)
11, 17, 26-9.

His uncle Abú Lahab, instigated by his wife, a sister of Abú Sufyán,³ was another bitter opponent. They are thus denounced:—

Let the hand of Abú Lahab perish and let himself perish.

¹ Súras xcvi. 3; lxxiv. 3, 34; lxxiii. 9; cxiv. 2-6; i. 1-3; cxii. 1-4.

² Súras cxi; civ; cvii; lxxviii. 2, 10, 40, 51-2; xcvi; lxxxvi. 13-14.

³ Abú Sufyán was the leader of those Meccans who were hostile to Muḡammad.

His wealth and his gain shall avail him not,
Burned shall he be at the fiery flame
And his wife laden with fire-wood
On her neck a rope of palm fibre.¹ Súratu'l-Lahab (cxi) 1-5.

Akhnas bin Sharíf, according to Baiḍāwī, is referred to thus:—

Woe to every backbiter, defamer
Verily he shall be flung into the crushing fire
And who shall teach thee what the crushing fire is?
It is God's kindled fire,
Which shall mount above the hearts of the damned.
Súratu'l-Humaza (civ) 1, 4-7.

For all his opponents most exquisite and continued torture is prepared:—

Those who disbelieve our signs we will in the end cast into the fire: so oft as their skins shall be well burnt, we will change them for fresh skins, that they may taste the torment. Súratu'n-Nisá' (iv) 59.

A number of persons are referred to as refusing to listen, and to have become so obdurate that, even after punishment, they would be unconvinced.² Naturally the Meccans became more and more irritated. In vain they denounced him as an imposter, a poet, a soothsayer (káhin).³ Clearly some other method must be employed.

Some of the emigrants to Abyssinia returned

¹ Verse four may mean that in hell she would get wood for the burning. See Baiḍāwī, ad loc. For other interpretations, see *H.D. Qur'án*, p. 13, note 1.

² Súratu'l-An'ám (vi) 25-6. See also Súras xciv; viii. 49.

³ Súras xxv. 5-6; lxxvi. 19, 28, 57; xxxvi. 60; lii. 29.

after a few months, hoping that peace would be made in Mecca, for the Quraish seemed now to be inclined to make a compromise. They had no desire to see Meccans going to reside in a foreign land, under the protection of a Christian ruler, whose patronage seemed likely to give political power to Muḥammad's cause. On the other hand, Abyssinian influence might prove too strong even for Muḥammad and so both the Quraish and the Muslims might suffer. A compromise, if possible, would clearly be of mutual advantage. The Quraish, therefore, selected 'Utba bin Rabi'a, a learned man and a poet, to go and reason with Muḥammad. He went to the Prophet and said: 'O Muḥammad, a great calamity has arisen among the Quraish. Thou hast denounced their gods as vanities, hast endeavoured to seduce the people from the religion of their forefathers, hast disgraced us amongst the Arabs, and hast considered our wise men to be fools. If thou art ambitious we shall unanimously make thee our ruler.'¹ They then offered material inducement, but Muḥammad resisted all such offers and recited the words:—

A revelation from the compassionate, the merciful!
A book whose verses (signs) are made plain, an
Arabic Qur'ān, for men of knowledge;
Announcer of glad tidings and charged with warn-
ings! But most of them withdraw and hearken not:

¹ Mirkhūnd, vol. ii, p. 44. ما باتفاق زمام حکومت بکف کفایت تو نهیم

And they say, 'our hearts are under shelter from thy teachings, and in our ears is a deafness, and between us and thee there is a veil. Act *as thou thinkest best*. We verily shall act as *we think right*.'¹ Sūratu'l-Fuṣṣilat (xli) 1-4.

'Utba reported the result of the interview and recommended that Muḥammad should be left alone; but the Quraish declared that Muḥammad had bewitched 'Utba with his words. Then another plan was adopted. They sent a deputation to Abū Ṭālib with this address: 'Thou art a chieftain and a prince among the Quraish. Mete out justice to us against thy nephew Muḥammad. Prohibit him from reviling our gods and we shall leave him to his own god.' Abū Ṭālib sent for Muḥammad and said to him: 'All thy people ask for justice and that thou shouldest not malign their god, on condition that they will likewise abandon thee to thy god.'² The Prophet replied: 'I am inviting them to something better than that, and on account of which the Arabs will obey them and will also become the masters of Persia.'³ Abū Jah̄l said: 'What is it that we may

¹ The words in italics are not in the text, Baiḍāwī in their place, supplies the words, 'on thy religion'; 'on our religion'.

علی دینک—علی دیننا
² همه قوم تو امان می طلبد که آله ایشان را دهنام ندهی تا ایشان
ترا بخدای تو رها کنند

Mirkhūnd, vol. ii, p. 44. The full account is given in the *Muddariju'n-Nabuwat*, vol. i, p. 506.

³ Tirmidhī (vol. ii, p. 427) also records a Tradition to this effect. The words were evidently intended to show the Quraish that the

do it ten times over?' Muḥammad replied: 'Say there is no god but God.' The Quraish cursed him and declared that they would not abandon their gods. They warned Abú Ṭálib that things could not go on as they were, and he himself realized that either he must become a Muslim or restrain his nephew. He begged Muḥammad not to cast upon him a burden greater than he could bear, but Muḥammad was firm and declared that he could not give way. The necessity of thus resisting his uncle's earnest entreaty caused him grief, and he wept when he turned aside to depart. Then the ties of clanship and of affection, and perhaps also of dependence for Muḥammad was rich and he was poor, exerted their sway and Abú Ṭálib said: 'Depart in peace, my nephew, and say whatsoever thou desirest. For, by the Lord, I will not, in any wise, give thee up for ever.'¹

Though he was often abused and annoyed, Muḥammad does not seem to have suffered personal injury as his humble followers did. The powerful protection of his uncle preserved him from bodily harm. The position, though it still remained

way to attain political freedom and supremacy was to embrace Islám. They strengthen the view of those who consider that the political factor was an important one in the inception of Islám. Margoliouth (p. 124) remarks that 'Muḥammad could have secured his own safety by taking refuge in a Christian country, but his aim was not to be a subject but a sovereign, and so he made no such mistake.'

¹ Muir, p. 164. He quotes from Ibn Hishám, p. 71.

acute, seemed at one time likely to become less strained. The Quraish had offered through 'Utba bin Rabi'a to make a compromise. Here seemed to be a chance of reconciliation and of gaining, though in a modified form, some assent to the claims of Alláh. So the story goes that one day Muḥammad came upon a group of the leading men of Mecca near the Ka'ba. He joined them and in a friendly manner began to recite the opening verses of Súratu'n-Najm (liii). It began with a strong assertion of his own position:—

By the Star when it setteth
Your compatriot erreth not, nor is led astray;
Neither speaketh he from mere impulse,
The Qur'án is no other than a revelation revealed
to him,
One mighty in power taught it him. 1-5.

Referring then to certain mysteries which had been revealed to him, he went on to speak of the Meccan idols:—

Do you see al-Lát and al-'Uzzá
And Manát the third idol besides. 19-20.

And then came words meant to reconcile the Quraish, who were listening with deepened interest and who now, with much astonishment and pleasure, heard the words:—

These are the exalted Females
And verily their intercession is to be hoped for?¹

¹ Muslim historians and commentators either try to explain this

The closing words of the Súra, as Muḥammad recited it, are:—

Prostrate yourself then to God and worship. 62.

With one accord they all did so. It was a remarkable scene. The Quraish were delighted and said, 'Now we know that it is the Lord alone that giveth life and taketh it away; that createth and supporteth. These our goddesses make intercession for us with Him, and as thou hast conceded unto them a position we are content to follow thee.'¹ But Muḥammad soon awoke to the fact that he had made a mistake and that he must at once retire from the false position he had taken up. He saw that the people still worshipped idols and that his concession had done no practical good. Then, according to the Traditions, God consoled him by

as a mere magical effect produced by Satan on the ears of the audience, or they deny the truth of the whole thing, and say it is an invention of the Zindiqs. 'When he reached the noble verse: 'Do you see al-Lát and al-'Uzzá and Manát the third besides,' then Satan found it possible to cause the stupefied ears of the infidels to hear these words: 'These are the exalted females and verily their intercession is to be hoped for' (see Koelle, p. 281 and Wherry's *Commentary of the Qur'an*, vol. iii, p. 167, in which references are given to many commentaries). Syed Amir 'Alí admits the lapse and says: 'What wonder that a momentary thought crossed his mind to end the conflict by making a slight concession to the bigotry of his enemies'. Tabarí (Series I, vol. iii, p. 1192) takes the view that it was due to the influence of Satan.

لقى الشيطان على لسانه .

¹ Muir, vol. ii, p. 151.

the revelation of words showing that former prophets had been likewise tempted of the devil:—

We have not sent an apostle or prophet before thee, among whose desires Satan injected not some wrong desire, but God shall bring to nought that which Satan had suggested. Súratu'l-Hajj (xxii) 51.

And, verily, they had well-nigh beguiled thee from what we revealed to thee, and caused thee to invent some other thing in our name. Súratu Baní Isrá'il (xvii) 75.

When God had thus restored the confidence of Muḥammad, it is said that He sent him the true revelation concerning the idols, and that this is the text, as we now have it in the Qur'an:—

Do you see al-Lát and al-'Uzzá
And Manát the third idol besides,
What? shall ye have male progeny and God female?
This were indeed an unfair partition,
These are mere names and your fathers named
them such. 19-23.

The Quraish were very angry and said: 'Muḥammad hath repented of his favourable mention of the rank held by our goddesses before the Lord. He hath changed the same and brought other words in their stead.' So they stirred up the people to persecute the faithful with still more vigour.¹ However weak Muḥammad may have shown himself in this matter, to his honour be it said, he now and for ever broke with idolatry and began to declare the punishment due to idolaters.

¹ See Ibn Sa'd, p. 137, quoted by Muir (ed. 1912), p. 82.

So in a Súra of this period we have:—

He said: worship ye what ye carve
When God hath created you and what ye make?
Fain would they plot against him, but we brought
them low. Súratu's-Şáffát (xxxvii) 93-4, 96.

The news of a possible peace between the Quraish and Muḥammad caused many of the fugitives to return from Abyssinia, but when the true state of affairs was realized, a second emigration took place. About eighty-three Muslims by degrees went away, amongst whom were Ja'far the brother of 'Alí, and Muḥammad's own daughter Ruqayya, with her husband, 'Uthmán bin 'Affán.

In the sixth year of his mission, Muḥammad gained two notable converts. Ḥamza bin 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib, an uncle of the Prophet, had long resisted his claims. One day he heard that Abú Jahl had been insulting his nephew. The family honour was touched, the tribal sentiment came into play, and so Ḥamza went off to the Ka'ba and found Abú Jahl sitting there with some of the Quraish. He rushed on him, saying: 'Ah! thou hast been abusing him, and I follow his religion; then (here striking him a blow) return that if thou dare.'¹ This conversion to Islám, made in a moment of excitement, was followed up by a deliberate pledging of himself to Muḥammad. The *Raḍātu's-Şafá* says: 'He repeated the creed and then broke Abú Jahl's head

¹ Ibn Hishám, p. 78, quoted by Muir, vol. ii, p. 167.

in seven places.'¹ The motive for his conversion was not very high; but he became a staunch Muslim and a valiant warrior.

A little later on followed the conversion of 'Umar binu'l-Khaṭṭáb. He was a very bitter opponent of the Muslims and, according to the Traditions, was selected by the Quraish to murder Muḥammad. Many accounts are given of his conversion.² The statements may be thus summarized. He was informed that his sister Fáṭima and her husband Sa'id bin Zaid were Muslims. He surprised them reading the Súratu Ṭá Há (xx) and in his anger attacked Sa'id and wounded his sister in the face. She then defied him and said: 'We believe in God and His Prophet: now do thy worst.' When 'Umar saw the blood on his sister's face, his anger passed away and, regretting what he had done, he asked to see what they were reading. He was reminded of the verse 'Let none touch it but the purified.'³ Having performed the ceremonial ablution he began to read the passage before them, and was so touched by its perusal, that 'the padlock of carelessness of his breast's treasury was opened, and he said, "There is no god but Alláh, and Muḥammad is the Apostle of God."' The Prophet

¹ حمزة زبان بکلمه طیبہ جاری گردانید و بہ مجلس قریش رفت و سر ابو جہل را بہشت جاگاہ بشکست
Mirkhúnd, vol. ii, p. 48.

² Mirkhúnd, vol. ii, pp. 48-9.

³ Súratu'l-Wáqi'a (lvi) 78.

received him kindly and gave thanks to God for 'Umar's conversion. Muḥammad and his friends then went in a body and marched round the Ka'ba, 'Alí leading the way with a drawn sword in his hand, to the consternation of the Quraish who said: 'We sent him (i.e. 'Umar) to kill Muḥammad and lo! now he follows him.' 'Umar was closely related to the reforming party, for his brother-in-law Sa'id was a son of Zaid the Ḥaníf. He knew well what was going on and the principles which underlay the new movement, and no doubt saw its growing power. From his early associations, he must have had more sympathy with Deism than with idolatry. 'He belonged to a humble clan and so he had, something to gain now by the equality which Islám promised. Years after, when Khalífa, he took a delight in humiliating the aristocrat Abú Sufyán, thanking God that through Islám a member of his humble family could command one of the illustrious 'Abd Manáf'.¹ All this would account for his conversion with the embellishments which Tradition has added to it. However, as Mírkhúnd says, 'by his aid the arm of the religion was strengthened and by his accession the believers were comforted.'²

The courage of the Muslims now rose; it was no longer necessary to abide in the comparative

¹ Azraki, p. 448, quoted by Margoliouth, p. 105.

² Mírkhúnd, vol. ii, p. 49.

retirement of Arqam's house: they assembled at the Ka'ba and openly performed their rites of prayer. The denunciations of the Quraish became more and more fierce. On the part of the Muslims, 'the idols were less displeasing to Alláh than the idolaters; His own worship was a matter of less concern than the recognition of his messenger.'¹ Muḥammad threatened the city of Mecca with vengeance, and said that a sudden calamity would come upon it;² but the Meccans felt no fear and showed no signs of repentance. Still, it was desirable to stop this constant denunciation of themselves and their ways. The Quraish, therefore, now determined to use another method, that of excommunication. Abú Ṭálib and his brothers (except Abú Lahab) and the members of the clan Ḥáshim, whether converts or not, stood by Muḥammad: so the feud became a party one—the clan Ḥáshim against the rest of the Quraish, who now made a solemn league and covenant which, when put into writing, was duly sealed and hung up in the Ka'ba. It stated, 'that they would not marry their women, nor give their own in marriage to them (i.e. Muslims); that they would sell nothing to them nor buy aught from them—that dealings with them of every kind should cease.' Abú Ṭálib with the

¹ Wellhausen, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. xvi, p. 550.

² *Súratu'l-Hijr* (xv) 4-6; *Súratu'sh-Shu'arâ'* (xxvi) 201-2.

Hāshimites¹ and the Muslims then retired to a mountain pass, known as the Shi'b, a narrow confined quarter of the city in which the Baní Hāshim and the Baní Muṭṭalib usually dwelt, and remained there two or three years. Whilst thus excluded from intercourse with the men of the city, the efforts of the Prophet were confined to attempts to convert the members of his own clan, who though they did not believe his message, yet loyally protected his person. It is probable that now the words came which directed him to turn from the unbelievers:—

Turn away then from them and thou shalt not incur reproach

Yet warn them, for in truth, warning will profit the believers. *Súratu'dh Dháríyát* (li) 54-5.

But warn thy relatives of nearer kin, and kindly lower thy wing over the faithful who follow thee.

Súratu'sh-Shu'ará' (xxvi) 214-5.

When the boycott was rigid, the distress of the Muslims and their friends was severe, and when food could be obtained it was very dear. At the time of the pilgrimage, when there was a truce, Muḥammad could go forth and preach to the various tribes that came to Mecca, and to those whom he met in the adjacent fairs. Abú Lahab followed him about, saying: 'Believe him not, he is a lying renegade.' The tribes taunted

¹ Abú Lahab was the only member of the clan Hāshim who did not go.

him with the words, 'Thine own kindred and people should know thee best; wherefore do they not believe and follow thee?' Then the Prophet, sad in spirit, said: 'Oh Lord if thou willedst, it would not be thus.'¹ Still he continued to invite them to worship Allāh alone, to give up their idols, and promised the joys of paradise to those who believed and the torments of hell to the impenitent. Thus:—

And theirs shall be the Húrís with large dark eyes, like pearls hidden in their shells.

Of a rare creation have we created the Húrís

And we created them ever virgin.

How wretched shall be the people of the left hand!

Amid scorching blasts and in scalding water,

And in the shadow of a black smoke

Not cool, and horrid to behold. *Súratu'l-Wáqí'a* (lvi) 22, 34-5, 40, 41-4.

Some of the Quraish now began to doubt the propriety of punishing the whole of the clan of Hāshim for the apostacy of some of its members. They brought about the formal removal of the ban. The Traditions trace this result to divine interposition, and say that the parchment on which the ban was written, and which had been suspended in the Ka'ba, was now almost destroyed by insects. Then followed a period of repose and liberty in which, however, two heavy domestic sorrows fell upon Muḥammad.

¹ *Kátibu'l-Wáqidí*, p. 41, quoted by Muir, vol. ii, p. 182.

Muḥammad had now entered on the tenth year of his mission and before it ended, his loving wife Khadija had passed away. She had been a true and faithful wife. She had put him into a position of affluence, had brought him into contact with some of the most thoughtful men of the age, and had had perfect sympathy with him in his mission. Muḥammad revered her memory and his encomiums on her at times roused the jealousy of some of her successors.

A few months after Khadija's death Muḥammad married Sauda, the widow of a convert who had died in exile in Abyssinia. According to the *Rauḍatu'l-Aḥbāb*¹ he was now much dejected, when a friend said: 'Why do you not marry again?' He replied: 'Who is there that I could take?' 'If thou wishest for a virgin there is 'Áyisha, the daughter of thy friend Abú Bakr; and if thou wishest for a woman there is Sauda, who believes in thee.' He solved the dilemma by saying, 'Then ask for both.' 'Áyisha was now six or seven years of age. The actual marriage with her took place three years later on. She grew up a very strong-minded woman, and had great

¹ Quoted by Koelle, p. 19. It will be seen that the reason given for the marriage with Sauda was the dejection of the Prophet, and not the modern one that it was his duty, even at personal inconvenience, to marry the widows of his followers. See Syed Amír 'Alí, p. 332.

power over her husband who was devoted to her.¹ After his death she had much political influence. She was a great Traditionist, for it is said that she reported 1210 Traditions from the mouth of the Prophet.

The death of his uncle, Abú Tálíb, was another great loss. His uncle, an unbeliever though he remained, had been a true kinsman to him and had protected him in many dangers. He had borne the sufferings of the boycott rather than desert his nephew, with whose religious views he could not agree. He was a noble unselfish man, and his support of Muḥammad shows that he believed him to be sincere even though mistaken. On his death-bed he commended him to the protection of the members of his family. It is said that Muḥammad tried to get his uncle before his death to respect the kalíma or Muslim creed,² but he declined, saying that if he did so, people would say he was frightened. Tradition reports³ that Muḥammad said, 'By Alláh, I shall pray for his pardon until I am forbidden to do so,' and that he continued so to pray until this verse was revealed:—

¹ He said that when in company with a woman, except 'Áyisha, inspiration never came to him.

هَانِ الْوَحْيُ لَمْ يَأْتَنِي وَأَنَا فِي ثَوْبِ امْرَأَةٍ إِلَّا عَائِشَةَ

Mishkátu'l-Maṣābiḥ, p. 926.

² *Bukhārī*, part xv, p. 76.

³ *Mirḡhúnd*, vol. ii, p. 52.

It is not for the Prophet or the faithful to pray for the forgiveness of those, even though they be of kin, who associate other beings with God, after it hath been made clear to them that they are to be the inmates of hell. *Súratu't-Tauba* (ix) 114.

Residence in Mecca now became very difficult. Muḥammad's followers were devotedly attached to him, but they were few in number, and there had been no notable conversions since those of 'Umar and Ḥamza. It is true that his family protected him, but this imposed restrictions on him, for they were not prepared to give him the freedom Abú Ṭálib had done. The prospect was gloomy in the extreme. The Meccans were very proud and remained obdurate. They had reviled and mocked him and even charged him with imposture. Thus:—

By the Qur'án full of warning! In sooth the infidels are absorbed in pride, in contention *with thee*. *Súratu Šád* (xxxviii) 1.

And the infidels say, 'The Qur'án is a pious fraud of his own devising, and others have helped him with it.'

And they say, 'Tales of the ancients that he hath put in writing! and they were dictated to him morn and even.' *Súratu'l-Furqán* (xxv) 5-6.

So the Prophet left Mecca for Ṭá'if, a city situated about seventy miles to the east of Mecca. His faithful freed slave Zaid accompanied him. The people of Ṭá'if were jealous of the Quraish, a fact apparently known to Muḥammad when, as

Ibn Isháq says, he asked their leading men 'to aid and protect him against his own tribe, hoping they would receive his revelation';¹ but they too were devoted to their idols and had no wish to give them up. Years after they fought bravely against Muḥammad.²

After ten days, he was stoned and so, wounded and weary, he had to flee from the city. About half-way on the return journey he halted in the valley of Nakhla. Excited by all he had gone through, saddened at the rejection of his message by men, he saw in imagination crowds of Jinn (Genii) embracing the faith. Then the *Súratu'l-Jinn* (lxxii) was revealed:—

Say, it hath been revealed to me that a company of Jinn listened and said: 'Verily, we have heard a marvellous discourse (Qur'án).

It guideth to the truth, wherefore we believe in it.' 1-2.

When the servant of God stood up to call upon Him, the Jinn almost jostled him by their crowds. 19.

The conversion of the Jinn, though doubtless a consolation to the Prophet, did not do away with the necessity of gaining human aid. The prospect of obtaining that in Mecca was now small; he dared not return there without a promise of protection and, now that Abú Ṭálib was dead, the chief of the Baní Ḥáshim was not so ready to give it. At

¹ Quoted by Koelle, p. 102.

² *Gharwas and Sariyas* (C.L.S.), pp. 76-8.

last, after lengthened negotiations, a leading citizen Mut'im bin 'Adí, undertook to be responsible for his personal safety. It is most probable that this protection was given on condition that he should now confine his proselytizing work to the strangers who came to Mecca.

His work at Mecca was not successful. He had on his side high family connexions, relationship with guardians of the Ka'ba, wealth, many personal virtues, indomitable patience, uncompromising fearlessness as a rule, and fervid eloquence; yet the failure at Mecca was complete. The work must commence anew with other men and under other conditions.

CHAPTER V

PREPARATION FOR FLIGHT

MUHAMMAD now lived a retired life at Mecca, unmolested, but apparently not allowed to carry on an active propaganda. When the time for the annual pilgrimage came round many Arabs from various tribes came to Mecca and to the fairs held at 'Ukáz and other near places. As the citizens of Mecca and of Tá'if remained obdurate, Muḥammad turned his attention to these wayfarers,¹ and though Abú Jahl tried to prevent their listening to him, he yet managed to deliver his message² and to exhort them to embrace the true religion but without success at first. Already thoughts of departure from Mecca seemed to have entered into the

¹ Tabarí, series 1, vol. iii, pp. 1204-6.

² To the chiefs of the tribes, he said: 'I do not wish to force you to anything. Only permit any one who approves of my invitation (to the Faith) to receive it and protect me from being killed, that I may recite to you the book of Alláh.'

با روستای قوم سخن گفتی که من هما را باکراه چیزی نمیدارم هرکس از هما بانه من او را دعوت میکنم اگر به پسند و قبول کند من از هما در میخواهم که مرا از کشتن نگاه دارید تا کتاب خدای تعالی را برهما خوانم.

Mirkhúnd, vol. ii, p. 59.

Prophet's mind, and to have found support in the revelation which now aptly came:—

Follow then that which hath been revealed to thee by thy Lord! there is no God but He! and withdraw from those who join other gods with Him.¹ Súratu'l-An'ám (vi) 106.

This was soon rendered possible, for a few members of the Khazraj tribe came from Madína as pilgrims. They met with Muḥammad and expressed themselves favourable to his views, and he propounded to them the doctrines of Islám and recited portions of the Qur'án. There were many Jews at Madína, some of whom may have been amongst those persons who came to the great fairs, for they are referred to in a revelation of this period:—

If (this Book) be from God, and ye believe it not, and a witness of the children of Israel witness to its conformity (with the Law) and believe, while ye proudly disdain it . . . ? Ah! God guideth not the people guilty of such a wrong. Súratu'l-Aḥqáf (xlvii) 9.

The commentator Baiḍáwí and Mu'álim say the witness was a learned Jew, called 'Abdu'lláh bin Salám of Madína. Kabír says he was a Jew of Madína.² It was known that the Jews were looking

¹ This is usually considered to be a Madína Súra, for verse ninety-one charges the Jews with corrupting the Scriptures, a favourite charge at Madína, but not at Mecca. It was, however, common to put into earlier Súras verses revealed later on; anyhow verse one hundred and six is a clear call to the Hijra, or flight from Mecca.

² *Khulāṣat't-Tafásir*, vol. iv, p. 201.

forward to the advent of the Messiah, and the Baní Khazraj, thinking that Muḥammad was their coming prophet, wisely sought to forestall the Jews in winning his favour.¹ Owing to the discord and dissensions in Madína, they could not promise him adequate protection there now, but promised to tell the people about him, and to return the next year with a report on the situation. This they did and when they returned a year after there were twelve Anṣár with them, ten of the Baní Khazraj and two of the Baní Aws. They took the following oath of obedience to Muḥammad and his teaching: 'We will not worship any but the one God: we will not steal neither will we commit adultery, nor kill our children; we will not slander in any wise and we will not disobey the Prophet in anything that is right.' This is known as the 'First pledge of 'Aqába'.² It contained no promise to defend the Prophet, and so it is called the 'Pledge of Women', as being the only one woman ever took. Muḥammad sent back with them an earnest, tactful man, Mus'ab bin 'Umais, to lead in prayer, and to

¹ 'When the Jews used to fight with the idolaters at Madína, they would say: "A prophet is about to arise; his time draweth nigh. Him shall we follow." So when Muḥammad spoke with the pilgrims of Madína, they spake one with another: "Know surely that is the same prophet whom the Jews are wont to threaten us with, wherefore let us make haste and be the first to join him."' Ibn Hishám, p. 149. Ṭabarí, p. 161, quoted by Muir, vol. ii, p. 211.

² This is the name of the secluded place where they met.

teach such portions of the Qur'án as were needed for the namáz, or the prescribed public prayers.

The year which passed before the men of Madína returned, was one of much anxiety. The means of the Prophet seem now to have been straitened, but any despondency amongst his followers was allayed by the words:—

We ask not of thee to find thine own provision—we will provide for thee. Súratu Tá Há (xx) 132.

In this depressed state of mind,¹ when the result of thirteen years work in Mecca seemed likely to lead to nothing but practical banishment, Muḥammad dreamed a dream, and passed in imagination, at least, to the temple at Jerusalem, where angels, patriarchs and prophets met him, and from thence to the highest heaven and the presence of God Himself. It is referred to thus:—

Glory be to Him who carried His servant by night from the sacred temple (of Mecca) to the temple that is more remote, whose precincts we have blessed, that we might show him some of our signs. Súratu Baní Isrá'íl (xvii) 1.

This event has afforded to the imagination of the Traditionists² ample scope for the most vivid descriptions of what the Prophet saw and heard. It is manifestly unfair to look upon these extravagant embellishments as matters of necessary

¹ See Tirmidhí, vol. ii, p. 386.

² See Mirkhúnd, vol. ii, pp. 55-6.

belief. The most intelligent members of the modern school of Muslims look upon the Mi'ráj as a vision,¹ though the orthodox condemn such a view. Doubtless this vision, or dream, cheered the Prophet, who was further assured that whether he lived to see part of the coming woes, or passed away before they came, success would ensue, for unto God should the unbelievers return.² Thus he was encouraged, and, in full face of all his difficulties, he expressed his confidence in his cause in this revelation:—

Whether we take thee off by death, surely we will avenge ourselves on them;

Or whether we make thee a witness of that with which we threatened them, we will surely gain the mastery over them. Súratu'z-Zukhruf (xliii) 40-1.

At this time matters remained quiet at Mecca. Islám was no longer aggressive and the Quraish relaxed their opposition. The Apostle also had the support of some revelations for thus leaving the Meccans alone. Thus:—

Follow thou that which hath been revealed to thee by thy Lord: there is no god but He, and withdraw from those who join other gods with Him.

Had God pleased, they had not joined other gods with Him: and we have not made thee a keeper over them.

¹ All that Muḥammadans must believe respecting the Mi'ráj is that the Prophet saw himself in vision, transplanted from Mecca to Jerusalem.' Syed Aḥmad Khán, *Essays* vi, p. 34.

² Súratu Húd (xi) 77.

Revile not those whom they call on beside God, lest they, in their ignorance, despitefully revile Him. *Súratu'l-An'am* (vi) 116-18.

This does not mean that Muḥammad had changed his views, or faltered in his plans. He believed in eventual success and found warrant for his belief in the following revelations:—

Other apostles have been scoffed at before thee; but that (doom) at which they mocked encompassed the scoffers. *Súratu'l-Anbiyá'* (xxi) 42.

They who believed not said to their apostles, 'Forth from our land will we surely drive you, or to our religion shall ye return.' Then their Lord revealed to them, 'we will certainly destroy the wicked doers, and we will certainly cause you to dwell in the land after them.' *Súratu Ibráhím* (xiv) 17.

Have they drawn tight their toils (for thee). We too will tighten ours.

Wherefore let them alone to plunge on, and sport, until the day with which they are menaced. *Súratu'z-Zukhruf* (xliii) 79, 83.

Muir (vol ii, p. 228) has well described the Prophet's present position and attitude: 'Muḥammad thus holding his people at bay; waiting in the still expectation of victory; to outward appearance defenceless, and with his little band as it were in the lion's mouth; yet trusting in His almighty power whose messenger he believed himself to be, resolute and unmoved; presents a spectacle of sublimity paralleled only in the Sacred Records by such scenes as that of the Prophet of Israel when he complained to his Master, "I, even I only am left".'

Meanwhile, Mus'ab met with considerable success in Madína. Two notable converts were Usaid and Sa'd, both of the Baní Aws. In due time the conversion of the whole clan followed. When the next period of pilgrimage came round, Mus'ab was able to give a good account of his mission. On the last night of the pilgrimage, Muḥammad met his Madína converts. Seventy-three men and two women were present. Muḥammad gave them an address and asked them to pledge themselves to defend him. This they did, and this pledge is known as the 'Second pledge of 'Aqába'. The nature of the compact will be seen from what follows. Muḥammad said: 'Swear that you will preserve me from everything from which you preserve your own wives and children.' One of the leaders replied: 'Yea, by Him who hath sent thee a Prophet with truth, we shall protect thee as our bodies: receive our allegiance, O Prophet of God! By Alláh! we are the sons of war and men of arms which we, the valiant, have inherited from the valiant.' Another said: 'O Apostle of God, there are ties between us and others,' meaning the Jews, 'which now we shall have to tear asunder; but if we do this and God gives thee victory, wilt thou then leave us again and return to thy own home?' Muḥammad replied: 'Your blood is my blood; what you shed, I also shed; you belong to me and I belong to you; I fight

whomsoever ye fight, and I make peace with whomsoever ye make peace.'¹ This shows that the politico-religious development of his system had now advanced a stage farther in the Prophet's mind, and his long-felt desire to unite the Arab people in a political whole seemed nearer its fulfilment. This compact was a civil and political one, defensive and offensive, based on the rejection of idolatry, acceptance of Islām and obedience to the will of the Prophet. On the first pilgrimage his sympathizers from Madīna had only to avow the fealty of women; but on the second, when such further progress had been made that their number exceeded seventy, they had to promise the fealty of men and warriors. This compact is not a change of front, it simply embodies the growing development of the principles of Islām from the first, and forms a definite starting point for the national and foreign conquests it was now about to enter upon.

The city of Yathrib was not unknown to Muḥammad. His grandfather and his great grandmother were natives of the place, and in it his father was buried. There was a good deal of rivalry between Yathrib and Mecca, and a man despised in the latter place would not thereby be at a disadvantage in the former. Then, for more than one hundred years, there had been a blood feud between the

¹ Ibn Ishāq quoted by Koelle, p. 325.

men of the two great tribes who dwelt in Yathrib, and just now there was a disposition to put a stop to these dissensions by selecting some one person as a king or ruler. 'Hence the soil of Yathrib was thoroughly prepared for Islām. In a healthy community like that of Mecca it gained no hold; but in one that was ailing from long years of civil strife, it could spread apace.'¹ There was also a strong Jewish colony there which prepared the way for religious reform. The people of Mecca were utter materialists and could not rise to the spiritual part of the Prophet's teaching. In Yathrib it was different. Long intercourse with Jews had made such subjects as the unity of God, revelation through prophets and a future life more or less familiar to the inhabitants of the city. Islām owes much to Yathrib. It saved Muḥammad from passing away as a mere enthusiast, rejected and disowned by his own people. It 'became the real birthplace of Islām, the cradle of its political power and the centre of its conquests throughout Arabia.' It is thus justly named al-Madīnatu'n-Nabī, 'the city of the Prophet', and its converts are truly termed the Anṣār, or helpers of Islām.

The last Súra delivered at Mecca is the Súratu'r-Ra'd (xiii). It deals entirely with the Quraish and is the Prophet's last word there with them. It has

¹ Margoliouth, p. 198.

been well called the 'Chapter of Apologies', as it gives reasons why the Prophet did not work miracles. When they asked for a sign he was told to say, 'Thou art a warner only.' The unbelievers said they would not believe, unless a sign were sent to him by God. No sign was given but the message came :—

Say, God truly will mislead whom He will, and He will guide to Himself him who turneth to Him. 27.

Whom God causeth to err, no guide shall there be for him.

Chastisement awaiteth them in this present life and more grievous shall be the chastisement of the next. 33-4.

Thus, with words of warning, and threatening of eternal fire and everlasting punishment on those who rejected his claims, the Prophet left the city in which for thirteen long years he had preached and pleaded in vain.

A few days after this, Muḥammad gave the command to his followers saying: 'Depart unto Madína for the Lord hath verily given you brethren in that city, and a home in which you may find refuge.'¹ In the course of two months nearly all had emigrated. The Quraish were very much concerned at all this and, as Muḥammad still remained behind, were much perplexed at the state of affairs and wondered what would come next. They determined that a deputation should wait on him; but

¹ Muir, vol. ii, p. 243.

he, fearing some plot, stole away from his house, joined Abú Bakr and, as night drew on, left the city. 'Alí made people believe that he was still in the house and so facilitated his escape. The action of the Quraish is recalled to mind and referred to in an early Madína Súra:—

And call to mind when the unbelievers plotted against thee, to detain thee prisoner, or to kill thee, or to banish thee: they plotted, but God plotted, and of plotters God is the best. Súratu'l-Anfál (viii) 30.

In a late Meccan Súra,¹ Muḥammad refers to a plot against the Prophet Ṣálih and points out that the result of such opposition was that the Prophet's opponents were all destroyed and their houses laid in ruins. The hint, however, was lost upon the Meccans.

Abú Bakr and Muḥammad took refuge in a cave for three days until the search was over. Many years after the Qur'án thus alludes to the miraculous interposition of God in protecting the Prophet:—

God assisted him formerly, when the unbelievers drove him forth in company with a second only, when they two were in the cave. God strengthened him with hosts ye saw not, and made the words of those who believed not the abased, and the word of God was the exalted. Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 40.

The 'second of the two'—thání athnain—became one of the honourable titles of Abú Bakr.

¹ Súratu'n-Naml (xxvii) 51-3.

Muhammadan Traditions record many miracles connected with these three days.¹ On leaving the cave, the travellers arrived in due course at Madína.² The Flight—the Hijra—was now complete.³ It showed that the Prophet's work in Mecca had ended in failure. The Meccans saw that the adoption of his system would lead to a civil despotism based on religion, and this they were not prepared to accept. In Madína the prospects were far brighter. The expectation by the Jews of a Messiah had caused the idea of a coming prophet to be common. Tribal feud and faction had worn the people out, and they were really glad of some one with authority to be a ruler amongst them. The way was prepared for the setting up of the politico-religious system, which the Prophet had so long meditated upon and so much desired. 'Muhammad's failure in Mecca was that of the Prophet, and his triumph in Madína that of the Chieftain and the Conqueror.'

Before passing on to the consideration of the

¹ They are recorded in the *Rauḍatu's-Ṣafā* (vol. ii, pp. 65-6), and by Muir, vol. ii, p. 257, notes.

² The families of Muhammad and of Abū Bakr remained in Mecca for some weeks. All were unmolested and when they were ready to depart no attempt was made to detain them, though they might have been kept as hostages. The Quraish seem now to have behaved with consideration to the persons of those who remained behind. Afterwards when their caravans of merchandise were looted, they naturally became more hostile.

³ It is computed to have taken place on June 20, A.D. 622.

Prophet's work in Madína we may briefly note a few points in his Meccan career. During the Meccan period the Qur'án was made up of arguments in refutation of idolatry and of fierce denunciations of the unbelievers, whose future life was depicted as one of unutterable woe. It deals nobly with God's attributes of omnipotence, omnipresence and unity. It strives in impassioned language to make men realize that the glories of nature are His handiwork, tries to show them that He rules amongst men and will mete out justice to the gainsayers,¹ and gives vivid and realistic pictures of the joys of paradise and the pains of hell. It contains legendary stories of preceding prophets, and strong assertions concerning Muhammad's claims and its own divine nature. The positive precepts are still very limited; the social system and the laws of Islám are not yet fixed in their rigidity.

The Jews afterwards opponents at Madína do not seem to have been so in Mecca. Indeed, Muhammad appealed to their belief in his revelation and to their witness to him as a proof of his claims:—

Thus have we sent down the Book (Qur'án) to thee: and they to whom we have given the Book (Taurát) believe in it. Súratu'l-'Anqabút (xxix) 46.

They to whom we gave the Scriptures before it (Qur'án) do believe in it (Qur'án). Súratu'l-Qaṣaṣ (xxviii) 52.

¹ Yet the Muslim view of God is defective. See *The Muslim Idea of God* (C.L.S.) and *The Faith of Islám*, p. 181.

They had no objection to his denunciations against idolatry, and his testimony to the unity of God. Differences were to arise later on. At present he was friendly both with them and with Christians.¹

Muḥammad threatened the city with destruction;² but the Meccans were incredulous. They demanded a miracle and refused to believe in him till they saw one.³ Muḥammad had no such credentials, but he brought revelations to show that this absence of power was part of God's plan, and asserted that even a miracle would not convince them.⁴ When further pressed on the point, he declared that the Qur'án itself was a miracle. It came down from heaven, was the best of recitals, unequalled, for none whether men or Jinn could produce anything like it.⁵ He challenged any one to produce a Súra as good. One man, Nadhír ibn Ḥaríṭha, tried so to do. It was a dangerous task to undertake for it called forth a severe sentence on him and finally his death.⁶

Another objection was that it was revealed in portions at a time; and, if stored away on a 'well-guarded tablet', why could they not have it all at once.⁷ The reply is:—

¹ Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 59.

² Súratu'sh-Shu'ará' (xxvi) 208-9; 201-3; Súratu'l-Hijr (xv) 4-5.

³ Súratu Baní Isrá'il (xvii) 92-3. ⁴ Súratu'l-Hijr (xv) 8; 13-15.

⁵ See *Al-Qur'án* (S.P.C.K., 3rd ed.), pp. 58-66.

⁶ Baiḍáwí, vol. ii, p. 112; Margoliouth, p. 135.

⁷ Súratu'l-Furqán (xxv) 34.

We have parcelled out the Qur'án into sections, that thou mightest recite it unto men by slow degrees, and we have sent it down piecemeal.¹ Súratu Baní Isrá'il (xvii) 107.

And so throughout the years at Mecca the controversy rolled on, and Muḥammad became more and more the object of personal dislike. He, too, seems to have become weary of constant opposition and of continual controversy.² It was time to leave the Meccans severely alone.

¹ Baiḍáwí explains 'piecemeal' as meaning 'according to the circumstances'—على حسب الواقت— which was obviously a very convenient arrangement.

² This weariness he was relieved of later on at Madina by an order to pay no attention to mere gainsayers:—

When thou seest those who busy themselves *with cavilling* at our signs, withdraw from them, till they busy themselves in some other subject. Súratu'l-An'ám (vi) 67.

CHAPTER VI

MADINA AND ITS PEOPLE

ON the way to Madína, Muḥammad halted at Kúba, which he reached on Monday, the eighth day of the month Rabi'u'l-awwal of the year A. H. 1. He there laid the foundations of a mosque,¹ famed as the first in Islám for public worship. On Thursday 'Alí joined him, and on the following day the whole party proceeded to Madína. On the way he halted in a valley, where the Baní Sálím dwelt, and there held the Friday service. A mosque has since been erected on this spot, to commemorate this event. It is called the Musjidu'l-Jum'a—the Friday mosque. Since then Friday has been the appointed day for the great weekly service. On this occasion he preached a sermon on Islám, the first he preached in Madína.² The people came out to welcome him and many pressing invitations were made, requesting him to alight from his camel

¹ Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 109.

² وهى أول خطبة خطبها بالمدينة

Ṭabarí, series 1, vol. iii, p. 1257. The sermon is given by Ṭabarí and also in the *Násikhū't-Tawárikh*, vol. ii, part i, p. 40.

and accept hospitality. He did not wish to give offence by preferring one offer over another and so discreetly said: 'The decision rests with the camel, make way for her, let her go free.' The camel went forward until it arrived at a large open courtyard on the eastern side of the city, and there sat down in order that the Prophet might alight.¹ Abú Ayyúb, the owner of an adjoining house, kindly placed rooms at Muḥammad's disposal,² until his own quarters and the mosque could be erected on the open ground now to be purchased from its owners. The land required belonged to two orphan boys and was purchased from them. Zaid was now sent to conduct the members of the Prophet's family from Mecca to Madína and in due course all safely arrived.

There was no central government at Madína, for each tribal group exercised authority over its own members. Tribal disputes and feuds were common and Muḥammad did wisely to hold aloof from all parties, when he selected his separate place of residence. The construction of a mosque and of apartments for himself and his family occupied him for some months. On the open ground to the north a place was set apart for the poorer Muslims who had no home of their own. The buildings were simple and the mosque was not large, but it

¹ Ibn Hishám, p. 172, quoted by Muir, vol. iii, p. 11.

² Ṭabarí, series 1, vol. iii, p. 1259.

is a famous house in Islām, for here the daily services were held and the great Friday one, when the Prophet gave advice on social duties, the courtesies of life¹ and preached and delivered messages which he said he had received from heaven. It was a house of prayer, an audience hall, a council chamber, in which embassies were received, and from which administrative orders were issued.

Soon after this Muḥammad lost by death two most devoted adherents; Kulthūm who had entertained him at Kúba, and As'ad bin Zarára who had been elected leader of the Baní Najjár, when at the second pledge of 'Aqába they declared their fealty to the Prophet. The missionary Mus'ab had lived with As'ad in Madína, and together they had worked hard in the cause of Islām. The Baní Najjár asked Muḥammad to appoint a successor to their deceased chief. The fact that he appointed himself to the office² is a testimony not only to his growing influence, but also to his desire now to gain as much political authority as possible.

There were at this time four distinct classes of people in Madína with whom Muḥammad had much to do. First of all come the Immigrants, called the Muhájirún, who came from Mecca with,

¹ Súratu'n-Núr (xxiv) 27-8; 60-2.

² بنو النجار نزد رسول خدا آمدند که نقیب ما از جهان رفت از بهر ما نقیبی نصب فرمای فرمود انا نقیبکم - من نقیب همایم .
Nāsikhū'n-Tawārikh, vol. i, part ii, p. 50.

or immediately after, the Prophet. Muslims who had previously left Mecca owing to the persecutions there, and had taken refuge in other places, now came to Madína and were also called Muhájirún. They were a band of men entirely devoted to the cause of Islām, and bound to it by personal attachment to its founder. The Prophet could always rely on their support and aid. They were specially favoured:—

To those also who after their trials fled their country, then fought and endured with patience, verily, thy Lord will in the end be forgiving and gracious. Súratu'n-Nahl (xvi) 111.

Next came the Helpers, known as the Anṣár. They were natives of Madína, who had accepted Islām before the Hijra, and also those who after it did so. They had not made the sacrifices the Muhájirún had done, nor had they borne the persecution which the earlier Muslims had endured, but in taking the pledge of 'Aqába they had run some risk of offending their fellow-citizens and had to some extent compromised themselves.

The climate of Madína did not suit the Muhájirún who longed for their native air,¹ and so in order to induce them to stay it was thought desirable to bring them into close union with the

¹ 'Áyisha reported to the Prophet that her father was very ill and that Bilál and 'Ámir were cursing the infidels of Mecca for having driven them from that city. *Mudárijū'n-Nabuwat*, vol. ii, p. 346.

Anṣār. A compact of fraternity was made between the two bodies,¹ and about fifty men from each party entered into a bond of brotherhood so close that in the event of one dying the adopted brother became his heir.² This custom lasted about a year and a half when it was no longer needed. The Muhájirún were the men on whom Muḥammad could best rely in case of difficulty, but they were in poor circumstances. This fraternal bond was a wise regulation, raising the Muhájirún above the fear of actual destitution, and thus ensuring their continued residence in Madína.

The two principal Arab tribes in Madína were the Baní Aws and the Baní Khazraj, between whom there has been constant feuds. Some of the Baní Aws and more of the Baní Khazraj became Muslims and their ancient jealousy somewhat abated. The mutual submission to a new leader helped to make matters more peaceful, but many of them were not very loyal. The other members of these tribes remained neutral. They did not actively oppose Muḥammad. He had been invited to come, and

¹ See Ibn Hishám, p. 179, quoted by Muir, vol. iii, p. 17 (ed. 1912), p. 175.

² This is referred to in the words:—

Verily, they who have believed, and fled their homes (Muhájirún) and spent their substance for the cause of God, and they who have taken in the Prophet and been faithful to him (Anṣār) shall be near of kin the one to the other. *Súratu'l-Anfál* (viii) 73. See *H. D. Qur'án*, p. 95, note.

there was thus an honourable obligation to let him remain in peace. Yet, as they saw power more and more passing into his hands, a spirit of jealousy arose. 'Abdu'lláh ibn Ubbay, a chief of the Baní Khazraj, found his hopes of aspiring to supreme power destroyed by the advent of Muḥammad. A considerable party, sceptical of the Prophet's rule and unfriendly to it, rallied round 'Abdu'lláh, but they could not arrest the growing strength of Islám, for soon the whole city was nominally Muslim. Privately many men had doubts, and felt that they had been over hasty in their procedure, which had for its result the abdication of their own tribal leaders from power and their entire submission to a foreign ruler. All such men are called the Hypocrites, or Munáfiqún, and are described by Ibn Hishám¹ as 'certain men of the Aws and Khazraj who were in reality little removed from the idolatry of their fathers and rejection of the true faith, only that Islám had by its prevalence overpowered them—the mass having already gone over to it. So they ostensibly joined Islám, and took it as a shield unto them from death;² but in secret they were traitors.' For a considerable time these men exercised an adverse influence, but later on, when his power had increased, Muḥammad

¹ Ibn Hishám, p. 351, quoted by Muir, (ed. 1912) p. 182.

² Thus early, on the testimony of the Muslim historian, does force seem to have been a factor in conversion.

sternly denounced them, bringing forth revelations for the purpose :—

When the Hypocrites come to thee, they say, 'We bear witness that thou art the sent one of God.' God knoweth that thou art His sent one, but God beareth witness that the Hypocrites do lie.

Their faith have they used as a cloak, and they turn aside others from the way of God. Evil are all their doings.

These are they who say to you of Madína, 'Spend not aught upon those who are with the Apostle of God, and they will be forced to quit him.' Yet the treasures of the heavens and of the earth are God's. But the Hypocrites have no understanding.

They say, 'If we return to the city, the mightier will assuredly drive out the weaker from it.' But might is with God, and with the Apostle, and with the faithful. Yet the Hypocrites understand not. *Súratu'l-Munáfíqún* (lxiii) 1-2; 7-8.

There were very few Christians in Madína. One man Abú Amír, who had travelled a good deal, seems to have given up pagan practices before Muḥammad had anything to do with the people of Madína. He professed to be a teacher in religion and naturally looked upon Muḥammad as a rival. He retired to Mecca with about twenty followers. After that city came into the possession of Muḥammad he went to Tá'íf and thence to Syria where he died. Christians thus formed no party in Madína.

The Jews, however, were a very large and important community and soon after he had settled down in Madína, Muḥammad included them in a treaty

of mutual obligation with the Muhájirún and Anṣár. It was intended as a constitution for all his followers, and as a treaty offensive and defensive for those Jews, who whilst not embracing Islám might, for warlike purposes against a common enemy, aid the Muslims, or be aided by them. The cost of blood-money, ransoms, and other expenditure involved was to be borne by each tribe which incurred it, whether Muslims or Jews. The substance of the treaty, as translated by Muir from Ibn Hishám, is as follows¹ :—

'In the Name of God, the All Compassionate and Merciful!

'The charter of Muḥammad the Prophet between the believers of the Quraish and of Yathrib, and whosoever else joineth himself unto them, and striveth with them for the Faith—verily, they are a peculiar people, apart from the rest of mankind. The Muhájirún, according to their several clans, shall defray the price of blood shed among themselves, and shall ransom honourably their prisoners. The Baní 'Aúf, according to their clans, shall do the same; and so with the Baní Saida, Josham, Najjár, Nabit, Aws, etc., each according to their clans. Whosoever is rebellious, or seeketh to spread

¹ As no copy of the original can be found, Muir considers that Ibn Hishám's account was transmitted by memory, (Muir, vol. iii, pp. 31-4). Syed Amír 'Alí also gives the substance of the treaty, which he highly eulogizes, pp. 139-41.

iniquity, enmity, or sedition, amongst the believers, the hand of every man shall be against him, even if he be the son of one of themselves. No believer shall be put to death for killing an infidel; nor shall any infidel be supported against a believer. Whosoever of the Jews followeth us shall have aid and succour; they shall not be injured, nor shall any enemy be aided against them. Protection shall not be granted by any unbeliever¹ to the Quraish of Mecca, either in their persons or their property.² Whosoever killeth a believer wrongfully shall be liable to retaliation; the Muslims shall join as one man against the murderer. The curse of God, and His wrath in the day of judgement, shall rest on the man that shall aid or shelter him.

'The Jews shall contribute with the Muslims, so long as they are at war with a common enemy. The several branches of the Jews—those attached respectively to the Baní 'Aúf, Baní Najjár, Baní Aws, etc., are one people with the believers. The Jews will maintain their own religion, the Muslims theirs. As with the Jews, so with their adherents; excepting him who shall transgress and do iniquity, he alone shall be punished and his

¹ Muir suggests that this refers to those persons in Madína who had not yet professed Islám, but who are thus indirectly brought into the covenant. Vol. iii, p. 33.

² The attack on the mercantile caravans seems to have been thus prepared for.

family. No one shall go forth but with the permission of Muḥammad. None shall be held back from seeking his lawful revenge, unless it be excessive. The Jews shall be responsible for their own expenditure, the Muslims for theirs. Each, if attacked, shall come to the assistance of the other. Madína shall be as sacred and inviolable for all that join this treaty. Strangers, under protection, shall be treated on the same footing as their protectors; but no stranger shall be taken under protection save with the consent of his tribe. New questions and doubts, likely to produce evil and danger, shall be referred for decision to God and Muḥammad His Prophet. War and peace shall be made in common.

'And none but the Evil man and the Oppressor shall change the conditions of this charter.'

A modern writer thus sums up the result of the compact: 'It constituted Muḥammad the chief magistrate of the nation, as much by his prophetic functions as by a virtual compact between himself and his people,'¹ and thus, we may add another great step forward was taken in the political aspirations of the Prophet. This treaty of Madína marks a distinct advance in Muḥammad's position in that city. It was the custom of the Arabs to bring hard questions and

¹ Syed Amír 'Alī, p. 141.

disputes to the notice of a káhin or soothsayer, when ordinary means failed to bring about a solution. There were plenty of quarrels in Madína. Muḥammad by his claims, and also by the force of his own personality, soon acquired even a greater influence than the ancient káhins ever possessed, for his authority was becoming political as well as religious. His decisions must have been sought after, for he found it possible even thus early to lay down the law, with every prospect of being able to enforce it, and to advance the claim that 'new questions and doubts, likely to produce evil and danger, shall be referred for decision to God and Muḥammad His Prophet.' It is probable that his decisions were wise, for he understood human nature, and was a man with a purpose and a policy. A series of foolish judgements would have ruined his prestige. His work at this time was beneficial. In the place of lawlessness and disorder he introduced law and order. Religion played an important part in the creation of the commonwealth. In Mecca it had been more individual now it became more corporate; but 'it was the watchword and battle-cry. The prayers took the form of military exercises, they were imitated with the greatest precision by the congregation after the example of the Imám. The mosque was, in fact, the great exercising ground of Islám. It was there the Muslims acquired the *esprit de corps*

and rigid discipline which distinguished their armies.'¹

The position accorded to the Jews in the compact shows that, at this stage, Muḥammad had some use for them. They were known to the Arabs as the people of the Book, the depositaries of divine revelation. Muḥammad also believed this and said that he was simply reintroducing the ancient 'Faith of Abraham', their great ancestor. He seems to have expected that the Jews would admit the divine origin of Islám, and acknowledge him as a prophet sent by God, at least, for the Arabs. He declared that his advent had been foretold in the Law. He gave them religious liberty and used them as confederates. It is probable that these words refer to them:—

Dispute not unless in kindly sort, with the people of the Book; save with such of them as have dealt wrongfully with you.¹ Súratu'l-'Anqabút (xxix) 45.²

Another important verse revealed about this time is the following:—

¹ Wellhausen, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. xvi, p. 553.

² This a late Meccan Súra, but Nöldeke considers that this verse is a Madína one. It has caused much perplexity to the commentators. Husain says it refers 'only to those who were connected with Muḥammad by treaty, or who pay the jizya,' or poll-tax, i.e. are *Dhimms*.

با كسانيكه در عهد هما آند يا جزيه قبول كرده آند.

This interpretation would seem to show that the verse was revealed at Madína, after the compact had been made. See *H.D. Qur'an*, pp. 10-13.

Let there be no compulsion in religion.¹ *Súratu'l-Baqara* (ii) 257.

It is very important to remember the date when these verses breathing forth a tolerant spirit were revealed, always bearing in mind Baiḍáwí's words (*ante* p. 83) that the revelations came 'according to the circumstances'. There can be no doubt that Muḥammad was now very anxious to gain the allegiance of the Jews. He clearly saw the great advantage of this, and so in several ways he strove to win them to his side. They turned to Jerusalem in prayer, so did he; they observed the Feast of the Atonement on the tenth day of the month by sacrifice and fasting, he ordered his followers to do the same. Thus a Jew in passing over to Islám found no change in two great practices. A few joined the Muslims permanently. The Jewish converts at

¹ لا إكراه فى الدين It is said that this does not touch the general law about the enforcement of the *jizya*, or poll-tax, of imprisonment and of the death penalty for renegades; but refers to the special case of two Christians who did not wish to become Muslims (*Khulāṣatu't-Tafāsir*, vol i, p. 202). Husain refers it to two sons of an Anṣār, who had become fire worshippers, whom Muḥammad would not allow to be coerced: he further adds that, apart from the special case, it applies only to those Jews and Christians who pay the *jizya* and that as regards pagan Arabs, it is abrogated by the verse, 'Kill them wherever ye find them' [*Súratu'l-Baqara* (ii) 187]. Baiḍáwí says it is abrogated by the verse: 'O Prophet contend against the infidels and the hypocrites and be rigorous with them' [*Súratu't-Tauba* (ix) 74]. It thus appears that no general principle of toleration is laid down.

this time numbered seven.¹ They were useful to Muḥammad, for they could give him information about the Old Testament Scriptures which led him to believe that in them there were prophecies relating to himself. They are called his witnesses. The Prophet commended the Jewish religion, and to those Jews, who believe in God and the last day and do what is right a reward is promised. But the great body of the Jews held aloof. The Messiah for whom they looked was to be one descended from the house of David.

It was, perhaps, unfortunate for the Jews that those Arabs, who refused to accept Muḥammad's teaching or obey his rule, seemed inclined to support the Jews. It naturally caused them to be looked upon with some amount of suspicion. Their position was one of some difficulty. They could not, in the light of their greater knowledge of the Scriptures, admit Muḥammad's claims. Some of the Arab clans had in the past protected Jewish tribes, who were in the position of allies (*aḥláf*) and had received from their Arab friends such aid as was due to them in that position. Such a bond of union was dangerous to Muḥammad, for as Islám grew as a political system all else had to give way. It is true that some Jews became Muslims, but even amongst them there were

¹ *Isabah*, ii, p. 231, quoted by Margoliouth, p. 229.

Munáfiqún,¹ just as there were amongst the Arab converts. The enmity of the Jews was more dangerous to Muḥammad than that of the idolaters, for these could only hurt him in war and politics, whereas the Jews could criticize his claims and show that the previous Books did not support them. It was now necessary to discredit them by a long series of revelations setting forth their guilt and folly and by accusing them of dishonesty in tampering with the sacred Scriptures; so the revelation came:—

Know they not that God knoweth what they hide, as well as what they bring to light.

But there are illiterates among them who are unacquainted with the Book, but with lies only, and have but vague fancies. Woe to them who with their own hands transcribe the Book corruptly, and then say, 'This is from God,' that they may sell it for some mean price! Woe to them for that which their hands have written! and woe to them for the gains they have made!

And they say, 'Hell fire shall not touch us, but for a few days.' Say, have ye received such a promise from God? for God will not revoke His promise, or speak ye of God that which ye know not?

But they whose gains are evil works, and who are envired by their sins—they shall be inmates of the fire, therein to abide for ever. Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 72-5.

¹ They are thus referred to:—

When they fall in with the faithful, they say, 'We believe,' but when they are apart one with another, they say, 'Will ye acquaint them with what God hath revealed to you, that they may dispute with you.' Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 71.

They asked for a miracle:—

To those who say, 'Verily God hath enjoined us that we are not to credit an apostle until he presents us a sacrifice which fire out of heaven shall destroy.'¹ Súratu 'Alī 'Imrān (iii) 179.

Muḥammad at once in the next verse replied to their demand:—

Say, already have apostles before me come to you with miracles, and with that of which ye speak, wherefore slew ye them. 180.

The commentators say that these last words refer to Zachariah and Yahyá (John the Baptist), and so Muḥammad argues that, if their forefathers slew prophets of old who came with miraculous powers, why should he perform a miracle and run the same risk.

They did not accept the theory that the Old Testament bore witness to Muḥammad and are thus reproved:—

Believe ye then part of the Book and deny part? But what shall be the meed of him among you who doth this, but shame in this life? And on the day of the resurrection they shall be sent to the most cruel of torments, for God is not regardless what ye do. Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 79.

O ye to whom the Scriptures have been given! believe in what we have sent down (i.e. Qur'án) confirmatory of the Scripture which is in your hands, ere we efface your features, and twist your head round backward, or curse you. Súratu'n-Nisá' (iv) 50.

¹ See note on this in *H.D. Qur'an*, p. 109.

They are accused of hiding the testimony of the Scriptures :—

Who is more in fault than he who concealeth the witness which he hath from God? Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 134.

And truly are there among them who torture the Scriptures with their tongues, in order that ye may suppose it to be from the Scripture, yet it is not from the Scripture; and they say, 'This is from God,' yet it is not from God; and they utter a lie against God, and they know they do so. Súratu 'Áli 'Imrán (iii) 72.

In the latest Súra of all we have :—

They shift the words of Scripture from their places and have forgotten part of what they were taught.

O people of the Scriptures! Now is our Apostle come to you to clear up to you much that ye concealed of these Scriptures, and to pass over many things. Now hath a light, and a clear Book come to you from God, by which God will guide him who shall follow after His good pleasure to paths of peace, and will bring them out of the darkness to the light, by His will; and to the straight path will He guide them.¹ Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 16, 18.

The change in all these verses is not that of altering the written text of the Scriptures, but of hiding its truth, by which Muḥammad meant allusions to himself which he asserted were contained therein. It is not stated that the Scriptures themselves are so corrupted as to cease to be

¹ See *H.D. Qur'án*, p. 113, note.

genuine. Indeed the evidence of the Qur'án itself is all the other way :—

Verily we have sent down the law (Taurát) wherein are guidance and light. Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 48.

Muḥammad in other places even urges the importance of the study of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures thus :—

But, if the people of the Book believe, and have the fear of God, we will surely put away their sins from them, and will bring them into gardens of delight; and if that they observe the Law and the Evangel, and what hath been sent down to them from their Lord, they shall surely have their fill of good things from above them and from beneath their feet.

Say, O people of the Book, ye have no ground to stand on, till ye observe the Law, the Evangel and that which hath been sent down to you from your Lord. Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 70, 72.

Here obedience to the Old and New Testaments, as well as to the Qur'án, is inculcated, which would not have been the case had the text of the former Books been tampered with. In fact, no Books have been, according to Muḥammad's own testimony, as given in the Qur'án, so well safeguarded :—

And to thee have we sent down the Qur'án with truth, confirmatory of previous Scriptures and their safeguard.¹ Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 52.

¹ The word for safeguard *مهيمن* is called 'a guard'. نگاهبانست. 'A guard over the Books protecting them from change.' (*Tafsir-i-Husaini*, vol. i, p. 148.) Bai-ḍáwí says: 'Guardian over all the books.' رقيباً على سائر الكتب.

It is clear from this that the Scriptures had not been corrupted before the time of Muḥammad for the Qur'ān confirms them; they cannot, from a Muslim standpoint, have been corrupted since for the Qur'ān has been sent to be their safeguard, their 'guardian'. If then the Scriptures have been corrupted since, the Qur'ān has failed of its purpose and has not been their safeguard. The fact is, that Muḥammad had no real doubt about the authenticity and genuineness of the Scriptures, but, when he had no further use for the Jews, it was necessary to discredit them. It is instructive to note that all these passages about the perversion of the meaning of the Bible and the charge of concealing its predictions were revealed at Madīna, and not at Mecca.

The Jews having been thus rebuked and set aside as no longer likely to be useful or necessary, there was no object whatever in assimilating the customs and practices of Islām to those of Judaism; so the Qibla (i.e. the direction towards which the prayers should be said) was now changed back again from Jerusalem to Mecca and, as usual, a revelation came to authorize the change. It is immediately preceded by a long passage in the second Sūra to show that the Ka'ba and the religion of Abraham, of which Islām is declared to be the revival, is better than the Qibla of the Jews and Judaism. The Christians, too, have a hint given them in the expression

'The baptism of God have we received,'¹ that in the reception of Islām consists the true regeneration of man. Then the change of the Qibla is openly stated in the verses:—

We appointed the Qibla, which thou formerly hadst, only that we might know him who followeth the Apostle from him who turneth on his heels. The change is a difficulty, but not to those whom God hath guided. But God will not let your faith be fruitless for unto man is God merciful, gracious.

We have seen thee turning thy face towards every part of heaven; but we will have thee turn to a Qibla which shall please thee. Turn then thy face towards the sacred Mosque and wherever ye be turn your face towards that part. Sūratu'l-Baqara (ii) 138-9.

The Traditionists relate many stories connected with this event in the Prophet's life. One is, that when he found the Jews obstinate he said to Gabriel; 'O Gabriel! would that the Lord might change the direction of my face at prayer away from the Qibla of the Jews.' Gabriel replied, 'I am but a servant, address thy prayer to God.'²

The Ramaḍān fast also was now substituted for the one hitherto kept simultaneously with the Jewish fast.³

¹ Sūratu'l-Baqara (ii) 132. See *H.D. Qur'ān*, p. 118, note.

² Wāqidī, p. 46, quoted by Muir, vol. iii, p. 43.

³ The change of the Qibla and the appointment of the Ramaḍān fast were made in the second year at Madīna, about seventeen or eighteen months after the Hijra. Other changes were also made [See Rabbi Geiger in *Judaism and Islām* (S.P.C.K., Madras), pp 157-9.]. The law laid down in Sūratu'l-Baqara (ii) 230 is opposed to Deut. xxiv. 1-4. See *H.D. Qur'ān*, pp. 122-3.

As for the month Ramaḍān, in which the Qur'ān was sent down to be man's guidance, and an explanation of that guidance, and of that illumination, as soon as any one of you observeth the moon let him set about the fast. *Súratu'l-Baqara* (ii) 181.

A stern warning is given to the Jews in:—

Those who conceal aught that we have sent down, either of clear proof or guidance, after what we have so clearly shown to men in the Book, God shall curse them, and they who curse shall curse them. *Súratu'l-Baqara* (ii) 154.

The breach between Muḥammad and the Jews was now complete. They did not admit his claims. They were conservative upholders of their revealed Law, and of the customs based on the interpretations of it. He was now inclined to the old Arab customs, even retaining the pagan ritual of the Ḥajj, and made changes for the express purpose of abolishing from Islām all resemblances to Judaism. We shall see later on how this growing coolness on Muḥammad's part passed on to bitter hatred and persecution.

Coincident with this rejection of the Jews is the attempt to conciliate the Meccans by sanctioning the pilgrimage to the Ka'ba:—

Accomplish the pilgrimage and the visitation of the holy places in honour of God. *Súratu'l-Baqara* (ii) 192.

This could only be done by conserving as much of the old Arab ritual as possible, and, pagan though it was, he produced a revelation for the retention of it:—

Verily, Ṣafa and Marwa are among the monuments of God: whoever then maketh a pilgrimage to the temple, or visiteth it, shall not be to blame if he go round them both.¹ *Súratu'l-Baqara* (ii) 153.

The second *Súra*, *Súratu'l-Baqara*, shows how the policy of the Prophet was now changing, and how the revelations were timed to meet the exigencies of the varying social and political situations. In all this Muḥammad showed himself a man of insight, quick to observe the signs of the times; a man with a clear purpose before him, towards the attainment of which he displayed administrative talents of a high order. In this respect he was a great man. Judging by the signs of the times he now saw that war with the Meccans must sooner or later come, and he began to prepare his people for it by stimulating their zeal and courage by reciting examples from Jewish history:—

Think ye to enter Paradise, when no such things have come upon you, as on those who flourish before you?

Fight for the cause of God. *Súratu'l-Baqara* (ii) 210, 245.

The Jewish wars are described with the object of showing how men of old fought for the Lord.²

The second year at Madína, then, saw many changes; the fast of Ramaḍān made obligatory; the

¹ It is possible that these verses were revealed later on, when the first pilgrimage to Mecca was made, and are interpolations here; but that does not alter the fact of the compromise with paganism.

² *Súratu'l-Baqara* (ii) 247-52.

'Idu'd-Ḍuḥá, or feast of sacrifice, now made to conform with the ritual of the Meccan pilgrimage and so differentiated from the Jewish Day of Atonement, which formed the model for the ceremony at first; the Ka'ba appointed as the Qibla, and the *adhán* or call to prayers adopted, instead of the bell of the Christians. All these changes marked the growing dislike to, and the sense of independence of, the Jews. The marriage of 'Alí with Fátima, the daughter of Muḥammad took place this year.

We must now go back a little and consider the economic condition of the Muhájirún in the early days of their stay in Madína. We have seen (*ante* p. 85) how Muḥammad built quarters for his poorer followers and fed them from his own table. Even 'Alí could not settle a marriage gift upon Fátima, and had to sell his coat of mail in order to provide funds with which to give her some presents.¹ Abú Bakr was sent by the Prophet to borrow a loan from a Jew, called Pinhas saying, 'Who will lend to God a good loan.' The Jew tauntingly replied: 'If God requires a loan he must be poor', Abú Bakr then struck him, saying, 'Were it not for the covenant between us, I had cut off

حضرت رسول فرمود کہ مهر اورا چہ می سازی (علی) جواب داد کہ
نزد می چیزی نیست
Mirkhúnd, vol. ii, p. 74.

'Alí also told Abú Bakr that his indigence was a barrier to the marriage. (قلت مال ... مانع است) He also explained his poor circumstances to the Prophet. *Nāsikhū't-Tawārikh*, pp. 43-4.

thy head.' The Jew complained to the Prophet but got no redress. When Muḥammad married 'Áyisha, there was no marriage feast. Margoliouth (p. 235), supporting each statement by a reference to original Muslim authorities, gives in detail a lucid account of the poverty and distress in which the Muslims now were.¹ In order to earn a little food some had to undertake menial occupations; whilst others earned some money in trading. Muḥammad shared in all the privations of his people. Charitable persons used to invite the Prophet, when they saw, his face pinched with hunger. Months used to pass, said 'Áyisha, 'without any fire being lighted in their dwelling, their food being dates and water.'²

'Oppressed with this grinding poverty, the true Believers naturally felt some resentment against the Jews from whom nothing was to be had without security, who were merciless about the recovery of debts.'³ They were comparatively wealthy, but were not disposed to give away their means to support the Muhájirún. They treasured up for themselves a day of wrath, when the Muslims found power to retaliate.

¹ A Tradition recorded by Tirmidhí (vol. ii, p. 349), says that in Madína they had only dates and barley to eat.

انما طعامهم بالمدينة الستمر والشعير

² Margoliouth, p. 236. The quotations are from Tirmidhí, i, 203; and from Musnad, vi, 71.

³ Ibid., p. 237, quoted from Musnad, iii, 423.

CHAPTER VII

EARLY GHAZWAS AND SARIYAS

A FEW months' residence in Madina brought home to the mind of the Prophet the distressed condition of his people, and the hopeless prospect which lay before them. The constant tribal feuds in Arabia would seem to have raised the act of capturing caravans of merchandise above that of mere robbery. It became the natural result of a dispute. This is the most charitable construction to put on the forthcoming action of the Prophet. The Meccans sent forth trading caravans. Muḥammad needed property badly. Here was a very good way of obtaining it. This is, at least, a possible reason for the commencement of the earlier raids made under the Prophet's orders. Later on, when the Meccans became alive to the danger their commerce was in, and took active measures to protect it, the wars were sometimes of a defensive nature. There were many expeditions.¹

¹ An expedition commanded by the Prophet in person was called a *Ghazwa*; an expedition placed in the charge of one of his lieutenants was called a *Sariya*.

There was nothing seriously wrong from an Arab point of view in one tribe attacking the property of another. Muḥammad did nothing more than any other Arab chief, and such he now was, would have done; so there seems no reason to ignore the historic fact that the Muslims began the strife of arms, that they, and not the Meccans, were the first to seek for plunder. The former sorely needed it; the latter did not. This is a simple explanation of the fact and nothing is gained by disguising it.¹ In some way or other means of sustenance had to be provided, and so on the seventh day of the month Ramaḍān, that is, seven months after his arrival in Madina, Muḥammad appointed Ḥamza bin 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib to the charge of a small expedition.² The reason for this expedition

¹ A Muslim writer thus concludes an eloquent defence of the Prophet's action: 'This man was now compelled by the necessities of the situation, and against his own inclination, to repel the attacks of the enemy by force of arms, to organize his followers for purposes of self-defence, and often to send out expeditions to anticipate treacherous and sudden onslaughts' (Syed 'Amir Āli, p. 144). As a matter of historical fact, the expeditions were sent forth for the purpose of obtaining booty. Tirmidhī distinctly says that before the battle of Badr, the Prophet had sent out to take the caravan of the Meccans who went forth to protect it. (Jāmi'u't-Tirmidhī, vol. ii, p. 374.) The truth is that the older writers state the facts as they were, and see nothing incongruous or unusual in them.

² Muḥammad appointed Ḥamza for the express purpose of capturing a caravan.

رسول حمزه را ... بجهت آن کاروان نامزد کرد
Nāsikhū't-Tawdriḳh, vol. ii, part i, p. 75.

is said to have been as follows: 'When it came to the august hearing of his Lordship that a number of the Quraish were just returning to Mecca from a commercial journey from Syria, he prepared a white banner and ordered Ḥamza to hasten with thirty Muhájirún to capture the caravan.'¹ This expedition was unsuccessful.

The historians say that he specially exempted the Anṣár from taking part in this Sariya, because he thought they would not aid his cause unless the enemies attacked Mecca itself. The undertaking in the first and second pledges of 'Aqába (*ante* pp. 71, 75) was to defend the Prophet, and the fact that he seems to have had that in his mind now is a distinct proof that this Sariya was not defensive but offensive. It was the first step in a declaration of war. Two small expeditions, the Sariyas of 'Ubaida and of Sa'd, followed, but in neither case was any booty obtained. It was thought well that divine sanction should now be obtained for these expeditions,² so, it came in these words:—

O Prophet contend against the infidels and the hypocrites and be rigorous with them. Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 74.

¹ چون بمسح همایون حضرت رسید که جمعی از قریش که باهم تجارت
 هام رفته بودند مراجعت نموده عازم مکه اند علمی سفید ترقیب داده
 فرمان داد که حمزه بن عبد المطلب با سی کس از مهاجران بمقد کاروان
 میرکهند، vol. ii, p. 76. هتاید.

² *Nāsikhū't-Tawārīkh*, vol. ii, part i, p. 74.

These expeditions entirely failed to obtain the means of sustenance for the Muslims; but they accustomed his followers to warlike methods, and enabled him to make agreements with Arab tribes on the great caravan routes. So they were not altogether useless. Muḥammad thought well to lead the next expedition in person. It is known as the Ghazwa of Abwá, and was as usual in pursuit of a Quraish caravan which was again missed. Its chief interest, however, lies in the fact that Muḥammad made a treaty with the Baní Dhamra, a branch of the Quraish, and then returned to Madína. This was the first treaty made with a pagan tribe. Obviously, if the Meccan caravans were the object of all these raids, it was a politic act to secure the neutrality, at least, of the tribes through whose territory such caravans would pass. A treaty with the richer Meccan merchants was not sought for at this time of distress. The justification of this difference of procedure is found in a revelation:—

God doth not forbid you to deal with kindness and fairness towards those who have not made war upon you on account of your religion, or driven you forth from your homes.

Only doth God forbid you to make friends of those who, on account of your religion, have warred against you,¹ and have driven you forth from your

الذين قاتلوكم في الدين Literally 'those who killed you on account of religion'. As it is connected with the exodus from

homes, and have aided those who drove you forth: and whoever maketh friends of them are wrong-doers. *Súratu'l-Mumtahina* (lx) 8-9.

Two other *Ghazwas*, *Buwát* and '*Ushaira*, were equally unsuccessful, but in the latter one a treaty was concluded with the Baní Muálíj, which rendered another Arab tribe neutral in the conflict with the Meccans. These successive failures to obtain any booty tended to lessen the prestige of the Prophet, and to expose him to the taunts of the Jews, so other tactics had to be adopted. It was a time-honoured custom amongst the Arabs that in a sacred month there should be a truce between the hostile tribes. Men could go about then unarmed and at peace. Obviously an armed force which set this custom at defiance had a good chance of success. The *Sariya* of *Nakhla*¹ was made under these favourable conditions. An expedition was sent forth to capture a Meccan caravan. The leaders had some doubt about the lawfulness of the procedure, but fear lest the Meccans should escape overcame their scruples.² The attack was successful and this raid is famous as being the first in which booty was obtained.

Mecca, it must refer to the persecutions in that city, for, as a matter of fact, since the Hijra the Meccans had as yet made no war on the Muslims.

¹ For full details of it, see *Ghazwas and Sariyas* (C.L.S.), pp. 7-12.

² *Mudárijü'n-Nabuwat*, pp. 556-7.

This breach of Arab custom needed some justification and so the revelation came:—

They will ask thee concerning war in the sacred month: say, 'To war therein is bad,¹ but to turn aside from the cause of God, and to have no faith in Him and the sacred Temple, and to drive out its people, is worse in the sight of God; and civil strife is worse than bloodshed.'² *Súratu'l-Baqara* (ii) 214.

This sanction was enough. The booty so much needed was divided and the prisoners put up to ransom. Henceforth all the year round *Ghazwas* and *Sariyas* could go on. No longer was there any close time for Meccan merchants.

With reference to these expeditions in the first and second year of Muḥammad's rule at Madína, it is only fair to state that a learned Indian Muslim, discredits the accounts given of them. He speaks of them as the *alleged* interception of the Quraish caravans. Of the three *Sariyas* of Ḥamza, 'Ubaida, and Sa'd; and of the four *Ghazwas* of Abwá, *Buwát*, '*Ushaira* and *Nakhla* he affirms that the statements about them are 'not corroborated by authentic and trustworthy traditions.'³ The accounts are, however, given by Muslim historians of

¹ Baiḍáwī (vol. i, p. 114) says that it is generally held that this has been abrogated by the *Áyatu's-Saif*, or 'verse of the sword', which reads thus: 'Kill the polytheists wherever ye shall find them.' *Súratu't-Tauba* (ix) 5.

² See also *Súratu'l-Hajj* (xxii) 40-1.

³ Cherágh 'Alí, pp. 29-30.

repute. At the same time, historical criticism may show that, as regards certain details, there may be doubt; but details, even if exaggerated, must rest on some basis of fact. The expeditions themselves are not matters of imagination. Cherágh 'Alí himself admits that the biographers Ibn Isháq, Ibn Hishám, Tabarí, Ibn Athír in the *Kámil*, and Halabi in the *Insaunu'l-Aiyún* refer to the Sariya of Nakhla.

Another objection is that there is an internal improbability. It is said that the inhabitants of Madína had pledged themselves only to defend the Prophet from attack, and not to join him in any aggressive step. Therefore, it seems impossible that they should have allowed Muḥammad to take any aggressive steps against the Quraish which might involve them in great trouble. Now, it is true that there was such a compact between the Muhájirún and the Anṣár; but, as a matter of fact, the Anṣár did take part in aggressive conflicts. In the battle of Badr and thereafter they freely joined in all wars; for before that time the Prophet had given many revelations about warfare and the terms of the treaty were tacitly set aside. The Prophet was too able and too determined a man to be turned aside by the opinion of a few Anṣár from any line of policy he might adopt. That they had sufficient influence to restrain him from making raids is only an hypothesis. Indeed, Cherágh 'Alí only says it seemed impossible that they should allow it.

It surely seems more impossible that they could prevent it, and, as a matter of fact, they did not.

The Muslims were now encouraged, and soon after an attempt to capture another caravan resulted in the important battle of Badr, a brief account of which I now give.¹ The immediate cause of the battle was the desire of Muḥammad to capture a rich caravan on its way from Syria to Mecca.²

A band of three hundred and fifty men went forth from Madína, of whom eighty-seven were Muhájirún and two hundred and thirty-six Anṣár, for they were no longer restricted to defensive warfare. Abú Sufyán, the Quraish leader, before he left Syria had heard rumours of the intended raid and had sent to Mecca for help. He also hastened the departure of the caravan. Badr lay on the usual route, but Abú Sufyán rode on ahead

¹ Limitations of space prevent a full description of this important battle. The reader is referred to *The Battles of Badr and Uhud* (C.L.S.), in which I have given a full and exhaustive account.

² When it was known to the Prophet of God that a caravan of the Quraish was leaving Mecca, he called his Companions together with "the intention of it" (بقصد اس قافلے, i.e. of getting it). *Maghāzī'u's-Sádiqa*. (Urdu translation of Wáqidī's *Maghāzī'u'r-Rasūl*), p. 9.

The eminent Traditionist, Bukhārī says: 'The cause was this. His Excellency called the people to meet Abú Sufyán, in order that they might loot the properties of the Quraish which was with him.' اس کا سبب یہ تھا کہ حضرت معلم نے لوگوں کو ابو سفیان کے ملنے واسطے بلایا تاکہ لوٹیں وہ چیز کہ اس کے ساتھ تھی قریش کے مالوں سے۔ *Faiḍu'l-Bāri*, part xvi, p. 9.

to that place and, finding that Muslims had been reconnoitring there, he changed the route and got the caravan safely away. He also sent word to the relief party that their services were not needed.¹ It was against his desire that the battle occurred.² Some of the Meccans wished to return home, but Abú Jahl held that they should go forward and refresh themselves at Badr. Some returned to Mecca, the rest went on with Abú Jahl who said: 'Now, if Muḥammad and his Companions think they will gain a victory over us like the victory at Nakhla, they are mistaken, we will show them that we can protect our caravans.' It was to be a demonstration in force, in order to show that these continued attempts to raid peaceful mercantile caravans must cease and there was much justification for it.

Muḥammad having heard that the caravan would be protected took counsel with his followers as to the course to be pursued under the altered circumstances. They decided to march forth, and very wisely at once secured a good strategic position at

¹ Mirkhúnd, on the authority of Wáqidí, supports this statement. He sent a message to the Quraish saying: 'The reason of the people's leaving the sanctuary (Mecca) was to prevent their goods being plundered, but as now Alláh the Most High, has granted safety to the caravan, it will be proper to return.'

سبب بیرون آمدن قوم از حرم آن بود که آفتی باموال ایشان نرسد
اکنون خدای تعالی کاروان را نجات داد باز باید گشت . . .
vol. ii, p. 81.

² *Encyclopædia of Islām*, p. 107.

Badr. We may pass over the details of the fight and the single combats. The Traditionists record many wonderful events, saying that Gabriel and Miká'il, clothed in white, stood on either side of the Prophet, whilst Isráfil brought the welcome aid of a thousand angels.¹ The result was that the Meccans lost the day. After the battle was over Muḥammad inquired whether Abú Jahl was dead. A servant went forth and saw him wounded but still alive. He then cut off his head and took it to the Prophet who is reported to have said: 'It is more acceptable to me than the choicest red camel in all Arabia.'²

On the day following the victory Muḥammad ordered all the booty to be produced. Those who had pursued the enemy and exposed their lives in defeating their opponents claimed the whole, or the larger portion; those who had remained on the field of battle for the safety of the Prophet and of the camp also laid claim to a share. The Anṣár, who had acted all through as the Prophet's

¹ *Súratu'l-Anfál* (viii) 9.

² Wáqidí quoted by Muir, vol. iii, p. 108. The *Maghāzi'u's-Ṣādiqa*, p. 27, gives the same account from Wáqidí.

البته قتل هونا اس کا مچھکو خوشتر آیا ہی پانے سے ہتران سرخ کے

Ibn Mas'ūd relates how the man found Abú Jahl about to die of his wounds. He then cut off his head and took it to the Prophet and said: 'This is the head of Abú Jahl, the enemy of God'. 'His Excellency stood up and praised God who had given such glory to Islām.' *Faiḍu'l-Bārī*, part xvi, pp. 19-20.

body-guard, also required some consideration. The dispute became so hot that Muḥammad had to interpose with a revelation and to declare that, as God had given the victory, to Him the spoil belonged :—

They will question thee about the spoils. Say: the spoils are God's and the Apostle's. Therefore, fear God and settle this among yourselves; and obey God and his Apostle, if you are true believers. *Súratu'l-Anfál* (viii) 1.

Soon after a rule, which is still in force, was given to cover all such cases :—

When ye have taken any booty, a fifth part belongeth to God and to the Apostle, and to the near of kin, and to orphans, and to the poor, and to the wayfarer, if ye believe in God, and in that which we have sent down to our servant on the day of discrimination,¹ the day of the meeting of the hosts. *Súratu'l-Anfál* (viii) 42.

The booty was finally divided on these principles, Muḥammad receiving, over and above his share, the camel of Abú Jahl and the sword *dhú'l-faqar* which he gave to 'Alí. Muḥammad was accused by the Munáfiqún of having taken a beautiful red vestment for himself. Then this verse came :—

It is not the Prophet who will defraud you.² *Súratu 'Alí 'Imrán* (iii) 155.

The battle of Badr was a turning point in the Prophet's career. Defeat would have been almost

¹ *Yaumu'l-Farqan*, i. e. the day of the battle of Badr.

² See *Tirmidhí*, vol. ii, p. 341 and *H. D. Qur'án*, p. 144, note.

ruinous to his cause; whereas success, gained as he declared by the miraculous interposition of God, materially strengthened his position. The die was now cast, and his followers were committed to a long and active struggle with his opponents. Islám must now stand or fall by the arbitration of the sword.

The importance of the battle is seen in the full accounts given by the historians, and the vast mass of Traditions which has grown up around it. One thing which strikes the reader of these narratives is that there was really no reason to give such prominence to divine interposition. The Meccans had started out a thousand strong, but many had returned when they knew that the caravan was safe, and amongst those who remained there were numbers who only did so owing to the vehement words of Abú Jahl. The tactics of the Muslims were superior to those of their foes. They secured the key of the position by getting possession of all the wells. They had been the aggressors; they had come forth with the full intention of fighting, though they had anticipated meeting only the guard of a caravan. Defeat would have been fatal to their cause. On the one side was an army, placed in an inferior position, containing many brave men, but also many who would rather not have been there. On the other side was a small compact force, thoroughly united in spirit, and enthusiastically devoted to its leader.

What was deficient in numbers was fully made up in unity of purpose and moral force. Clearly there are sufficient natural causes to account for the victory of Badr.

The next question which arises is this: Who was responsible for the battle of Badr? There is no sufficient evidence to show that, after Muhammad's flight from Mecca, the Quraish as a body had been aggressors. Probably they were only too glad to get rid of one who, from their standpoint, was a troublesome citizen, a contemner of their ancient customs and worship; and if so they would have left him and his followers quietly alone at Madína. But, as we have already seen, what happened was this. About a year after his arrival at Madína, Muhammad started on his first warlike expedition to Abwá in pursuit of a Meccan caravan but failed to find it. A second and third expedition followed, both with the definite object of capturing rich caravans. These, however, were failures. A fourth was in pursuit of an Arab chief who was in alliance with the Quraish, but their complicity with his supposed misdeeds is not shown. Other expeditions were sent out under some of the Companions. These were simply marauding parties, which consisted entirely of the Muhájirún, and not of the Anṣár, sent forth to loot the rich caravans of the Meccans. They too were failures, for the Meccans were on the alert and carefully

avoided any conflict. The Anṣár joined in the battle of Badr and this has been urged as a proof that it was a defensive operation; but the facts show that it was not originally planned as a defensive action. Moreover, by that time the martial spirit had pervaded the whole Muslim body, and the original compact restricting the aid of the Anṣár to defensive movements seems to have been lost sight of or ignored. This was quite natural for, when the compact was made, these continual raids on caravans could not have been foreseen.

The old historians feel no difficulty in giving a simple straightforward account of these raids, and the idea that the propriety of a course of action, such as the Muslims adopted as aggressors, should ever be questioned, or indeed was even open to question, did not apparently enter their minds. Modern Muslim writers in India, however, do assume the position of apologists for, or defenders of, the Prophet's actions. Thus one describes the advance of the Meccans to Badr as a raiding expedition to the very vicinity of Madína 'to destroy the Islámites and to protect one of their caravans bringing munitions of war'.¹ If this

¹ Syed Amir 'Alí (p. 145). No historical authority is given for the statement about 'munitions of war'. On the other hand, we know there were 1,000 camels and 'valuable goods' (متاع گران بها). It was a caravan containing the property of the Quraish (اموال قریش). It was described as a 'great property' (اموال كثير) (*Mudārijū'n-Nabuwat*, p. 557). Nothing whatever is said about munitions of

means that the 'munitions of war' were being brought for this attack, it is not consistent with the historical facts which are that the caravan was not coming to Madína, but was hurrying away from it as fast as possible, and that it was conveying the usual articles of merchandise and not munitions of war. It is also a fact that the Meccans did not send out a relieving force until they knew that Muhammad had laid his plans to attack their caravans. Their expedition was purely one for the simple intention of showing that they were prepared to try to protect their property,¹ and to show the Muslims that this constant raiding must be stopped.

Whether, now that the caravan was safe, it would have been better to have rested content with that is a question they were best acquainted with. No doubt they thought that they could, owing to their

war. Had they been there, the historians would certainly have proclaimed it as a justification for the proposed raid on the caravan.

¹ Tirmidhi is quite clear on this point. He records a Tradition which says:—

انما خرج يريد العير فخرجت قريش مغيشين لعيرهم.

Which the Urdu translator renders as: آپ قافلے کے ارادے پر

نکلے تھے سو قریش بھی اپنے قافلے کی فریادرس کی واسطے نکلے تھے

'He went forth with the intention (of taking) the caravan: the Quraish went forth also to protect their caravan' (vol. ii, p. 374). This entirely disposes of the defence set up, and for which no authorities are given in *The Life and Teachings of Muhammad*, p. 145.

superior numbers, chastise the Muslims, and so insure their commerce from future molestation, and it is hard to say that they were wrong.

A distinguished Muslim scholar throws the blame on the Meccans. He says: 'The Quraish would naturally have taken every strong and hostile measure to persecute the fugitives.'¹ This is an assumption and its correctness is not proved. In order to show that the Meccans were the aggressors, this verse is quoted:—

If they seek to deal treacherously with you, they have already dealt treacherously with God before. Súratu'l-Anfál (viii) 72.

But this verse was revealed *after* the battle and to *justify* it. It does not, therefore, contravene the accuracy of the historical statements.

It is said that Muhammad had tried to pacify the Meccans, and that this proves that he was not the aggressor and this verse is quoted:—

O Meccans! If ye desired a decision, now hath the decision come to you. It will be better for you, if ye give over the struggle. Súratu'l-Anfál (viii) 19.

But this revelation also came *after* the battle, and so only proves that Muhammad *then* wished for a truce. It does not deal with the question as to who was responsible for the *commencement* of hostilities. This writer takes up a much stronger position when he admits,² for the sake of argument,

¹ Cherágh 'Alí, p. vi.

² Ibid., p. 33.

that the marauding expeditions were actually made by the Muslims, for the purpose of waylaying caravans and not in self-defence. He argues that, as the Muslims had been, owing to ill treatment, compelled to leave Mecca, there was from the day of the Hijra a state of war between the Muslims in Madína and the Quraish in Mecca, and that, such being the case, it was quite lawful on the part of the Muslims to seize and appropriate all the property of their enemies whenever and however they could get it. This argument, at all events, accepts the historical sequence of events, even though the deduction from them may be open to question.

The Prophet returned to Madína, bringing many prisoners with him. *Súratu'l-Anfál* (viii) was probably given at this time, showing how the Lord had been on their side, how a gracious provision awaited the believers; how a few would vanquish many; how those who turn their backs in the day of battle would abide in hell and how the unbelievers would taste the torture of the burning. The rejoicing, however, was not universal. Many of the slain amongst the Meccans were parents of the Muslims and among the prisoners were their kinsfolk. The Jews were not at all pleased. They were clever satirists, and 'Aṣmá bint Marwán of the tribe of the Baní Aws composed verses, setting forth the folly of the people of Madína in receiving and

protecting one who had slain some of the chief men amongst his own people. These verses were soon passed on from one to another, until they reached the ears of the Muslims, who were much incensed at them. Already there were in Madína men ever ready to show zeal in putting undesirable people out of the way and now 'Umais,¹ a blind man of the same tribe entering 'Aṣmá's house, removed a sleeping infant from her side and stabbed her with his sword. The next morning Muḥammad seeing 'Umais in the mosque said to him:² 'Hast thou slain the daughter of Marwán?' Yes, is there anything against me for killing her? The Prophet replied: 'No, two goats would not butt each other in the matter,'³ in other words, it is of no consequence.

A few months after a similar case occurred. An aged Jew Abú 'Afak was active in his opposition to the Muslims and composed satirical verses which annoyed them. According to Ibn Hishám⁴ Muḥammad used the expression: 'Who will rid me of this pestilent fellow?' A convert seized the opportunity and slew the old man.⁵ The Jews were now very much alarmed and had good reason to be

¹ *Nāsikhū't-Tawārikh*, vol. ii, part i, p. 132.

² Muir, on the authority of Ibn Hishám says that Muḥammad had said: 'who will rid me of this woman?' vol. iii, p. 131.

³ لا ينتطح فيها عتران; The words used were apparently a proverb.

⁴ Quoted by Muir, vol. iii, p. 133.

⁵ *Nāsikhū't-Tawārikh*, vol. ii, part i, p. 135.

so, for the Ghazwa of the Baní Qainuqá' soon followed.

Their ancient Arab allies (ahláf),¹ the Baní Khazraj, had embraced Islám, and the ties of the new religion were stronger than the old ones of amity and alliance. The Baní Qainuqá' were thus isolated, and, as the other Jewish tribes offered them no assistance, they were open to attack. So about a month after the battle of Badr an opportunity arose for picking a quarrel with these Jews. The story as given by Bukhárí and Muslim²

¹ The word ḥalíf (the plural forms are Ahláf and also Hulafá') which I translate as 'ally' has a technical meaning in its connexion with the Jews and the Arabs. It is sometimes translated as 'client' and means one who is under the protection of another. The following statement will make it clear and explain my use of the term. At this time, the Jews in Madína were clients (ahláf) of the Baní Aws and the Baní Khazraj. The Jews had settled in Madína before the Christian era and before the arrival from Yemen of the two Arab tribes—the Aws and the Khazraj. The Jews owned lands and were rich and prosperous. The Arabs had few possessions and were poor, until by an act of treachery they gained the upper hand and depressed their Jewish neighbours. The Jews then looked upon the Arabs of these two tribes as their patrons and protectors. If a Jew sustained an injury from an Arab, he would appeal not to his own Jewish leaders but to his Arab patrons and rarely did so in vain. He did this in his capacity of a ḥalíf or client. Unfortunately for the Jews, Islám broke up this special and most useful tie of comradeship and alliance, and left them helpless. For a good description of the various kinds of clients, see Zaydan, *Umayyads and Abbāsides*, pp. 15-20; 52-71; 113-9.

² Bukhárí, vol. ii, p. 270; Muslim, ii, p. 123, quoted by Margoliouth, p. 281.

is that 'Alí, wishing to marry Fátima and being poor, intended to commence trading. He was promised help by some of the Qainuqá' merchants, but Ḥamza, seeing the camels standing ready for their loads, slew them and made a feast for his friends. 'Alí complained to Muḥammad about his loss. Muḥammad came and found his uncle Ḥamza drunk. Altogether the position was most unseemly. 'Alí's loss was great, yet his marriage was much to be desired. The means were found in the plunder soon to be obtained.

Another story is that a Muslim woman was insulted in the bazaar of the goldsmiths, which led to a quarrel and loss of life.¹ It is also said that the Baní Qainuqá' boasted that, if they had been the Prophet's opponents at Badr, he would not have gained his victory so easily.² They were also accused of having broken a treaty and so according to the *Mudárijū'n-Nabuwat*, the revelation came:—

If thou fear treachery from any people, throw back their treaty to them as thou fairly mayest, for God loveth not the treacherous. *Súratu'l-Anfál* (viii) 60.

They refused to accept Islám, were besieged for fifteen days, defeated, expelled from their homes, and all their property was confiscated. At first it was intended to execute them all, but 'Abdu'lláh

¹ Ibn Hishám, p. 256, quoted by Muir, vol. iii, p. 134, when the story is given in full.

² *Mírkhúnd*, vol. ii, p. 99.

ibn Ubbay, their old Khazraj patron, interceded for them; so the Prophet cursed them and the milder punishment was substituted.¹ 'Abdu'lláh was as yet too formidable a person to be turned into an enemy; but it is to him and not to the Prophet that they owed their lives. This was the first serious attack upon the Jews, who now had no reason whatever for showing any loyalty to Muḥammad.² They failed to combine in these early days, and were beaten in detail. Soon the time came when no opposition on their part, even though a combined one, could be successful.

Soon after the banishment of the Baní Qainuqá' came the murder of another Jew, Ka'b ibn Ashraf, of the tribe of the Baní Naḍir. He was distressed by the victory at Badr and went to Mecca. His poems on the Meccans who had been slain were highly approved there, but it made his return to Madína dangerous. Muḥammad soon let his dislike be known, saying, 'Who will punish the wickedness of ibn Ashraf, because he has insulted God and His

¹ 'Having cursed them he abstained from their slaughter.'

و بر آن قوم را لعنت کرده از سر خون آنها در گذشت.

Mudārijū'n-Nabuwat, p. 580.

² Muḥammad had been in the habit of employing Jewish amanuenses, but now he appointed an intelligent youth, a native of Madína, Zaid ibn Thābit as his secretary. He was acquainted with Hebrew and Syriac and in after years was employed in the recension of the Qur'án.

Prophet.'¹ Muḥammad bin Muslama responded to the call. His plan was to visit Ka'b and to gain his confidence by speaking evil of the Prophet, who gave his consent to this mode of proceeding.² He then selected Abú Naila, a foster brother of Ka'b, and others as his fellow-conspirators. Abú Naila went on in advance and represented to Ka'b the great poverty they were now in on account of Muḥammad's rule, begged for a supply of provision and offered to leave some security with him. Ka'b, asked first for their wives and then for their children. They declined to give either. Finally they agreed to pledge their weapons and appointed a late hour of the evening for so doing. They reported this to the Prophet who, late in the evening, went some way with them, bid them God-speed and returned home. Ka'b came out of his house when Abú

¹ کیست که هر ابن اشرف از ما کفایت کند که او خدای تعالی و رسول او ایذا رسانید
Mirkhúnd, vol. ii, p. 107.

Bukhārī records a Tradition to a similar effect: 'Who will destroy Ka'b ibn Ashraf who without doubt has given God and His prophet much trouble.'

قال رسول الله معلم لكعب بن الاشرف فانه قد اذى الله ورسوله
part xvi, p. 75.

Abú Dá'ūd and Tirmidhī record that Muḥammad sent Sa'd bin Mu'ādh to kill Ibn Sa'd.

حضرت معلم نے سعد بن معاذ کو حکم کیا کہ اس کی طرف ایک جماعت کو بھیجے تو اس کو مار ڈالیں

Faiḍu'l-Bārī, part xvi, p. 74.

² *Mirkhúnd*, vol. ii, p. 107.

Naila called, and when they reached the appointed place of meeting the conspirators, instead of giving up their weapons, used them to slaughter a defenceless man. One of their number, Harītha bin Mu'ādh, was accidentally wounded by a blow aimed at Ka'b. When the Prophet saw the head of Ka'b, he 'thanked God, and then put a little saliva from his blessed mouth upon the wound of Harītha, which was thereby immediately healed.'¹ Not very long after another case occurred. Abū Rāfi' possessed a fortress near Khaibar and had aided the Meccans. Five men went to kill him. One of them by a stratagem obtained access to the house and slew Abū Rāfi' whilst he was sleeping. The Prophet was glad² when he heard of it. Bukhārī distinctly says the Prophet sent the men.³

There is no dispute as to the fact of these assassinations, though Tradition may have added to the embellishments of some of the details. What judgement is to be passed upon them? One view is that they were murders dictated by fear or jealousy and that there is no justification whatever for them. The modern defence⁴ for Muhammad's

¹ Mirkhūnd, vol. ii, p. 101.

² Ibid, p. 102.

³ بعث رسول الله صلعم الى ابي رافع اليهود رجلا من الانصار, part xvi, pp. 79-80.

The Urdu translator interprets this as 'sent to kill the Jew',

یہودی کو مارنے کے بھیجا

⁴ Cherāgh 'Alī, pp. 61-76.

part in them is, first, that the narratives especially when they record his approval are untrustworthy; and second, if they are correct, that the assassinations were justified on the ground that these persons were traitors to the State, that there existed no legal court before which they could be brought. 'In the absence of a State executioner any individual might become the executioner of the State.'¹ 'The exigencies of the State required that whatever should be done, should be done swiftly and noiselessly upon those whom public opinion had arraigned and condemned.' The political necessity is thus set forth: 'The existence of the republic and the maintenance of peace and order within the city depended upon the prompt execution of the sentence upon the culprits before they could rally their clansmen round them.'²

Such are the conflicting views; but the conclusion to be arrived at seems to depend upon the standpoint from which these transactions are viewed. If we look upon Muhammad, as Muslims do, as a divinely sent Prophet, commissioned to bring to all mankind a higher order of religion, of peace and of purity than ever before existed, a religion to supplant Judaism with its limited national and exclusive spirit, to supersede Christianity with its wider outlook and universal sympathy; if Muhammad was sent

¹ Syed Amīr 'Alī, p. 162.

² Ibid., p. 163.

to do so great a work, to be the highest example of what a true and holy Prophet should be, to be the great teacher whose actions were to form the Sunna—a divine rule of practice for all believers, to be the ideal man for all time and for all men, then surely it might be expected that subterfuge and fraud would be far from him, that not even for political ends would he allow life to be taken, except in open conflict and in the light of day.

On the other hand, if we look upon Muḥammad as an Arab chief, as a leader not of a clan but of a community which was fast absorbing all clans, as the founder of an earthly commonwealth using his prestige as a religious reformer to make it strong, and his revelations to support and enforce his claims: if, in short, the view is correct that the national sentiment was an important factor in his life's work, and that he now saw the probability of realizing his great national ideal of making Arabia independent, united and free; in such a case, the defence does explain, though perhaps it hardly justifies in its method, the execution of these troublesome Jews.

After the expulsion of the Baní Qainuqá', Muḥammad's power at Madína continued to increase. It was a time of repose, only broken by the alarm of a fruitless raid by Abú Sufyán. Muḥammad in reply made three small expeditions against some Arab tribes, allies of the Quraish, but they were

unsuccessful and no booty was gained. So the old plan of attempting to capture a caravan was adopted.

The Meccan merchants found themselves in great difficulty as regards a safe commercial route to Syria. They saw that their trade would be ruined by Muḥammad and his followers, that the ordinary western route was now closed to them; that, if they remained quiet and sent no caravans, they would be living on their capital and soon come to ruin. Then Asúd bin Muṭṭalib recommended them to try the eastern route to Syria by way of 'Iráq. After some discussion, a guide having been found, this plan was adopted and a large and rich caravan of merchandise was sent. The news of this change of route reached Muḥammad at Madína, and he at once sent Zaid bin Ḥarítha with a hundred horsemen in pursuit of the caravan. It was taken, and all the goods to the value of one hundred thousand dirhems, with two prisoners, were brought to Madína where the spoil was divided.¹ The prisoners were told to accept Islám, which they did, and in the words of the historian thus 'saved their lives from the grasp of death.' The defence for this raid is that it was almost certain that the Meccans would not leave the Muslims alone; but it also equally proves that the Muslims either did not want peace, or that the Arab love

¹ *Mudáriju'n-Nabuwat*, p. 585.

of looting overcame their prudence. It was clearly manifest that the Meccans could now no longer remain quiet. Their very existence as a commercial community was in danger. The Badr route was unsafe and now the eastern one was within the reach of the Muslims. The immediate cause of the battle of Uhud was the unprovoked capture of the caravan of the merchants of Mecca. It is not fair, or even historically true, to cast all the blame on the Meccans.

Zaid's successful raid showed the Meccans that, if they were not ready to fight, the Muslims were. Abú Sufyán, 'Akrima and others had little difficulty in collecting money to equip an expedition,¹ and an army of three thousand men was raised and placed under the command of Abú Sufyán. After a march of ten days, the army arrived near Madína and encamped at Uhud. In the council chamber of the Prophet the question whether the Muslims should adopt offensive or defensive tactics was eagerly debated. The former policy finally prevailed. The Prophet ascended the pulpit and said: 'March forth in the name of Alláh, the Most High, for victory is yours if you be steadfast.'²

Though Uhud was only a short distance away from Madína, yet the road was bad and a guide was needed. Abú Hashma Harítha safely conducted

¹ Súratu'l-Anfál (viii) 36 is said to refer to this.

² Mirkhúnd, vol. ii, p. 105.

the Prophet and his army to the position which they wished to occupy. The Muslim army was one thousand strong and contained one hundred men who wore armour. It had no cavalry, for only one horse was present. On arrival at the field of battle 'Abdu'lláh ibn Ubbay, the leader of the Munáfiqún, who was much displeased at the rejection of his advice to remain in Madína, turned away and retired with three hundred men.¹ It is said two troops which occupied the flanks wavered and were about to join him, when the Prophet, according to some authorities, gave forth this revelation :—

When two troops of you became full of anxious thought and lost heart, and when God became the protector of both! In God, then, let the faithful trust.

God had already succoured you at Badr, when ye were the weaker! Fear God, then, that ye may be thankful.

Then thou didst say to the faithful, 'Is it not enough for you that your Lord aideth you with three thousand angels sent down from on high?'

Aye: but if ye be steadfast and fear God and the foe come upon you in hot haste, your Lord will help you with five thousand angels. Súratu 'Alí 'Imrán (iii) 118-21.

This exhortation had its effect and the Baní Salíma and the Baní Harítha regaining their courage stood firm. The defection of 'Abdu'lláh ibn Ubbay is

¹ Bukhári, part xvi, p. 96.

attributed to Satanic agency:—

Of a truth it was Satan alone who caused those of you to fail in duty who turned back when the hosts met. *Súratu ʿAlī ʿImrān* (iii) 149.

The loss of three hundred warriors was serious, but the seven hundred who remained were brave and faithful men, ready to die in what they believed was the cause of God and of His Apostle. They were not disheartened at the superior numbers of the enemy.

Muḥammad took up his position with judgement, facing in the direction of Madína. The hill of Uhud, a rugged spur of a mountain chain, extended for three or four miles into the valley. It is so isolated from the other hills that it almost stands alone. Thus his rear was protected, except at one opening. To guard this pass Muḥammad posted fifty of his archers, under ʿAbduʾlláh bin Jubair, with strict orders not to move until he told them to do so.¹ Meanwhile Abú Sufyán arranged his forces. Many single combats ensued and for a while success was with the Muslims.

The Meccan cavalry had tried in vain to turn the flank of the Muslims, for the archers kept them at bay. All would have gone well, if the troops had remembered the Prophet's injunction to be steadfast; but the Meccan camp being left unguarded, the desire to plunder it became so strong

¹ *Bukhārī*, part xvi, p. 90.

that the commanders could not control their men. The archers, seeing that looting was going on, in spite of all their leader could do, disobeyed the Prophet's order, and left their important position in order to engage in the same operation and so secure their share of the booty. *Khálid*, the leader of the Meccan cavalry at once came through the pass, and appeared at the rear of the now disorganized Muslim army. The rest of the Meccans, seeing this, reformed their ranks and pressed on the Muslims who now fled in all directions. Then there was a slaughter grim and great.¹ A stone wounded the Prophet in the cheek and four of his front teeth were knocked out. He fell to the ground and the cry went up that he was slain; but he was only stunned and soon came to himself. As the blood was being washed off, he said: 'How shall the people prosper that have thus treated their Prophet, who calleth them unto their Lord? Let the wrath of God burn against the men that have besprinkled the face of His Apostle with blood.'² He also cursed Abú Sufyán.³ *Bai-dáwí* says the following verses were then revealed:—

Muḥammad is no more than an apostle; other apostles have already passed away before him: if he die, therefore, or be slain, will ye turn upon your heels.

¹ ʿĀyisha and Umm Salma were present and gave the wounded water to drink. *Bukhārī*, part ii, p. 186.

² *Wáqidí*, p. 242, quoted by Muir, vol. iii, p. 175.

³ *Tirmidhí*, vol. ii, p. 339.

No one can die except by God's permission, according to the Book that fixeth the term (of life).
Súratu 'Alī 'Imrān (iii) 138-9.

This was intended to allay the consternation which the report had spread amongst the Muslims.

After the battle, the Meccans, in accordance with the usual indecisive results of Arab warfare, failed to pursue their victory and so retired to Mecca. The Muslims then went in search of their killed and wounded. When Ḥamza's mutilated corpse was brought in, Muḥammad was very much grieved and said that, if God gave him a victory, he would mutilate seventy Meccans in the same manner. Then Gabriel brought this verse:—

If ye make reprisals, then make them to the same extent that ye were injured; but if ye can endure patiently, best will it be for the patiently enduring.
Súratu'n-Nahl (xvi) 127.¹

The intention of the Prophet was clear, and the commentators allow that retaliation was permitted; only that it should be 'to the same extent', i.e. on one person, not on seventy. Still they admit that Muḥammad exercised a wise forbearance in following the last clause of the verse and in doing nothing.

The battle of Uḥud was looked back upon with peculiar interest. The Prophet visited the place every year and blessed the martyrs buried there, saying: 'Peace be on you for all that ye endured,

¹ For a Tradition on this verse, see Tirmidhī, vol. ii, p. 375.

and a blessed future.' Fāṭima said that one day she went to Uḥud and said at the graves; 'Peace be on thee, O uncle of the Prophet', and the response came, 'On thee be peace'. The names of the martyrs are all recorded, and their memory is kept very precious. Marvellous stories are told about them. It is said, for instance, that their souls are in the bodies of green birds which dwell in paradise¹ and that they enjoy even now the full pleasures of paradise, that they will rise at the Last Day with their wounds shining red, and an aroma like musk proceeding therefrom. But notwithstanding the halo of glory which Tradition has cast around the men who fell at Uḥud, the defeat was, at the time, a very serious blow to the Prophet's cause. It required all the adroitness and skill, of which he was such a master, to avert a greater danger than the loss in battle of seventy followers.

Revelations now came in abundance to explain why this defeat came to test their constancy, and how it was the result of their own disobedience. Still, the broad fact remained that the victory of Badr had been extolled as a signal mark of God's good pleasure. Ought not, then, this defeat to be looked upon as an equally clear sign of the divine displeasure? The position was so serious that many verses in the Súratu 'Alī 'Imrān, the

¹ ارواحهم فى طير خضر Tirmidhī, vol. ii, p. 341; see *H.D. Qur'ān*, p. 159.

third Súra, are devoted to explanations concerning it. I give a few now by way of illustration.

The murmuring of 'Abdu'lláh ibn Ubbay and others are met by the verse:—

O ye who believe! be not like the infidels, who said of their brethren when they had travelled by land or had gone forth to war, 'Had they kept with us, they had not died, and had not been slain!' God purposed that this affair should cause them heart sorrow. God maketh alive and killeth, and God beholdeth your actions. Súratu 'Áli 'Imrán (iii) 150.

The fatal move of the archers from their assigned position, and the blame laid upon them for the defeat are thus described:—

Already had God made good to you His promise, when by His permission ye destroyed your foes until your courage failed you, and ye disputed about the order, and disobeyed, after that (the Prophet) had brought you within view of that for which ye longed.

Some of you were for this world and some for the next. Súratu 'Áli 'Imrán (iii) 145-6.

The victory was in their hands, but the order to stand steadfast was not obeyed and defeat followed. The battle was a test of the obedience of the Muslims and of the soundness of their belief:—

We alternate these days of successes and reverses among men, that God may know those who have believed.

That God may test those who believe and destroy the infidels.

When a reverse hath befallen you, the like of which ye had before inflicted, say ye, 'whence is this?' Say: 'it is from yourselves, For God hath power over all things.'

That which befell you on the day when the armies met was by the will of God, and that He might know the faithful, and that He might know the hypocrites. Súratu 'Áli 'Imrán (iii) 134-5, 159-60.

They were not to be disheartened at the result, for:—

How many a prophet hath combated those who had with them many myriads! Yet were they not daunted at what befell them on the path of God, nor were they weakened, nor did they basely submit.

As to those who after the reverse which befell them, respond to God and the Apostle—such of them as do good works and fear God, they shall have a great reward. Súratu 'Áli 'Imrán (iii) 140, 166.

The hopefulness of the Prophet is seen in words taken from a Súra which was delivered after the battle of Uḥud. They give a stern rebuke to all those who were faint-hearted:—

He it is who hath sent His Apostle with guidance and the religion of truth, that, though they hate it who join other gods with God, He may make it victorious over every other religion. Súratu's-Şáff (lxi) 9.

Thus, though Islám had met with a reverse, all would come right and finally it would become the one universal religion which all would accept and obey. The Meccans, on their part, were pleased with the victory they had gained and the news of it when spread abroad stirred up a spirit of opposition on the part of some of the Arab tribes.

The close attention which the Prophet paid to this subject, the many revelations he put forth regarding

it, the anxiety he showed to prevent any defection amongst his followers in consequence of it—all these things show how important an episode this defeat at Uḥud was in the career of Muḥammad. Setting aside the marvels with which Tradition has enriched the accounts of the battles of Badr and of Uḥud, and passing over the alleged divine interpositions, and dealing with them simply as historical events, the conclusion, as we have already stated, seems to be that the immediate cause of the battle of Badr was Muḥammad's attempt to capture a Meccan caravan, and of the battle of Uḥud his successful seizure of one. Whatever may have been the state of feeling between the men of Mecca and the men of Madína, it does not appear that in these two conflicts the former were the original aggressors.

We have no accounts given by the Quraish. All our information comes from Muslim sources, but even then an impartial student may be led to have some sympathy for the Meccans. They had to fight for their very existence as a commercial community, and for freedom to carry on their daily business. These two battles were, from the standpoint of the men of Mecca, wars of defence and the Muslims were clearly the aggressors.

After the defeat at Uḥud Muḥammad passed two months in peace, but when the fourth year of the Hījra opened he heard that Ṭulaiḥa, the chief of the Baní Asád intended to make a raid on Madína.

The Prophet anticipated it in what is known as the Sariya of Abú Salma and was successful.

Then the Baní Lahyán under Sufyán bin Khálid took up a threatening attitude at 'Urna. Muḥammad sent 'Abdu'lláh bin Unais with instructions to put Sufyán out of the way. When 'Abdu'lláh reached the camp of Sufyán, he represented that he was a member of the Khuzá'í tribe, and that he wished to join the expedition against Muḥammad. He was allowed to do this, and when Sufyán was asleep he assassinated him and escaped with the head of his victim to Madína. 'Muḥammad and the Companions were pleased with the killing of that enemy of God.'¹ It is said that 'Abdu'lláh went as a spy and that Muḥammad had no responsibility for his act;² but it is distinctly stated by the historians that he was sent for the purpose 'of killing Sufyán and to clear the plain of the religion of Islám from his wickedness and mischief.'³

This assassination broke up the opposing force at 'Urna, but it was a cowardly way of meeting enemies, and it set an example which the Arabs were not slow to follow. It was a game at which two

¹ حضرت رسول و اصحاب بقتل آن دشمن خدا مسرور گشته.

Mirkhúnd, vol. ii, p. 118.

² Cherágh 'Alí, p. 69.

³ عبد الله را بفرستاد تا سفیان را بقتل آرد و باعث دین اسلام را از

هر و فسادى وی پاک کردند. Mudáriju'n-Nabuwat, p. 618.

could play, as Muḥammad soon discovered, for Wáqidi¹ relates how, after the murder of Sufyán, the men of the Laḥyán tribe went to the 'Adhl and the Qára tribes and instigated them to request Muḥammad to send persons to instruct them in the tenets of Islám, as they wished to become Muslims. They further suggested to the Baní 'Adhl and the Baní Qára that, when the teachers arrived, they might slay those who had killed Sufyán, and make prisoners of the rest and sell them to the Quraish. The deputation was sent, and in reply to its request for teachers Muḥammad allowed seven men to go. In due course they arrived at the well of Rají', where they were attacked by some armed men of the Baní Laḥyán, who slew three Muslims and took three prisoners.

In the same month, May A.D. 625 another serious affair happened. It is known as the Sariya of Bir Ma'úna. The chief of the Baní 'Ámir, Abú Birá, requested Muḥammad to send teachers to his people. As the Baní 'Ámir were allies of the Quraish, Muḥammad felt some hesitation in complying with this request. However, on receiving assurances of their safety, he agreed to send seventy men, a large number, if nothing but teaching was intended.² The old chief Abú Birá had resigned his

¹ *Magházi'u's-Šádiqa's*, p. 267.

² The latest opinion on this affair is given in the *Encyclopædia of Islám*, p. 723. It is that Muḥammad had been asked to aid one side in a tribal dispute and sent seventy horsemen. They were

leadership to his nephew 'Ámir ibn Ṭufail, an avowed enemy of the Muslims. The result was that by a most deceitful action all but two of the Muslims were slain. Muḥammad received the news with much concern and was alarmed at this gross act of treachery, for such it was. It so happened that two men connected with the Baní 'Ámir, who were under the protection of Muḥammad were met by 'Amru bin Amaiya, one of the two survivors, and were slain by him. Muḥammad was vexed at the murder of these men and according to statements made by Wáqidi,¹ Ṭabarí² and Mírkhúnd,³ he paid at once the diyat, or blood-money for them.

These events now led to an attack on the Baní Naḍír, a Jewish tribe who were clients of the Baní 'Ámir. Muḥammad claimed from them the blood money (diyat) he had recently paid. Accompanied by Abú Bakr, 'Alí and Ṭalḥa he went to them for the purpose of obtaining the diyat.⁴ The Baní

defeated and to cover up an unfortunate campaign, the Traditionists invented the story given by them. It is doubtful if there were then in Madína, seventy Qurrá', or Qur'án Readers. Again Muḥammad entered into a compact with 'Ámir ibn Ṭufail to pay the diyat for the two men murdered, which seems to show that the killing of the seventy was done in open warfare.

¹ Quoted in *Magházi'u's-Šádiqa*, p. 301.

² Quoted by Muir, vol. iii, p. 208.

³ *Mírkhúnd*, vol. ii, p. 119, دیت دو نفر را هورتا ایشان رساند

⁴ تا در باب آن دیت دو قتیل استعانت نماند

Mírkhúnd, vol. ii, p. 119.

Naḍīr had lost one of their Rabbis, Ka'b ibn Ashraf, who had recently been assassinated, and they may very naturally have thought that Muḥammad should pay them the diyat for it, instead of expecting them to pay for a matter in which they had taken no part. However, they received him and his friends courteously; but he suddenly departed and returned to Madína, giving as his reason for so doing that he had been informed by Gabriel that treachery and danger were imminent. The Traditions go into some details about this, but we have only the Muslim version and not any Jewish statements about it. There is no reference in the Qur'án to any such plot, and this omission throws considerable doubt upon the story. All that Súratu'l-Hashr (lix), the Súra which specially deals with this affair, says is to be found in the fourth verse which states that 'they set them against God and His Apostle.' Muḥammad's followers soon joined him in Madína and this verse was then revealed:—

O believers, recollect God's favour upon you, when certain folk were minded to stretch forth their hands upon you; but He kept their hands from you. Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 14.

When the Baní Naḍīr found that Muḥammad had gone, they met together, and Kináyu bin Šuwair advised them to accept Muḥammad as an apostle, for otherwise they might be ordered to emigrate and

Bukhārī (part xvi, p. 64) says the same:—

مخرج رسول الله اليهم في دية الرجلين .

so lose their houses and lands. The people replied that they could not give up their religion. The Prophet then sent Muḥammad bin Muslima to them. It is recorded that he charged them with treachery, and said that all who did not depart within the space of ten days would have their heads cut off. They expressed their surprise that Muḥammad should send, or that a member of the Baní Aws should bring, such a message. Muḥammad ibn Muslima said, 'The hearts of the people are changed now.'¹ The Jews then made preparations to obey this order, when a messenger from 'Abdu'lláh ibn Ubbay arrived, urging them not to go. He then promised them assistance. It was also expected that the Baní Quraiza, another Jewish tribe, would come to the rescue. He may have hoped for this aid, or for some help from Mecca, or the Jews may have believed that the Baní Naḍīr could defend their forts; but whether the advice was given in good faith or not, 'Abdu'lláh ibn Ubbay failed to assist them. Whether he found it impossible to do so, or whether he intentionally broke his faith with them, is [doubtful. The Qur'án accuses him and his party of insincerity:—

Hast thou not observed the disaffected saying to their unbelieving brethren among the people of the

¹ اب قلوب لوكون كے متغير ہو گئے

Wāqidi, *Maghāzī'u's-Šādiqa*, vol. i, p. 280.

Book, 'If you be driven forth, we will go forth with you; and in what concerneth you, never will we obey any one: and if ye be attacked, we will certainly come to your help. But God is witness that they are liars.

If they were driven forth, they would not share their banishment; if they were attacked they would not help them, or if they help them they will surely turn their backs. *Súratu'l-Ḥashr* (lix) 11-12.

For the time, however, it put some courage into the hearts of the Baní Naḍír, who sent a message to Muḥammad saying: 'We shall not depart from our possessions; do what thou wilt against us.' This suited the Prophet's plans, and, on hearing of their determination to remain, he said: 'The Jews have resolved to fight', and in a loud voice pronounced the Takbir—'Great is the Lord.' His followers also expressed their joy in the same way, and the words *Alláhu Akbar! Alláhu Akbar!* resounded on all sides. Preparations for the conflict were then made, and a force sufficient for the purpose soon set out from Madína. The Baní Naḍír made a stout resistance which led to an act quite contrary to all the Arab usages of war. Muḥammad ordered all the date trees, except the kind called the *a'júz* to be cut down. The Jews remonstrated in vain against so unjust a proceeding, which was opposed to the precepts of the Law of Moses,¹ a Law which the Qur'án professed to confirm; but the order went forth that the trees were to be utterly destroyed.

¹ Deut. xx. 19.

The Baní Naḍír, seeing that further resistance was useless, sent to say that they were ready to abandon their lands, now rendered useless. The siege had lasted about three weeks and Muḥammad was apparently glad to come to terms. He allowed them to go away with their camels and such goods as they could load upon them, except their weapons. These and the crops he divided amongst his followers. The banishment of the Baní Naḍír enabled the Prophet to provide now a permanent means of livelihood for the *Muhájirún*, the men who came with him from Mecca. At the same time it showed that opposition to his will was becoming powerless, and that the various Jewish tribes would not combine for mutual defence. Thus his prestige greatly increased.

The action of Muḥammad in his dealings with the Baní Naḍír is approved by Cherágh 'Alí,¹ who accepts the statements of the Traditions regarding the alleged conspiracy to kill him, but with great inconsistency the same author in dealing with the affair at *Nakhla* discards the Traditions: 'The affair of the *Nakhla* marauding party, as related in the Traditions, is full of discrepancies and is altogether inconsistent and untrustworthy.'² Is then the canon of authenticity of a Tradition to be its agreement with the views of an author?

¹ Cherágh 'Alí, p. 34.

² *Ibid.*, p. 30.

A whole Súra, Súratu'l-Hashr (lix), is devoted to the Baní Naḍír, but it does not hint at the alleged crime of their attempt on the life of the Prophet.¹ It is inconceivable that such a good reason for the attack on them would have been omitted in the Qur'án had there been the least ground for the charge. This excuse for the expulsion must on historical grounds be set aside and another reason be found. It seems to be found in the fact that this tribe was a wealthy one, possessed of fertile lands on which needy Muhájirún might settle.² It is not surprising then that a revelation came confirming them in the possession of the property of the Baní Naḍír.

To the poor (Muhájirún) also doth a part belong, who have been driven from their homes and their substance. Súratu'l-Hashr (lix) 8.

The validity or not of cutting down the date trees is an interesting question, but I must pass it by here.³

After the victory at Uḥud, Abú Sufyán had said: 'We will meet again next year at Badr', so this event is called the 'Badr of promise'. As a matter

of fact, no fighting took place, for Abú Sufyán, being short of provisions, had to return. The Muslims had taken much merchandise with them and this they sold at a good profit. Muḥammad was pleased and showed in a special revelation that the expedition had the divine approval.¹

The summer and autumn of the fourth year passed in peace and the Prophet had leisure to attend to his domestic affairs.

¹ Súratu 'Alī 'Imrām (iii) 166-9.

¹ Cherāgh 'Alī (p. 109) admits this, and says that 'the Traditions on the subject are *ex parte* and legendary.'

² Bukhārī records a Tradition which says of Jewish lands, 'They belong to God and His Apostle.' — *أن الأرض لله ورسوله* part xii, p. 167.

³ For a full account of the affair, see *Ghazwas and Sariyas* (C.L.S.), pp. 31-3.

CHAPTER VIII

SOME DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

MUHAMMAD now contracted a marriage with Zainab, daughter of Khuzaima, who was killed at Badr. A month or so after this, he married his sixth wife Umm Salma, the widow of Abú Salma. Both husband and wife had been exiles in Abyssinia. Abú Salma died of a wound received at Uḥud.

A little later on, in the beginning of the fifth year of the Hijrá, a marriage was arranged with Zainab bint Jaḥsh, the wife of Muḥammad's adopted son Zaid. The story goes that, on visiting the house of Zaid, Muḥammad was struck with the beauty of his wife. Zaid offered to divorce her, but Muḥammad said to him, 'Keep thy wife to thyself and fear God.' Zaid now proceeded with the divorce, though from the implied rebuke in the thirty-sixth verse of *Súratu'l-Aḥzáb* (xxxiii)¹ he seems to have doubted the propriety of his action. In ordinary cases this would have removed any difficulty as regards the marriage of Zainab and Muḥammad,

¹ 'It is not for a believer, man or woman, to have any choice in their affairs, when God and His Apostle have decreed a matter.' *Súratu'l-Aḥzáb* (xxxiii) 36.

and little or no scandal would have followed; but the marriage of a man with the wife of his adopted son, even though divorced, was looked upon by the Arabs as a very wrong thing indeed. However Muḥammad did this, and had to justify his action by alleging that he had for it the direct sanction of God. It was first necessary to show that God did not approve of the general objection to marriage with wives of adopted sons, and so the revelation came thus:—

Nor hath He made your adopted sons to be as your sons. *Súratu'l-Aḥzáb* (xxxiii) 4.

According to Arab custom and usage Zaid was to Muḥammad 'as his son', but in Islám such a view was by divine command to be set aside. Having thus settled the general principle, the way was clear for Muḥammad to act in this particular case, and to claim divine sanction for setting at nought the sentiment of the Arab people. So the revelation goes on to say:—

And remember when thou (i. e. Muḥammad) said to him (i. e. Zaid) unto whom God had shown favour,¹ and to whom thou also hadst shown favour,² 'Keep thy wife to thyself and fear God'; and thou didst hide in thy mind what God would bring to light,³ and thou didst fear man; but more right had it been to

¹ In allowing him to become a Muslim.

² In adopting him as a son.

³ That is, the fact that Zainab would become the wife of the Prophet: the words 'thou didst hide in thy mind' refer to the fear Muḥammad felt at breaking through a custom held in such esteem

fear God.¹ and when Zaid had settled to divorce her, we married her to thee, that it might not be a crime in the faithful to marry the wives of their adopted sons, when they have settled the affairs concerning them. And the order of God is to be performed.

No blame attaches to the Prophet where God hath given him a permission. *Súratu'l-Aḥzáb* (xxxiii) 37-8.

Another difficulty was that Zainab was the daughter of Muḥammad's aunt, a daughter of 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib; but a fresh revelation, by bestowing upon the Prophet a special and peculiar privilege, not accorded to his followers, removed the difficulty:—

O Prophet! we have allowed thee thy wives whom thou hast dowered, and the slaves whom thy right

by the Arabs, namely, the abstaining from marrying the wife of an adopted son. Thus Bukhārī says:—

و تخفى فى نفسك ما الله مبديه نزلت فى هان ابنة جحش وزيد بن حارثة.

'Thou didst hide in thy heart that which God would bring to light in the matter of the daughter of Jahsh and Zaid bin Haritha.' *Ṣaḥīḥu'l-Bukhārī*, (Leyde, ed. 1862), vol. iii, p. 312.

Husain comments on this verse thus: 'And didst conceal in thy heart that which God made plain, that Zainab should join the company of the excellent wives, and didst fear the reproach of men, who said: "He has asked for the wife of an adopted son".'

و پنهان میکردی در نفس خود ما الله مبديه آنچه خدا پيدا کنند آن اسف یعنی آنرا که زینب داخل ازواج طیبات تو خواهد بود و ترمیدی از سرزنش مردم که گوید پسر عوانده را بخواست.

Tafsir-i-Husaini, vol. ii, p. 201.

¹ That is, to have no hesitation in the matter.

hand possesseth out of the booty God hath granted thee, and the daughters of thy uncle, and of thy paternal and maternal aunts¹ who fled with thee (from Mecca), and any believing woman² who hath given herself up to the Prophet, if the Prophet desireth to wed her—a privilege for thee above the rest of the faithful. *Súratu'l-Aḥzáb* (xxxiii) 49.

Zainab and her husband did not encourage the suit of the Prophet, and are thus reprimanded by the alleged command of God in the revelation:—

And it is not for a believer, man or woman, to have any choice in their affairs when God and His Apostle have decreed a matter; and whoever disobeyeth God and His Apostle erreth with palpable error.³ *Súratu'l-Aḥzáb* (xxxiii) 36.

This settled the matter, and the marriage with Zainab was thus declared to be legal and right. Zaid was no longer spoken of as the son of Muḥammad, but as Zaid ibn Haritha.

The case of Zainab showed the danger of men seeing the wives of other people and so restrictions were now made to prevent uninvited admission into the harem of the Prophet:—

O ye who believe! Enter not into the houses of the Prophet, save by his leave . . . when ye are invited

¹ This removes from the Prophet the restrictions placed on other Muslims in *Súratu'n-Nisá'* (iv) 3 in which only four wives are allowed and in v. 27 of the same Súra in which marriage with near relatives is forbidden.

² The commentator Husain refers this to Zainab. *Tafsir-i-Husaini*, vol. ii, p. 204.

³ The commentators are unanimous in referring this verse to Zaid and Zainab. See *H.D. Qur'an*, p. 169 and note.

then enter. And engage not in familiar talk, for that would cause the Prophet trouble. *Súratu'l-Aḥzáb* (xxxiii) 53.

It is probable that, with the licit practice of polygamy and concubinage in such a mixed population as that in Madína, women walking abroad might be exposed to rudeness, and so the veil is now ordered:—

O Prophet! speak to thy wives and to thy daughters, and to the wives of the faithful, that they let their veils fall low! *Súratu'l-Aḥzáb* (xxxiii) 59.¹

Rules and regulations regarding the visits of strangers to the houses of the Muslims were now made.² The dwellings for Muḥammad's numerous wives were erected on the eastern side of the mosque, one for each. The Prophet arranged to pass a day and night in each successively. Thus there was the day of Sauda, the day of 'Áyisha, and so on. 'Áyisha was a young lady with a strong will and often had more than her share of the Prophet's attention, which naturally caused much discontent. This called for a divine rebuke to the jealous ones, and a divine approval of the Prophet's partiality to any one of them, Thus:—

Thou mayest decline for the present whom thou wilt of them, and thou mayest take to thy (bed) her whom thou wilt, and whomsoever thou shalt long for of those thou shalt have before neglected. *Súratu'l-Aḥzáb* (xxxiii) 51.

¹ See also *Súratu'n-Nūr* (xxiv) 31.

² *Ibid.*, 27-8.

A few small expeditions were now made against Jewish tribes. In one of these, the *Ṣalātu'l-Khauf*, or prayer of fear, was instituted. When on active service, a part of an army remains under arms, whilst the rest say a shortened form of the *Ṣalát*.

The chief of the Baní Muṣṭaliq now induced some other tribes to join him for an attack on Madína. Muḥammad heard of this and set out with a large force, accompanied by some of the dissatisfied (*Munáfiqún*) who joined the force in the hope of plunder. The Muslims gained a complete victory, took many prisoners and much booty.¹ Juwaira, the daughter of al-Ḥáriṭha, despairing of finding the ransom fixed by her captor, appealed to the Prophet. 'Áyisha describes her as very beautiful and graceful. Muḥammad listened to her story, proposed marriage to her and was accepted. She thus became his eighth wife. The people then looked upon the Baní Muṣṭaliq as relatives, and set all the prisoners free, on which 'Áyisha declared that no woman was ever such a blessing to her people as Juwaira.

Another event of some interest took place on the return march. It is known as the slander about 'Áyisha. The simplest method of settling the claims of his many wives to accompany him on these expeditions led Muḥammad to devise the plan of doing

¹ *Muddáriju'n-Nabuwat*, p. 630.

it by drawing lots.¹ In this case 'Áyisha was the favoured wife. On the return journey, according to her own account, she stayed behind to find a bracelet, and her bearers thinking she was inside her litter went on without her. In her distress she wrapped her clothes around her and sat down. After a while, one of the men, Ṣafwán binu'l-Mu'aṭṭah, found her, seated her on his camel and, leading the animal by the rein brought her to Madína. This was a very simple affair, though the fact that 'Áyisha had stated that on seeing Juwaira the 'fire of envy arose in her heart'² may have given rise to suspicion about her conduct. The scandal-mongers took it up, hoping to put the Prophet in the dilemma of either offending Abú Bakr, his father-in-law, or of damaging his position by condoning the offence. After her return 'Áyisha fell sick and retired to her father's house. For some weeks the Prophet remained away. He consulted 'Alí and Usáma bin Zaid as to what he should do. Usáma did his utmost to prove her innocence, but 'Alí recommended a divorce. 'Áyisha never forgave him for this and, when 'Alí became Khalifa, still remained his mortal enemy. The whole affair was troublesome, but the usual opportune revelation came, and one day the Prophet went to

¹ Bukhárí records a Tradition on the authority of 'Áyisha to this effect—النبي ملعم إذا أراد أن يخرج أفرغ بين نسائه part ii, p. 186. See also *Mishkátu'l-Maṣḍabih*, p. 478.

² *Mudáriju'n-Nabuwat*, p. 631.

see her and said: 'O 'Áyisha rejoice, Verily the Lord hath revealed thine innocence.' The opening verses of the Súratu'n-Núr (xxiv) were then delivered to the people. 'Áyisha's character was cleared, and some of her calumniators received the punishment prescribed in the verse:—

Those who defame virtuous women, and bring not four witnesses, scourge them with (fourscore) stripes. Súratu'n-Núr (xxiv) 4.

CHAPTER IX

SUPPRESSION OF THE JEWS

THE Jews were now in sore straits. Muḥammad lost no opportunity of getting hold of their possessions. They were scattered about in various parts of the country and seem to have been deficient in the energy needed for a combination for their own defence. They preferred the Quraish to the Muslims and are thus rebuked:—

Hast thou not observed those to whom a part of the Scriptures have been given? They believe in al-Jebt and al-Tāghūt and say of the infidels, 'These are guided to a better path than those who hold the faith.'

These are they whom God hath cursed. *Súratu'n-Nisá'* (iv) 54-5.

Abú Sufyán responded to their call and with the aid of some of the Arab tribes was able to raise an army of 10,000 men to attempt the capture of Madína. The Muslims remembered Uḥud and determined to remain strictly on the defensive. Guided by the advice of Salmán, a Persian convert, they dug a ditch in the vacant spaces between the houses. The work was laborious, but Muḥammad

took his share of it¹ and borrowed from the Baní Quraiza spades, baskets and other utensils for the work.² The Muslims were weary with the incessant watch they had to keep up, and doubting the promise of divine aid wished to retire into the city.³

After a while the Meccans found food and forage giving out and so raised the siege and departed. 'This was the best and also the last chance given to the Meccans of breaking Muḥammad's power. It was utterly wasted, partly for want of physical courage, but chiefly because there was no man with brain in command.'⁴ The position of Muḥammad as a chieftain was now strong, and he assumed a position of superiority calling for special and reverential intercourse:—

Address not the Apostle as ye address one another. *Súratu'n-Núr* (xxiv) 63.

The Muslims only lost five men. This *Ghazwa* is of interest on account of the intrigues carried on by all parties, and in the sad result to which it led, the massacre of the Baní Quraiza Jews. These men at first aided Muḥammad by supplying tools for the excavation of the ditch, but Abú

¹ Bukhārī (part xvi, p. 142) says: 'The Prophet removed earth on the day of the ditch.' النبي صلعم ينقل التراب يوم الخندق

² وَأَزْ جَهْدَانِ بَنِي قُرَيْظَةَ بَيْلٌ وَمَقْبَاسٌ وَزَنْبِيلٌ وَتِيشَةٌ وَرَيْسَمَانٌ
Mudārifu'n-Nabuwat, p. 644. بِعَارِيَّتٍ أَخَذَ كَرْدَنَدَ

³ *Súratu'l-Aḥzáb* (xxxiii) 13.

⁴ Margoliouth, p. 326.

Sufyán deceived them, and detached them from their allegiance to the Prophet,¹ lukewarm as it very naturally may have been, for the time for trusting the Prophet had passed away. Abú Sufyán then sent a Jewish chief, Huyay bin Akḥṭab, to impress them with the danger they were in, and promised to give them armed support to defend their fort if attacked. After a long debate they were persuaded to give up their treaty with Muḥammad.² Whatever may have been the first intention of the Baní Quraiza Jews, they do not appear to have taken any active part in the conflict, and they failed to assist the Quraish when called upon to do so. Muḥammad then tried to detach the Arabs of the Baní Ghatafán from their union with the Quraish by offering a bribe of one-third of the produce of Madína, but some of his followers objected to this arrangement and it fell through.

¹ The reference to this in the Qur'án is:—

He caused those of the people of the Book who had aided (the confederates) to come down out of their fortress, and cast dismay into their hearts: some ye slew, others ye took prisoners. *Súratu'l-Aḥzáb* (xxxiii) 26.

The reference is quite general, and seems to be made to justify the punishment which fell upon the Jews.

The omission to mention any overt act of assistance supports the view I have taken that the Jews rendered no efficient aid to the Quraish.

² Muir says: 'I have much hesitation in determining what the compact was at this time existing between Muḥammad and the Quraiza, and what part the Quraiza actually took in assisting the allies. The evidence is altogether *ex parte*, and is, of course, as adverse to the Quraiza as possible.' Vol. iii, p. 260, note.

Very soon after this, a man, named Nu'im bin Mas'úd Ghatafání, waited on the Prophet and expressed his desire to help him and his wish to embrace Islám. Muḥammad said: 'Art thou able to throw discord among the infidels and to destroy their league?' He said: 'I can; but thou must allow me to speak whatever I like.' His lordship permitted him to do so and dismissed him with these words: 'War is a deception.'¹ Nu'im then tried to persuade the Jews that the Quraish were playing them false, and advised them to require Abú Sufyán to deliver some hostages to them as a sign of good faith. He then visited the Quraish and told them that he had secret information that the Jews intended to keep faith with Muḥammad and were not to be relied upon, that they would ask for hostages and then deliver them up to death. Thus doubt arose in Abú Sufyán's mind. He then sent a message to the Jews for assistance in an attack to be made the next day; but they said they could not fight on the Sabbath. This confirmed the suspicion in Abú Sufyán's mind, and, as the sequel shows, the Quraish notwithstanding a previous promise did nothing to protect the Jews.²

¹ *الحرب عده* Mirkhúnd, vol. ii, p. 131.

² The whole story of the intrigue is given in the *Mudariju'n-Nabuwat*, pp. 646-7. It also clearly shows that up to this time the Quraiza had not entered upon active hostilities.

The victory won, Gabriel appeared to Muḥammad and told him not to put off his arms, for the angels had not done so for forty days.¹ He then gave a direct command: 'O Muḥammad, arise to strike the idolaters who are possessors of the Book, the Baní Quraiza. By Allāh I am going to batter their fort and to break it to pieces like the egg of a hen cast against a stone.'² Muḥammad obeyed and gave the order for the immediate march of an army of three thousand men, with 'Alī as the standard bearer. The fortress was soon invested and the Jews, who seem to have laid in no stock of provision for a siege, quickly found themselves in great distress. After fifteen days or so had elapsed they requested

¹ فقال اقد وضعت السلاح يا رسول الله قال نعم قال جبرئيل ما وضعت الملائكة السلاح
Tabarī, series I, vol. iii, p. 1488.

² Mirkhūnd (vol. ii, p. 135). The fact about Gabriel is given by all the historians, and seems to show that even they felt the need of some very definite justification for so great a massacre which followed. In the *Mudārījū'n-Nabuwat* (p. 650) it is said: 'The order of God was to go against the Baní Quraiza.' It is also said that 'Gabriel appeared and gave the order.'

Tabarī (Series I, vol. iii, p. 1846) says that Gabriel came to the Baní Quraiza, confused them and put fear into their hearts

جبريل بعث الى بنى قريظة يزلزل بهم حصونهم ويقذف الرعب في قلوبهم

Bukhārī (part xvi, p. 150) says:—

لما رجع النبي صلعم من الخندق ووضع السلاح وغتسل آتاه جبرئيل فقال قد وضعت السلاح والله ما وضعتاه

He also adds (p. 156) that Gabriel directed Muḥammad to go against the Baní Quraiza:—
فاشار الى بنى قريظة

permission to emigrate as the Baní Naḍīr had done. This was refused. They then offered to leave all their goods and chattels behind. The reply was that they must surrender unconditionally. Then their leaders, Ka'b bin Asud and Huyay bin Akhṭab gathered the Jews together and put three courses of action before them. First, that they should accept Islām. They replied that they could not change their religion. Second, that they should kill the women and children, go forth and fight to the death. They said they could not kill innocent beings, and that they would have no happiness in their own lives after such a loss. Third, to fight on the Sabbath when the Muslims would not expect an attack and would be off their guard. They declined to violate the Sabbath.¹

At last, when starvation was before them, the Jews capitulated, and turning to the Baní Aws, of which tribe they were the Ahlāf, or clients, said: 'Why do you not help us as the Baní Khazraj helped the Qainuqá'?' Then the Baní Aws pleaded with Muḥammad for mercy for their friends, but all he would consent to was that one of their number should decide the case.²

Assuming that he would approve of one of the men then present, who were acquainted with all the facts of the case, they agreed to this; then he

¹ Mirkhūnd, vol. ii, p. 135.

² See note at the end of this chapter.

himself chose the umpire in the person of Sa'd bin Mu'adh.¹ Formerly Sa'd had been a friend of the Jews,² who were clients (ahlāf) of his tribe; but having been wounded in the recent fight he was now vexed with them for not having rendered active assistance to the Muslims.³ With such a man for an umpire, the decision was a foregone conclusion. Gabriel's order 'to strike the idolaters who are possessors of the Book' was clear, and it is extremely unlikely that Muḥammad ever intended it to be set aside. His appointment of Sa'd confirms this view.

Muḥammad knew his man and that the issue was safe in his hands. The men of the Baní Aws said to Sa'd: 'The Apostle of God has left to thy option the judgement concerning the Baní Quraiza. They are thy allies who have aided thee in peace and in war. They have surrendered everything and

¹ Then he appointed Sa'd (فرد الحكم الى سعد) Bukhārī, part xvi, p. 156.

² 'At first Sa'd had been an ally; they had helped each other. They thought that Sa'd would take care of them and save them.'

سعد اس سے پہلے ہم قسم تھے ایک دوسرے کے مددگار تھے یہودی سمجھے کہ سعد ہمارے رعایت کر کے ہم کو بچا دینگے

Faiḍu'l-Bārī, part xvi, p. 155.

³ It is said that on being wounded he cursed the Baní Quraiza and prayed thus: 'O Lord suffer me not to die until my heart hath had its revenge on them.' Muir, vol. iii, p. 274 note. See also Musnad iii, pp. 350, 363, quoted by Margoliouth, p. 332.

now their only hope centres in thee.'¹ With many such like words they urged him to be merciful and to save the Baní Quraiza, just as Ibn Abi Salūl had saved the lives of the Baní Qainuqá'. He put them off with an ambiguous speech,² and expressed a wish to know whether they would abide by his judgement. No other course was open, and so they agreed, nothing doubting but that like them he would abide by the recognized position of the Jews as ahlāf or allies. The Baní Aws had behaved so well all through and with such loyalty to their friends, that it is impossible to suppose that they ever thought that Sa'd could possibly betray the allies (ahlāf) of his own tribe.

All being now ready the seven or eight hundred prisoners,³ with their arms bound behind them,

رسول خدا صلعم حکم بنی قریظہ را مفوض بر رای تو داشته و ایشان خلفای تو اند و در موطن و معارک ترا امداد و معاونت نموده اند و از همه اعراض کرده روی امید ایشان بسوی تست
Mirkhūnd, vol. ii, p. 136.

² At first he did not reply, but when their importunity 'exceeded all bounds'—از اعتدال تجاوز نمود—he said that it was not 'the time for reproaching Sa'd with having been remiss in matters concerning God Most High.' Dhulhak bin Khalifa then said, 'Alas! for my friends.' (Mirkhūnd, vol. ii, p. 136.) The Baní Aws behaved nobly, but now gave up all hope.

³ Syed Amir 'Alī (p. 174) says that the number of persons slain could not have exceeded two or three hundred, but he gives no authority for this statement. The historians place the number much higher and the *Nāsikhū't-Tawārikh* (p. 239) says there were nine hundred—آن جماعت نہد تن مرد بودند—

stood on the one side; on the other were the women and the children in dread terror of coming events. Muḥammad took up his position in front with his chief followers. Sa'd, a big burly man, now wearied with his journey and smarting from his wounds stood by. 'Proceed with thy judgement,' said the Prophet. Then came from a revengeful man these cruel words: 'This verily is my judgement, that the male captives shall be put to death, that the female captives and the children shall be sold into slavery, and the spoil be divided among the army.' Any murmuring at this savage decree was at once stayed by Muḥammad who said: 'Truly thou hast decided according to the judgement of God pronounced on high from beyond the seven heavens.'¹ The men were then taken to Madína. Muḥammad ordered a trench to be dug. The next day the Jews were brought forth in batches, and 'Alí and Zubair were directed to slay them. Darkness came on before they had completed their bloody task. Torches were then brought to give light for the completion of this cruel deed. The blood of about eight hundred men flowed into the ditch, on the brink of which the victims were made to kneel. Muḥammad looked on with approval, and when Huyay bin Akḥṭab was brought before him said: 'O enemy of God, at last the Most High has given

¹ Baiḍāwī, vol. ii, p. 34.

¹ قال فقد حكمك بحكم الله

thee into my hands and has made me thy judge.'¹ Some of the females were divided amongst the Muslims and the rest were sold as slaves. A beautiful widow, Raiḥána, whose husband had just been slaughtered, was reserved by Muḥammad for his own harem,² an act to justify which a revelation came:—

O Prophet! we allow thee thy wives whom thou hast dowered, and the slaves whom thy right hand possesseth out of the booty which God hath granted thee. Súratu'l-Aḥzáb (xxxiii) 49.

The commentator Ḥusain refers this to slave women, 'Ṣafiyya and Raiḥána and those like them.'

Raiḥána wished to remain in the Jewish religion and so declined to be his wife. She had to accept the position of a concubine.

¹ Mirkhúnd, vol. ii, p. 138.

² Syed Amír 'Alí (p. 174), who repudiates this story as a fabrication, gives no historical authority for his opinion; but the *Nāsikhāt-Tawārikh* (part i, vol. ii, p. 240) says: 'The Prophet took for himself Raiḥána bint 'Amrú bin Khanáqa.'

ريحانه بنت عمرو بن خناتة را رسول خداى خاص خود فرمود

In the *Ḥabibū's-Siyār*, Raiḥána is placed amongst the concubines (*Raḍātu's-Safá*, R.A.S. ed., part ii, vol. ii, p. 777). Ṭabarī (series 1, vol. iii, p. 1498) says: 'The Apostle of God selected for himself from among your women Raiḥána, daughter of 'Amrú.'

و كان رسول الله معلم قد اصطفى لنفسه من نساءكم ايجانه بنت عمرو

Rodwell (p. 439), quotes Ibn Hishám (p. 693) to the same effect: 'The first slave whom Muḥammad took to wife was Raiḥána.'

Thus there seems to be no authority whatever for discrediting the story.

Thus, when two tribes had been exiled and one exterminated, the power of the Jews was broken forever in Madīna, and Muḥammad was free to look farther afield for fresh conquests. There was a time when he had desired their friendship, but each victory won and each lot of booty captured made him less dependent on them for recognition and for funds. 'The change from a basis of reason to a basis of force had taken place gradually, but was now finally achieved.'¹

It seemed desirable that a revelation should justify the proceedings and so it came:—

And He caused those of the people of the Book who had aided (the confederates) to come down out of their fortresses, and cast dismay into their hearts: some ye slew, others ye took prisoners.

And He gave you their land, and their dwellings and their wealth for an heritage. Sūratu'l-Aḥzāb (xxxiii) 26-7.

The older historians, believing with orthodox Muslims that Muḥammad's conduct is the standard of what is right, seem to feel no difficulty about this massacre. It was enough for them that Gabriel is said to have given the order to strike the idolaters who were possessors of the book, but some modern Muslim writers try to defend the Prophet's action thus: 'The Baní Quraiza instead of co-operating with the Muslims, defected

¹ Margoliouth, p. 334.

from their allegiance and entered into negotiations with the besieging foe. After the cessation of the siege, they were besieged in turn, and a fearful example of them was made, not by Muḥammad, but by an arbiter chosen and appointed by themselves . . . they were war-traitors and rebels and deserved death according to the international law.'¹

We have seen how the Jews were deceived both by the Meccans and the Muslims, how at first they rendered assistance in the defence, by the loan of the necessary tools, though as the siege progressed they gave no further aid; we have seen that the arbiter was chosen *not by themselves*, but by Muḥammad who selected, not one of the Baní Aws who were present and who had pleaded for mercy, but one who was already embittered against the Jews, and who had to be brought from Madīna for this purpose.

Again, according to some authorities, it was not the Jews who agreed to abide by Sa'd's decision, but the Baní Aws, which is quite another matter.² They appealed to Sa'd to have mercy. Sa'd replied

¹ Cheraghī 'Alī, pp. 87-8.

² The *Raḍātu's-Ṣafā* (vol. ii, p. 137); the *Mudārīju'n-Nabuwat* (p. 654) and the *Nāsikhū't-Tawārikh* (part i, vol. ii, p. 237) make statements showing that it was the Baní Aws who agreed to accept the decision of Sa'd, the arbiter appointed by Muḥammad. They, not the Jews, left it in his hands, and he himself decided whom to appoint.

to them: 'Do you make an agreement and promise before the Lord Most High that you will assent to my decision. They (not the Jews) all answered affirmatively.'¹

Another apologist writes fully on the subject. He states, though he gives no authorities for it, that the Jews made the condition that Sa'd should judge the matter, but as we have shown, it was the Baní Aws who made that arrangement. His description of Sa'd is historically accurate. 'This man a fierce soldier who had been wounded in the attack, and, indeed, died from his wounds the next day, infuriated by their treacherous conduct, gave sentence that the fighting men should be put to death and that the women and children should become the slaves of the Muslims.'² It is absolutely incredible that the Jews would have chosen such a man to decide their fate, and this leads the student, who has a true historical judgement, to look upon the account given by the historians as the more probable one.³

۱ سعد با اوسیان گفت عهد و میثاق خداوند تعالی بر شما است که
بر آنچه حکم کنم را می هستید همه جواب دادند که آری

Mirkhúnd, vol. ii, p. 137.

² Syed Amír 'Alí, p. 171.

³ Muir's judgement on the transaction is fair and impartial. It may be thus summarized: The Quraiza had rendered no assistance to the Baní Naḍir and had then been loyal to Muḥammad; but the continued oppression of the Jews may have weakened their confidence in him, and have led them, in an imprudent moment, to listen to the overtures of the Quraish. This deserved

It is quite fair to urge the plea that we must not judge the actions of ordinary men of a barbarous age by the principles recognized by our own times, but it is said that Muḥammad was not an ordinary man. He is believed to be a divinely appointed teacher, acting under divine guidance. It may also be said that in the Jewish history of the past savage deeds were done, which we should now disapprove; that the persecution of the Jews by the emperor Heraclius in the year A.D. 630 was as bad as this massacre. But there is this difference: no one justifies the cruelty of the Roman emperor, nor are his actions taken as precedents which must be followed by all good Christians. On the other hand, the actions of Muḥammad were, as Muslims must believe, done under supernatural guidance, and they form a definite rule of faith—the Sunna—to which all Muḥammadans must conform. His actions, therefore, cannot be justified by comparison with the actions of other men. They belong to a different category; they are, according to Muslim theology, the result of a divine impulse within him, the deeds of a sinless and therefore perfect man. They form the highest ideal and the most perfect

some punishment and their banishment from the vicinity of Madína would have been just; but the wholesale slaughter of them was an act of enormous ferocity. The plea of divine sanction in the Qur'án may satisfy the Muslim, but not those who see that the same divine authority is adduced for personal ends and domestic quarrels. Vol. iii, pp. 282-4.

conception of life which Islām can present. All apologies for Muḥammad based on the fact that other leaders, religious or secular, have done similar deeds are altogether beside the question.

NOTE TO PAGE 165

This is a point of great importance. Mirkhūnd (vol. ii, p. 136) says: 'His Lordship made no reply to the Banī Aws, till their solicitations exceeded all bounds, when he said: "Will you agree that one of yourselves make a decision regarding them?" They said: "Yes, O Apostle of God." He continued: "That man will be Sa'd bin Mu'ādh." We shall do whatever he shall decide in the matter.'

حضرت صلعم در مقابلهٔ اوسیان هیچ نفرمود چون مبالغه از حد گذشت رسول خدا فرمود راضی میشوید که یکی هم از شما دربارهٔ ایشان حکم کند - گفتند آری یا رسول الله - فرمود که آن سعد بن معاذ است هرچه گوید در این باب بآن عمل نمائیم

In the *Mudārrijū'n-Nabuwat* (p. 653), it is said that Muḥammad took no notice of the petition of the Banī Aws and himself sent for Sa'd. The words are: 'His Excellency gave no order in the matter of the Banī Aws, and showed negligence; then he sent some one to call Sa'd bin Mu'ādh who, on account of wounds received in the Ghazwa, had been left behind.'

حضرت صلعم در معاملهٔ اوسیان هیچ نفرمود و تعافل زد پس فرستاد کسی را بطلب سعد بن معاذ که بسبب جراحت از آن غزوه تخلف نموده بود

The author of the well-known history, *Nāsikhū't-Tawārikh* (part i, vol. ii, p. 237) thus states the case:—

'The principal men from the tribe of the Banī Aws came to the Prophet and said: "You pardoned the Banī Qainuqā' at the intercession of the Khazraj. It is right that at our intercession you should pardon the Banī Quraiza." The Prophet replied: "Do you agree that I should choose a man from among yourselves and make him an umpire and should carry out what he orders in the matter." They said: "Yes, O Apostle of God." He replied:

"That man is Sa'd bin Mu'ādh." Then the Prophet, ordered that Sa'd bin Mu'ādh should be summoned from Madīna.

اهراف از قبیلهٔ اوس در حضرت پیغمبر انبوه شدند و عرض کردند یهودی بن قینقاع را بمردم خرج بخشیدی روا باشد که بن قریظه را بما بجای رسول خدای فرمود هیچ رضا هستید که از میان شما مردی اختیار کنم و او را حکم سازم و بدانچه در میان ایشان حکومت کند بپردازم گفتند آری یا رسول الله بخشیدی فرمود آن مرد سعد بن معاذ است آنگاه پیغمبر فرمود تا از مدینه سعد بن معاذ را حاضر کنند

It is clear that they thought he would choose as umpire, one of those who were present, and not send off to Madīna for a man who had not been present at their interview, had not heard the reasons given for showing mercy, and who was smarting from his wounds.

Tabarī (series I, vol. iii, p. 1491) says:—'The Apostle of God said, "Ye men of Aws, will ye not agree that one of your men should decide for them." They replied, "Yes", He (Muḥammad) said, "Then let it be Sa'd bin Mu'ādh".'

قال رسول الله صلعم ألا ترضون يا معشر اوس يحكم فيهم رجل منكم قالوا بلى قال فذاك الى سعد بن معاذ

CHAPTER X

THE CONQUEST OF ARABIA

DURING the sixth year of the Hijra no important battles were fought, but many small expeditions went forth and the power and influence of the Muslims grew month by month. Two may be referred to here. In the month of Ramaḍān Zaid ibn Ḥarīṭha was placed in charge of a mercantile caravan with instructions to proceed to Syria. The Muslims, now adepts at waylaying caravans, found that other people could do the same, for this caravan was plundered by the Baní Fazára. The traders at Madina were annoyed, and Zaid was sent with a strong party to punish the robbers. Their stronghold was captured and Umm Qiriya, an old woman, a person of some influence in her tribe, was cruelly put to death. Her legs were tied to camels, which were then driven in opposite directions, until she was torn asunder. Zaid on his return gave an account of his expedition to Muḥammad who embraced and kissed him.¹ It is not recorded that he expressed disapprobation of this cruel deed.

¹ *Mudārījū'n-Nabuwat*, p. 668.

The other event was this; a few men of the Baní 'Arniyya had become Muslims. The climate of Madina did not suit these children of the desert, and so Muḥammad kindly allowed them to go forth with one of his herds of milch camels and live in the open air. They regained strength and then tried to run away with the camels. The herdsmen who pursued them were cruelly tortured to death. Muḥammad was naturally very angry, and when the culprits were captured and brought before him, he ordered that their eyes should be put out, their arms and legs cut off and their bodies impaled until life was extinct. It must, however, be stated that Muḥammad seems to have felt that such severe torture in judicial punishments was a doubtful procedure, for he delivered the following revelation:—

The recompense of those who war against God and His Apostle, and go about to commit disorders on the earth, shall be that they shall be slain or crucified, or have their alternate hands and feet cut off, or be banished the land. This their disgrace in this world, and in the next, a great torment shall be theirs. *Súratu'l-Má'ida* (v) 37.

Impaling is, therefore, now illegal, though the lawful punishments are still very inhuman. Unfortunately they are now enshrined in what Muslim law accepts as a divine and so an unalterable code.

The Jews by banishment and slaughter had been reduced to impotence. Many Arab tribes

by force or persuasion had been brought into Islām. Mecca, however, still remained proudly aloof from the one man in Arabia who was a conqueror and a ruler of men. All these long years Muḥammad had failed to win the Quraish and had suffered reproach at their hands; the day of retribution was drawing near. The mind of the Prophet turned towards the sacred city, for, until his influence was supreme there, he could not expect to be the sole ruler in Arabia. Six years had now passed away since he and his followers had left Mecca, and no doubt many of them wished to revisit the old familiar places. Again, Muḥammad had some time before changed the Qibla (or direction in which prayer should be said) from Jerusalem to Mecca. The sacred temple there was still a holy place to the Muslims in Madīna. Every day of their lives they turned towards it in acts of divine worship, though for six years they had not seen it. The longing to enter its courts and to go round its walls was now very great. The way had to be carefully prepared, and *Súratu'l-Hajj* (xxii), or such portions of it as are not late Meccan, was revealed for this purpose.¹ The Meccans are reminded that the Ka'ba is for all men. The ceremonies of the old pagan ritual are declared to be rites of God, the performance of which

¹ See vv. 27-39 ; 66-7 ; 76-7.

shows piety of heart. The continued sacrifice of camels is enjoined. Thus did Muḥammad claim the Ka'ba and all its ceremonies for Islām. It was a master-stroke for gaining influence at the time.

At this juncture Muḥammad had a dream in which he saw himself and his followers performing all the duties of the Pilgrimage. This settled the matter, and as the sacred month in which the 'Umra, or Lesser Pilgrimage, is made was now at hand a considerable body started out towards Mecca in the month of March A.D. 628. The Quraish opposed their entrance into the city and messengers went to and fro between the two parties.¹ The Muslims were encamped at Ḥudai-biya, a place situated on the confines of the sacred territory which encircles Mecca. Their position was one of some danger and Muḥammad, gathering his followers around himself under the shade of a tree, required a pledge of loyalty even to death from each one. This oath was cheerfully given, and the 'Pledge of the Tree'² is an event ever after referred to with great respect and regard. It is a most striking instance of the

¹ The following verse is supposed by some commentators to refer to this :—

Who committeth a greater wrong than he who hindereth God's name from being remembered in His temples and who hasteth to ruin them. *Súratu'l-Baqara* (ii) 108. See *H.D. Qur'an*, p. 177, note.

² It is also called the 'oath of good pleasure'. *بيعة الرميان*

personal devotion of his followers to the Prophet and of the intense sympathy which existed between them. God is said to have been glad about it:—

Well pleased now hath God been with the believers when they plighted fealty to thee under the tree. *Súratu'l-Faḥ* (xlviii) 18.

The result of the consultations was that the Quraish absolutely refused admission to the Ka'ba, but agreed to the following terms:—

'War shall be suspended for ten years. Neither side shall attack the other. Perfect amity shall prevail betwixt us. Whosoever wisheth to join Muḥammad and enter into treaty with him shall have liberty to do so; and whosoever wisheth to join the Quraish and enter into treaty with them shall have liberty to do so. If any one goeth over to Muḥammad, without the permission of his guardian, he shall be sent back to his guardian;¹ and, if any one from amongst the followers of Muḥammad return to the Quraish, the same shall be sent back; provided, on the part of the Quraish, that Muḥammad and his followers retire from us this year without entering the city. In the coming year he may visit Mecca, he and his followers, for three days when we shall retire.

¹ There is no distinction of sex here, but Muḥammad refused to return a woman, and to support his action produced a revelation contained in *Súratu'l-Mumtahina* (lx) 10. Obviously treaties were not much use, when a revelation could cancel any clause in them. See *H. D. Qur'ān*, p. 179, note.

But they may not enter it with any weapons, save those of the traveller, namely, to each a sheathed sword.'¹

At first the Muslims were disappointed and felt that their object in coming had not been gained, but Muḥammad soon produced a revelation to show how wrong that view of it was, and what benefits would be derived from this treaty of Hudaibiya. Standing on his camel, he gave what he declared to be God's message, beginning with the words:—

Verily, we have won for thee an undoubted victory. *Súratu'l-Faḥ* (xlviii) 1.

And such it was, for the Quraish in treating him as an equal acknowledged his political status. The increase in the number of converts was rapid now. In this same *Súra*, *Súratu'l-Faḥ*, the people who would not come are bitterly reprov'd and reminded that the flame of hell is prepared for the infidels, whilst those who had taken the oath of fealty under the tree are promised a spirit of secure repose, a speedy victory and rich booty.

To meet the disappointment caused by the absence of booty the Muslims are told that there is:—

Other booty, over which ye have not yet had power, but now hath God compassed them for you.² *Súratu'l-Faḥ* (xlviii) 21.

¹ *Mirkhúnd*, vol. ii, p. 145.

² *Baidāwí* says this may refer to the spoils after the defeat of the

The Muslims had referred to the dream of Muhammad and wondered why it had not come to pass. He pointed out that the particular year of its fulfilment was not shown in it, and to pacify them brought another revelation to assure them of its certain fulfilment:—

Now hath God in truth made good to His Apostle the dream in which he said, 'Ye shall surely enter the sacred mosque, if God will, in full security, having your head shaved and your hair cut: ye shall not fear, for He knoweth what ye know not, and He hath ordained you, besides this, a speedy victory.'

It is He who hath sent His Apostle with the guidance, and the religion of truth, that He may exalt it above every religion. And enough for thee is this testimony on the part of God.¹ *Súratu'l-Fath* (xlviii) 27-8.

Thus, though the pilgrimage was postponed the victory was theirs; other booty would be realized, and they could rest now in patience for to Muhammad was the guidance committed. Great would be the glory for Islám. No longer were Christianity and Judaism co-ordinate with it. In Islám alone was salvation to be found; for now it was to

Huwázin Arabs in the battle of Hunain; but most commentators refer it to this event.

¹ This verse is said to abrogate all other religions (*Khuláṣatu't-Tafásir*, vol. i, p. 271). The absolute claim of Islám is also set forth in:—

Whoso desireth any other religion than Islám, that religion shall not be accepted from him, and in the next world he shall be among the lost. *Súratu 'Alí 'Imrán* (iii) 79. See *H. D. Qur'án*, pp. 183-5 notes.

exceed and excel all other religions, and so they could well afford to wait for a full year to fulfil their desire. Enough for them to know that this was the will of God. The whole of this forty-eighth *Súra* is very remarkable and well suited to the occasion.

After his return to Madína with a strong sense of his growing power, the vision of Muhammad took a wider range, and in letters, signed with a seal bearing the inscription—Muhammad the Apostle of God, summoned rulers of other lands to his obedience. It is said that each messenger was miraculously endowed with the same inspiration, (*ilhám*) as the Prophet possessed.¹ When the emperor Heraclius was performing a pilgrimage of thanksgiving to Jerusalem for his victory over the Persians, he received a letter from Muhammad, the Apostle of God, calling upon him to embrace Islám. Another despatch was sent to the king of Persia who tore it to pieces. When Muhammad was informed of this he said: 'Even thus, O Lord! rend thou his kingdom from him.'² Then followed a letter to the Maqúqas, the governor of Egypt, who returned a courteous reply and sent as a present

هر رسولی که بسوی هر ملکی فرستاد حق تعالی زبان او را بآن رسول¹
الهام می نمود و این معجزه بود

Mudáriju'n-Nabuwat, vol. ii, p. 691.

² Muir, vol. iv, p. 54.

two Coptic damsels, Mary and her sister Sherin,¹ and a white mule for the Prophet's use. Mary was the fairer of the two sisters and was kept by Muḥammad for his own harem. Sherin was bestowed on the poet Ḥasan.

The king of Abyssinia had been friendly to the Muslims who emigrated from Mecca. In his first letter Muḥammad called for his conversion, and in a second one asked him to send back to Madīna any remaining Muslims. The reason for this seems to have arisen from the following circumstance. 'Ubaidu'llāh, the Ḥanīf, who became a Muslim and emigrated to Abyssinia, then became a Christian and died there. He left a widow, Umm Ḥabība, the daughter of Abú Sufyān. Muḥammad in this same letter² asked for her return in order that he might marry her. It is sometimes urged in defence of the Prophet's matrimonial alliances that they were made with the object of supporting widows and old women³ and that in this case a natural

¹ The *Raudatu'l-Aḥbāb*, quoted in the *Mudārijū'n-Nabuwat* (vol. ii, p. 699) says: 'The gifts of the Maqúqas were four damsels, one of them was Mary and another her sister Sherin' هدايا موقرست چهار كيزك تركيه بود يكي ماريه و ديگر خواهر او شيرين

The *Murūju'dh-Dhahab* (vol. iv, p. 159) says: 'one was Mary the Copt, mother of Ibrahim.' ماريه القبطه ام ابراهيم

² سيد رسول معلم مكتوبى ديگر نجاسى نرفته بود مضمون آنكه ام حبيبته دختر ابو سفیان را كه از مهاجرات حبشه است براى ما بخواند و بعدينه روان سازد
Mudārijū'n-Nabuwat, vol. ii, p. 696.

³ Syed Amīr 'Alī, pp. 331, 334. Other reasons of a physical

protector was needed. If this is so there seems no reason why many more were not admitted into the Prophet's harem. Umm Ḥabība, however, does not appear to have been in any difficulty, she was comfortably settled in Abyssinia, and, in the case of her return to Arabia, Abú Sufyān was well able to look after her. It may be that the hope that it would bring over Abú Sufyān to the cause of Islām played some part in the marriage. She became the ninth wife of the Prophet.

The affair of Ḥudaibiya had not ended quite as successfully as the Prophet desired. 'Each time the Prophet had failed, or secured an incomplete success, he compensated for it by an attack on the Jews. This policy had served too well to be abandoned after the unsatisfactory affair of Ḥudaibiya and, therefore, a raid on the Jews of Khaibar was speedily planned.'¹

In the revelation, which was given to justify the concluding of the treaty of Ḥudaibiya, these words occur:—

God promised you the taking of a rich booty.
Súratu'l-Fath (xlviii) 20.

nature, too indecent to reproduce, are given by some authorities. See *Mudārijū'n-Nabuwat*, p. 468.

That the Prophet was susceptible to female charms is hinted at in the prohibition against changing his wives 'for other women, though their beauty charm thee'. *Súratu'l-Aḥzāb* (xxxiii) 52. ولو اعجبك حسنهن

¹ Margoliouth, p. 355.

According to Baiḍāwī this refers to the spoils to be obtained at Khaibar.¹ If this interpretation is correct, it shows that Muḥammad had clearly defined in his own mind the object of this attack on the Jews. The siege lasted for some time, but in the end the Jews had to submit to superior force. The booty obtained was great. Muḥammad took one-half for himself and divided the rest amongst his followers. The Jews were allowed to remain on their lands on the condition that they paid half the produce into the public treasury.² The Jewish chief Kinána was accused of concealing some treasure and according to some accounts, was tortured and beheaded.³ His wife Ṣafīyya was a daughter of Huyay who had been slaughtered with the Baní Quraiza. She was a woman of great beauty and as she had lived near Madína with her father was probably known to Muḥammad. She at first fell to the lot of a man called Daḥiya,⁴ but when Muḥammad's attention was called to the fact of her high position amongst the Jews, he

¹ See also *Faiḍu'l-Bārī*, vol. xvii, p. 6.

² *Mirkhūnd*, vol. ii, p. 158; *Bukhārī*, part xvii, p. 44. Cherāgh 'Alī says: 'The Jews of Khaibar were allowed free enjoyment of their possessions' (*Reforms under Moslem Rule*, p. 20). He omits to mention the fact that they had to do all the work and yet enjoyed only one-half of the proceeds of their possessions.

³ See Margoliouth, p. 360, note. The *Mudāriju'n-Nabuwat* and *Mirkhūnd* in the *Raḍātu's-Ṣafā*, however, make no mention of the torture. The latter simply says he was slain. Vol. ii, p. 158.

⁴ *Bukhārī*, part xvii, pp. 12, 23; *Ma'sūdī*, vol. iv, p. 158.

gave compensation to Daḥiya and himself sought her in marriage, and strange to say she consented to become his tenth wife. The attack on Khaibar seems to have been uncalled for. Assassins had been sent there to kill Abú Rāfi' (*ante* p. 130), the brother of Kinána, and many of the Baní Naḍir had found refuge there. So loyalty was not to be expected from them, but as Khaibar was one hundred miles away from Madína, an attack by them was most unlikely. They had done Muḥammad no harm. Indeed they had left unavenged the murder of Abú Rāfi', one of their number. But they were wealthy, and, in the face of the revelation about loot,¹ it is reasonable to suppose that the desire for it entered largely into the reasons for the attack which gained it. It is said that when 'Alí was told to lead the forces against them, he asked for what he was fighting, and was told that he must compel them to accept the formulae of Islām.² This plea was sufficient to cover any attack where there was a prospect of booty.

One woman, Zainab bint Ḥarīth, by means of some poisoned goats flesh attempted to kill Muḥammad, who had caused her husband and relatives to be put to death, and atoned for her act by her

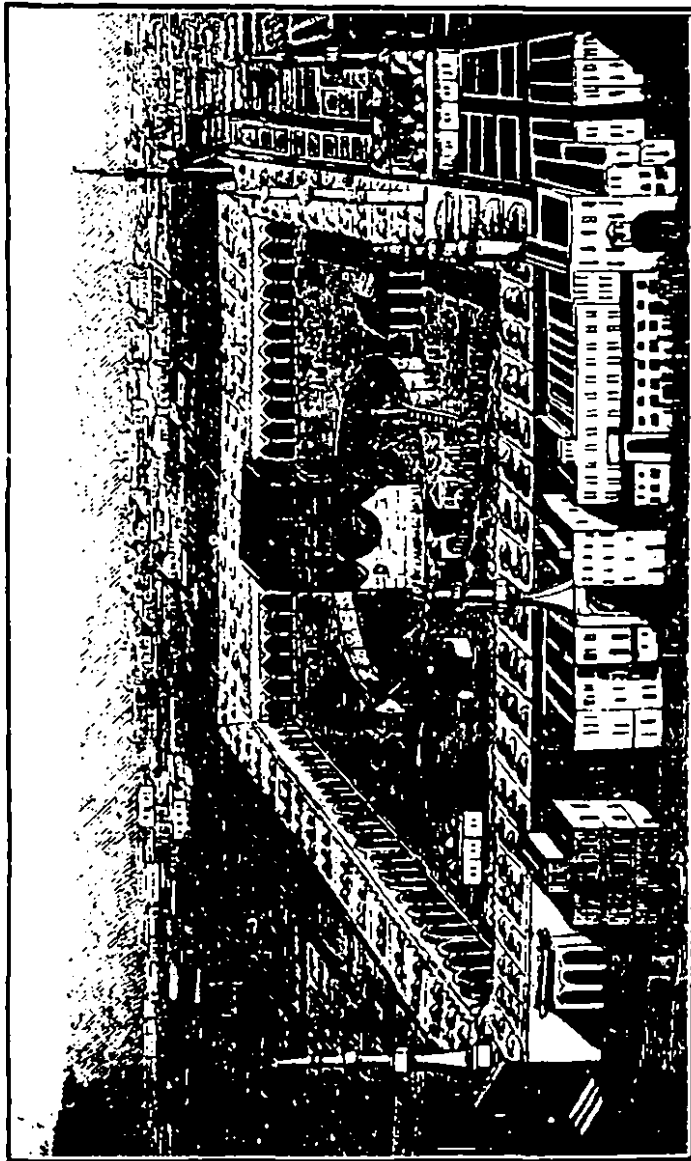
¹ 'God promised you the taking of a rich booty.' *Sūratu'l-Faḥ* (xlviii) 20.

² *Muslim*, ii, p. 237, quoted by Margoliouth, p. 363.

death.¹ The rest of the year was passed in comparative quietness, disturbed only by a few small Sariyas, of little political importance, though they increased the prestige of the Prophet and brought in some booty.

Then the time of the 'Umra or Lesser Pilgrimage came round, and in the spring of the year A.D. 629 Muḥammad availed himself of the permission granted by the Quraish to visit Mecca, and with about two thousand followers he approached the city. The Quraish retired from it and the Muslims, leaving their weapons outside, entered Mecca which for seven years they had not seen. When Muḥammad came to the Ka'ba he said: 'May God be gracious to the man whom he shows to them (the Meccans) to-day in his strength.' He performed the usual ceremonies of the pagan pilgrimage, such as kissing the black stone, making the seven prescribed circuits of the Ka'ba, and the running between the mounts Ṣafá and Marwa. The animals

¹The author of *The Life and Teachings of Muḥammad* (ed. 1873), p. 128, states absolutely that Muḥammad forgave her; but this is not quite so certain. Mirkhúnd (vol. ii, p. 158) says: 'He killed her.' He adds: 'Ulamá try to reconcile the conflicting views by saying the Prophet did not slay her for his own sake, but on account of Bishar, who died from the effects of the poison.' This seems to be the general view (*Mudárijū'n-Nabuwat*, p. 760; Bukhárí, part xvii, p. 43). Anyhow, it cannot be said dogmatically that Muḥammad forgave her, for she was certainly put to death.



THE MOSQUE AT MECCA

brought for the purpose were sacrificed, and the ceremonies of the Lesser Pilgrimage were brought to an end. The honour paid to the city and to the ancient temple favourably influenced the Meccans. The friendships formed, through his marriage now with Maimúna his eleventh and last wife, also advanced his cause, and when he retired again to Madína he was much more powerful in every way than he had been at any previous period. One result of this pilgrimage, or of the marriage with Maimúna, was that her nephew, Khalíd ibn Walid, and Amír ibn 'Ás, both famous cavalry leaders, became Muslims.

Various small raids were now made, but the most important Sariya of this period is that of Múta. Muḥammad had sent a letter to the Ghassánide ruler of Bostra calling on him to embrace Islám. Shurahbíl, one of the officials, very wrongly put the messenger to death.¹ Muḥammad at once sent forth an army of three thousand men, but as the conquest

¹ Two modern writers, Syed Amír 'Alí (p. 191) and Cherágh 'Alí (p. 139), justify the expedition against Múta as one made to punish the murder of an envoy. We do not know the Syrian view of the case; but it was known to the Syrians that raids were being made far and wide, and they may have had good reason to suppose the man was a spy. Cherágh 'Alí (pp. 65, 66, 69, 71) defends the massacre of Abú 'Afak, Ka'b bin Ashraf, 'Sufyán Abú Ráfi' and others. The truth is they were all cruel, unworthy acts and all were right, or all were wrong. If Muḥammad's action in these matters is justifiable on the ground of self-defence; equally so is that of Shurahbíl.

of Khaibar was known and raids in the direction of the Syrian border were not unknown, Shurahbíl had no difficulty in also raising an army. The Muslims were defeated. Though not successful, it was not all loss, for we are justified in supposing that much was effected by Muḥammad's campaign against the Byzantines, which, though not for the moment successful, made him the champion of a national idea, which the Arabs had scarcely thought of till then, though it was in his mind. Anyhow the attack was premature. The position in Arabia must be made much stronger before conquests abroad could be attempted. Then this revelation came:—

When the help of God and the victory arrive,
And thou seest men entering the religion of God
by troops:¹

Then utter the praises of God and implore His
pardon, for He loveth to turn to mercy. *Súratu'n-Naṣr* (cx) 1-3.

Thus encouraged, Muḥammad was able to take a calm survey of the political situation. His followers had now grown into a body united in faith and in action, but if Islám was to become, as he doubtless had long intended it should become, the one politico-religious force in Arabia, its centre must be in Mecca, not Madína. The commerce of the Meccans now was ruined, for their caravans

¹ Baiḍáwí says that the 'victory' is that of Mecca, and that 'by troops' is meant the men of Mecca, of Tá'í, Yaman, Huwázín and all the Arab tribes, vol. ii, p. 420.

could not go forth with safety. Many of the Quraish leaders were getting weary of the strife. Muḥammad knew that, while the power of the Meccans was decreasing, his own influence and prestige were growing day by day: so he now clearly saw that a determined effort would lead to the capture of Mecca.

Two years had passed since the treaty of Hudai-biya was made, and, according to its terms, the peace between Madína and Mecca was to last for ten years. This difficulty was overcome. A Bedouin tribe attached to Muḥammad was attacked by another tribe in alliance with the Quraish. The Prophet seized the occasion, took up the quarrel, and with a large army of some ten thousand men advanced against Mecca. Abú Sufyán, the old and implacable enemy of the Prophet, saw that the time for opposition was past. He sought for an interview with Muḥammad, repeated the Muslim creed, and became henceforth a good Muslim. To confirm him in his change of creed, he was shown the strength and variety of the Muslim army.¹ His conversion led to the comparatively quiet submission of Mecca, where Abú Sufyán, the hereditary leader of the Quraish, possessed great influence. As soon as Muḥammad entered the city he proceeded to the Ka'ba and saluted the black stone. He then ordered all the idols to be hewn down,² and

¹ *Bukhárí*, part xvii, p. 70.

² *Ibid.*, part xvii, p. 80.

in order to show that he now exercised supreme authority, he appointed 'Uthmán bin Talḥa and 'Abbás to the two hereditary offices connected with the temple.¹ A crier then proclaimed in the streets this order: 'Whoever believeth in God and in the last day let him not leave in his house any image whatever that he doth not break in pieces.'²

Many of the Meccans mocked, and then a revelation came to show that by nature all men are equal, and that in the sight of God noble birth and pride of race or rank is of little worth as compared with the fear of the Lord. The Quraish are rebuked in:—

O men! Verily we have created you of a male and a female; and we have divided you into peoples and tribes that ye might have knowledge one of another. Truly, the most worthy of honour in the sight of God is he who feareth Him most. Súratu'l-Hujurát (xlix) 14.

In reply to a question asking the Meccans what they thought of him, Muḥammad received the answer from some of them, 'We think well of thee, O noble brother and son of a noble brother. Verily thou hast obtained power over us.' Referring to the Súratu Yúsuf (xii) the Prophet quoted the words in the ninety-second verse, which were said by Joseph to his brethren:—

¹ It is said that this transaction is referred to in:—

'Verily God enjoineeth you to give back your trusts to their owners.' Súratu'n-Nisá' (iv) 61.

² Muir, vol. iv, p. 129.

No blame be on you this day. God will forgive you for He is the most merciful of those who show mercy. Súratu Yúsuf (xii) 92.

With a few exceptions, mostly of those who, it must be admitted, deserved their fate, a general amnesty extended to all the inhabitants of the city. The result was that the Prophet soon won the hearts of the people. There were no Munáfiqún in Mecca as there had been in Madína. It was a day of great triumph to Muḥammad, for now had 'the mercy'¹ of God come upon them. Eight years before he had left Mecca as a fugitive, a despised outcast. The Quraish, after the commencement of the raids on their caravans, had been persistent in their opposition and now that was at an end. The sacred city was in his possession and his word was law. He had stood in the temple, sacred for many centuries to the worship of al-Lát and al-'Uzzá and a host of inferior deities, and with a word had banished idolatry from it for ever. By his own authority he now appointed new officers, and made the city the centre of the new religion. No wonder that success so great caused Islám to spread most rapidly now. At last it seemed as if the Arab people would be united as they had never been before; at last the patriotic feelings of the Prophet

¹ Baiḍáwí says that the words 'fulfilled my mercy' in Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 5 may refer to this victory. Vol. i, p. 247.

seemed near their realization, and Arabia united and free—a political and a religious whole—would more than resist the enemies who but a few years before had been encroaching on her territories, and threatening her very existence. 'The taking of Mecca was the outcome of a series of events which began on the day when Muḥammad was allowed to become the master of a community that lay between the Quraish and their markets. . . . The historians tell us little of the internal history of Mecca during the past eight years, whence the gradual shift of opinion in Muḥammad's favour can only be guessed. We are justified in supposing that much was effected by Muḥammad's campaigns against the Byzantines, which, though not immediately successful, made him the champion of a national idea.'¹

Before he left the vicinity of Mecca, Muḥammad sent forth a few parties to destroy some idolatrous shrines in the vicinity. Khálid in an expedition against the Baní Khaizima barbarously slew all his prisoners. To his credit be it said Muḥammad disapproved of this act, sent 'Alí to pay the blood-ransom (*diyat*) and not until the aggrieved parties were satisfied did he pardon Khálid.²

The Prophet now had to leave Mecca for rumours of a coming insurrection reached him. Mírkhúnd

¹ Margoliouth, pp. 288-9.

² Mírkhúnd, vol. ii, p. 178.

says that the Baní Hawázin and the Baní Thaqif said: 'Muḥammad has vanquished the Quraish: he will probably turn against us, therefore it will be suitable that we attack him before he prepares his army and marches towards us.'¹ They collected a force of about 4000 men and brought with them their families, property, herds and flocks. It was thought that the knowledge that a defeat would mean total ruin would make the men fight to the death. Against this force Muḥammad was able to send an army of 10,000 men who had accompanied him to Mecca. They were reinforced by 2000 more warriors. The enemy under their youthful leader, Málik ibn 'Aúf Naḍarí, took up a strong position in a narrow defile leading to the valley of Hunain. The Muslims fell into the ambush, were driven back in much confusion and a panic set in. They fled in confusion, and it seemed as if the day was lost; but the Prophet bade his uncle 'Abbás cry out: 'O men of Madína! O men of the tree of fealty! O men of the Súratu'l-Baqara!' The flight of some was arrested, and then Muḥammad, ascending a mound and taking some gravel in his hand, cast it towards the enemy and said: 'Ruin seize them.' A body of devoted warriors rallied round him. The tide of battle turned and the enemy were, after a hard struggle, utterly routed.² The victory of

¹ Mírkhúnd, vol. ii, p. 179.

² It is said women were present. According to the Traditions,

Ḥunain was considered worthy of mention in the Qur'án, and so a revelation came in connexion with the battle. The initial reverse is attributed to the vainglory the Muslims showed in their numbers. Thus:—

Now hath God helped you on many battle-fields, and on the day of Ḥunain, when ye prided yourselves on your numbers; but it availed you nothing, and the earth, with all its breadth, became too strait for you; then turned ye your backs in flight. Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 25.

In the next verse the final victory is attributed to supernatural aid:—

Then did God send down His spirit of repose¹ upon His Apostle and upon the faithful, and He sent down the hosts which ye saw not, and He punished the infidels.

A reverse would have been serious, for Abú Suf-yán might have taken advantage of a disaster to raise the standard of revolt again.

The city of Ṭá'if was the head-quarters of the Baní Thaqif. It was strongly fortified and well

women should not go to battle, for when 'Áyisha asked to be allowed to go, Muḥammad said: 'Thy jihád is the Ḥajj' (Bukhárí, part ii, p. 184). Here they are said to have come out to assist the wounded. The opinion seems to be that this is justifiable, but that they should not fight against men. Ibid. p. 187.

¹ The original word is Sakinat. From its use in Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 249, it seems to have been borrowed from the Jews and to be connected with the Shechinah, or 'Divine presence of glory'. Baidáwí calls it 'the permanence of tranquillity'. For a full discussion of it, see *H.D. Qur'án*, pp. 193-9.

supplied with fruit, trees and water. The gates of the city were shut against Málik ibn 'Aúf, the defeated commander at Ḥunain. He retired to his castle which the Muslims on their way to Ṭá'if destroyed. Later on he became a Muslim, was confirmed in his chieftainship and kept up a warfare with the men of Ṭá'if. For the first time in a siege the Muslims used besieging engines and parties pushed forward under cover of them; but the defenders cast down balls of hot iron and burnt them, so the siege was protracted for some weeks. Still all efforts to capture the city failed. The Prophet then had a dream which showed him that it was useless to prolong the siege. He caused a proclamation to be made that all slaves in the city who joined him should be made free, but less than twenty came, and so he raised the siege. About ten months after the people of Ṭá'if submitted to him.

The cause of Islám was too well assured to suffer from the raising of the siege. It showed, however, what a few brave men could do, and had the men of Mecca been as stout of heart as the Baní Thaqif of Ṭá'if, that city need never have fallen, and the cause of Islám might have received, if not a fatal blow, at least a very severe one.

The Muslims received a check, but Muḥammad had wisely postponed the division of the spoils of Ḥunain. Owing to the folly of the Hawázin leader

in allowing the families with their property to accompany the army, the booty gained by the Muslims was unusually great. Muḥammad was now able to cheer his followers and to reward his allies in a liberal manner. He gave large presents to the leading chiefs of Mecca and of the Bedouin tribes, who had become converts, at which his old followers and friends were somewhat annoyed and discontented. But later on a revelation came to justify his action, even in a small matter like this:—

Some of them defame thee in regard to the alms; yet if a part be given them, they are content, but if no part be given them, behold, they are angry.

Would that they were satisfied with what God and His Apostle had given them, and would say, 'God sufficeth us, God will vouchsafe to us of His favour, and so will His Apostle: verily unto God do we make our suit.'

But alms are only (to be given) to the poor and needy and those who collect them, and to those whose hearts are reconciled¹ (to Islām). *Súratu't-Tauba* (ix) 58-60.

The alms were, in the case of the chiefs who received rich presents, very much of the nature of a bribe, and naturally the men of Madína objected to the procedure. The words, 'those whose hearts are reconciled' to Islām, are said by the commentators to be now abrogated, for Abú Bakr abolished

¹It is the unanimous opinion of the commentators that the words 'whose hearts are reconciled' mean converts to Islām.

the granting of gifts of this kind to converts, on the ground that God had now prospered Islām, and so such gifts were no longer needed.

After giving away the spoils of Hunain, Muḥammad performed the ceremonies of the 'Umra, or Lesser Pilgrimage. He then left for Madína. A few years before as a persecuted fugitive he had left Mecca secretly; now he leaves it openly as the most powerful chief in all Arabia, able to dictate his own terms to the very men who a short while ago had refused to listen to his words.

Towards the end of the eighth year of the Hijra, Mary the Copt bore a son to the Prophet.¹

¹Cherāgh 'Alí (p. 209) says that the story that 'Ibráhím was born of Mary the Copt is a perfect myth.' He gives no authority for this statement. On the other hand historians of repute record the fact. Thus Mas'údí, (vol iv. p. 159) speaks of 'Mary the Copt, mother of Ibráhím, son of the Prophet.'

مارية القبطية أم ابراهيم ابن رسول

Ṭabari (series I, vol. iii, p. 1561) says: 'The Maqúqas gave the Prophet four damsels, amongst whom was Mary, mother of Ibráhím.'

و اهدى المقوقس الى رسول الله صلعم اربع جوار منهم مارية ام ابراهيم

Again he says: ولدت مارية ابراهيم في ذى الحجة Ibid., p. 1686. In the *Mudárijū'n-Nabuwat* (vol ii, p. 699) we read 'From her (Mary) Ibráhím, son of the Prophet of God was born.'

و از وی (مارية) ابراهيم بن رسول الله متولد شد

The fact is that in their books for English readers, some modern apologists for many of the Prophet's actions much too readily set aside, when it seems desirable to do so, the statements made by their own historians. If this well-attested fact is a 'perfect myth', what reliance can be placed on other facts recorded by the same historians and which these apologists accept without demur.

He was called Ibráhīm and was a cause of great joy to his father. He died in infancy and his death was a cause of much sorrow. The accounts of Muḥammad's grief and his resignation are very touching and reveal a very pleasing side of his character. The position Mary now held made some, at least, of his other wives jealous and a domestic quarrel soon took place. Ḥafaṣa one day found the Prophet in her room with Mary. She reproached him, and Muḥammad to appease his offended wife promised to give up the society of Mary altogether, and begged her to keep the matter quiet. Ḥafaṣa, however, went and told it to 'Áyisha and soon Muḥammad found that his wives, displeased with the bringing in of a slave girl into Ḥafaṣa's room, treated him with coolness. This could not be allowed to go on and so the revelation came:—

Why, O Prophet! dost thou hold that to be forbidden which God hath made lawful to thee, from a desire to please thy wives, since God is Lenient, Merciful.

God hath allowed you release from your oaths; and God is your master and He is the Knowing, Wise. *Súratu't-Tahrim* (lxvi) 1-2.

According to the commentators, Baiḍáwī and 'Abdu'lláh ibn 'Abbás, these verses refer to this event. The wives referred to are Ḥafaṣa, and 'Áyisha, and that which was made lawful was intercourse with Mary. Another story in explanation of the verses is that the Prophet in the

house of Zainab drank sherbet made from honey, and that he used to stay there a long time. This special attention to Zainab displeased some of his wives.¹ So 'Áyisha and Ḥafaṣa took counsel together and determined to break him of the habit of drinking the honey sherbet which presumably Zainab made so well; so when he came near them after drinking sherbet, he was told a bad smell proceeded from him. Now he disliked a bad odour and so he decided to give up honey sherbet. Then came the revealed permission, in the verses just quoted, to drink honey sherbet whether Ḥafaṣa and 'Áyisha approved or not of his getting it from Zainab.

The first interpretation is not generally given in the Traditions, and Cherágh 'Alī says the whole thing is a fictitious story.² Baiḍáwī's authority is dismissed with the remark that the commentators are generally no authority in the matter of traditional literature. He quotes, however, with much inconsistency, authorities which support the honey sherbet story. Now there was nothing wrong, considering the relation they bore to each other, in Muḥammad's being in a room with Mary, though it may have been indiscreet to have used Ḥafaṣa's

¹ آن حال بر بعضی ازواج طهارت کران آمد

Tafsir-i-Husaini, vol. ii, p. 411.

² p. 212.

room; nor was the use of honey sherbet wrong, and it seems quite improbable that Zainab would make, or that he would drink a bad smelling sherbet. If the first story is improbable the second seems equally so.¹ Still, the verses of the Qur'án quoted have to be explained and one or other story has to be accepted. In either case, it was a foolish domestic quarrel, showing how an extensive harem naturally leads to jealousy; but it tends to lower the dignity of revelation when it is specially produced for such an outburst of feminine jealousy.²

¹ Cherágh 'Alí gives the authorities for the honey sherbet theory (p. 214); but they are certainly not men of a greater authority than Baidáwí, who favours the first explanation.

² Súratu'n-Nisá' (iv) 3, which sanctions four wives and the acquired slaves, seems to show that in polygamy there is a danger lest jealousy and ill-feeling may arise. The remedy suggested is monogamy: 'If ye fear that ye shall not act equitably, then (marry) one only.' Now Hafaşa and 'Áyisha apparently thought that they did not get equitable treatment and were jealous of Mary the Copt. Muḥammad had neglected the Qur'anic remedy for such a state of things and hence all this domestic trouble. The verse quoted from Súra iv and this verse,

Ye will not have it at all in your power to treat your wives alike, even though you would fain do so [Súratu'n-Nisá, (iv) 128].

are sometimes brought forward to show that monogamy is the real teaching of the Qur'án. Cherágh 'Alí (*Reforms under Muslim Rule* (p. 128) says that verse 128 'was the virtual abolition of polygamy', and Syed Amír 'Alí considers that 'polygamy is as much opposed to the teachings of Muḥammad as it is to the general progress of civilized Society' (p. 327). If this is the real teaching

Now that Mecca and the Ka'ba had passed into Muḥammad's possession, his fame became great, and tribe after tribe came and made their submission, so that this ninth year is known as 'The year of the Deputations'. Bands of Muslims under active leaders scoured the country, and the permission given to non-Muslims to visit the temple was now annulled and the order was:—

When the sacred months are passed, kill those who join other gods with God wherever ye shall find them, and seize them, besiege them, and lay wait for them with every kind of ambush; but if they shall convert and observe prayer and pay the obligatory alms then let them go their way. Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 5.

The growing power of the Prophet is seen from the fact that earlier principles of toleration are now given up, and verses revealed in his earlier years are cancelled by the famous verse just quoted, and which is known as the Áyatu's-Saif, or 'verse of the sword'. It abrogates the restriction which did not allow the Muslims to commence a war and which is recorded in the verse:—

Fight for the cause of God against those who fight against you; but commit not the injustice of attacking them first.¹ Súratu'l-Baqara (ii) 186.

of the Qur'án, it seems a very great pity that the Prophet not only did not himself follow it, but even exceeded the liberty given to his followers, for at a time when he had nine wives, a revelation was produced to sanction this excess over the legal four. See Súratu'l-Aḥzáb (xxxiii) 49, 52.

¹ The commentator Ḥusain says that this means that they were not to commence fighting until they were attacked.

It even does more, for it also abrogates the kindly words of an earlier Meccan revelation¹ :—

Dispute not unless in kindly sort with the people of the Book. Súratu'l-'Anqabút (xxix) 45.

It also abrogates the words of an early Súra :—

To you be your religion, to me my religion. Súratu'l-Káfirún (cix) 6.²

Now that Islám was strong, such a compromise, made when the Prophet's position was uncertain, could no longer be allowed.

In any case the Arabs now saw that further opposition was useless. The whole framework of society was broken; it needed reconstruction and Muḥammad alone had the power to do this. Thus the movement towards Islám now assumed the character of a national one, and the very man who had for so many years been the cause of disputes and wars, now became the acknowledged leader and

ابتدا مكنيد بقتال تا اول ايشان آغاز نكنند

This was a politic order when the Muslims were weak. Now they had nothing to fear from any quarter and such moderate sentiments were set aside by the application of the very convenient principle whereby a later verse abrogates an earlier one; so here Ḥusain says, 'This order is abrogated by the verse of the sword.'

Tafsir-i-Ḥusaini vol. i, p. 32. این حکم بآیت سیف منسوخ است

¹ It is said that it is abrogated by the verse of the sword.

Baidāwī, vol. ii, p. 98. قبل هو منسوخ بآية السيف

و این آیت بآیت سیف منسوخ شده است²

Tafsir-i-Ḥusaini, vol. ii, p. 472.

head of a united Arabia. In this way were the Prophet's early desires fulfilled.

All who entered Islám had to accept its teaching, perform its ritual, conform to its code of ethics, and in all things render implicit obedience to God, and His Apostle.¹ He had also to pay the stated tithes, which by a euphemism are called alms,² towards the charities of the community and the growing expenses of the State.

Rumours now reached the Muslims that the emperor Heraclius was collecting a large army on the Syrian border and intended to march against Madína. As a matter of fact it was a false rumour,³ but the Prophet may have believed it. There had been domestic disputes, there was discontent owing to the defeat at Múta, the failure to capture Tá'if and the preference shown to recent Meccan and Bedouin converts in the distribution of the spoils of Ḥunain. A fresh expedition with the prospect of gain was evidently the best way to allay such unrest and to divert the minds of the men of Madína from their real or supposed grievances.

¹ The phrase 'God and His Apostle' is now common. Muḥammad was no longer the preacher and warner merely; but the head of a theocratic State and so his orders now go forth with all the force of a divine sanction. See *H.D. Qur'án*, pp. 248-54.

² For a description of these, see *The Faith of Islám* (ed. 3rd.) pp. 327-31.

³ آنچه در مدینه مسموع شده بود از قصد رومیان و توجه ایشان بدیار
Mírkhúnd, vol. ii, p. 190. اهل اسلام اصلی ندارد

Muḥammad usually concealed the object of his expeditions,¹ but, in this case, as the distance to Tabúk, a place midway between Madína and Damascus, was great, the difficulties of the march extreme and provisions on the way scarce, he made known his intention. So great were the anticipated difficulties that the expedition is known by the name of 'The Ghazwa of Distress'. Levies were called in from various tribes, and good Muslims contributed supplies. Abú Bakr gave his whole property and 'Umar devoted one-half of his to the cause. Their example was followed by many others, and Muḥammad found himself at the head of a comparatively well-equipped army, said to consist of 30,000 warriors. Still great and numerous as the gifts had been, all who wished to go could not be provided for. Those whose services could not be utilized in the expedition to Tabúk wept bitterly, and were ever after called al-Baká'un, or 'the weepers'. They are told that no blame attaches to those:—

To whom when they came to thee that thou shouldst mount them, thou didst say, 'I find not wherewith to mount you', and they turned away their eyes shedding floods of tears for grief, because they found no means to contribute. Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 93.

Some were disaffected and one of the Munáfiqún said that Muḥammad had gone to fight the

¹ بهر غزوه كه توجه نمودی تصریح نمود Mirkhúnd, vol. ii, p. 189.

Greeks but would fail. When reproached for their weakness they said they had spoken in fun; but they received a severe rebuke which came in an appropriate revelation.¹ In due course the army after much difficulty and suffering arrived at Tabúk and found no enemy there.² It stayed there, according to some accounts, two months; according to others twenty days. As the Ghazwa was quite profitless, it was thought desirable to make a demonstration against Christians and Jews. John, the Christian Prince of Ailah, made a treaty with the Prophet and agreed to pay an annual tribute. The most interesting embassy to the Prophet was that of the Christians of Najrán headed by their bishop, Abú Harítha. They refused to accept Islám or to agree to Muḥammad's proposal, 'Come let us curse each other and lay the curse of Alláh on those that lie.'³ Finally, they agreed to pay the jízya, or poll-tax, which all non-Muslims had to give.

This event is referred to in the following verses of the Qur'án:—

¹ Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 65-7.

² Mirkhúnd (vol. ii, p. 191) gives a vivid description of the wonderful events which took place on the march. We agree with Cherágh 'Alí that they are the 'inventions of a playful fantasy' (p. xxi), but they show this importance attached to this Ghazwa.

³ بیايد تا مباھله كنيم يعنى دربارگ همديگر دعا كنيم كه لعنت خداى عزوجل بر اهل انكس و افترا باد Mirkhúnd, vol. ii, p. 200.

Verily, Jesus is as Adam in the sight of God. He created him of dust; He then said to him, 'Be, and he was.'

As for those who dispute with thee about Him, after the knowledge hath come to thee,¹ say, 'Come, let us summon our sons and your sons, our wives and your wives, and ourselves and yourselves. Then will we invoke and lay the curse of God on those who lie.'²

Súratu 'Alī 'Imrān (iii) 52, 54.

At the same time an expedition under Khálid bin Walíd was made to Dúmatu'l-Jandal, in consequence of which the Christian prince Ukaidir accepted Islám. Khálid promised him his life if he did so, but he had to deliver up his fortresses, his arms and horses and unoccupied lands. As this prince had not taken up arms, nor in any way interfered with the Muslims, it was a clear case of conversion by the sword. Several Jewish tribes also now submitted to the Prophet's rule and became dhimmís. Although Muḥammad was thus able to show that the Ghazwa of Tabúk was not altogether fruitless, and on his return heard the good news of the submission of the Baní Thaqif,³ yet there were indications that to some of the people of Madína the actions of the Prophet were

¹ That is, after knowing that Jesus is a prophet and a servant (i.e. not divine).
از دانستن كه عيسى رسول و بنده است

Tafsir-i-Husaini, vol. i, p. 70.

² This verse is called the Áyatu'l-Mubáhalat or 'the verse of imprecation.'

³ See Margoliouth, pp. 428-9, for the terms of the submission

unpopular, so now some of the disaffected—the Munáfiqún—at Madína, who had not followed the Prophet in this expedition, were severely rebuked. Special revelations, which commentators agree in referring to the war of Tabúk, came to reprove them, and the Arabs of the desert also, and to warn others:—

O Believers! what possessed you, that when it was said to you, 'March forth on the way of God', ye sank heavily earthwards? What! prefer ye the life of this world to the next?

They who were left at home were delighted to stay behind God's Apostle, and were averse from contending, with their riches and their persons for the cause of God and said, 'March not out in the heat.' Say, 'A fiercer heat will be the fire of hell.' Would that they understood this.

When a Súra was sent down with 'Believe in God and go forth to war with the Apostle', those of them who are possessed of riches demanded exemption, and said, 'Allow us to be with those who sit at home.' Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 38, 82, 87.

The faithless Bedouins are severely rebuked thus:—

Some Arabs of the desert came with excuses, praying exemption; and they who had gainsaid God and His Apostle sat at home: a grievous punishment shall light on such of them as believe not. Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 91.

Thus all who held back were rebuked, and the Prophet and those who went were highly commended and told that 'all good things' await them, for God hath made for them 'gardens beneath which the rivers flow', where there is bliss for ever. Some

believers afterwards confessed their fault and were forgiven, but the Prophet was told to take of their substance in order to cleanse and purify them. Some others were kept waiting before a decision was given in their favour, but at last they too were pardoned:—

Others have owned their faults, and with an action that is right they have mixed another that is wrong. God will haply be turned to them, for God is Forgiving, Merciful.

Take alms of their substance, that thou mayest cleanse and purify them thereby, and pray for them; for thy prayers shall assure their minds: and God Heareth, Knoweth. *Súratu't-Tauba* (ix) 103-4.

As Muḥammad was preparing to go to Tabúk, he was asked to open a newly-built mosque at Kúba. The Prophet seems to have had reason for believing that it was intended to be the centre for a dissenting party under the influence of the monotheist Abú Amír (*ante* p. 90), or some other opponent, and so he ordered it to be destroyed.¹

The expedition to Tabúk was the last one commanded by Muḥammad in person, and now it seemed as if all opposition was crushed, all danger over. There is a Tradition to the effect that the followers of the Prophet began to sell their arms and to say, 'The wars for religion are now ended.' But when this reached the ears of the Prophet, he

¹ The revelation concerning it is given in *Súratu't-Tauba* (ix) 108-10.

forbade it saying, 'There shall not cease from the midst of my people a party engaged in war for the truth, even until Antichrist appear.'¹ Whether the Tradition is genuine or not it shows, at least, the views which the early Muslims held as to religious wars and is in accord with another Tradition: 'Jihád will remain till the day of judgement.'²

The compulsion of the Jews and Christians, after the expedition of Tabúk, is sanctioned in some verses of *Súratu't-Tauba* (ix), which the best authorities place soon after that date:—

Make war upon those who believe not in God, nor in the last day, and who forbid not that which God and His Apostle have forbidden, and who profess not the profession of the truth, until they pay tribute out of hand, and they be humbled.

The Jews say, 'Uzair (Ezra) is a son of God,' and the Christians say, 'The Messiah is a son of God.' Such the sayings in their mouths. They resemble the saying of the infidels of old! God do battle with them.³ How are they misguided.

¹ Wáqidi, 133, quoted by Muir, vol. iv, p. 202.

² الجهاد ماغى الى يوم القيامة

³ قاتلهم الله. Baiḍáwī commenting on these words says: 'A prayer for their destruction, for he whom God fights against is destroyed; or astonishment at the odiousness of their sayings.' دعا عليهم بالاهلاك فان من قاتله الله هلاك او تعجب من مناعة قولهم

It is only fair to say that the latter interpretation is adopted by some Muslims of the broader school of thought in India, who would probably use the expression, 'May God confound them', or something equivalent; but the older commentators almost universally accept the first view. Maulaví Háfiz Naḥḥir Aḥmad Khán,

They take their teachers and their monks and their Messiah, son of Mary, for Lords besides God, though bidden to worship one God only. There is no God but He. Far from His glory be what they associate with Him.

Fain would they put out God's light¹ with their mouths; but God only desireth to perfect His light, albeit the Infidels abhor it.

He it is who hath sent His Apostle with the guidance and a religion of the truth, that He may make it victorious over every religion,² albeit they who assign partners to God be averse from it.

O Believers! of a truth, many of the teachers and monks do devour man's substance in vanity, and turn them from the way of God. But to those who treasure up gold and silver and expend it not in the way of God, announce tidings of a grievous torment.

On that day their (treasures) shall be heated in the fire of hell, and their foreheads and their sides, and their backs, shall be branded with them.³ *Súratu't-Tauba* (ix) 29-35.

the latest translator of the Qur'án into Urdu, renders the words thus: 'May God make havoc of them' - خدا انکو غارت کرے. Tirmidhi (vol ii, p. 468) records a Tradition in keeping with the severer view: 'The Prophet ordered that they should make war on men until they said, "There is no god but God".'

قال رسول الله صلعم امرت أن اقاتل الناس حتى يقولوا لا اله الا الله

For the views of other commentators, see *H.D. Qur'án*, p. 251, note.*

¹ For the interpretation of these words, see *H.D. Qur'án*, p. 218, note.

² *Ibid.*, p. 219.

³ The Commentator *Husain* prefaces a long passage on these verses thus: 'O believers kill and fight those who do not believe in God, that is, the Jews who believe in Duality and the Christians who are believers in a Trinity.'

These verses connected with the Prophet's last warlike expedition, an expedition entirely concerned with the submission of Christian and Jewish communities, may be very fairly taken as his final and deliberate opinion as to the future relation of Islám to these creeds and people.

The last *Súra*, *Súratu'l-Má'ida* (v), contains a verse (56) similar in tone to those just quoted, but it is probably an interpolation in this *Súra* and its date is said to be just after the battle of *Uḥud*.¹ If this is so, it simply shows that the final injunction in the ninth *Súra* regarding Jews and Christians was no hasty opinion, called forth by special circumstances, but the development of a principle settled some years before. The verse is:—

O ye who believe, take not the Jews and Christians as your friends, for they are but one another's friends; whoso amongst you taketh them for friends, he is surely one of them, God will not guide the evil-doers. *Súratu'l-Má'ida* (v) 56.

Thus did Muhammad finally part company with those for whom, in the earlier stages of his career, he had professed respect, whose sacred books he had referred to with reverence, and from whose teaching

بکشید ای مومنون و کارزار کنید بآنکه ایمان ندارند بخدای معنی
 بود که به تنیہ تائل اند و نصاری که تثلیث را معتقد اند
Tafsir-i-Husaini, vol. i, p. 253.

¹ *Ibn Kathir*, however, says it came down at the time when the Banī Quraiza were rendered helpless. *Khulḍṣatu't-Tafāsir*, vol. i, p. 535.

he had borrowed much that was good in his own. Having now arrived at supreme power he could afford to cast aside all that had helped him on his way.

After his return from Tabúk, Muḥammad received envoys from Ṭá'if. They had continued firm for sometime, and had even put to death their chief 'Urwah bin Mas'úd for embracing Islám, but they suffered much from the marauding attacks of Málík, chief of the Baní Hawázín, now a Muslim (*ante*, p. 195). They sent a deputation to Muḥammad with terms of submission, one of which was that to satisfy the ignorant among them their great idol al-Lát might remain for a time. On the whole, they got very good terms. They were relieved from the payment of the alms and of the obligation to fight: Muḥammad observing that 'when once they had accepted Islám they would wish both to pay alms and to take part in the sacred war.'¹

When the time for the annual pilgrimage of 631 came round Muḥammad did not go himself, for heathen Arabs were still present;² but he sent Abú Bakr with about three hundred pilgrims. It was now time, however, that the pagan Arabs should be banished from Mecca, so that in a place thus purified, he himself in the ensuing year might

make the Ḥajj. Then the opening verses of Súratu't-Tauba (ix)¹ were revealed, releasing the Prophet from any treaties he might have made with idolaters, who were warned that a grievous punishment was in store for them unless they conformed to Islám. He first appointed Abú Bakr to read the verses which referred to this matter; but soon after sent 'Alí, who overtook Abú Bakr on the road,² received the book from him and afterwards read to the assembled pilgrims the words which he had been told to make known, and so the pilgrims could carry to their respective homes the news that henceforth there would be relentless war against all Arabs who remained in their old religion and maintained their ancient customs. Four months were to be allowed, but after that they were to have no further grace, for the revealed order was:—

When the sacred months are passed, kill those who join other gods with God wherever ye shall find them; and seize them, besiege them and lay wait for them with every kind of ambush; but if they shall convert, and observe prayer, and pay the obligatory alms, then let them go their way, for God is Gracious, Merciful. Súratu't-Tauba (ix) 5.

The result of this resolute attitude on the part of Muḥammad, who now had the power to kill, to seize and to besiege, led to a series of embassies

¹ Musnad, p. iii, 341, quoted by Margoliouth, p. 429.

² Mirkhúnd, vol. ii, p. 195.

¹ This Súra is also called Súratu Bará'atin or 'liberty', that is, he was free from any obligation to the pagan Arabs.

² Tirmidhí, vol. ii, p. 370.

from all parts of Arabia to Madína to make peace and to learn about Islám.¹ There was no longer any opposition; no longer could idolaters make the pilgrimage, and so Muḥammad² determined to make the Greater Pilgrimage, in this tenth year of the Hijra, an act of devotion which he had not performed since he had fled from Mecca. All his wives went with him, and it is said that more than a hundred thousand persons attended him. Many of these had not brought animals for sacrifice and so were only allowed to make the Lesser Pilgrimage. After the circumambulation (ṭawáḥ) of the Ka'ba Muḥammad turned to the Maqám-i-Ibráhím, or place of Abraham, saying, 'Consider the place of Abraham as a place of prayer.' He then said the Fátiḥa, the opening Súra of the Qur'án, then the Súratu'l-Káfirún (cix), and last of all the Súratu'l-Ikhlás (cxii). He next went most carefully through the whole ceremonial, including the kissing of the black stone and the drinking of water from the sacred well, and all other of the old pagan rites.³ The opportunity was taken to deliver an address on inheritance, adultery, treatment of women, who for some causes were to be beaten with

¹ For a detailed account of these embassies, see Muir, vol. iv, pp. 212-29, also (ed. 1912), pp. 455-67; Margoliouth, pp. 431-42.

² This is called the 'Pilgrimage of Farewell' or the Hajjatu'l-Wida'.

³ *Mishkátu'l-Maṣābiḥ*, p. 390. For a full account of the ceremonies of the Hajj, see *The Faith of Islám*, pp. 331-45.

stripes, yet not severely, on slaves, and on the equality of Muslims.¹ The portion of the Súratu't-Tauba (ix) abolishing the triennial intercalation of a month to reduce the lunar to the solar years was recited, and the month of the Pilgrimage fixed according to the changing seasons of the lunar year. This change seriously affected the commerce of Mecca, though the institution of the Hajj, with the large number of pilgrims it brings to the city, to some extent compensated for it. Margoliouth (p. 393) says: 'Previously by unscientific intercalation the months had been made to correspond roughly with the seasons; Muḥammad by now making twelve lunar months, destroyed all relation between them. Of any accommodation of the Pilgrimage months to the needs of commerce there would no longer be any question. . . . The commerce of Mecca was ruined.'

On one of the days of the Hajj Muḥammad went to the top of the Mount 'Arafát and then, standing erect on his camel said:—

This day I have perfected your religion for you, and fulfilled up the measure of my favours upon you, and it is my pleasure that Islám be your religion.² Súratu'l-Má'ida (v) 5.

¹ See Muir (quoting Ibu Hishám 438), vol. iv, pp. 238-9; Tirmidhí, vol. ii, p. 369; Syed Amír 'Alí, p. 214, who, however, significantly omits the order to confine and beat wives.

² The commentator Ḥusain interprets this verse thus: 'This day I have perfected your religion for you, so that other laws will not

Then going to Muzdalifah, he said the *Ṣalātu'l-Maghrib* and the *Ṣalātu'l-Ishā*—the sunset and the evening prayers—with the *Adhān*, or call to prayer, and the *Iqāmat*, a repetition of the *Adhān* with the addition of the words, 'Prayer has commenced'. In the morning he visited the holy monument (now the mosque *Masharu'l-Harām*) and repeated the *Takbīr*, *Allāhu Akbar*, 'God is great'; the *Tahlīl*, 'There is no god but God'; the *Ta'awwudh*, 'I seek refuge from cursed Satan.' He then went through the ceremonies sanctioned by ancient Arab custom, of throwing stones at certain pillars in the valley of Minā and so concluded the *Hajjatu'l-Widā'*—the Pilgrimage of Farewell.

Thus, the incorporation of this pagan rite completed and perfected the religion, which the Arabian Prophet left to his countrymen as that which superseded and abrogated all previous ones.

The *Sūratu'l-Hajj* (xxii) contains the revelations enjoining the duty of performing the *Hajj*. Thus:—

abrogate it. . . . I have appointed for you Islām, a religion purer than all other religions'

امروز کامل گردانیدم برای شما دین شما را که دیگر احکام او را رقم نسخ نتوانده بود . . . و اختیار کردم برای شما اسلام را دینی که پاکیزه تر از همه دینها است
Tafsir-i-Husaini, vol. i, p. 137.

In the *Khulāṣatu'l-Tafsir*, the views of commentators are thus summed up: 'In our religion there is no defect in reason or revelation, no need of any (other) dogmas; no room for improvement:—کسی نرمیم کن گنجایش نیست—or for abrogating.' Vol. i, p. 488.

Proclaim to the people a Pilgrimage.

Let them bring the neglect of their persons to a close, and let them pay their vows and circuit the ancient House (i. e. Ka'ba).

Ye may obtain advantages from the (cattle) up to the set time for slaying them: then the place for sacrificing them is at the Ancient House. *Sūratu'l-Hajj* (xxii) 28, 30, 34.

This *Sūra* is a composite one: part was revealed at Mecca and part at Madīna. It is not easy to say when the words just quoted were revealed, but in all probability they are Madīna verses, given about the time of the Lesser Pilgrimage which was made in the sixth year of the Hijra.

Anyhow, to these commands given some years before, Muḥammad now gave the sanction of his own action, and henceforth the *Hajj*, or Pilgrimage, became one of the obligatory (*farḍ*) and religious acts of every Muslim. At that time this was undoubtedly a politic thing to do, for this recognition of the national sanctuary as the local centre of Islām and the annual rendezvous of its votaries appealed to the sentiment of all the Arab people, and especially to the Quraish who lived in Mecca. It was the one thing they all had in common with the Muslims, and so the continued existence of the pilgrimage pleased them well and drew them towards Islām. It was from Muḥammad's then standpoint a wise thing also to retain the ancient ceremonies of the Pilgrimage. The Ka'ba, with all connected with it, was the object of universal

reverence by the Arab people. The sentiment involved in this was the most obvious means of uniting the various Arab tribes, long disunited, into one vast confederation for one great purpose. It showed that the conquest of Arabia was complete. But it has really proved a source of weakness since, for it has emphasized the fact that Islām started and was formed as a national religion, and that rules and laws adapted to the needs and requirements of the Arabs of the seventh century are binding on peoples the most diverse in the twentieth. It helps to keep Islām stationary.

CHAPTER XI

CLOSING DAYS

THE eleventh year of the Hijra opened peacefully and the Prophet was busy now in receiving deputations, despatching envoys, dictating letters and giving decisions on cases placed before him,¹ administering justice, appointing officers and generally doing all that an absolute ruler over a growing community, composed in part of unwilling subjects or tributaries, would have to perform.

Muhammad never liked to admit a defeat as final. The defeat at Múta was still remembered, and it was desirable that some action should be taken to cause it to be forgotten, and so an expedition was

¹ The whole of these, so far as they are recorded in the Qur'án, are believed to be the very words of God. Macdonald seems to consider that in 'these last years he forged the awful machinery of divine inspiration. . . . How he passed over, at last, into that turpitude is a problem for those who have made a study of how the most honest trance-mediums may at any time begin to cheat' (*Aspects of Islām*, p. 74). Hirschfeld speaking of the narrative and legislative portions of the Qur'án says: 'They are the result of deliberate though imperfect and unmethodical study' and they 'were uttered in full consciousness of their purpose.' *RASJ*, October 1912, p 1133.

formed to proceed against the Byzantines. Usáma was placed at the head of it, and so it is called the Sariya of Usáma. The Prophet addressed Usáma thus: 'March in the direction of Múta where thy father was slain. Attack the enemy, set fire to their habitation and goods. Make haste to surprise the people before the news reaches them.' But Muḥammad was now seized with his last illness and the expedition did not set forth until after his death, when Abú Bakr directed it to proceed. The wars of the Prophet were now ended.

The biographers¹ give a very full and exhaustive account of the events which happened during the last illness of Muḥammad. Implicit reliance cannot be placed on all that is said to have taken place, or on the conversations thus recorded, yet they undoubtedly show how great was the grief of his family and friends, and with what patience and resignation the Prophet bore all his sufferings.

The following is a summary of the accounts given in the Traditions. It is recorded on the authority of 'Áyisha that on a certain night in the month of Šafar, the Prophet, feeling that his end was drawing near, went to the cemetery of Baqí' several times to pray for the dead and once in the direction of Uḥud to pray for the

martyrs who had fallen in battle there.¹ He was attacked by fever whilst in the house of his wife Maimúna, whose turn it was to receive him, but he signified his wish to be with 'Áyisha, to whose house he was then carried. At times his sufferings were so great that he moaned and rolled from side to side. 'Áyisha said to him: 'O Apostle of God, if any one of us were to do such things, thou wouldest be angry.' He replied: 'O 'Áyisha, my disease is extremely violent. Verily, God the Most High and Glorious sends heavy and great calamities upon Muslims and virtuous persons; nor is there a simple believer whom evil does not befall, were it only as much as a thorn in his foot; but for that reason God Most High exalts His dignity.'

At intervals, when the fever lessened, he used to go to the mosque, say the public prayers and exhort the people. On other occasions, some of the Companions came to his room and received advice from him. One day he thus addressed them: 'God bestows His mercy upon you, keeps you, destroys all that may injure you, provides your sustenance and preserves you from calamity. Be abstemious, beware of the evil consequence of heedlessness. I pray to Alláh to guard you, and I make Him my successor over you. Do not oppress or injure believers.'

We have seen that in the early days at Madína

¹ Mírkhúnd, *Raudatu's-Šafá*, vol. ii; *Mudárijū'n-Nabuwat*, vol. ii, chapter ii; *Nāsikhū't-Tawárikh*, chapter on the death of the Prophet; Ṭabarí, series 1, vol. iv, pp. 1793-1815.

¹ Ṭabarí, series 1, vol. iv, p. 1808.

the relation between the Muhájirún and the Anşár had been strained. Evidently, the Anşár were now very anxious about the future. 'They wandered about in a restless manner with heavy hearts and blood-shot eyes.' They could not remain in their houses and in the graphic language of the Traditionists could not 'withdraw the foot of gravity under the skirts of patience.' When the Prophet heard of this, with great difficulty he arose and, supported by 'Alí, went to the mosque. A large congregation assembled, to whom he gave an address in which he said: 'Be it known unto you that I and you must return to God the Most High and Glorious. I enjoin you to act kindly towards the first Muhájir.' Then he recited the words:—

Say: I betake me for refuge to the God of men,
The King of men,
The God of men,
Against the mischief of the stealthily withdrawing
whisperer,
Who whispereth in man's breast—
Against jinn and men. Súratu'n-Nás (cxiv) 1-6.

After this he said: 'All well-ordered affairs and their success depend upon the permission of Alláh, the Most High. Let nothing induce you to act hastily in any matter, because the Lord, whose name be blessed and exalted, is rash in nothing. Whoever attempts to overcome the decree of Alláh, the Most High, will be overcome thereby, and

whoever tries to deceive Alláh, the Most High, will himself be deceived and disappointed.' He recited also the verse:—

Were ye not ready, if ye had turned back from Him, to spread disorder in the land, and violate the ties of blood? Súratu Muḥammad (xlvii) 24.

Then he said: 'O ye Muhájir, I recommend you to deal kindly and amicably with the Anşár; for they have kept ready for you the place of your flight and the locality of your exile, and had professed the faith before you met them. They shared with you their gardens and the fruits thereof. They received you in their houses and gave you places in their lands.' Then he continued: 'O ye Anşár, after my decease other people will be preferred to you.'¹ The Anşár said: 'O Apostle of God, how shall we deal with them?' He replied: 'Be patient until you join me on the bank of the Kauthar.'² When the conversation had reached this stage, 'Abbás requested permission to speak, and said: 'O Apostle of God, issue orders also with reference to the Quraish.' His lordship said: 'I enjoin the Quraish to obey my successor; the people to obey the Quraish.'

He returned to his apartment and asked for an inkstand in order that he might write something which would not be lost; but 'Umar objected

¹ See also Ṭabarí, series 1, vol. iv, p. 1808.

² The name of a river in paradise.

to one being produced, saying, 'We have the Qur'án of which we all approve.' Owing to the tumult which ensued nothing was written. The Prophet then said: 'I enjoin on you three things: first, expel the idolaters from Mesopotamia; second, when deputations visit you make them presents.' The third injunction he did not deliver, for he was weak and ill. On another occasion he heard the lamentations of the Companions and bade 'Alí admit them to his room. He said to them, 'Ye are the cream of the people. Be steadfast in keeping God's ordinances and make the Qur'án your guide.' Then, closing his eyes and weeping through weakness, he said, 'I have finished.' One of his wives, Umm Salmah, then said: 'As all thy sins are forgiven, why weepest thou?'¹

On another occasion he directed Abú Bakr to say the public prayers.² This might imply that he was to succeed the Prophet as leader of the people, an idea not acceptable to all the Muslims, and so Mírkhúnd, who makes a similar statement, guards

¹ ام سلمه گفت چون مجموع جرائم تو مغفور است سبب این گریه

Mírkhúnd, vol. ii, p. 209.

چيست

It is the universal belief of Muslims that the Prophet was a sinless man; but one, at least, of his wives apparently did not believe this to be the case. The Qur'án itself does not endorse the current opinion. See *The Faith of Islám* (3rd ed.), pp. 246-8. Ṭabarí, series 1, vol. iv, p. 1811. ² فامروا ابا بكر ليصلي بالناس

himself by saying that for it 'the responsibility rests with the narrator',¹ a responsibility which doubtless applies to all the traditional accounts which have gathered round the events of these last days.

As his sufferings increased he said that Gabriel had announced to him that Azrá'il, the angel of death was standing at the door. Azrá'il then entered the room and said that he had come to take his soul to the upper world and that God had instructed him to do it with great courtesy. On hearing these words, Fáṭima, the beloved daughter of Muḥammad, was greatly distressed; but the Prophet comforted her and prayed that she might have strength to bear the separation. Then Gabriel came in and said: 'The fires of hell have been extinguished, the gardens of paradise have been adorned, the Hūrís with large eyes are decorated and with the angels await thy advent.' The end now came. His sufferings were great and he cried out, 'O God! help me in my last agony.' So on June 8, 632, at the age of sixty-three,² passed away one of

Mírkhúnd, vol. ii, p. 209.

¹ العهدة على الراوى

² According to Ma'súdí (vol. iv, p. 149), 'Áyisha gave this as the age, but Ibn Hishám and others say that it was sixty-five وهو ابن خمس و ستين. According to Ṭabarí (series 1, vol. iv, pp. 1834-5) the general opinion is that his age was sixty-three, though some say he was sixty-five when he died.

The events which took place immediately after death are so variously described that Ma'súdí (p. 150) wisely says: 'God knows the facts' والله اعلم بكييفيت. As the Madína grave digger appeared

the greatest chiefs the Arabs had ever known. He who had been the soul of every enterprise, the inspiring genius in the great work of uniting the Arabian people, and of abolishing idolatry from amongst them, now left his Companions to carry on what he had begun. Whether he ever realized what a hard and fast system of law and polity¹ would be based on his teaching in years to come; and whether he ever foresaw how immobile the Islām of the future would be is doubtful; but into this subject, so wide and so important, we must refrain from entering.

It is not easy to pass an impartial judgement on the life and character of Muḥammad. He was simple in the habits of his daily life, attractive in his manner to his personal friends and kindly in his disposition, except to his opponents. These

first on the scene the form of the Madīna graves was adopted. This grave has a ledge on the side for the reception of the corpse; the Meccan one had not, but was just a simple grave. Muslims now adopt the Madīna form which is more convenient for the dreaded examination by the angels Munkar and Nakīr [see *The Faith of Islām* (3rd ed.), p. 232, and note]. It is said that he was buried in 'Āyisha's room and that Abū Bakr, 'Umar and Fāṭima are also interred there, a plot of ground being left vacant for Jesus Christ. Thus the *Muddarīju'n-Nabuwat* (vol. ii, p. 898) says: *در آن موضع قبر عیسی بن مریم خواهد شد*. For the varying views on this point see Zwemer, *Arabia the Cradle of Islām* pp. 47-8. A mosque, the Masjidu'n-Nabī, has been erected over the spot, now so sacred to Muslims of all lands.

¹ See *The Faith of Islām* (3rd ed.), chapter i and note on Ijtihād.

qualities, combined with a patriotic spirit, a clear conception of the work which lay before him, and a steadfast perseverance in the pursuit of his aims, naturally endeared him to those who in his early days enjoyed his confidence. He soon showed a real desire to raise his fellow-countrymen from the degradation of idolatry, a determination to abolish for ever the crime of infanticide, and a wish to secure the welfare of orphans.¹ He made a steadfast effort to improve the status of women as regards property,² though they are still degraded by polygamy and the divorce laws, and to ameliorate the condition of slaves, though slavery is so interwoven with the laws of marriage, sale, and inheritance that, unless the whole code of Islāmic law is set aside, it must remain a permanent institution. We may also admire the emphatic declaration of the Unity of God, the Ruler of men and nations, though the Islāmic conception of God is by no means perfect.³

His perseverance against great odds at Mecca, and his patience under persecution there call forth sympathy for the patriot and the religious reformer. His quickness to realize the advantage of the exodus from Mecca to Madīna, his readiness to change his point of view when the Jews failed

¹ *Sūratu'n-Nisā'* (iv) 2-3, 5, 40.

² *Ibid.*, 23.

³ See Gairdner, *The Muslim Idea of God* (C.L.S.).

to help him, and his skill as an opportunist call for admiration, if we view him only as a successful Arab chief, who founded a kingdom on a religious basis, himself becoming Cæsar and Pope. In these respects he was a great man, who will stand out conspicuous so long as history remains to tell his tale. Inconsistencies there were in his character and policy, the latter often changing with the conditions which surrounded him. He fell short in his own daily domestic life of the ideal he set up for others. His many marriages seem to show a susceptibility to female charms, a weakness hinted at in the Qur'án (*ante*, p. 185). He was bitter against those who opposed his will, he adopted doubtful means to remove antagonists, and, as in the case of the Baní Quraiza, was sometimes positively cruel. With the increase of worldly power intolerance took the place of freedom; and force of persuasion.

At the outset of his career his aspirations were lofty, but it is difficult for any one but a Muslim to believe that he never used the medium of revelation for personal ends. He may have believed that the end justified the means in many of his actions, but that hardly vindicates his apt production of so-called divine revelations to shield his conduct, when it was fairly open to reproach.

But he claimed to be more than the founder of a political State. He declared that he was the

last and greatest of all God's prophets, sent to supersede all who had gone before, to set aside all that had hitherto been considered true, and to establish a system of religion and polity which, deemed to be perfect in itself, was to last for all time, to include all people, and outside of which lay no hope of eternal life.¹ It is as he thus stands forth, demanding obedience not only to the eternal truth that 'There is no god but God', but to what is to him a co-ordinate truth that he is the 'Apostle of God'; and by the constant use of the term 'God and His Apostle' in his later days, calling for equal obedience to both,² and declaring obedience to the one to be obedience to the other;³ it is on Muḥammad in this character that we must look and pass judgement.

The impartial student of history will come to the conclusion on a careful review of Muḥammad's life and work, that, though he was a very successful Arab Chief, and did much to maintain and spread a belief in one God, he has entirely failed to establish his position as a divinely commissioned prophet, or to show that he was sent with 'the guidance and the religion of truth that he might exalt it above every religion,'⁴ and make it set

¹ Súratu Áli 'Imrán (iii) 79.

² Súratu'l-Anfál (viii) 20, 48; Súratu Muḥammad (xlvii) 35.

³ Súratu'n-Nisá' (iv) 82.

⁴ Súratu'l-Fatḥ (xlviii) 28.

aside all that had gone before. We cannot, therefore, admit that Muḥammad was sent from God with a new and divine revelation, or that Islām supersedes Christianity.

VERSES CITED FROM THE QUR'ÁN

<i>Verse</i>	<i>Page</i>	<i>Verse</i>	<i>Page</i>
Súratu'l-Baqara ii		145-6	... 140
72-5	... 98	150	... 140
79	... 99	153	... 118
91	... 32	159-60	... 141
108	... 179	166	... 141
134	... 100	179-180	... 99
138-9	... 103		
153	... 105	Súratu'n-Nisá' iv	
154	... 104	50	... 99
181	... 104	54-5	... 160
186	... 203	59	... 51
187	... 96	61	... 192
192	... 104	128	... 202
210	... 105		
214	... 113	Súratu'l-Má'ida v	
245	... 105	5	... 217
257	... 96	14	... 146
		16	... 100
Súratu 'Ali 'Imrán iii		18	... 100
52, 54	... 108	37	... 177
72	... 100	48	... 101
79	... 6, 182	52	... 101
118-21	... 135	56	... 213
134-5	... 141	70	... 101
138-9	... 138	72	... 101
140	... 141	73	... 6

Verse	Page	Verse	Page
85	... 15	Súratu'r-Ra'd xiii	
Súratu'l-An'am vi		27	... 78
9	... 27	33-4	... 78
106	... 70	Súratu Ibráhím xiv	
116-18	... 74	17	... 74
Súratu'l-Anfál viii		Súratu'n-Naḥl xvi	
1	... 118	104	... 33
42	... 118	105	... 46
19	... 123	108	... 48
30	... 79	111	... 87
42	... 118	127	... 138
60	... 127	Súratu Baní Isrá'íl xvii	
72	... 123	1	... 72
73	... 88	19-23	... 57
Suratu't-Tauba ix		75	... 57
5	203,215	107	... 83
25-6	... 196	110	... 45
29-35	... 212	Súratu Ṭá Há xx	
38	... 209	132	... 72
40	... 79	Súratu'l-Anbiyá' xxi	
58-60	... 198	42	... 74
74	... 110	Súratu'l-Ḥajj xxii	
82	... 209	28	... 219
87	... 209	30	... 219
91	... 209	34	... 219
93	... 206	51	... 57
103-4	... 210	Súratu'n-Núr xxiv	
114	... 66	4	... 159
Súratu Húd xi		03	... 161
29	... 48		
Súratu Yúsuf xii			
92	... 193		

Verse	Page	Verse	Page
Súratu'l-Furqán xxv		Súratu'l-Fuṣṣilát xli	
5-6	... 66	1-4	... 53
Súratu'sh-Shu'ará xxvi		Súratu'z-Zukhruf xliii	
192-3	... 33	40-1	... 73
214-5	... 62	79	... 74
Súratu'l-Qaṣaṣ xxviii		83	... 74
52	... 81	Suratu'l-Aḥqáf xlv	
Súratu'l-'Anqabút xxix		9	... 70
45	95,204	Suratu Muḥammad xlvii	
46	... 81	24	... 225
Súratu'l-Aḥzáb xxxiii		Súratu'l-Fath xlviii	
4	... 153	1	... 181
26	... 162	18	... 180
26-7	... 170	20	185,187
36	... 155	21	... 181
37-8	... 154	27	... 6
49	155, 169	27-8	... 182
51	... 156	Súratu'l-Ḥujurát xlix	
53	... 156	14	... 192
59	... 156	Súratu'dh-Dharyát li	
Súratu'l-Fáṭir xxxv		54-5	... 62
25	... 26	Súratu't-Ṭūr lii	
Súratu's-Ṣáffát xxxvii		29	... 38
93-4	... 58	Súratu'n-Najm liii	
96	... 58	1-5	... 55
Súratu's-Ṣád xxxviii		4-5	... 33
1	... 66		

236 VERSES CITED FROM THE QURAN

Verse	Page	Verse	Page
19-20	... 55	Súratu'l-Qiyámat lxxv	
62	... 56	18-19	... 33
Súratu'l-Wáq'a lvi		Súratu'dh-Dhuḥá xciii	
22	... 63	6	... 10
23-4	... 63	3	... 49
40-4	... 63	Súratu'l-Insharáḥ xciv	
Súratu'l-Hashr lix		1-3	... 9
8	... 150	Súratu'l-'Alaq xcvi	
11-12	... 148	1-2	... 26
Suratu'l-Mumtahina lx		1-5	... 29
8-9	... 112	Súratu'l-Humaza civ.	
Súratu'ṣ-Ṣaff lxi		1	... 51
9	... 141	4-7	... 51
Súratu'l-Munáfiqūn lxiii		Súratu'l-Fil cv	
1-2	... 90	3-4	... 4
7-8	... 90	Súratu'l-Káfirūn cix	
Súratu't-Tahrim lxvi		6	... 204
1-2	... 200	Súratu'n-Naṣr cx	
Súratu'l-Jinn lxxii		1-3	... 190
1-2	... 67	Súratu'l-Lahab cxi	
19	... 67	1-5	... 51
Súratu'l-Mudaththir lxxiv		Súratu'n-Nás cxiv	
1-3	... 32	1-6	... 224
11	... 50		
17	... 50		
26-9	... 50		

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