PART I.

THE LIFE AND MINISTRY OF THE PROPHET
CHAPTER I

MOHAMMED THE PROPHET

بَليَّتُ الْعَلَيْنِ بِيَمَانِهِ
كُفُّ الدَّجَيْنِ بِجُمَالِهِ
ذُحُّتُ جَمِيعُ خَصَاشِهِ
صَلِّ عَلَيْهِ رَ أَلِه

THESE lines, untranslatable in their beauty, do not in the least exaggerate the gentleness of disposition, the nobility of character, of the man whose life, career, and teachings we propose to describe in the following pages. At the dawn of the seventh century of the Christian era, in the streets of Mecca might often be seen a quiet thoughtful man, past the meridian of life, his Arab mantle thrown across his shoulders, his tailasân\(^1\) drawn low over his face; sometimes gently sauntering, sometimes hurrying along, heedless of the passers-by, heedless of the gay scenes around him, deeply absorbed in his own thoughts—yet withal never forgetful to return the salutation of the lowliest, or to speak a kindly word to the children who loved to throng around him. This is al-Amin, “the Trusty.” He has so honourably and industriously walked through life, that he has won for himself from his compatriots the noble designation of the true and trusty. But now, owing to his strange

\(^1\) A scarf thrown over the head usually covering the turban, and brought round under the chin and passed over the left shoulder.
preaching, his fellow-townsmen are beginning to look suspiciously upon him as a wild visionary, a crazedrevolutionist, desirous of levelling the old landmarks of society, of doing away with their ancient privileges, of making them abandon their old creeds and customs.

Mecca was, at this time, a city of considerable importance and note among the townships of Arabia, both from its associations and its position. Situated in a low-lying valley stretching north to south, bordered on the west by a range of hills, on the east by high granite rocks—the Kaaba in its centre, its regular and paved streets, its fortified houses, its public hall opening on to the platform of the temple, the city presented an unusual appearance of prosperity and strength. The guardianship of the Kaaba, originally an appanage of the children of Ishmael, had in consequence of the Babylonian attack, passed into the hands of the Jurhumites. The combination of the secular and religious power enabled the chiefs of the Bani-Jurhum to assume the title of **malik** or king. In the early part of the third century the Jurhumites were overwhelmed by the irruption of a Kahtanite tribe, called the Bani-Khuza'a, who, issuing from Yemen, possessed themselves of Mecca and the southern parts of Hijâz. In the meantime, the race of Ishmael, which had suffered so terribly at the hands of the Babylonian king, was gradually regaining its former strength. 'Adnân, one of the descendants of Ishmael, who flourished about the first century before Christ, had, like his ancestor, married the daughter of the Jurhumite chief, and established himself at Mecca, and his son Ma‘add became the real progenitor of the Ishmaelites inhabiting Hijâz and Najd. **Fihr**, surnamed Koreish, a descendant of Ma‘add, who flourished in the third century, was the ancestor of the tribe which gave to Arabia her Prophet and Legislator.

The Khuzâîtes remained in possession of the temple, and of all the pre-eminence it conferred on them, for more than two centuries. Upon the death of Holayl, the last of the Khuzâîte chiefs, Kossay, a descendant of Fihr, who had married Holayl’s daughter, drove the Khuzâîtes out of Mecca, and possessed

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1 Kossay was the fifth in descent from Fihr, and was born about 398 A.C. The word Koreish is derived from Karash, to trade, as Fihr and his descendants were addicted to commerce.
himself of the entire power, both secular and religious, in the city, and thus became the virtual ruler of Hijáz. We now arrive on absolutely historical grounds.

Kossay appears to have made himself the master of Mecca about the middle of the fifth century of the Christian era, and he at once set himself to the task of placing the administration of the city upon an organised basis. Until Kossay’s time, the different Koreishite families had lived dispersed in separate quarters, at considerable distances from the Kaaba, and the extreme sanctity they attached to the temple had prevented their erecting any habitation in its neighbourhood. Perceiving the dangers to which the national pantheon was exposed from its unprotected condition, he induced the Koreish to settle in its vicinity, leaving a sufficient space free on the four sides of the temple for the tawâf (circumambulation). The families, to whom the lands were allotted, dwelt in strongly fortified quarters.

Kossay built for himself a palace, the door of which opened on the platform of the temple. This palace was called the Dâr un-Nadwâ, “the council hall,” where, under the presidency of Kossay, public affairs were discussed and transacted. To this hall, no man under the age of forty, unless a descendant of Kossay, could gain admission. Here also were performed all civil functions. At the Dâr un-Nadwâ, the Koreishites, when about to engage in a war, received from the hands of Kossay the standard, liwa. Kossay himself attached to the end of a lance a piece of white stuff, and handed it, or sent it by one of his sons, to the Koreishite chiefs. This ceremony, called the Akd ul-liwa, continued in vogue from the time of its inauguration by Kossay until the very end of the Arab empire. Another of Kossay’s institutions endured much longer. By representing to the Koreish the necessity of providing food for the poor pilgrims who annually visited Mecca, and by impressing on them the duties of hospitality, Kossay succeeded in making them submit to the payment of an annual poor-tax, called the Risâda, which he applied in feeding the poorer pilgrims during

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1 The next we hear of the Khuzâites is when the Koreish invoked their assistance against the Prophet.

2 This building, after having been renewed several times, was ultimately converted into a mosque, under Abdul Malik II. (one of the Ommeyyades).
the *Ayyám ul-Minâ*, the day of the sacrificial feast, and the two following days which they passed at Minâ. This usage continued after the establishment of Islâm, and was the origin of the distribution of food which was made at Minâ each year during the pilgrimage, in the name of the Caliphs and the Sultans, their successors. The words *nadwa*, *liwa* and *rifâda* denote the functions exercised by Kossay, being the right of convoking and presiding at the council of the nation, of bestowing the standard,—the symbol of military command,—and of levying imposts, raised for the purpose of supplying food to the pilgrims. With these dignities, Kossay also held the administration of the water supplied by the wells in Mecca and its neighbourhood (*sîkâya*) and the custody of the keys of the Kaaba (*hijâba*), with the ministration to the worship of the gods.

Kossay thus united in his own person all the principal religious, civil, and political functions. He was king, magistrate and chief pontiff. His power, which was almost royal, threw great lustre on the tribe of Koreish, of whom he was the acknowledged chief, and from his time the Koreish acquired a marked preponderance among the other descendants of Ishmael.

Kossay died at an advanced age, about the year 480 A.C. He had in his lifetime designated his eldest son Abd ud-Dâr as his successor, and after his death the son succeeded quietly, and without dispute, to the high position of the father. Upon the death of Abd ud-Dâr, serious disputes broke out between his grandchildren and the sons of Abd(u)Manâf, his brother. The various clans and their allies and neighbours ranged themselves on opposite sides. The dispute, however, was amicably settled for the time. By the compromise thus effected, the *sîkâya* and the *rifâda* were intrusted to Abdus-Shams, the son of Abd(u)Manâf, whilst the *hijâba*, *nadwa* and *liwa* remained in the hands of the children of Abd ud-Dâr Abdus-Shams, who was comparatively a poor man, transferred the duties which had been intrusted to him to his brother Hâshim, a man of great consequence as well as riches among the Koreish. Hâshim was the receiver of the tax imposed on the Koreishites by Kossay for the support of the pilgrims.

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1 Minâ (the 'i' is pronounced very short) is a suburb of Mecca.
and the income derived from their contributions joined to his own resources, was employed in providing food to the strangers who congregated at Mecca during the season of the pilgrimage.

Like the majority of the Meccans, Hāshim was engaged in commerce. It was he who founded among the Koreishites the custom of sending out regularly from Mecca two caravans, one in winter to Yemen, and the other in summer to Syria. Hāshim died in the course of one of his expeditions into Syria, in the city of Ghazza, about the year 510 A.C., leaving an only son, named Shayba, by an Yathribite lady of the name of Salma. The charge of the rifāda and the sikāya passed, upon his death, to his younger brother Muttalib, who had won for himself a high place in the estimation of his compatriots, and the noble designation of al-Faiz (the Generous) by his worth and munificence. Muttalib brought Shayba, the white-haired youth, from Yathrib, to Mecca. Mistaking Shayba for a slave of Muttalib, the Meccans called him Abd ul-Muttalib and history recognises the grandfather of the Prophet under no other name than that of Abd ul-Muttalib, "the slave of Muttalib."¹

Muttalib died at Kazwân, in Yemen, towards the end of 520 A.C., and was succeeded by his nephew, Abd ul-Muttalib, as the virtual head of the Meccan commonwealth. The government of Mecca was at this time vested in the hands of an oligarchy composed of the leading members of the house of Kossay. After the discovery of the sacred well of Zemzem by Abd ul-Muttalib, and the settlement of the disputes regarding its superintendence, the governing body consisted of ten senators, who were styled Sharīfs. These decemvirs occupied the first place in the State, and their offices were hereditary in favour of the eldest member, or chief, of each family. These dignities were—

(r). The Hijāba, the guardianship of the keys of the Kaaba, a sacerdotal office of considerable rank. It had been allotted to the house of Abd ud-Dār, and at the time when Mecca was converted to Islām, it was held by Osmân, the son of Talha.

¹ Of the sons of Abd(u)Manāf, Hāshim died first, at Ghazza; then died Abd ušh-Shams at Mecca; then Muttalib at Kazwân; and lastly, Naufal, some time after Muttalib, at Silmān, in Irāk.
(2). The Sikáya, or the intendance of the sacred wells of Zemzem, and of all the water destined for the use of the pilgrims. This dignity belonged to the house of Háshim, and was held at the time of the conquest of Mecca, by Abbâs, the uncle of the Prophet.

(3). The Diyal, or the civil and criminal magistracy, which had, for a long time, belonged to the house of Taym ibn-Murra, and, at the time of the Prophet's advent, was held by Abdullah ibn-Kuhâfa, surnamed Abú Bakr.

(4). The Sifârah, or legation. The person to whom this office belonged was the plenipotentiary of the State, authorised to discuss and settle the differences which arose between the Koreish and the other Arab tribes, as also with strangers. This office was held by Omar.

(5). The Liwa, or the custody of the standard under which the nation marched against its enemies. The guardian of this standard was the general-in-chief of all the forces of the State. This military charge appertained to the house of Ommeyya, and was held by Abú Sufiân, the son of Harb, the most implacable enemy of Mohammed.

(6). The Rifâda, or the administration of the poor tax. Formed with the alms of the nation, it was employed to provide food for the poor pilgrims, whether travellers or residents, whom the State regarded as the guests of God. This duty, after the death of Abú Tâlib, upon whom it had devolved after Abd ul-Muttalib, was transferred to the house of Naufal, son of Abd(u)Manâf, and was held at the time of the Prophet by Hârith, son of Amr.

(7). The Nadwa, the presidency of the national assembly. The holder of this office was the first councillor of the State, and under his advice all public acts were transacted. Aswad, of the house of Abd ul-'Uzza, son of Kossay, held this dignity at the time of the Prophet.

(8). The Khaimmekh, the guardianship of the council chamber. This function, which conferred upon the incumbent the right of convoking the assembly, and even of calling to arms the troops, was held by Khálid, son of Walid, of the house of Yakhzûm, son of Marra.

(9). Khâzina, or the administration of the public finances,
belonged to the house of Hasan, son of Kaab, and was held by Hārith, son of Kais.

(10). The Aslām,¹ the guardianship of the divining arrows by which the judgment of the gods and goddesses was obtained. Safwān, brother of Abū Sufiān, held this dignity. At the same time it was an established custom that the oldest member exercised the greatest influence, and bore the title of Rais or Syed, chief and lord par excellence. Abbās was at the time of the Prophet the first of these senators.

In spite, however, of this distribution of privilege and power, the personal character and influence of Abd ul-Muttalib gave him an undoubted pre-eminence. The venerable patriarch, who had, in accordance with the custom of his nation, vowed to the deities of the Kaaba the sacrifice of one of his male children, was blessed with a numerous progeny.² And in fulfilment of his vow he proceeded to offer up to the inexorable gods of his temple the life of his best beloved son, Abdullah. But this was not to be. The sacrifice of the human life was commuted, by the voice of the Pythia attached to the temple, to a hundred camels—thenceforth the fixed Wehrjeld, or price of blood.

Abdullah was married to Âmina, a daughter of Wahb, the chief of the family of Zuhri. The year following the marriage of Abdullah was full of momentous events. At the beginning of the year the whole of Arabia was startled by an event which sent a thrill through the nation. Abraha al-Ashram, the Abyssinian viceroy of Yemen, had built a church at San‘a, and was anxious to divert into his own city the wealth which the sanctity of the Kaaba attracted to Mecca. The desecration of the church by a Meccan furnished him with an ostensible

¹ With a ḟ (ṣay), plural of zulam.

² Abd ul-Muttalib had twelve sons and six daughters. Of the sons, Hārith, born towards A.C 538, was the eldest, the others were Abd ul-‘Uzza, aīnas Ābd Lahab, the persecutor of the Prophet, Abd(ā) Manaf, better known as Abū Tālib (born in A.C 540, died in 620 A.C); Zubair and Abdullah (545), born of Fāṭima, the daughter of ‘Amr, the Makhzumi, Dhīfār and Abbās (566-652), born of Nutayla; Mukawwim, Jāhm, surnamed al-Ghaydāk (the liberal), and Hamzah, born of Hāla. The daughters were Atika, Omayma, Arwa, Barra, and Umm-ī Hakim, surnamed al-Bayza (the fair), by Fāṭima, and Safiya, born of Hāla, who married Awwām, the grandfather of the famous Abdullah ibn-Zubair, who played such an important part in the history of Islam. The names of the other two sons of Abd ul-Muttalib are not known, probably because they left no posterity
THE LIFE OF MOHAMMED

motive, and he marched a large army to the destruction of the temple, himself riding at the head of his troops on a magnificently caparisoned elephant. The sight of the huge animal striding solemnly in the midst of the vast force so struck the imagination of the Arabian tribes, that they dated an era from this event, and named it as the Era of the Elephant (57 A.C.). On the approach of the Abyssinians, the Koreish, with their women and children, retired to the neighbouring mountains, and from there watched the course of affairs, hoping all the while that the deities of the Kaaba would defend their dwelling place. The morning dawned brightly as the Abyssinians advanced towards Mecca, when, lo and behold, say the traditionists, the sky was suddenly overcast by an enormous flight of small birds, swallows, which poured small stones over the ill-fated army. These stones, penetrating through the armour of men and horses, created terrible havoc among the invaders. At the same time the flood-gates of heaven were opened, and there burst forth torrents of rain, carrying away the dead and dying towards the sea.

Abraha fled to San'â covered with wounds, and died there soon after his arrival. Ibn-Hishâm, after narrating this prodigy, adds, "it was in the same year that small-pox manifested itself for the first time in Arabia." "This indication explains the miracle," says Caussin de Perceval. One can well understand the annihilation of Abraha's army by some terrible epidemic, similar to the fate which overtook Señacherib, to which was joined perhaps one of those grand downpours of rain which often produce terrible inundations in the valley of Mecca.

Shortly after this event, Abdullah died in the course of a journey to Yathrib, in the twenty-fifth year of his age.1 And, a few days after, the afflicted wife gave birth to a son who was named MOHAMMED. Mohammed was born on the 12th of Rabi I., in the year of the Elephant, a little more than fifty days after the destruction of the Abyssinian army, or the 29th of August 570.2 His birth, they say, was attended with signs

1 He was buried in the quarter occupied by the sons of 'Adi, his maternal uncles.
2 Towards the end of the fortieth year of the reign of Kusrâ Anushirvân, and the end of the year 880 of the era of the Seleucidae.
and portents from which the nations of the earth could know that the Deliverer had appeared. The rationalistic historian smiles, the religious controversialist, who, upon a priori reasoning, accepts without comment the accounts of the wise men following the star, scoffs at these marvels. To the critical student, whose heart is not devoid of sympathy with earlier modes of thought, and who is not biased with pre-conceived notions, "the portents and signs" which the Moslem says attended the birth of his Prophet are facts deserving of historical analysis. We, moderns, perceive, in the ordinary incidents in the lives of nations and individuals, the current of an irresistible law; what wonder then that 1400 years ago they perceived in the fall of a nation’s memorial the finger of God, pointing to the inevitable destiny, which was to overtake it in its iniquity. In accordance with the custom of the Arabs, the child was confided during his early infancy to a Bedouin woman of the tribe of Banî-Sa’d, a branch of the Hawâzin, and upon being returned by her to his mother, was brought up by Âmina with the tenderest care. But she died not long after, and the doubly-orphaned child was thus thrown upon the care of his grandfather, Abd ul-Muttalib, who, during the few years that he survived the mother, watched his grandson with the utmost tenderness. But nothing could make up for the loss of that parental care and love which are the blessings of childhood. His father had died before he was born. He was bereft of his mother when only six years of age, and this irreparable loss made a deep impression on the mind of the sensitive child. Three or four years later he lost his grandfather also. Abd ul-Muttalib died towards the year 579 A.C., shortly after his return from a journey to Sanâ‘a, where he had gone as the representative of the Koreish to congratulate

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1 In after life, when this poor Bedouin woman was brought by the Koreish as a captive to Mecca, Mohammed recognised her with tears of joy, and obtained for her from his rich wife an ample provision for her life.

2 Of the two duties of the Sikdâ and Rifa‘â held by Abd ul-Muttalib, the Sikdâ, with the custody of the Zemzem, passed to his son Abbâs. The second devolved on Abû Tâlib, who enjoyed at Mecca great authority and consideration. Abû Tâlib, however, did not transmit the Rifa‘â to his children. This dignity was transferred, upon his death, to the branch of Naufal, son of Abd(u) Manâ‘î; and at the time Mecca surrendered to the Prophet, Hârîth, the son of ‘Amr, and the grandson of Naufal, exercised, as we have said before, the functions of the Rifa‘â, Zaini, vol. i. p 14
Saif the son of Zu’il Yezen on his accession to the throne of the
Tobbas, with the help of the Persians.

With the death of Abd ul-Muttalib opens another epoch in
the life of the orphan. On his death-bed the old grandfather
had confided to Abû Tâlib the charge of his brother’s child,
and in the house of Abû Tâlib Mohammed passed his early life.
We can almost see the lad with his deep wistful eyes, earnest
and thoughtful, looking, as it were, into futurity, moving
about in the humble unpretentious household of his uncle, or
going often into the desert to gaze upon the beauteous face of
nature; sweet and gentle of disposition, painfully sensitive to
human suffering, this pure-hearted child of the desert was the
beloved of his small circle, and there ever existed the warmest
attachment between uncle and nephew. “The angels of God
had opened out his heart, and filled it with light.” His early
life was not free from the burden of labour. He had often to go
into the desert to watch the flocks of his uncle. The princely
munificence of Hâshim and Abd ul-Muttalib had told upon the
fortunes of their heirs, and the Hâshimites, owing to the lack
of means, were fast losing their commanding position. The
duty of providing the pilgrims with food was given up to the
rival branch of Ommeyya, who had always entertained the
bitterest jealousy towards the children of Hâshim.

Mohammed was but a child when the “Sacrilegious Wars”
—the Ghazwat ul-Fijár, which continued with varying fortunes
and considerable loss of human life for a number of years—
broke out at ‘Ukâz between the Koreish and the Bani-Kinâná
on one side, and the Kais-Aylân on the other. ‘Ukâz lies
between Tâyef and Nakhla, three short journeys from Mecca.
At this place, famous in Arab history, was held a great annual
fair in the sacred month of Zu’il-ka‘da, when it was forbidden to
engage in war or shed human blood in anger—“a sort of God’s
truce.” Other fairs were held at Majna near Marr uz-Zuhrän,
not far from Mecca, and at Zu’il Majâz at the foot of Mount
‘Arafât; but the gathering at ‘Ukâz was a great national affair.
Here, in the sacred month, when all enmity and tribal vendetta
was supposed to lie buried for the time, flowed from all parts
of Arabia and even more distant lands, the commerce of the
world. Here came the merchants of “Araby the blest,” of
Hijâz, of Najd; the poet-heroes of the desert; and the actors, often disguised from the avengers of blood, in masks or veils, to recite their poems and win the applause of the nations gathered there. 'Ukáz was "the Olympia of Arabia"; here they came, not for trade only, but to sing of their prowess, of their glory—to display their poetical and literary talents. The Kasidas, which won the admiration of the assembled multitude, were inscribed in letters of gold (Muzahhabât, golden), and hung up in the national pantheon as a memorial to posterity. ¹ During these weeks, 'Ukáz presented a gay scene of pleasure and excitement. But there was also another side to the picture. The dancing women, like their modern representatives the almas and ghawâzîn of Egypt, moving from tent to tent, exciting the impetuous son of the desert by their songs and their merriment; the congregation of Corinthians, who did not even pretend to the calling of music; the drunken orgies, frequently ending in brawls and bloodshed; the gaming-tables, at which the Meccan gambled from night till morning; the bitter hatred and ill-feeling evoked by the pointed personalities of rival poets, leading to sudden affrays and permanent and disastrous quarrels, deepened the shadows of the picture, and made a vivid impression on the orphan child of Amina.

During the interval between the first and second of those fratricidal wars, named sacrilegious from the violation of the sanctity of the month in which all quarrel was forbidden, Mohammed accompanied his uncle and guardian on one of his mercantile journeys to Syria. ² Here was opened before him a scene of social misery and religious degradation, the sight of which never faded from his memory. Silently and humbly, with many thoughts in his mind, the solitary orphan boy grew from childhood to youth and from youth to manhood.

Deeply versed in the legendary lore of his nation, education in the modern sense of the term he had none. With all his affection for his people, in his ways and mode of thought he seemed far removed from them, isolated in the midst of a

¹ Hence also called the Mu'llahkât, or "suspended poems."
² Abû Tâlib, like his father and grandfather, carried on a considerable trade with Syria and Yemen. He transported to Damascus, to Basra, and other places in Syria the dates of Hijâz and Hîr and the perfumes of Yemen, and in return brought back with him the products of the Byzantine empire.
chaotic society with his eyes fixed intently on the moving panorama of an effete and depraved age. The lawlessness rife among the Meccans, the sudden outbursts of causeless and sanguinary quarrels among the tribes frequenting the fairs of 'Ukâz, the immorality and scepticism of the Koreish naturally caused feelings of intense horror and disgust in the mind of the sensitive youth.

In the twenty-fifth year of his age, Mohammed travelled once more into Syria as the factor or steward of a noble Koreishite lady named Khadija, a kinswoman of his. The prudence with which he discharged his duties made a favourable impression on Khadija, which gradually deepened into attachment. A marriage, which proved a singularly happy one, was soon after arranged between Mohammed and his noble kinswoman, and was solemnised amidst universal rejoicings. In spite of the disparity of age between Mohammed and his wife, who was much the senior of her husband, there always existed the tenderest devotion on both sides. This marriage brought him that repose and exemption from daily toil which he needed in order to prepare his mind for his great work. But beyond that it gave him a loving woman’s heart, that was the first to believe in his mission, that was ever ready to console him in his despair, and to keep alive within him the thin flickering flame of hope when no man believed in him—not even himself—and the world was black before his eyes."

Khadija is a notable figure, an exemplar among the womanhood of Islâm. The calumny which is levelled at Mohammed’s system, that it has degraded the female sex, is sufficiently refuted by the high position which his wife and youngest daughter, our “Lady of Light,” occupy in the estimation of the Moslem. Khadija bore Mohammed several children—three sons and four daughters; but the sons all died in infancy, and their loss which wrung the heart of the bereaved father so tenderly and devotedly attached to them, supplied the hostile Koreish later with an abusive epithet to apply to the Prophet. The daughters long survived the new Dispensation. With the exception of an occasional appearance in public when the exigencies of his position or the necessities of the city of his

1 *Al-abi*ār, literally without a tail; in its secondary sense, one without issue.
birth demanded it, the next fifteen years after his marriage is a silent record of introspection, preparation, and spiritual communion. Since the death of Abd ul-Muttalib authority in Mecca had become more or less divided. Each of the senators enjoyed a somewhat limited authority, and among the different functions there was no such institution as a magistracy to insure the peaceable enjoyment by individuals of their rights and property. The ties of blood and family esprit de corps afforded some degree of protection to every citizen against injustice and spoliation, but strangers were exposed to all kinds of oppression. They would often find themselves robbed, not only of their goods and chattels, but also of their wives and daughters. A famous poet of the name of Hanzala of the tribe of Bani'l Kayn, better known as Abû Tamahân, was publicly robbed in the streets of Mecca, notwithstanding that he had entered the city as a client of a Koreishite notable, Abdullah ibn Juda'ân. Another similar act of lawlessness brought matters to a crisis. At the instance of Mohammed, the descendants of Hâshim and of Muttalib and the principal members of the family of Zuhra and Taym bound themselves by a solemn oath to defend every individual, whether Meccan or stranger, free or slave, from any wrong or injustice to which he might be subjected in Meccan territories, and to obtain redress for him from the oppressor. This chivalrous league received the name of the Hilf ul-Fuzûl, or the Federation of the Fuzûl, in memory of an ancient society instituted with a similar object among the Jurhum, and composed of four personages, named Fazîl, Fazâl, Mufazzal, and Fuzail, collectively Fuzûl. Mohammed was the principal member of this new association, which was founded about 595 A.C., shortly after his marriage. "The League of the Fuzûl" exercised efficient protection over the weak and oppressed, and during the first year of its institution the simple threat of its intervention was sufficient to repress the lawlessness of the strong, and to afford redress to the helpless. The League continued to exist in full force for the first half-century of Islâm. It was some years after the establishment of the Hilf ul-Fuzûl, and towards the commencement of the seventh century of the Christian era, that an attempt was made by Osmân, son of Huwairith, backed
by Byzantine gold, to convert Hijáz into a Roman dependency. His attempt failed chiefly through the instrumentality of Mohammed, and Osmân was obliged to fly into Syria, where he was subsequently poisoned by ʿAmr, the Ghassanide prince. In 605 A.C., when Mohammed was thirty-five, the Koreish took in hand the reconstruction of the Kaaba. In the course of this work a dispute among the different families engaged in the building of the temple, which at one time seemed likely to lead to great bloodshed, was happily settled by the ready intervention of Mohammed. These are all we know of his public acts within these fifteen years. His gentle disposition, his austerity of conduct, the severe purity of his life, his scrupulous refinement, his ever-ready helpfulness towards the poor and the weak, his noble sense of honour, his unflinching fidelity, his stern sense of duty had won him, among his compatriots, the high and enviable designation of al-Amin, the Trusty.

It was at this period that he tried to discharge some portion of the debt of gratitude and obligation he owed his uncle ʿAbû Tâlib, by charging himself with the education of Ali, one of his sons. ʿAbû Tâlib’s endeavour to maintain the old position of his family had considerably straitened his circumstances. Mohammed, rich by his alliance with Khadija, and Abbâs, the brother of ʿAbû Tâlib, were the most opulent citizens of Mecca. During a severe famine which afflicted the country, Mohammed persuaded his uncle Abbâs, to adopt one of the sons of ʿAbû Tâlib, whilst he adopted another. Thus Abbâs took Jaʿfar; Mohammed, Ali, and ʿAkil remained with his father. Mohammed had lost all his sons in early infancy. In the love of Ali he found some consolation for their loss; and the future marriage of the son of ʿAbû Tâlib with the youngest daughter of Mohammed, Fâtima, sealed the bond of love and devotedness.

Mohammed about this time set an example to his fellow-citizens by an act of humanity which created a salutary effect upon his people. A young Arab of the name of Zaid, son of Hârith, was brought as a captive to Mecca by a hostile tribe,

2 Born in 606 A.C.
and sold to a nephew of Khadija, who presented the young lad to her. Mohammed obtained Zaid as a gift from Khadija, and immediately enfranchised him. This kindness on the one side gave rise to absolute devotion on the other, and the Arab boy could not be induced, even by his own father, to return to his tribe or forsake Mohammed.

Thus passed the fifteen years of trial and probation, years marked by many afflictions and yet full of sympathy with human suffering and sorrow.

Before him lay his country, bleeding and torn by fratricidal wars and inter-tribal dissensions, his people sunk in ignorance, addicted to obscene rites and superstitions, and, with all their desert virtues, lawless and cruel. His two visits to Syria had opened to him a scene of unutterable moral and social desolation; rival creeds and sects tearing each other to pieces, yelling over the body of the God they pretended to worship, crying their hatred to the valleys and deserts of Hijaz, and binding the townships of Arabia with their quarrels and bitterness. The picture before him was one of dreary hopelessness. The few who, abandoning their ancient beliefs, were groping in the dark for some resting-place, represented a general feeling of unrest. In their minds there was nothing capable of appealing to the humanity beyond themselves. Mohammed’s soul was soaring aloft, trying to peer into the mysteries of creation, of life and death, of good and evil, to find order out of chaos. And God’s words uttered to his soul became at last the life-giving power of the world. For years after his marriage it had been his wont to betake himself, sometimes with his family, at other times alone, for prayer and meditation to a cave on the Mount Hira, a huge barren

1 Four men, Zaid, Waraka, son of Naufal and a cousin of Khadija, and two others (Obaidullah and Osmân), abandoning the fetishism of their countrymen, had betaken themselves to a search for the true faith. Zaid was the principal person among them. Before the Prophet retired into the wilderness, like Jesus, to commune with God, he had come in contact with Zaid, and learnt to esteem his abhorrence of idolatry. When Zaid’s cousin asked the Prophet in later times to supplicate divine mercy for him, Mohammed, who would not pray for his own grandfather, as he had died in idolatry, willingly did so for Zaid.—Ibn-Hishâm, p. 145.

2 Now called the Mount of Light. Ibn-Hishâm, Ibn ul-Athîr, and Abulfedâ mention the month of Ramazân as the month which Mohammed usually spent at Hira in prayer and the succour of the poor and famished wayfarers of the desert. Tabari mentions Rajab.
rock, torn by cleft and hollow ravine, standing out solitary 
in the full white glare of the desert sun, shadowless, flowerless, 
without well or rill." Solitude had indeed become a passion 
with him. Here in this cave he often remained whole nights 
plunged in profoundest thought, deep in communion (ب) 
with the unseen yet all-pervading God of the Universe. Slowly 
the heaven and earth fill with pre-destined vision and command. 
A voice seems to issue even from the inanimate objects around him, the stones and rocks and trees, calling on him to fuse 
the task an Almighty Power was directing him to undertake. 
Can the poetry of the soul go further? The mental vision 
and the apparitions of angels at these moments were intensely 
though gradual, dawnings of those truths with which he hoped 
to quicken the world into life. Often in the dark and benighted 
pathways of concrete existence, the soul of every great man 
was found to be conscious of unrealised yet not unseen influences, which 
have led to some of the happiest achievements of humanity. 
From Samuel, that ancient Seer, wild and awful as he stood 
deep in the misty horizon of the Past, to Jesus in the wilderness 
pondering over the darksome fate of his people and the magni 
tude of his work, listening to the gentle accents of the God of 
Truth,—from Jesus to Mohammed in the solitude of his 
mountain retreat, there is no break in the action of these 
influences. In the still hours of the night, in the calm 
ness of the early dawn, in the depth of solitude, when no 
human sympathy is near, a Voice comes to him from heaven, 
softly as the sough of the morning breeze: "Thou art the 
man, Thou art the Prophet of God"; or, when wrapt in 
thought it comes in mighty waves: "Cry in the name of thy 
Lord." The over-wrought mind at these moments raises a 
vision before the eye, a vision of the celestial ministrants who 
are believed to form the medium of inter-communication 
between the God of Heaven and the man on earth. "The Father of Truth chooses His own prophets, and He speaks to 
them in a voice stronger than the voice of thunder. It is the

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1 Ibn-Hishām, p. 151.
3 Comp. Isa. xl. 6.
same inner voice through which God speaks to all of us. That voice may dwindle away, and become hardly audible; it may lose its divine accent, and sink into the language of worldly prudence; but it may also from time to time assume its real nature with the chosen of God, and sound in their ears as a voice from heaven."1

"The natural relations of Mahomet’s vast conception of the personality of God with the atmosphere of his age," says a great writer,2 "is the only explanation of that amazing soberness and self-command with which he entertained his all-absorbing visions"; and then adds, "it could not have been accidental that the one supreme force of the epoch issued from the solitudes of that vast peninsula round which the tides of empire rose and fell. Every exclusive prophetic claim in the name of a sovereign Will has been a cry from the desert. The symbolic meaning given to Arabia by the withdrawal of the Christian apostle to commune with a power above flesh and blood, in Mahomet became more than a symbol. Arabia was itself the man of the hour, the prophet of Islam its concentrated word. To the child of her exalted traditions, driven by secret compulsion out into the lonely places of the starry night, his mouth in the dust, the desert spoke without reserve."

One night—"the Night of Power and Excellence"—when a divine peace rests on creation, and all nature is lifted up towards its Lord—in the middle of that night the Book was opened to the thirsting soul. Whilst lying self-absorbed, he is called by a mighty Voice, surging like the waves of the ocean, to cry. Twice the Voice called, and twice he struggled and waived its call. But a fearful weight was laid on him, and an answer was wrung out of his heart. "Cry!" called out the Voice for the third time.

And he said, "What shall I cry?" Came the answer: "Cry—in the name of thy Lord!"

When the Voice had ceased to speak, telling him how from minutest beginnings man had been called into existence and lifted up by understanding and knowledge of the Lord, who is

1 Professor Muller, quoted from Dean Stanley’s Lectures on the History of the Jewish Church, Part 1 Lect xvi p 394  
2 Johnson, Oriental Religions, p. 561.
most beneficent, and who by the Pen had revealed that which men did not know,\(^1\) Mohammed woke from his trance, and felt as if the words spoken to his soul had been written on his heart. A great trembling came upon him, and he hastened home to his wife, and said, "O Khadija! What has happened to me?" He lay down, and she watched by him. When he recovered from his paroxysm he said, "O Khadija! he of whom one would not have believed it (meaning himself) has become either a soothsayer \(^2\) (Kāḥīn) or one possessed—mad." She replied, "God is my protection, O Abu'l-Kāsim! (a name of Mohammed, derived from one of his boys), He will surely not let such a thing happen unto thee; for thou speakest the truth, dost not return evil for evil, keepest faith, art of a good life, and kind to thy relations and friends. And neither art thou a babbler in the market-places. What has befallen thee? Hast thou seen aught terrible?" Mohammed replied, "Yes." And he told her what he had seen. Whereupon she answered and said, "Rejoice, O dear husband, and be of good cheer. He, in whose hands stands Khadija's life, is my witness that the wilt be the Prophet of this people." Then she arose and went to her cousin Waraka, son of Naufal, who was old and blind, and "knew the Scriptures of the Jews and Christians." When she told him what she had heard, he cried out, "Kuddūsun! Kuddūsun! Holy, holy! Verily this is the Nāmūs al-akbar, who came to Moses and Jesus. He will be the Prophet of his people. Tell him this. Bid him be of brave heart."

In the midst of the wreck of empires and nations, in the wild turmoil of tribes and clans, there was a voice in the air—east and west, north and south—that God's message was close at hand: the shepherd was nigh who was to call back

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\(^1\) Sura xcvi vers 1-5 "Ikrá" is usually rendered into "read"; but I have preferred to follow the rendering suggested by Deutsch, as more in accordance with the call to the Prophet, see Rodwell also, and comp. Zamakhshari (the Kashshaf).

\(^2\) Diviners and soothsayers were his particular aversions; most of them were attached to the temples.

\(^3\) The primary signification of the word Nāmūs in Arabic is a messenger who communicates a secret message. It also means, as the Septuagint, "in Talmudical phraseology," says Deutsch, "it signifies the reve-

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...
erring flock into the Master’s fold. It had spoken to the heart of Waraka.

And when the two men met subsequently in the streets, the blind old reader of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, who had searched in them for consolation and found none, but who knew of the promise held out to mankind of a Deliverer, spoke of his faith and trust. “I swear by Him in whose hand Waraka’s life is,” said the old man, “God has chosen thee to be the prophet of this people; the Nāmūs al-akbar has come to thee. They will call thee a liar, they will persecute thee, they will banish thee, they will fight against thee. Oh, that I could live to those days! I would fight for thee.”¹ And he kissed him on his forehead. These words of hope and trust brought comfort to the troubled soul.² And then followed a period of waiting for the Voice to come again—the inspiration of Heaven to fall once more on the anxious mind.

We can appreciate the spiritual throes, the severe mental conflicts, the doubts, hopes, and misgivings which alternately wrung the heart of Mohammed, when we are told that before he had himself realised his Mission he was driven to the verge of self-destruction, when the angel of God recalled him to his duty to mankind.³ It spoke to the poor grieved heart, agitated by doubt and fear,—of hope and trust, of the bright future when he should see the people of the earth crowding into the one true Faith.

Saved by the gracious monition, he hurries home from the desert, exhausted in mind and body, to the bosom of his devoted wife, praying only to be covered from the overwhelming Presence.

His was not the communion with God of those egoists who bury themselves in deserts or forests, and live a life of quietude for themselves alone. His was the hard struggle of the man who is led onwards by a nobler destiny towards the liberation of his race from the bondage of idolatry. His destiny was unfolded to him when, wrapt in profound meditation, melancholy and sad, he felt himself called by that Voice from heaven

¹ Ibn-Hishām, p 103; al-Halabi, Insān-ul-ʿUyūn, vol 1 p 256.
² Waraka died soon after this event.—Ibn-Hishām, p. 104.
which had called those who had gone before him, to arise and preach. "O thou, enwrapped in thy mantle, arise and warn and glorify thy Lord." ¹ And he arose and girded himself for the work to which he was called. Thenceforth his life was devoted to humanity. Preaching with unswerving purpose amidst unremitting persecution, insulted and outraged, he held on in his path of reproof and reform.

Khadija was the first to accept his Mission. She was the first to believe in the revelation, to abandon the idolatry of her people, and to join with him in purity of heart in offering up prayers to the All-Merciful. Not only was she the first to believe in him and his divine message, but in the struggle which was to follow she was his true consoled; and "God," say tradition, "comforted him through her when he returned to her, for she roused him up again and made his burden more light to him, assuring him of her own faith in him, and representing to him the futility of men's babble." ²

In the beginning Mohammed opened his soul only to those who were attached to him, and tried to wean them from the gross practices of their forefathers. After Khadija, Ali was the next disciple. ² Often did the Prophet go into the depth of the solitary desert around Mecca, with his wife and young cousin, that they might together offer up their heartfelt thanks to the God of all nations for His manifold blessings. Once they were surprised in the attitude of prayer by Abû Tâlib, the father of Ali. And he said to Mohammed, "O son of my brother, what is this religion that thou art following?" "Is the religion of God, of His angels, of His prophets, and our ancestor Abraham," answered the Prophet. "God sent me to His servants to direct them towards the truth and thou, O my uncle, art the most worthy of all. It is me that I should thus call upon thee, and it is meet that thou shouldst accept the truth and help in spreading it." "Son of my brother," replied Abû Tâlib, in the true spirit of the stubborn Semite, "I cannot abjure the religion of my fathers; by the Supreme God, whilst I am alive none shall dare to inj
Then turning towards Ali, his son, the venerable patriarch inquired what religion was his. "O father," answered Ali, "I believe in God and His Prophet, and go with him."

"Well, my son," said Abū Tālib, "he will not call thee to aught save what is good, wherefore thou art free to cleave unto him." ¹

Soon after Zaid, the son of Hārith, who notwithstanding his freedom had cast in his lot with Mohammed, became a convert to the new faith. He was followed by a leading member of the Koreishite community of the name of Abdullah, son of Abū Kuhāfa, who afterwards became famous in history as Abū Bakr.² A member of the important family of Taym ibni-Murra, a wealthy merchant, a man of clear, calm judgment, at the same time energetic, prudent, honest, and amiable, he enjoyed great consideration among his compatriots. He was but two years younger than the Prophet, and his unhesitating adoption of the new faith was of great moral effect. Five notables followed in his footsteps, among them Osmān, son of Affān, of the family of Ommeyya, who afterwards became the third caliph; Abdur Rahmān, son of ‘Auf; Sa‘d, son of Abī Wakkās, afterwards the conqueror of Persia; Zubair, son of Awwām and nephew of Khadija, presented themselves before the Prophet and accepted Islam at his hands. Several proselytes also came from the humbler walks of life. It is a noble feature in the history of the Prophet of Arabia, and one which strongly attests the sincerity of his character, the purity of his teachings and the intensity of his faith and trust in God, that his nearest relations, his wife, his beloved cousin, and intimate friends, were most thoroughly imbued with the truth of his Mission and convinced of his inspiration. Those who knew him best, closest relations and dearest friends, people who lived with him and noted all his movements, were his sincere and most devoted followers. If these men and women, noble, intelligent, and certainly not less educated than the fishermen of Galilee, had perceived the slightest sign of

¹ The above is a paraphrase of the account given by Ibn Hishām, pp 159, 44; and Ibn ul-Athir, vol. ii pp 42, 43.

² Desvergers in a note (p. 168) mentions that before his conversion to Islam, was called Abd ul-Kaaba, "servant of the Kaaba."
earthliness, deception, or want of faith in the Teacher himself, Mohammed's hopes of moral regeneration and social reform would all have been crumbled to dust in a moment. They braved for him persecution and dangers; they bore up against physical tortures and mental agony, caused by social excommunication, even unto death. Would this have been so had they perceived the least backsliding in their master? But even had these people not believed in Mohammed with such earnest faith and trust, it would furnish no reason for doubting the greatness of his work or the depth of his sincerity. For the influence of Jesus himself was least among his nearest relations. His brothers never believed in him,¹ and they even went so far as once to endeavour to obtain possession of his person, believing him to be out of his mind.² Even his immediate disciples were not firm in their convictions.³

Perhaps this unsteadiness may have arisen from weakness of character, or it may have resulted, as Milman thinks,⁴ from the varying tone of Jesus himself; but the fact is undeniable.⁵ The intense faith and conviction on the part of the immediate followers of Mohammed is the noblest testimony to his sincerity and his utter self-absorption in his appointed task.

For three weary long years he laboured quietly to wean people from the worship of idols. But polytheism was deeply rooted among them; the ancient cult offered attractions, while the new Faith in its purity, did not possess. The Korey had vested interests in the old worship; and their prestige was involved in its maintenance. Mohammed had thus to contend not only with the heathenism of his city sanctified by ages of observance and belief but also with the opposition of the oligarchy which ruled its destinies, and with whom like generality of their people, superstition was allied to scepticism. With these forces fighting against him, I wonder that the life and death-struggle of the three years d

¹ John vii. 5 ² Mark iii. 21. ³ Mark iii. 32.
⁵ Sir W. Muir admits this in the most positive terms (vol. ii. p. 27. he says, "the apostles fled at the first sound of danger.")
only thirty followers. But the heart of the great Teacher never failed. Steadfast in his trust in the Almighty Master whose behests he was carrying out, he held on. Hitherto he had preached quietly and unobtrusively. His compatriots had looked askance at him, had begun to doubt the sanity of al-Amin, thought him crazed or "possessed," but had not interfered with his isolated exhortations. He now determined to appeal publicly to the Koreish to abandon their idolatry. With this object he convened an assembly on the hill of Safa, and there spoke to them of the enormities of their crimes in the sight of the Lord, their folly in offering adoration to carved idols. He warned them of the fate that had overtaken the races which had passed unheeded the words of the preachers of bygone days, and invited them to abjure their old impious worship, and adopt the faith of love and truth and purity. But the mockers mocked his words, laughed at the enthusiasm of young Ali, and departed with taunts and scoffs on their lips, and fear in their hearts at the spirit of revolution which had risen in their midst. Having thus failed to induce the Koreish to listen to the warnings of Heaven, he turned his attention to the strangers visiting the city for trade or pilgrim-Aw. To them he endeavoured to convey God's words. But these again his efforts were frustrated by the Koreish. When light pilgrims began to arrive on the environs of the city, the fearishites posted themselves on the different routes and strewn the strangers against holding any communication with hishammed, whom they represented as a dangerous magician. This machination led, however, to a result little expected by the Meccans. As the pilgrims and traders dispersed to their homes, they carried with them the news of the advent of the strange, enthusiastic preacher, who, at the risk of his life, was calling aloud to the nations of Arabia to give up the worship of their fathers.

Now the Koreish were under the impression that Mohammed should be abandoned by his own kith and kin, they were soon deceived by a scathing denunciation hurled at them by the Ta'lib. The old patriarch, who had refused, with characteristic persistency, to abandon his ancient creed, or to adopt a new faith rebelled at the injustice and intolerance of his
compatriots towards the reformer, and with true desert chivalry, he deplored, "in a poem which lies embalmed in history, the enormities of the Koreish towards one who was the benefactor of the orphan and the widow—al-Amin, who never failed in word or deed; and declared that the children of Hashim and of Muttalib would defend the innocent with their lives. About the same time an Yathribite chief wrote to the Koreish of Mecca, and, holding up the examples of bygone ages, exhorted them not to embroil themselves with civil dissensions and warfare. He advised them to give a hearing to the new preacher: "An honourable man has adopted a certain religion, why persecute him? for it is only the Lord of the Heaven who can read the heart of man!" His counsel had some effect, and occasioned a change of tactics among the Koreish. For a time accordingly, calumnies and vilifications, exasperating contumelies and petty outrages were substituted for open and violent persecution. The hostile Koreish stopped the Prophet from offering his prayers at the Kaaba; they pursued him wherever he went; they covered him and his disciples with dirt and filth when engaged in their devotions. They incited the children and the bad characters of the town to follow and insult him. They scattered thorns in the places which he frequented for devotion and meditation. In this act of refined cruelty the lead was always taken by Umm ul-Jannah, the wife of Abu Lahab, one of Mohammed's uncles. She was the most inveterate of his persecutors. Every place which he or his disciples frequented for devotion she covered with thorns. This exasperating conduct brought down upon her the designation of being "the bearer of faggots" (hammahatul-hutab) [to hell].

Amidst all these trials Mohammed never wavered. Full of the intensest confidence in his Mission, he worked steadily on. Several times he was in imminent danger of his life at the hands of the Koreish. On one occasion he disarmed their murderous fury by his gentle and calm self-control. But persecution only added to the strength of the new faith. "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church," is a truth not confined to one creed. The violence of the Koreish towards Mohammed, their burning and bitter intolerance, led to the
THE DEVOTION OF THE DISCIPLES

Conversion of the redoubtable Hamza, the youngest son of Abd ul-Muttalib. This intrepid warrior, brave, generous, and true, whose doughty sword was held in dread by all the Koreish, about this time came to the Prophet, adopted his faith, and became thenceforth a devoted adherent of Islām, and finally laid down his life in the cause.

Amidst all this persecution Mohammed never ceased calling to the nation so wedded to iniquity to abandon their evil ways and abominations. He threw his heart and soul into his preachings. He told them in burning words that seared into the hearts of the listeners, the punishment which had lighted on the tribes of ‘Ād and Thamūd who had heeded not the warnings of God’s messengers, of the outpouring of Heaven’s wrath at the iniquities of Noah’s people. He adjured them by the wonderful sights of nature, by the noon-day brightness, by the night when she spreadeth her veil, by the day when it appeareth in glory, to listen to the warning before a like destruction came upon them. He told them of the day of reckoning, when the deeds done by man in this world shall be weighed before the Eternal Judge, when the children who had been buried alive shall be asked for what crime they had been put to death, and when heaven and earth shall be folded up and none be near but God. He spoke to them of the rewards and punishments of the Hereafter, describing to his materialistic people the joys of Paradise and the pains of hell “with all the glow of Eastern imagery.” He told them what the unbelievers were like—“They are like unto one who kindleth a fire, and when it hath thrown its light on all around him, God taketh away the light and leaveth him in darkness and they cannot see.”

“Deaf, dumb, blind, therefore they shall not retrace their steps.”

“They are like those who, when there cometh a storm-cloud of heaven big with darkness, thunder, and lightning, thrust their fingers into their ears because of the thunder-clap for fear of death. God is round about the infidels.”

“The lightning almost snatcheth away their eyes; so oft as it gleameth on them, they walk on in it; but when darkness closeth upon them, they stop; and if God pleased, of their
ears and of their eyes would He surely deprive them: verily God is Almighty." 1

"As to the infidels, their works are like the Sarâb on the plain, 2 which the thirsty [traveller] thinketh to be water, and then when he cometh thereto, he findeth it [to be] nothing; but he findeth God round about him, and He will fully pay him his account; for swift in taking an account is God."

"Or, as the darkness over a deep sea, billows riding upon billows below, and clouds above; one darkness over another darkness; when a man stretcheth forth his hand he is far from seeing it; he to whom God doth not grant light, no light at all hath he." 3

The people were awestruck, and conversions grew frequent. The Koreish were now thoroughly alarmed; Mohammed’s preaching betokened a serious revolutionary movement. Their power and prestige were at stake. They were the custodians of the idols whom Mohammed threatened with destruction; they were the ministers of the worship which Mohammed denounced—their very existence depended upon their maintaining the old institutions intact. If his predictions were fulfilled, they would have to efface themselves as a nation pre-eminent among the nationalities of Arabia. The new preacher’s tone was intensely democratic; in the sight of 1: Lord all human beings were equal. This levelling of old distinctions was contrary to all their traditions. They would have none of it, for it boded no good to their exclusive privileges. Urgent measures were needed to stifle the movement before it gained further strength.

They accordingly decided upon an organised system of persecution. In order, however, not to violate their laws of vendetta, each family took upon itself the task of strangling the new religion within its own circle. Each household tortured its own members, or clients, or slaves, who were supposed to have attached themselves to the new faith. Mohammed, owing to the protection of Abû Tâlib and his kinsmen, Abû Bakr and a few others, who were either distinguished by their rank or possessed some influential friend or protector among the Koreish, were, for the time, exempt from immediate

1 Sura ii. 2 i.e. the mirage of the desert. 3 Sura xxiv. 39, 40.
violence. The others were thrown into prison, starved, and then beaten with sticks. The hill of Ramdâh and the place called Bathâ became thus the scenes of cruel tortures.\(^1\) The men or women whom the Koreish found abandoning the worship of the idol-gods, were exposed to the burning heat of the desert on the scorching sand, where, when reduced to the last extremity by thirst, they were offered the alternative of adoring the idols or death. Some recanted only to profess Islâm once more when released from their torments; but the majority held firmly to their faith. Such a one was Bîlâ‘, the first Muezzin of Islâm. His master, Ommeyya, son of Khalaf, conducted him each day to Bathâ when the heat of the sun was at its greatest, and there exposed him bare-backed with his face to the burning sun, and placed on his chest a large block of stone with the words, “There shalt thou remain until thou art dead or thou hast abjured Islâm.” As he lay half-stifled under his heavy weight, dying with thirst, he would only answer, “\(\text{Ahadun, ahadun,}\)” “one [God], one.” This lasted for days, until the poor sufferer was reduced to the verge of death, when he was ransomed by Abû Bakr, who had in like manner purchased the liberty of six other slaves. They killed with excruciating torments Yâsar and Samiya his wife; they inflicted fearful tortures on ‘Ammâr their son. Mohammed was often an eye-witness to the sufferings of his disciples—sufferings borne with patience and fortitude as became martyrs in the cause of truth. And these were not the only martyrs in the early history of Islâm.\(^2\)

Like the Pharisees tempting Jesus, the Koreish came to Mohammed with temptations of worldly honour and aggrandisement, to draw him from the path of duty. One day, says the chronicler, he was sitting in the Kaaba, at a little distance from an assembly of the antagonistic chiefs, when one of them, ‘Otba, son of Rab‘a, a man of moderate views came to him

\(^1\) Ibn ul-Athîr, vol ii p. 50; Ibn-Hishâm, pp 205-209

\(^2\) E.g. Khobaib bin ‘Adi, who, being perfidiously sold to the Koreish, was by them put to death in a cruel manner by mutilation and cutting off his flesh piece-meal. In the midst of his tortures, being asked whether he did not wish Mohammed in his place, answered, “I would not wish to be with my family, my substance, and my children on condition that Mohammed was only to be pricked with a thorn.”
and said, "O son of my brother, thou art distinguished by thy qualities and thy descent. Now thou hast sown division among our people, and cast dissension in our families; thou denouncest our gods and goddesses; thou dost tax our ancestors with impiety. We have a proposition to make to thee; think well if it will not suit thee to accept it." "Speak, O father of Walid," \(^1\) said the Prophet, "I listen, O son of my brother." Commenced 'Otba: "If thou wishest to acquire riches by this affair, we will collect a fortune larger than is possessed by any of us; if thou desirest honours and dignity, we shall make thee our chief, and shall not do a thing without thee; if thou desirest dominion, we shall make thee our king; and if the spirit (demon) which possesses thee cannot be overpowered, we will bring thee doctors and give them riches till they cure thee." And when he had done, "Hast thou finished, O father of Walid?" asked the Prophet. "Yes," replied he. "Then listen to me." "I listen," he said. "In the name of the most merciful God," commenced the Warner, "this is a revelation from the most Merciful: a book, the verses whereof are distinctly explained, an Arabic Koran, for the instruction of people who understand; bearing good tidings, and denouncing threats: but the greater part of them turn aside, and hearken not thereto. And they say, 'Our hearts are veiled from the doctrine to which thou invitest us; and there is a deafness in our ears, and a curtain between us and thee: wherefore act thou as thou shalt think fit; for we shall act according to our own sentiments.' Say 'verily I am only a man like you. It is revealed unto me that your God is one God: wherefore direct your way straight unto Him; and ask pardon of Him for what is past.' And woe be to the idolaters, who give not the appointed alms, and believe not in the life to come! \(^2\) But as to those who believe and work righteousness, they shall receive an everlasting reward.'" \(^3\) When the Prophet finished this recitation, he said to 'Otba, "Thou,

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\(^1\) Walid being a son of 'Otba. It was usual, and is so even now, among the Arabs to call a man as the father of so-and-so, instead of using his own name, as a mark of consideration.

\(^2\) Whilst hospitality was regarded as a great virtue, charity was considered a weakness among the Arabs; and a future life, an old woman's fable.

\(^3\) Koran, Sura xlii.
hostility, now take the course which seemeth best to

Profoundly afflicted by the sufferings of his disciples, whose position, as time went on, became more and more unbearable, he advised them to seek a refuge in the neighbouring Christian kingdom of Abyssinia, where ruled a pious sovereign, till God in His mercy wrought a change in the feelings of the Koreish. He had heard of the righteousness of this Christian king, of his tolerance and hospitality, and was certain of a welcome for his followers.

Some immediately availed themselves of the advice, and sailed, to the number of fifteen, to the hospitable shores of the Negus (Najâshî). This is called the first Exile (muhâjarat) in the history of Islam, and occurred in the fifth year of Mohammed's Mission (615 A.C.). These emigrants were soon joined by many more of their fellow-sufferers and labourers in the cause of truth, until their number amounted to eighty-three men and eighteen women. But the untiring hostility of the Koreish pursued them even here. They were furious at the escape of their victims, and sent deputies to the king to demand the delivery of these refugees that they might be put to death. They stated the chief charges against the poor fugitives to be the abjuration of their old religion, and the adoption of a new one. The Negus sent for the exiles, and inquired of them whether what their enemies had stated was true. "What is this religion for which you have abandoned your former faith," asked the king, "and adopted neither mine nor that of any other people?" Ja'far, son of Abû Tâlib, and brother of Ali, acting as spokesman for the fugitives, spoke thus: "O king, we were plunged in the depth of ignorance and barbarism; we adored idols, we lived in unchastity; we ate dead bodies, and we spoke abominations; we disregarded every feeling of humanity, and the duties of hospitality and neighbourhood; we knew no law but that of the strong, when God raised among us a man, of whose birth, truthfulness, honesty, and purity we were aware; and he called us to the unity of God, and taught us not to associate anything with

1 Ibn-Hishâm, pp. 185, 186.
Him; 1 he forbade us the worship of idols; and enjoined us to speak the truth, to be faithful to our trusts, to be merciful, and to regard the rights of neighbours; he forbade us to speak evil of women, or to eat the substance of orphans; he ordered us to fly from vices, and to abstain from evil; to offer prayers, to render alms, to observe the fast. We have believed in him, we have accepted his teachings and his injunctions to worship God, and not to associate anything with Him. For this reason our people have risen against us, have persecuted us in order to make us forego the worship of God and return to the worship of idols of wood and stone and other abominations. They have tortured us and injured us, until finding no safety among them, we have come to thy country, and hope thou wilt protect us from their oppression." 2

The demands of the Koreish were scouted by the king, and the deputies returned in confusion to Mecca.

Whilst the disciples of Mohammed were seeking safety in other lands from the persecution of their enemies, he himself stood bravely at his post, and amidst every insult and outrage pursued his mission. Again they came to him with promises of honour and riches, to seduce him from his duty; the reply was as before, full of life, full of faith: "I am neither desirous of riches nor ambitious of dignity nor of dominion; I am sent by God, who has ordained me to announce glad tidings unto you. I give you the words of my Lord; I admonish you. If you accept the message I bring you, God will be favourable to you both in this world and in the next; if you reject my admonitions, I shall be patient, and leave God to judge between you and me." They mocked him, scoffed at him, tried by insidious questions to expose the fallacy of his teachings. 3 His simple trust and sublime faith in his Master rose superior to all their materialistic scepticism. They asked him to cause wells and rivers to gush forth, to bring down the heaven

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1 The idolaters are almost always called "Associaters," Mushrikin, in the Koran, or men who associate other beings with God.
2 Can there be a better summary of Mohammed’s work or of his teachings? Ibn ul-Åtîr, vol ii. p. 61; and Ibn Hishân, pp. 219, 220.
3 Ibn-Hishâm, p. 188. A Christian historian goes into raptures at the subtlety of the idolaters; see Osborn, Islam under the Arabs.
in pieces, to remove mountains, to have a house of gold erected, to ascend to heaven by a ladder.\textsuperscript{1} It was a repetition of the old story, with this difference, that in the case of Jesus his own followers insisted upon his performing miracles to satisfy them of the truth of his mission. "His immediate disciples," says Professor Momerie, "were always misunderstanding him and his work: wanting him to call down fire from heaven; wanting him to declare himself king of the Jews; wanting to sit on his right hand and on his left hand in his kingdom; wanting him to show them the Father, to make God visible to their bodily eyes; wanting him to do, and wanting to do themselves, anything and everything that was incompatible with his great plan. This was how they treated him until the end. When that came, they all forsook him, and fled."

To these unsatisfied, lukewarm spirits, whose craving for wonders was no less strong than that of the Koreish, and who afterwards clothed the revered figure of Jesus in a mist, a legacy which even modern idealistic Christianity cannot shake off, the Master was wont to reply, at times angrily, that it was an evil and adulterous age which sought after a sign, and that no sign should be given to it; and that if a man believed not in Moses and the prophets, he would not repent even though one rose from the dead.\textsuperscript{2}

It must be said to the credit of the disciples of the Arabian Teacher, that they never called for a miracle from their Master. They—scholars, merchants, and soldiers—looked to the moral evidences of his mission. They ranged themselves round the friendless preacher at the sacrifice of all their worldly interests and worldly hopes, and adhered to him through life and death with a devotion to his human personality to which there is scarcely a parallel in the history of the world.

In an age when miracles were supposed to be ordinary occurrences at the beck of the commonest saint, when the

\textsuperscript{1} Sura xvii. 92-96.

\textsuperscript{2} Patristic Christianity has held, and still holds, to the miracles as a proof of the divinity of Jesus; modern Christianity calls them \textit{Aberglaube}. It may well be, as the author of \textit{Literature and Dogma} says, that the miracles are doomed, and that the miracle-saga of Christianity must, sooner or later, go with all legends, Eastern or Western.
whole atmosphere was surcharged with supernaturalism, not only in Arabia, but in the neighbouring countries where civilisation had made far greater progress, the great Pioneer of rationalism unhesitatingly replies to the miracle-seeking heathens—"God has not sent me to work wonders; He has sent me to preach to you. My Lord be praised! Am I more than a man sent as an apostle? . . . Angels do not commonly walk the earth, or God would have despatched an angel to preach His truth to you.  

I never said that Allah's treasures are in my hand, that I knew the hidden things, or that I was an angel. . . . I who cannot even help or trust myself, unless God pleaseth." . . . No extraordinary pretensions, no indulgence in hyperbolical language, no endeavour to cast a glamour round his character or personality. "I am only a preacher of God's words, the bringer of God's message to mankind," repeats he always. From first to last no expression escapes him "which could be construed into a request for human worship";  

from first to last there is unvarying soberness of expression, which, considering the age and surrounding, is more marvellous; from first to last the tone is one of simple, deep humility before the Creator. And in the moment of his greatest exaltation the feeling is one of humble, sweet thankfulness:—

"In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate! Whosoever is in heaven and on earth praises God the King, the Holy One, the Almighty, the All-wise. It is He who out of the midst of the illiterate Arabs has raised an apostle to show unto them His signs, and to sanctify them, and to teach them the Scripture and the Wisdom, them who before had been in great darkness. . . . This is God's free grace, which He giveth unto whomsoever He wills. God is of great mercy!"  

Disclaiming every power of wonder-working, the Prophet of Islam ever rests the truth of his divine commission entirely upon his Teachings. He never resorts to the miraculous to assert his influence or to enforce his warnings. He invariably appeals to the familiar phenomena of nature as signs of the

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1 Sura xvii. 95-98; sura lxxii. 21-24.  
2 Sura lxii. vv. 1-10.  
3 Professor Momerie.
divine presence. He unswervingly addresses himself to the inner consciousness of man, to his reason, and not to his weakness or his credulity. Look round yourself: is this wonderful world, the sun, the moon, and the stars, holding their swift silent course in the blue vault of heaven, the law and system prevailing in the universe; the rain-drops falling to revive the parched earth into life; the ships moving across the ocean, beladen with what is profitable to mankind; the beautiful palm covered with its golden fruit—are these the handiwork of your wooden or stone gods?

Fools! do you want a sign, when the whole creation is full of the signs of God? The structure of your body, how wonderfully complex, how beautifully regulated; the alternations of night and day, of life and death; your sleeping and awaking; your desire to accumulate from the abundance of God; the winds driving abroad the pregnant clouds as the forerunners of the Creator's mercy; the harmony and order in the midst of diversity; the variety of the human race, and yet their close affinity; fruits, flowers, animals, human beings themselves—are these not signs enough of the presence of a Master-Mind?

To the Prophet of Islam, nature in itself is a revelation and a miracle.

"There is a tongue in every leaf,
A voice in every rill,
A voice that speaketh everywhere,
In flood and fair, through earth and air,
A voice that's never still."

The Prophet of Monotheism is pre-eminently the Prophet of Nature. His ethical appeal and his earnest assertion of divine

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1 The passage of Sir W. Muir on this point is, to say the least, remarkable. He says: "Whether the idolatry of Mecca would not have succumbed without a struggle before such preaching as Mahomet's, sustained by reasonable evidence, may be matter for speculation" (the italics are his own), vol. ii p. 144. Like the Koreish, Sir W. Muir is not satisfied with the teachings, unless supported by wonder-workings.

2 Sura xxv. 49-59; sura 19, etc.

3 Sura vi. 96-99, li. 20, xv. 20, xx. 50-57, xxxiv. 20-28, 39, etc.

4 Comp. هر كياب كي از زمين ورود 6 وحده لا شريك له كي "Every blade that springs from the earth bears testimony to the unity of God."
Unity are founded upon the rational and intellectual recognition of all-pervading order, of the visible presence of one Mind, one Will, regulating, guiding, and governing the Universe. His grandest miracle is the Book in which he has poured forth with an inspired tongue all the "revelations of nature, conscience, and prophecy." Ask you a greater miracle than this, O unbelieving people! than to have your vulgar tongue chosen as the language of that incomparable Book, one piece of which puts to shame all your golden poesy and suspended songs—to convey the tidings of universal mercy, the warnings to pride and tyranny!

But to all his exhortations the Koreish turned a deaf ear. They were blind to the signs of God, blind to the presence of a Divine Personality in nature, deaf to the call of the Seer to come back to righteousness, to forego the crimes and abominations of antiquity. Their answer to him breathes a fierce animosity paralleled only by the darkest days of Arian or Pelagian persecution in Christendom. "Know this, O Mohammed," said they, "we shall never cease to stop thee from preaching till either thou or we perish."

During this interval occurred an incident which has been differently construed by the Moslem historians and the Christian biographers of the Prophet. One day, in one of his prophetic trances, Mohammed was reciting within the Kaaba some verses which now form part of the fifty-third chapter of the Koran. When he came to the words, "What think ye of al-Lât, al-'Uzza, and Manât? the third besides," an idolater who was present on the occasion, and whom tradition has converted into the devil, anxious to avert the threatened denunciation called out, "They are exalted damsels, and their intercession with God may be hoped for." These words were supposed to form part of the Prophet's revelation. And the Koreish, overjoyed either at the trick or at Mohammed's supposed concession, hastened to express their willingness to come to terms. When Mohammed learnt what had happened, he immediately proclaimed the words, "They are nought but empty names, which you and your fathers have invented." This is the version given by Mohammedan historians and traditionists. According to the Christian biographers, the
PERSECUTION CONTINUES 35

The incident is supposed to indicate a momentary desire on the part of the Prophet to end the strife with the Koreish by some compromise. The bigot calls it "a lapse" and "a fall"; but the generous and unbiased historian considers the episode throwing additional lustre on the Prophet of Arabia. Persecution was becoming fiercer and fiercer every day, the sufferings of his followers were increasing, and the whole city was up in arms against them. The sight of his poor disciples afflicted him deeply; his weary struggle with the Arabian idolatry filled him with grief. What wonder that a momentary thought crossed his mind to end the conflict by making a slight concession to the bigotry of his enemies. "And so Mohammed made his first and last concession. He recited a revelation to the Koreish, in which he spoke respectfully of the three moon-goddesses, and asserted that their intercession with God might be hoped for: 'Wherefore bow down before God and serve Him'; and the whole audience, overjoyed at the compromise, bowed down and worshipped at the name of the God of Mohammed—the whole city was reconciled to the double religion. But this dreamer of the desert was not the man to rest upon a lie. At the price of the whole city of Mecca he would not remain untrue to himself. He came forward and said he had done wrong—the devil had tempted him. He openly and frankly retracted what he had said; and as for their idols, they were but empty names which they and their fathers had invented."

"Western biographers have rejoiced greatly over 'Mohammed's fall.' Yet it was a tempting compromise, and few would have withstood it. And the life of Mohammed is not the life of a god, but of a man; from first to last it is intensely human. But if for once he was not superior to the temptation of gaining over the whole city, and obtaining peace where before had been only bitter persecution, what can we say of his manfully thrusting back the rich prize he had gained, freely confessing his fault, and resolutely giving himself over again to the old indignities and insults? If he was once insincere—and who is not?—how intrepid was his after sincerity! He was untrue to himself for a while, and he is ever referring to it in his public preaching with shame and
THE LIFE OF MOHAMMED

remorse; but the false step was more than atoned for by his magnificent recantation.” ¹

Upon the promulgation that Lât, ‘Uzza, and Manât were but empty names, the persecution burst out anew with redoubled fury.

Supported, however, by a firm conviction of divine assistance, and upheld by the admonitions of the heavenly voice within, conveyed to him by the ministrators of heavenly mercy, he continued his preaching undeterred by the hostility of his enemies, or by the injuries they inflicted upon him. In spite of all opposition, however, slowly but surely the new teachings gained ground. The seeds of truth thus scattered could not fail to fructify. The wild Arab of the desert, the trading citizen of distant townships who came to the national fair, heard the words of the strange man whom his enemies thought possessed, listened to the admonitions in which he poured forth his soul, listened with awe and wonder to his denunciations of their divinities and of their superstitions, of their unrighteousness, of their evil ways, and carried back to their far-off homes new light and new life, even unconsciously to themselves. And the satires, the ill-names his enemies heaped upon Mohammed, only tended to make his words more extensively known.

The Meccans, on their side, were by no means quiet. Several times the Koreish sent deputations to Abû Tâlib, asking him to stop his nephew from preaching against their religion. At first Abû Tâlib turned them away with soft and courteous words. But as Mohammed persisted in his fiery denunciations against their godlessness and impiety, they expelled him from the Kaaba where he had been wont to preach, and then came in a body to his uncle.² “We respect thy age and thy rank,” said they, “but our respect for thee has bounds, and verily we can have no further patience with thy nephew’s abuse of our gods, and his ill words against our ancestors; wherefore do thou either prevent him from so doing, or thyself take part with him, so that we may settle the matter by fight

¹ Stanley Lane-Poole, *Introduct. to the Selections from the Koran*, p. xlix.

² Tabari, vol ii p 406; according to this author’s authorities, ver. 214 of chap. xxi. of the Koran was revealed about this period.
until one of the two parties is exterminated." 1 Having thus spoken, they departed. Abū Tālib was unwilling to separate himself from his people, neither did he like abandoning his nephew to the idolaters. Sending for Mohammed, he informed him of the speech of the Koreish, and begged him to renounce his task. Mohammed thought his uncle wished to withdraw his protection; but his high resolve did not fail him even at this moment. Firmly he replied: "O my uncle, if they placed the sun on my right hand and the moon on my left, to force me to renounce my work, verily I would not desist therefrom until God made manifest His cause, or I perished in the attempt." But overcome by the thought of desertion by his kind protector, he turned to depart. Then Abū Tālib called aloud: "Son of my brother, come back"; and he came. And Abū Tālib said: "Say whatsoever thou pleasest; for by the Lord, I shall not abandon thee, nay, never." 2 The Koreish made another attempt to persuade Abū Tālib to deliver up his nephew to them. They offered in exchange a young man of the family of Makhzûm, but it was of no avail. 3 The declared intention of Abū Tālib to support his nephew excited their fury, and they renewed their menaces of violence. The venerable patriarch appealed to the sense of honour of the Bani-Hâshim and Bani-Muttalib, the kinsmen of Mohammed, to protect a distinguished member of their family from falling a victim to the hatred of rival clans. And the appeal was nobly responded to, with the solitary exception of the squint-eyed Abû Lahab, "the Father of the Flame," as the sequel will show.

At this time the new Faith gained a valuable adherent in Omar, whose energy of character made him an important factor in the future commonwealth of Islâm. His services to the religion of Mohammed have engraved his name on the pages of history. A distinguished member of the family of ‘Adi ibn-Ka‘b, and the son of Khattâb, notorious for the persecution of the Moslems, he was hitherto a violent opponent of Islâm, and a bitter adversary of the Prophet. His

conversion is said to have been worked by the magic effect on his mind of a chapter of the Koran which he heard recited in his sister’s house, where he had gone in a furious rage and with murderous intent.

Struck with the words which he had heard, he went straight to the Prophet with the naked sword in his hand with which he had meant to slay Mohammed and his disciples, causing considerable consternation among the assembly of the Faithful listening to the Preacher. He kissed the Master’s hand, and then demanded to be taken into the fold of God; and heartfelt thanks went up to heaven from the Moslems for the grace that had fallen on Omar. After his conversion he became one of the bulwarks of the Faith.

Islam need no more hide its head in byways and corners, go about in concealment, or offer its prayers to God in secret and trepidation. Besides a large following taken from the humbler walks of life, there were now gathered round the Prophet a chosen band of apostles, consisting, not of ignorant folk, but of men of energy, talent, and worth, like Hamza, Abû Bakr, and Omar. And though Ali was in his youth, he was fast rising into prominence.

These important adhesions gave heart to the Moslems, and they now ventured to perform their devotions in public. The Koreish, who were at first thunderstruck at the conversion of Omar, saw the gravity of the situation. And yet they waited to strike the decisive blow.

The return of the deputies, however, from Abyssinia, and the announcement of their unsuccessful mission, roused them to frenzy. They determined at last to exterminate with one stroke the entire clan of Hâshim and Muttalib. With that purpose they, in the 7th year of the Mission, towards the end of 616 A.C., formed a league against the descendants of Hâshim and Muttalib. They bound themselves by a solemn document, which was deposited in the Kaaba, not to enter into any contract of marriage with the Hâshimites, or to buy and sell with them. The Hâshimites and Muttalibites, Musulmans as well as idolaters, were struck with dismay, and fearful that this might be the prelude to some other attack, judged it safer to abandon their houses dispersed in the city,
THE YEAR OF MOURNING

and concentrate themselves at one point. They betook themselves accordingly to the Shi'b (or quarter) of Abû Tâlib—a long, narrow mountain defile on the eastern skirts of Mecca, cut off by rocks or walls from the city, except for one narrow gateway. Abû Lahab alone remained aloof, and ranged himself on the side of the enemy.

They lived in this defensive position with Mohammed in their midst for nearly three years, beleaguered by the Koreish, and subjected to every privation. The provisions which they had carried with them were soon exhausted, and the cries of the starving children could be heard outside. Probably they would have entirely perished but for the occasional help they received surreptitiously from less bigoted compatriots. Some of the chiefs, however, were beginning to be ashamed of their injustice. Towards the tenth year of the Mission (619 A.C.), Hishâm, son of 'Amr, who took a lively interest in the Hâshimites, tried to bring about a reconciliation between the Koreishites and the two families of Hâshim and Muttalib. He succeeded in winning over Zubair, son of Abû Ommeyya, to his side; and, seconded by him and others, the pact was annulled, and the two families were taken back to the enjoyment of the communal rights, and were allowed to return to Mecca.

During the period Mohammed was shut up in the Shi'b with his kinspeople, Islâm made no progress outside. In the sacred months, when violence was considered a sacrilege, the Teacher would come out of his prison and endeavour to obtain hearers among the pilgrims; but the squint-eyed "Father of the Flame" followed him about, and made his words nought by calling him "a liar and a Sabean."

The year which followed is called in the history of Islâm "the Year of Mourning" for the loss of Abû Tâlib and Khadija, who followed each other to the grave within a short interval. In Abû Tâlib, Mohammed lost the guardian of his youth, who had hitherto stood between him and his enemies. The death of Khadija was a severe blow. When none believed in him, when he himself had not yet awakened to the full consciousness of his mission, and his heart was full of doubts, when all around him was dark and despairing, her love, her faith had stood by
him. "She was ever his angel of hope and consolation." To the end of his life he retained the tenderest recollection of her love and devotion.

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**NOTE TO CHAPTER I.**

Sir W. Muir thinks M. Caussin de Perceval has made a mistake in supposing Bathâ to be the name of a place. He thinks it signifies the nature of the soil over which these people were tortured; vol ii. p. 128. To corroborate M. Caussin de Perceval and myself, I have only to add that the existence of this place is an undoubted fact; and Bathâ especially has been frequently referred to by Mohammedan authors as a place in the immediate vicinity of Mecca. For example, the celebrated Hakim Sanâi says:

\[
\text{Cho 'ulmat hast khidmat kun cho bi-'ilmân, ke zisht 'âd, Girûta Chînîan ihrâm, wa Mekki khufta dar Bathâ}
\]

"If thou possessest knowledge, serve like those who are ignorant; for it is unseemly that people from China should adopt the Ihrâm (that is to say, come on a pilgrimage to Mecca), and the native of Mecca should lie sleeping at Bathâ."
CHAPTER II

THE HEGIRA

The children of Ommeyya and other hostile clans, actuated as much by their attachment to the old cult as by their jealousy of, and hatred towards, the Hashimites, considered this a favourable opportunity to crush out Islam in Mecca; and the death of Abu Talib, whose personal influence and character had restrained their fury within some limits, became the signal for the Koreish to redouble their persecutions.¹

- Weighed down by the loss of his venerable protector and of his cherished wife, hopeless of turning the Koreish from idolatry, with a saddened heart, and yet full of trust, he determined to turn to some other field for the exercise of his ministry. Mecca had rejected the words of God, hapless Tayef may listen to them. Accompanied by his faithful servant Zaid, he arrived among the Thakif.² He spoke to them about his Mission; told them about their iniquities, and called them to the worship of God. His words caused a storm of indignation. Who was this crazy man, said they, who invited them to abandon the beautiful divinities they worshipped with such lightness of heart and such freedom of morals? They drove him from the city; and the rabble and the slaves followed, hooting and pelting him with stones until the evening, when they left him to pursue his way alone. Wounded and bleeding, footsore and weary, he betook himself

¹ Ibn ul-Athir, vol. ii p 69. ² The people of Tayef.
to prayer under the shade of some palm trees, which afforded a welcome shelter to the thirsty and famished wayfaring. Raising his hands towards heaven, he cried: "O Lord! make my complaint unto Thee, out of my feebleness, and the vanity of my wishes, I am insignificant in the sight of men. O Thou most merciful! Lord of the weak! Thou art my Lord! Do not forsake me. Leave me not a prey to strangers, nor to mine enemies. If Thou art not offended, I am safe. I seek refuge in the light of Thy countenance, by which all darkness is dispersed, and peace comes here and hereafter. Let not Thy anger descend on me; solve my difficulties as it pleaseth Thee. There is no power, no help, but in Thee." ¹

Mohammed returned to Mecca sorely stricken in heart. He lived here for some time, retired from his people, preaching occasionally, but confining his efforts mainly to the strangers who congregated in Mecca and its vicinity during the season of the annual pilgrimage, hoping, as Tabari expresses it, to find among them some who would believe in him, and carry the truth to their people.

One day, whilst thus sadly but yet hopefully working among these half-traders, half-pilgrims, he came upon a group of six men from the distant city of Yathrib conversing together. He asked them to sit down and listen to him; and they sat down and listened. Struck by his earnestness and the truth of his words, they became his proselytes (620 A.C.) ;² and returning to their city, they spread the news, with lightning rapidity, that a Prophet had risen among the Arabs who was to call them to God, and put an end to their dissensions, which had lasted for centuries.

The next year these Yathribites returned, and brought more of their fellow-citizens as deputies from the two principal tribes who occupied that city.³

On the self-same spot which had witnessed the conversion of the former six, the new-comers gave in their adhesion to

³ Aus and Khazraj.
Mohammed. This is called the first Pledge of 'Akaba, from the name of the hill on which the conference was held.  

The pledge they took was as follows: "We will not associate anything with God; we will not steal, nor commit adultery, nor fornication; we will not kill our children; we will abstain from calumny and slander; we will obey the Prophet in everything that is right; and we will be faithful to him in weal and in sorrow."  

After the pledge, they returned home with a disciple of Mohammed to teach them the fundamental doctrines of the new religion, which rapidly spread among the inhabitants of Yathrib.

The interval which elapsed between the first and second pledge is remarkable as one of the most critical periods of Mohammed's Mission. The sublime trust of Mohammed in God, and the grandeur of his character, never stand forth more prominently than at this period. He was sad at the sight of his people so sternly wedded to idolatry; but his sorrow was assuaged by the hope that the truth would in the end prevail. He might not live to see it, but as surely as darkness flies before the rays of the sun, so surely falsehood will vanish before truth. Regarding this epoch, a few words of unconscious admiration escape even the lips of Muir: "Mahomet, 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.'"

1 In the history of Islam, this pledge is also called the "Pledge of Women," in contradistinction to the second pledge, in which the deputies of Yathrib took an oath to assist the Moslems, even by arms against the attacks and outrages of their enemies.

2 Ibn-Hisham, p. 289, Ibn ul-Athir, vol ii pp 73, 74

3 Koran, sura vii ver. 107.

4 Koran, sura xlii ver. 78, xlii ver. 40, etc

5 Koran, sura xxvii ver. 18.

6 Koran, sura xviii. ver. 18.

7 Life of Mahomet, vol ii. p. 228.
This period of anxious waiting is also remarkable for that notable Vision of the Ascension which has furnished worlds of golden dreams for the imaginative genius of poets and traditionists. They have woven beautiful and gorgeous legends round the simple words of the Koran: "Praise be to Him who carried His servant by night from the sacred temple to the temple that is more remote, whose precincts We have blessed, that We might show him some of our signs for He is the Hearer, the Seer." And again: "And remember we said to thee, Verily, thy Lord is round about mankind; We ordained the Vision which We showed thee." In spite of the beautiful garb in which the traditionists have dressed this incident, "it is still a grand vision full of glorious imagery, fraught with deep meaning."  

The following year (622 A.C.), the Yathribites who had adopted the new religion repaired to Mecca, to the number of seventy-five, in company with their idolatrous brethren, to invite the Prophet to their city; but the idolaters had no knowledge of the intention of their companions.

In the stillness of night, when all hostile elements appeared slumbering, these pioneers of the new faith met under the hill which had witnessed the first pledge. Mohammed appeared among them, accompanied by his uncle Abbās, who, though not a convert, yet took a warm interest in the progress of Islām. He opened the conference, and vividly described to the Yathribites the risk they incurred by adopting Islām and inviting its Teacher to their city. They replied with one

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1 Koran, chap xvi, ver 1: "All that Mohammedans must believe respecting the Merāj is, that the Prophet saw himself, in a vision, transported from Mecca to Jerusalem, and that in such vision he really beheld some of the greatest signs of his Lord. It must be evident to the reader that the visions also of a prophet are a mode of divine inspiration."—Syed Ahmed Khan, Ess xi, p. 34. Muir says that "the earliest authorities point only to a vision, not to a real bodily journey," vol ii, p. 221, note. Compare the early traditions given by Ibn-Hishām, p. 267, which support this view. It may, I think, be fairly asked why Christians, who believe in the bodily resurrection and bodily ascension of Jesus and of Elijah, should look upon those Moslems who believe in the bodily ascension of Mohammed as less rational than themselves?

2 Stanley Lane-Poole, Introd. to Selections from the Koran, p. livi.


4 In the night of the first and second day of the Tashriḥ, the period of three days which follow immediately the celebration of the rites of the pilgrimage.
voice, that they adopted the religion fully conscious of the dangers that surrounded them. "Speak, O Prophet of God," said they, "and exact any pledge for thyself and thy Lord." The Prophet began, as was his wont, by reciting several passages of the Koran; he then invited all present to the service of God, and dwelt upon the blessings of the new dispensation. The former pledge was repeated, that they would worship none but God; that they would observe the precepts of Islâm; that they would obey Mohammed in all that was right, and defend him and his, even as they would their women and children. "And," said they, "if we die in the cause of God, what shall be our return?" "Happiness hereafter," was the reply. "But," said they, "thou wilt not leave us in the hour of prosperity to return to thy people?" The Prophet smiled and said: "Nay never; your blood is my blood; I am yours, you are mine." "Give us then thy hand"; and each one placing his hand on that of the Prophet, swore allegiance to him and his God. Scarcely had the compact been concluded, when the voice of a Meccan, who had been watching this scene from a distance, came floating on the night air, striking a sudden panic into the self-denying hearts there assembled. The firm words of Mohammed restored their presence of mind.

Mohammed then selected twelve men from among them—men of position, pointed out to him by the voice of the people—as his delegates (Nakîbs). Thus was concluded the second Pledge of 'Akaba.

The Meccan spy had already spread the news of this conference through the city. Astounded at the temerity of Mohammed and his followers, the Koreish proceeded in a body to the caravan of the Yathribites to demand the men who had entered into the pledge with him. Finding no clue, however, as to the persons who had taken part at the meeting, they allowed the caravan to depart unmolested. But this apparent modera-

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1 Ibn-Hishâm, p 296; Ibn ul-Athîr, vol ii p 76  
2 Ibn ul-Athîr, vol. ii. p. 77  
3 Ibn-Hishâm, pp. 297-300 Seventy five people, men and women, took part in this Pledge. This event occurred in the month of Zu'l-Hijja, and the Prophet stopped at Mecca throughout the remainder of this month, and Muharram and Safar. In Rabi' I he left for Medina; Ibn ul-Athîr, vol ii. p. 78.
tion on the part of the Koreish formed only a prelude to a furious persecution of Mohammed and his disciples. The position of the latter became every day more and more perilous. The Prophet, fearing a general massacre, advised his followers to seek immediate safety at Yathrib; whereupon about one hundred families silently disappeared by twos and threes from Mecca and proceeded to Yathrib, where they were received with enthusiasm. Entire quarters of the city thus became deserted; and 'Otba, the son of Rab'ia, at the sight of these vacant abodes, once so full of life, "sighed heavily," and recited the old verse: "Every dwelling-place, even if it has been blessed ever so long, will one day become a prey to unhappiness and bitter wind"; "And," he sorrowfully added, "all this is the work of the son of our brother, who has scattered our assemblies, ruined our affairs, and created dissension amongst us." ¹

As it was with Jesus, so it was with Mohammed; only with this difference, that in one case the Teacher himself says: "Think not that I came to send peace on earth; I came not to send peace, but a sword: for I am come to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law." ² In Mohammed's case it was one of his most persevering opponents who accused him of creating dissension in families.

Throughout this period, when the storm was at its height and might at any moment have burst over his head, Mohammed never quailed. All his disciples had left for Yathrib; alone he remained bravely at his post, with the devoted Ali and the venerable Abû Bakr.

Meanwhile the clouds were gathering fast. Fearful of the escape of the Prophet, an assembly of the Koreish met in all despatch in the town-hall (Dâr un-Nadwâ), and some chiefs of other clans were invited to attend. The matter had become one of life and death. Stormy was the meeting, for fear had entered their hearts. Imprisonment for life, expulsion from the city, each was debated in turn. Assassination was then proposed; but assassination by one man would have exposed him and his family to the vengeance of blood. The difficulty

¹ Ibn-Hishâm, p. 316. ² Matt. x. 34, 35.
was at last solved by Abû Jahl, who suggested that a number of courageous men, chosen from different families, should sheathe their swords simultaneously in Mohammed's bosom, in order that the responsibility of the deed might rest upon all, and the relations of Mohammed might consequently be unable to avenge it. This proposal was accepted, and a number of noble youths were selected for the sanguinary deed. As the night advanced, the assassins posted themselves round the Prophet's dwelling. Thus they watched all night long, waiting to murder him when he should leave his house in the early dawn, peeping now and then through a hole in the door to make sure that he still lay on his bed. But, meanwhile, the instinct of self-preservation, the instinct which had often led the great Prophet of Nazareth to evade his enemies, had warned Mohammed of the danger. In order to keep the attention of the assassins fixed upon the bed, he put his own green garment upon the devoted and faithful Ali, bade him lie on his bed, "and escaped, as David had escaped, through the windows." He repaired to the house of Abû Bakr, and they fled together unobserved from the inhospitable city of their birth. They lay hid for several days in a cavern of Mount Thaur, a hill to the south of Mecca.

The fury of the Koreish was now unbounded. The news that the would-be assassins had returned unsuccessful, and Mohammed had escaped, aroused their whole energy. Horsemen

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1 Ibn-Hishâm, pp 323-325. Ibn ul-Athir, vol II p 79, the Koran, sura viii. ver. 30. According to Ibn Hishâm, this proposal of Abû Jahl, one of the Koreish, was seconded by a stranger, in the guise of a venerable Sheikh from Najd whom tradition has resolved into Satan himself. Abû Jahl was one of the bitterest enemies of the Prophet. His real name was 'Amr and he was surnamed, for his sagacity, Abûl Hikam ("father of wisdom," in the plural). Owing to his fanaticism and bigotry, which prevented his perceiving any good in the new Teachings, Mohammed called him instead Abû Jahl ("father of ignorance"). Ignorance has in all ages posed as the champion of orthodoxy. Abû Jahl has thus become a type. It is to this fact Hakim Sanâî, the great mystical poet, refers in the following couplet:

"Ahmed-t-Mursal nishista kai rawâ dârad Kâhid.
"Dîl aṣr-t-sirat-t-Bû Jahl-t-Kâhir dâshtan."

"Ahmed the Prophet is sitting (in your midst), how can reason allow
"The heart to become captive of the qualities of Bû-Jahl the unbeliever."


4 See Desvergers' note (57) to his Abulfedâ, p 116.
scoured the country. A price was set upon Mohammed's head.¹ Once or twice the danger approached so near that the heart of old Abû Bakr quaked with fear. "We are but two," said he. "Nay," said Mohammed, "we are three, God is with us;" and He was with them. After three days the Koreish slackened their efforts. All this time Mohammed and his companion were sustained by food brought to them at night by a daughter of Abû Bakr.² On the evening of the third day the fugitives left the cavern, and, procuring with great difficulty two camels, endeavoured to reach Yathrib by unfrequented paths. But even here the way was full of danger. The heavy price set upon Mohammed's head had brought out many horsemen from Mecca, and they were still diligently seeking for the helpless wanderer. One, a wild and fierce warrior, actually caught sight of the fugitives and pursued them. Again the heart of Abû Bakr misgave him, and he cried, "We are lost." "Be not afraid," said the Prophet, "God will protect us." As the idolater overtook Mohammed, his horse reared and fell. Struck with sudden awe, he entreated the forgiveness of the man whom he was pursuing and asked for an attestation of his pardon. This was given to him on a piece of bone by Abû Bakr.³

The fugitives continued their journey without further molestation and after three days' journeying reached the territories of Yathrib. It was a hot day in June, 622 of the Christian era, when Mohammed alighted from his camel upon the soil which was thenceforth to become his home and his refuge. A Jew watching on a tower first espied him,⁴ and thus were the words of the Koran fulfilled: "They, to whom the Scriptures have been given, recognise him as they do their own children."⁵ Mohammed and his companion rested for a few days⁶ at a village called Koba,⁷ situated only two miles to the south of Yathrib, and remarkable for its beauty and

⁴ Koran, sura vii, ver. 20.
⁶ See Desvergers' Abulfedâ, p. 116, note 59.
fertility. Here he was joined by Ali, who had been severely maltreated by the idolaters after their disappointment at Mohammed's escape. Ali fled from Mecca and journeyed on foot, hiding himself in the daytime and travelling only at night, lest he should fall into the hands of the Koreish.

The Bani 'Amr bin-'Auf, to whom the village belonged, invited the Prophet to prolong his stay amongst them. But his duty lay before him; and he proceeded towards Yathrib, attended by a numerous body of his disciples. He entered the city on the morning of a Friday, 16th of Rabi I., corresponding (according to M. Caussin de Perceval) with the 2nd of July 622.

Thus was accomplished the Hijrat, called in European annals "the flight of Mohammed," from which dates the Mohammedan calendar.

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Note 1 to Chapter II

The "Hegira," or the era of the Hijrat, was instituted seventeen years later by the second Caliph. The commencement, however, is not laid at the real time of the departure from Mecca, which happened on the 4th of Rabi I., but on the first day of the first lunar month of the year, viz. Muharram—which day, in the year when the era was established, fell on the 15th of July.

But though Omar instituted the official era, the custom of referring to events as happening before or after the Hijrat originated, according to some traditions, with the Prophet himself; this event naturally marking the greatest crisis in the history of his Mission.—Comp. al-Halabi, Insân-ul-'Uyûn, in loco.

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Note 2 to Chapter II

The twelve Moslem months are: Muharram (the sacred month), Safar (the month of departure), Rabi I. (first month

1 Ibn ul-Athir, vol ii p 80
2 Ibid. vol ii 82.
of the spring), Rabi II. (second month of the spring), Jumâdî I. (first dry month), Jumâdî II. (second dry month), Rajab (respected, called often Rajâb ul-Murajjab), Sha'bân (the month of the budding of trees), Ramazân (month of heat), Shawwâl (month of junction), Zu'l-Ka'dâ (month of truce, rest, or relaxation), Zu'l Hijja (month of pilgrimage). The ancient Arabs observed the lunar year of 354 days, 8 hours, 48 seconds, divided into twelve months of 29 and 30 days alternately. In order to make them agree with the solar year of their neighbours, the Greeks and the Romans, and also in order to make the months fall in the right season, they added a month every third year. This intercalation was called Nasî; and although it was not perfectly exact, it served to maintain a sort of correlation between the denomination of the months and the seasons. Since the suppression of the Nasî, on account of the orgies and various heathen rites observed in the intercalary years, the names of the months have no relation to the seasons.
CHAPTER III

THE PROPHET AT MEDINA

Few Muslims of the present day understand the full import of the mystical verses quoted at the head of this chapter, but all appreciate the deep devotion to the grand Seer implied in those words. And this devotion is not one which has twined itself round a mythical ideal, or has grown with the lapse of time. From the moment of his advent into Yathrib he stands in the full blaze of day—the grandest of figures upon whom the light of history has ever shone. The minutest details of his life are carefully noted and handed down to posterity, becoming crystallised, often against the spirit of his own which aimed at the perpetual growth of the

We have seen this wonderful man as an orphan who had never known a father's love, bereft in infancy of a mother's care, his early life so full of pathos, growing up from a thoughtful childhood to a still more thoughtful youth. His youth as pure and true as his boyhood; his manhood as austere and devout as his youth. His ear ever open to the sorrows and sufferings of the weak and the poor; his heart ever full of sympathy and tenderness towards all God's creatures. He walks so humbly and so purely, that men turn round and
point, there goes al-Amin, the true, the upright, the trusty. A faithful friend, a devoted husband; a thinker intent on the mysteries of life and death, on the responsibilities of human actions, the end and aim of human existence,—he sets himself to the task of reclaiming and reforming a nation, nay, a world, with only one loving heart to comfort and solace him. Baffled, he never falters; beaten, he never desairs. He struggles on with indomitable spirit to achieve the work assigned to him. His purity and nobleness of character, his intense and earnest belief in God's mercy, bring round him ultimately many a devoted heart; and when the moment of the severest trial comes, like the faithful mariner, he remains steadfast at his post until all his followers are safe, and then betakes himself to the hospitable shore. such we have seen him. We shall see him now the king of men, the ruler of human hearts, chief, lawyer, and supreme magistrate, and yet without any self-exaltation, lowly and humble. His history henceforth is merged in the history of the commonwealth of which he was the centre. Henceforth the Preacher who with his own hands mended his clothes, and often went without bread, was mightier than the mightiest sovereigns of the earth.

"Mohammed had shown men what he was; the nobility of his character, his strong friendship, his endurance and courage, above all, his earnestness and fiery enthusiasm for the truth he came to preach—these things had revealed the hero; the master whom it was alike impossible to disobey and impossible not to love. Henceforward it is only a question of time. As the men of Medina come to know Mohammed, they too will devote themselves to him body and soul; and the enthusiasm will catch fire and spread among the tribes, till all Arabia is at the feet of the Prophet of the one God. 'No emperor with his tiaras was obeyed as this man in a cloak of his own clouting.' He had the gift of influencing men, and he had the nobility only to influence them for good."

Medina, the "illuminated"—the city of many names—is situated about eleven days' journey to the north of Mecca. Now a walled city of considerable strength, in those days it was completely open and exposed to outside attacks until the

1 Munawwarah.
Prophet made the famous moat as a defence against the Koreishites. The city is said to have been established by an 'Amalekite chief, whose name it bore until the advent of the Prophet. In early times Yathrib¹ and its environs were inhabited by the 'Amalekites; these are said to have been overwhelmed and destroyed by successive colonies of Jews, who, flying before Babylonian and Greek and Roman persecutors or avengers, entered Arabia and established themselves in the northern part of Hijâz. The most important of these colonies were the Bani-Nazir at Khaibar, the Bani-Kuraizha at Fidak, the Bani-Kainukâ'a near Medina itself. Living in fortified cantons, they had domineered over the neighbouring Arab tribes, until the establishment of two Qahtanite tribes, Aus and Khazraj at Yathrib. These two tribes, who yielded at first some sort of obedience to the Jews, were able to reduce them to a state of clientage. Before long, however, they commenced quarrelling among themselves, and it was only about the time when the Prophet announced his Mission at Mecca that, after long years of decimating warfare, they had succeeded in patching up a peace.

Such was the political condition of Yathrib when the Prophet made his appearance among the Yathribites. With his advent a new era dawned upon the city.

The two tribes of Aus and Khazraj, forgetting their inveterate and mortal feuds in the brotherhood of the Faith, rallied round the standard of Islâm and formed the nucleus of the Moslem commonwealth. The old divisions were effaced, and the honorable designation of Ansâr (Helpers) became the common title of all who had helped Islâm in its hour of trial. The faithful band who had forsaken their beloved birthplace, and every tie of home, received the name of Muhâjirin (Emigrants or Exiles).

In order to unite the Ansâr and the Muhâjirin in closer bonds, the Prophet established a brotherhood between them, which linked them together in sorrow and in happiness.

Yathrib changed its ancient name, and was henceforth styled Medinat un-Nabi, the City of the Prophet, or shortly, Medina, the city par excellence.

¹ With a ŋ (pronounced by the Arabs like th in thin, by all non-Arabs like s).
THE LIFE OF MOHAMMED

A mosque was soon built, in the erection of which Mohammed assisted with his own hands; and houses for the accommodation of the exiles rose apace. Two brothers, who owned the land on which it was proposed to build the mosque, had offered it as a free gift; but as they were orphans, the Prophet paid them its value.

The building was simple in form and structure, suited to the unostentatious religion he taught. The walls were of brick and earth, and the roof of palm leaves. A portion of the mosque was set apart as a habitation for those who had no home of their own.

Everything in this humble place of worship was conducted with the greatest simplicity. Mohammed preached and prayed standing on the bare ground or leaning against a palm tree, and the devoted hearts around him beat in unison with his soul-stirring words.

"He who is not affectionate to God's creatures and to his own children," he would say, "God will not be affectionate to him. Every Moslem who clothes the naked will be clothed by God in the green robes of Paradise." 1

In one of his sermons he thus dwelt on the subject of charity: "When God created the earth, it shook and trembled, until He put mountains upon it to make it firm. Then the angels asked, 'O God, is there anything in Thy creation stronger than these mountains?' And God replied, 'Iron is stronger than the mountains, for it breaks them.' 'And is there anything in Thy creation stronger than iron?' 'Yes; fire is stronger than iron, for it melts it.' 'Is there anything in Thy creation stronger than fire?' 'Yes, water, for it quenches fire.' 'O Lord, is there anything in Thy creation stronger than water?' 'Yes; wind, for it overcomes water and puts it in motion.' 'Oh, our Sustainer, is there anything in Thy creation stronger than wind?' 'Yes; a good man giving alms; if he give with his right hand and conceal it from his left, he overcomes all things.'"

His definition of charity embraced the wide circle of kindness: "Every good act," he would say, "is charity. Your smiling in your brother's face is charity; an exhortation addressed to

1 From Abü Huraira, Mishkat, book xn chap. iii. part i.
your fellow-men to do virtuous deeds is equal to alms-giving. Putting a wanderer in the right path is charity; assisting the blind is charity; removing stones and thorns and other obstructions from the road is charity; giving water to the thirsty is charity.” 1 “A man’s true wealth hereafter is the good he does in this world to his fellow-men. When he dies, people will ask, What property has he left behind him? But the angels, who examine him in the grave, 2 will ask, What good deeds hast thou sent before thee?”

“Oh Prophet!” said one of his disciples, “my mother, Umm Sa’d, is dead; what is the best alms I can give away for the good of her soul?” “Water!” replied Mohammed, bethinking himself of the panting heat of the desert. “Dig a well for her, and give water to the thirsty.” The man dug a well in his mother’s name, and said, “This is for my mother, that its blessings may reach her soul.”

“Charity of the tongue,” says Irving, “that most important and least cultivated of charities, was likewise earnestly inculcated by Mahomet.” Abū Jariya, an inhabitant of Basra, coming to Medina, and being convinced of the apostolic office of Mohammed, begged of him some great rule of conduct. “Speak evil of no one,” answered the Prophet, “From that time,” says Abū Jariya, “I never abused any one, whether freeman or slave.”

The teachings of Islam extended to the courtesies of life. Make a salutation to the dwellers of a house on entering and leaving it. 3 Return the salute of friends and acquaintances, and wayfarers on the road. He who rides must be the first to make the salute to him who walks, he who walks to him who is sitting; a small party to a large party, and the young to the old.” 4

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1 From Abū Sa‘īd Khāzhī
2 See post, pt. i, chap. x
3 Compare Koran, chap. xxiv, vers. 27, 28, 61 and 62.
4 From Abū Hurairah, Mishkāt, Bk. xxii, chap. 1 part 1. Besides the references already given, consult the Kitāb ul-Mustatraf, chaps. iv, v, xiii, xxix, xxii, xxiii and xxv. The Mustatraf gives fully the references to Tirmizi, Muslim, and Bukhārī: Consult also the Majālis ul-Abrār, Majlis (seance), 84.
CHAPTER IV

THE HOSTILITY OF THE KOREISH AND THE JEWS

1 A.H. = 19th April 622-7th May 623 A.C.

الله سلامًا و سلامي ادا
لنبي ومدني هممي
شمس فضل و شدا و سفاناء اسنا
نور بدر و بهاء و سماء الكرم
اكرم المخلص وجدًا و سجودًا و هجودًا
احسن الناس سجبا بعطاه الفهم

At this time there were three distinct parties in Medina. The Muhājirīn (the Exiles) and the Ansār (the Helpers) formed the kernel of Islām. Their devotion to the Prophet was unbounded. The Exiles had forsaken their homes, and abandoned, contrary to all Arab traditions, the ties of kith and kin, in the cause of the Faith. They had braved all sufferings, withstood all temptations in the service of the Lord. Many of them had come to the City of Safety without means. They had been received with open arms by the Medinite converts, who in many cases shared their worldly goods with the poorer of the new-comers. The brotherhood of Faith, so wisely established by the Prophet, whilst it prevented the growth of jealousy, gave rise to a
generous emulation, both among the Ansâr and the Muhâjirîn, as to who would bring the greatest sacrifice in the service of God and His Prophet. The enthusiasm and earnestness with which these men and women devoted themselves to the new awakening, the zeal with which they laid down their lives, was a manifestation such as had not been seen since the best days of the Christian phase of religious development. The second, and at first by no means an unimportant party, was composed principally of lukewarm converts to the Faith, who retained an ill-concealed predilection for idolatry; and was headed by Abdullah ibn-Ubayy, a chief of some position in the city, who aspired to the kinship of Mediâ. With this object he had gathered round him, like Abû Sufiân at Mecca, a strong body of partizans. Everything was ripe for him to seize the reins of power, when the arrival of the Prophet upset his designs. The popular enthusiasm compelled him and his followers to make a nominal profession of Islâm; but, ever ready as they were to turn against the Moslems at the least opportunity, they were a source of considerable danger to the new-born commonwealth, and required unceasing watchfulness on the part of the Prophet. Towards them he always showed the greatest patience and forbearance, hoping in the end to win them over to the Faith. And this expectation was fully justified by the result. With the death of Abdullah ibn-Ubayy his party, which has been stigmatised¹ as the party of the Munâfîkin (the Disaffected), disappeared for a time from view.

But the Jews, who may be said to have formed the third party, constituted the most serious element of danger. They had close business relations with the Koreish, and their ramifications extended into various parts hostile to the Faith. At first they were inclined to look with some favour on the preachings of Mohammed. He could not, of course, be their promised Messiah, but perhaps a weak dreamer, a humble preacher, dependent upon the hospitality of their old enemies,

¹ Koran, sura xliu, Ibn-Hishâm, pp 363, 411. The Munâfîkin or the Irreconcilables have never disappeared completely from the Islâmic body politic. Ever and anon they have exercised the most disastrous effects in Islâm. In later times they posed as the champions of orthodoxy, note for example, the Khârijis of Africa.
now their patrons, the Aus and the Khazraj, might become their avenger, help them in conquering the Arabs, and found for them a new kingdom of Judah. With this aim in view, they had joined with the Medinites in a half-hearted welcome to the Prophet. And for a time they maintained a pacific attitude. But it was only for a time; for barely a month had gone by before the old spirit of rebellion, which had led them to crucify their prophets, found vent in open seditions and secret treachery. One of the first acts of Mohammed after his arrival in Medina was to weld together the heterogeneous and conflicting elements of which the city and its suburbs were composed, into an orderly confederation. With this object he had granted a charter to the people, by which the rights and obligations of the Moslems inter se, and of the Moslems and Jews, were clearly defined. And the Jews, borne down for the moment by the irresistible character of the movement, had gladly accepted the Pact. This document, which has been carefully preserved in the pages of Ibn-Hishâm, reveals the Man in his real greatness—a master-mind, not only of his own age, as Muir calls him, but of all ages. No wild dreamer he, bent upon pulling down the existing fabrics of society, but a statesman of unrivalled powers, who in an age of utter and hopeless disintegration, with such materials and such polity as God put ready to his hands, set himself to the task of reconstructing a State, a commonwealth, a society, upon the basis of universal humanity. "In the name of the most merciful and compassionate God," says this first charter of freedom of conscience, "given by Mohammed, the Prophet, to the Believers, whether of the Koreish or of Yathrib, and all individuals of whatever origin who have made common cause with them, all these shall constitute one nation." Then, after regulating the payment of the **Diyat** by the various clans, and fixing some wise rules regarding the private duties of Moslems as between themselves, the document proceeds thus: "The state of peace and war shall be common to all Moslems; no one among them shall have the right of concluding peace with, or declaring war against, the enemies of his co-religionists.

1 **Diyat, Wehrzold**, price which a homicide had to pay to the family of the victim, if they consented to it.
The Jews who attach themselves to our commonwealth shall be protected from all insults and vexations; they shall have an equal right with our own people to our assistance and good offices: the Jews of the various branches of ‘Auf, Nājjār, Ḥārīth, Jashm, Th‘alaba, Aus, and all others domiciled in Yathrib, shall form with the Moslems one composite nation; they shall practise their religion as freely as the Moslems; the clients and allies of the Jews shall enjoy the same security and freedom; the guilty shall be pursued and punished; the Jews shall join the Moslems in defending Yathrib (Medina) against all enemies; the interior of Yathrib shall be a sacred place for all who accept this Charter; the clients and allies of the Moslems and the Jews shall be as respected as the patrons; all true Moslems shall hold in abhorrence every man guilty of crime, injustice, or disorder: no one shall uphold the culpable, though he were his nearest kin.” Then, after some other provisions regarding the internal management of the State, this extraordinary document concluded thus. “All future disputes between those who accept this Charter shall be referred, under God, to the Prophet.”

A death-blow was thus given to that anarchic custom of the Arabs, which had hitherto obliged the aggrieved and the injured to rely upon his own or his kinsmen’s power in order to exact vengeance, or satisfy the requirements of justice. It constituted Mohammed the chief magistrate of the nation, as much by his prophetic function as by a virtual compact between himself and the people.

The Jewish tribes of the Bani-un-Nazir, Bani-Kuraizha, and Bani-Kainukā’a settled in the vicinity of Medina, were not at first included in this Charter; but after a short time they, too, gratefully accepted its terms.

No kindness or generosity, however, on the part of the Prophet would satisfy the Jews; nothing could conciliate the bitter feelings with which they were animated. Enraged that they could not use him as their instrument for the conversion

1 *I.e* the protected
2 Ibn-Hishām, pp. 341-343 This is a paraphrase of an important historical document
3 With a *zdd.*
of Arabia to Judaism, and that his belief was so much simpler than their Talmudic legends, they soon broke off, and ranged themselves on the side of the enemies of the new Faith. And when asked which they preferred, idolatry or Islâm, they, like many Christian controversialists, declared they preferred idolatry, with all its attendant evils, to the creed of Mohammed. They reviled him; they “twisted their tongues” and mispronounced the Koranic words and the daily prayers and formulae of Islâm, rendering them meaningless, absurd, or blasphemous; and the Jewish poets and poetesses, of whom there existed many at the time, outraged all common decency and the recognised code of Arab honour and chivalry by lampooning in obscene verse the Moslem women. But these were minor offences. Not satisfied with insulting the women of the Believers and reviling the Prophet, they sent out emissaries to the enemies of the State, the protection of which they had formally accepted. The Koreish, who had sworn Mohammed’s death, were well acquainted, thanks to the party of Abdullah-ibn-Ubayy and the faithless Israelites, with the exact strength of the Moslems. They also knew that the Jews had accepted Mohammed’s alliance only from motives of temporary expediency, and that the moment they showed themselves in the vicinity of Medina the worshippers of Jehovah would break away from him and join the idolaters.

And now came the moment of severest trial to Islâm. Barely had the Prophet time to put the city in a state of defence and organise the Believers, before the blow descended upon him. Medina itself was honeycombed by sedition and treachery. And it became the duty of Mohammed to take serious measures to guard against that dreaded catastrophe which a rising within, or a sudden attack from without, would have entailed upon his followers. He was not simply a preacher of Islâm; he was also the guardian of the lives and liberties of his people. As a Prophet, he could afford to ignore the revilings and the gibes of his enemies; but as the head of the State, “the general in a time of almost continual warfare,” when Medina was kept in a state of military defence and under

a sort of military discipline, he could not overlook treachery. He was bound by his duty to his subjects to suppress a party that might have led, and almost did lead to the sack of the city by investing armies. The safety of the State required the proscription of the traitors, who were either sowing the seeds of sedition within Medina or carrying information to the common enemy. Some half a dozen were placed under the ban, outlawed, and executed. We are, however, anticipating the course of events in referring to these executions.

The Koreish army was afield before Mohammed received God’s command to do battle to His enemies.

He who never in his life had wielded a weapon, to whom the sight of human suffering caused intense pain and pity, and who, against all the canons of Arab manliness, wept bitterly at the loss of his children or disciples, whose character ever remained so tender and so pathetic as to cause his enemies to call him womanish,¹—this man was now compelled, from the necessities of the situation, and against his own inclination, to repel the attacks of the enemy by force of arms, to organise his followers for purposes of self-defence, and often to send out expeditions to anticipate treacherous and sudden onslaughts. Hitherto, Arab warfare consisted of sudden and murderous forays, often made in the night or in the early morn; isolated combats or a general mêlée, when the attacked were aware of the designs of the attacking party. Mohammed, with a thorough knowledge of the habits of his people, had frequently to guard against these sudden onslaughts by sending forth reconnoitring parties.

The Meccans and their allies commenced raiding up to the very vicinity of Medina, destroying the fruit-trees of the Moslems, and carrying away their flocks. A force, consisting of a thousand well-equipped men, marched under the noted Abû Jahl, “the Father of Ignorance,” towards Medina to destroy the Moslems, and to protect one of their caravans bringing munitions of war. The Moslems received timely notice of the movement, and a body of three hundred disciples proceeded at once to forestall the heathens by occupying the valley of Badr, upon which Abû Jahl was moving. When

¹ Compare Dozy, Histoire des Musulmans d’Espagne, vol 1 p. 32
Mohammed saw the infidel army arrogantly advancing into the valley, raising his hands towards heaven, like the prophets of Israel, he prayed that the little band of the Faithful might not be destroyed: "O Lord, forget not Thy promise of assistance. O Lord, if this little band were to perish, there will be none to offer unto Thee pure worship."  

Three of the Koreish advanced into the open space which divided the Moslems from the idolaters, and, according to Arab usage, challenged three champions from the Moslem ranks to single combat. Hamza, Ali, and Obaidah accepted the challenge, and came out conquerors. The engagement then became general. At one time the fortunes of the field wavered, but Mohammed's appeal to his people decided the fate of the battle. "It was a stormy winter day. A piercing blast swept across the valley." It seemed as if the angels of heaven were warring for the Moslems. Indeed, to the earnest minds of Mohammed and his followers, who, like the early Christians, saw God's providence "in all the gifts of nature, in every relation of life, at each turn of their affairs, individual or public," to them those blasts of wind and sand, the elements warring against the enemies of God, at that critical moment appeared veritable succour sent from heaven; as angels riding on the wings of the wind, and driving the faithless idolaters before them in confusion. The Meccans were driven back with great loss; many of their chiefs were slain; and Abû Jahl fell a victim to his unruly pride.

A large number remained prisoners in the hands of the Moslems, but only two of them were executed. They had been noted for their virulent animosity towards the followers of the new Faith, and by the laws of war among the Arabs they now paid the penalty of their conduct.

2 Koran, Sura viii. ver 9, and Sura iii. vers 11, 121-128 Comp. also Muir vol. iii p. 106
3 Ibn Hishâm, p 443 et seq. Ibn ul-Athîr, vol ii p 26 et seq. Sir W Muir mentions that when the head of Abû Jahl was brought to Mohammed he said, "It is more acceptable to me than the choicest camel in Arabia." This passage, which is not to be found either in Ibn-Hishâm, Ibn ul-Athîr Abulfedâ or Tabari, is apocryphal.
4 Nazr, son of Hânth, referred to in ver 32 of Sura viii of the Koran, was one of these men.
The rest of the prisoners, contrary to all the usages and traditions of the Arabs, were treated with the greatest humanity. The Prophet gave strict orders that respect should be paid to their misfortunes, and that they should be treated with kindness. The Moslems, to whose care he confided them, faithfully obeyed his instructions. They shared their own food with the prisoners, giving them the bread which forms the best part of their repast, and contenting themselves with dates alone.1

The division of the spoil gave rise to sharp dissensions among the Moslem soldiery. For the present, Mohammed calmed their disputes by dividing it equally amongst all.2 But as such dissensions among an unruly people were likely to lead to mischief, the Prophet, with a view to prevent all future quarrels over spoil acquired in war, promulgated a special ordinance, which is incorporated in the chapter of the Koran entitled al-Anfāl (the Spoils). By this law the division of the spoils was left to the discretion of the chief of the commonwealth; a fifth being reserved for the public treasury for the support of the poor and indigent.3

The remarkable circumstances which led to the victory of Badr, and the results which followed from it, made a deep impression on the minds of the Moslems. They firmly believed that the angels of heaven had battled on their side against the unbelieving host.

1 Ibn-Hishām, pp. 459, 460. Caussin de Perceval, vol iii p 79. Muir speaks thus: "In pursuance of Mahomet’s commands, the citizens of Medina, and such of the refugees as possessed houses, received the prisoners, and treated them with much consideration. ‘Blessings be on the men of Medina!’ said one of these prisoners in later days, ‘they made us ride, while they themselves walked, they gave us wheaten bread to eat when there was little of it; contenting themselves with dates.’" vol iii p 122

2 "It is remarkable," says Sa‘l, "that the dispute among Mohammed’s men about sharing the booty at Badr arose on the same occasion as did that among David’s soldiers in relation to the spoils taken from the Amalekites; those who had been in the action insisting that they who tarried by the stuff should have no part of the spoil, and that the same decision was given in both cases, which became a law for the future, to wit, that they should part alike." Prei Disc sec vi

3 Koran, chap viii ver 41. Though the distribution was left to the discretion of the chief of the State, certain customs were invariably observed which under the Caliphs became precedents, and thus gave a more definite shape to the law. Compare M. Querry’s splendid work, entitled Droit Mussulman (Paris 1871), tome i. p. 335.
The few simple touches in the Koran which bring into vivid prominence the poetic element involved in the conception of the angels fighting the battle of the Lord, will not yield in beauty or sublimity to the most eloquent words of the Psalmist. Indeed, the same poetic character is perceptible in both.

Probably Mohammed, like Jesus and other teachers, believed in the existence of intermediate beings, celestial messengers from God to man. The modern disbelief in angels furnishes no reason for ridiculing the notions of our forefathers. Our disbelief is as much open to the name of superstition as their belief; only one is negative, the other positive. What we, in modern times, look upon as the principles of nature, they looked upon as angels, ministrants of heaven. Whether there exist intermediate beings, as Locke thinks, between God and man, just as there are intermediate beings between man and the lowest form of animal creation, is a question too deep to be fathomed by the reason of man.

Mohammed also, like Jesus, probably believed in the existence of the Principle of Evil as a personal entity. But an analysis of his words reveals a more rationalistic element, a subjective conception clothed in language suited for the apprehension of his followers. When somebody asked him where Satan lived, he replied “In the heart of man,” whilst Christian tradition converts the Pharisee who tempted Jesus, into the veritable Prince of Hell.

The belief in angels and devils has given rise to an extraordinary number of legends both in Islam and in Christianity. The saints of heaven and angels fight for the Christian. The Moslem only accepts the assistance of angels in the battles of life.

1 Ps. xviii
2 All the Schleiermacher school believe the tempter to have been the head priest. Milman mentions this view as well as the patristic and orthodox one, but dexterously leaves for the reader to choose which he likes. The chapter of Reuss on Angels (History of Christian Theology in the Apostolic Age, English translation, note 1, pp. 401-404), with the mass of references arrayed therein, distinctly proves that the early Christians, the immediate disciples of Jesus, firmly believed the angels and devils to be personal entities, beings slightly ethereal, but in every way human-like; and this belief those disciples of Jesus must have received from the Master himself, who, indeed, as Renan says, could not have been, in these respects, intellectually different from the people of his age; Vie de Jesus, 3rd ed. 1867, p. 267.
NOTE TO CHAPTER IV

The story of Mohammed’s inhuman reply to the appeal of Okba, son of Abú Mu’a’it, when he was being led forward to execution, is utterly false; it is said that on ‘Okba’s asking, ‘Who will take care of my little children?’ Mohammed answered, ‘Hell fire.’ This story is so preposterous in itself, so opposed to Mohammed’s true character (one of whose noblest traits was his love for children, and who always inculcated love and protection of orphans as an absolute duty, and an act most acceptable to God), that it is hardly necessary to search for its true origin. Christian writers, however, seem to gloat over it, and hence it becomes needful to examine how the story arose.

It originated most probably from the sobriquet of Sibyat un-Nár (children of fire), applied to the children of ‘Okba. ‘Okba himself belonged to the tribe of ‘Ajlan, a branch of which inhabited certain valleys near Safra, and were known by the name of Banî un-Nár (children or descendants of fire). The sobriquet was probably derived from this circumstance; and the story of Mohammed’s reply from the nickname.

Another story of Mohammed’s having bitterly apostrophised the dead of the idolaters on their burial is, to say the least, distorted. Tabari thus narrates the circumstances which have given rise to this calumny. ‘The Prophet placed himself by the side of the large grave or pit which had been prepared for the corpses; and as the bodies were lowered, the names were called out, and Mohammed then uttered these words, ‘You, my kindred, you accused me of lying, when others believed in me; you drove me from my home, when others received me; what destiny has been yours! Alas! all that God threatened is fulfilled.’’ These words, which were palpably meant to express pity, have been distorted to imply bitterness.

1Aghání, according to C de Perceval, vol. iii. p 79.
CHAPTER V

THE INVASION OF MEDINA BY THE KOREISH

2 A.H. = 624 A.C.

\[\text{كَالْبَنِّيَّةَ فِي نَزْب وَالْبَدْرِ فِي نَزْبَةً}
\]
\[\text{وَالْبَحْرِ فِي كِرَم وَالْدَهْرِ فِي هُمِّ}
\]

SUCCESS is always one of the greatest criterions of truth:

Even in the early days of Christianity, the good Pharisée said, "Let them alone; if these men be false, they will come to nought, or else you yourselves shall perish."

If Constantine had not seen, or fancied he had seen, the notable cross in the heavens; if he had not marched to success under its auspices; if it had not led him on to victory and to the throne—we can hardly conceive what would have been the fate of Christianity. What the victory of Badr was for Islam, the victory of the Milvian Bridge was for Christianity. It thenceforth ruled from the throne of the Cæsar.

For the Moslems the victory of Badr was indeed most auspicious. It was not surprising that they, like the Israelites or Christians of yore, saw the hand of Providence in their success over the idolaters. Had the Moslems failed, we can imagine what their fate would have been—a universal massacre.

Whilst Mohammed was engaged in this expedition, he lost

\[\text{1 The Christians themselves look upon the defeat of Maxentius by Constantine (312 A.C.) as the greatest triumph of their faith. The chapter of Gibbon, vol. iii. chap. xx., mingled satire and history, shows how the success of Christianity dates from that event.}\]
one of his favourite daughters, Rukaiya, married to Osmán, who had only recently returned from the Abyssinian exile. But the desire for revenge with which the idolaters were burning allowed him no time to indulge in domestic sorrow. As soon as all the Koreishite prisoners had returned home, Abú Sufáán issued forth from Mecca with two hundred horsemen, vowing solemnly never to return until he had avenged himself on Mohammed and his followers. Scouring the country to within a few miles of Medina, he came down with a fell swoop on the unprepared Moslems, slaying the people, and ravaging date-groves which furnished the staple food of the Arabs. The Meccans had provided themselves with bags of “saawik” for the foray. As soon, however, as the Moslems sallied forth from Medina to avenge the murders, the Meccans turned bridle and fled, dropping the bags in order to lighten their beasts: whence this affair was deservingly called by the Moslems, Ghazwat us-saawik, “the battle of the meal-bags.”

It was on this occasion that an incident happened to the Prophet, which has been exceedingly well told by Washington Irving. Mohammed was sleeping one day alone at the foot of a tree, at a distance from his camp, when he was awakened by a noise, and beheld Durthur, a hostile warrior, standing over him with a drawn sword. “O Mohammed,” cried he, “who is there now to save thee?” “God!” replied the Prophet. The wild Bedouin was suddenly awed, and dropped his sword, which was instantly seized upon by Mohammed. Brandishing the weapon, he exclaimed in turn, “Who is there now to save thee, O Durthur?” “Alas, no one!” replied the soldier. “Then learn from me to be merciful.” So saying, he returned the sword. The Arab’s heart was overcome; and in after years he proved one of the staunchest adherents of the Prophet.

1 Saawik is the old and modern Arabic name for a dish of green gram, toasted, pounded, mixed with dates or sugar, and eaten on journeys when it is found difficult to cook.

2 The place where the affair took place bears now the name of Suwayka--a few hours’ journey to the south west of Medina.

3 The last month of this year was marked by the death of Osmán, son of Mahzún, and the marriage of Ali, son of Abú Taibh, to Fátima, Mohammed’s daughter.

Osmán was one of the earliest believers, and he was the first of the
But this skirmish, between the idolaters and the Moslems like others which followed, proved only a prelude to the grand drama that was about to be enacted.

The idolaters were burning for revenge. They made formidable preparations for another war upon the Moslems. Their emissaries succeeded in obtaining the assistance of the tribes of Tihâma and Kûnâna, and their united forces soon amounted to three thousand well-equipped soldiers (of whom seven hundred were mailed warriors), animated with but one desire, that of revenge. This army was as formidable to the petty tribes of Arabia as the multitudinous hordes of Xerxes to the Grecian States.

Marching under the command of the relentless Abû Sufâhan, and meeting with no opposition from any side, they took up a well-chosen position to the north-east of Medina, where only the hill of Ohod and a valley separated them from the devoted city. From this safe vantage-ground they ravaged the fields and fruit groves of the Medinites.

Forced by the enthusiasm of his followers, and by their fury at the destruction of their property, Mohammed marched out of Medina with a thousand men. The ill-concealed enmity of the Jews led to the defection of Abdullah ibn-Ubayy, the leader of the Munâfi'în (the Disaffected), with three hundred of his followers. This desertion reduced the strength of Mohammed's small force to seven hundred men, who only possessed two horses amongst them. But still this gallant band marched steadily forward. Advancing quietly through groves of fruit trees, they soon gained the hill of Ohod. They passed the night in the defile, and in the morning, after offering prayers as they stood to arms, they debouched into the plain. Mohammed now took up his position immediately under the hill.1

Muhâjurîn who died at Medina, and was interred at Bâki, a suburb of Medina where he buried a number of illustrious and saintly people, whose tombs are up to the present day venerated by the Moslems.

Ali had been betrothed to Fâtima several days before the expedition to Badr, but the marriage was only celebrated three months later, Ali being in his twenty-first, and Fâtima in her fifteenth year.

1 Burton thus describes the spot: "This spot, so celebrated in the annals of El Islam, is a shelving strip of land, close to the southern base of Mount Ohod. The army of the infidels advanced from the fiumara in crescent shape
A few archers on a height behind the troops, he gave them strict injunctions not to abandon their place whatever happened but to harass the cavalry of the enemy and protect the flanks of the Moslems. The idolaters, confident in their numbers, marched down into the plain with their idols in the centre of their army, and the wives of the chiefs chanting their war-songs and beating their timbrels. The first violent onslaught of the Koreish was bravely repulsed by the Moslems, led by Hamza, who, taking advantage of the confusion of the enemy, dashed into the midst of the Koreishites, dealing havoc on all sides. Victory had almost declared for the Moslems, when the archers, forgetting the injunctions of the Prophet, and seeing the enemy in flight, dispersed in search of plunder. And what happened in later days at Tours happened at Ohod. Khalid bin Walid, one of the Koreish, at once perceived their error, and rallying his horse, fell on the rear of the Moslems. The infantry of the Koreish also turned, and the Moslem troops, taken both in rear and front, had to renew the battle at fearful odds. Some of the bravest chiefs in the Moslem army fell fighting. The intrepid Hamza, with several others, was killed; Ali, who had chivalrously answered the first call of defiance (Rajz) of the idolaters, and Omar and Abu Bakr were severely wounded.

with Abū Sulaym, the general, and his idols in the centre. It is distant about three miles from El Medina in a northerly direction. All the visitor sees is hard gravelly ground, covered with little heaps of various coloured granite, red sandstone, and bits of porphyry, to denote the different places where the martyrs fell and were buried. Seen from this point, there is something appalling in the look of the holy mountain. Its scarred and jagged flanks rise like masses of iron from the plain, and the crevice into which the Moslem host retired, when the disobedience of the archers in hastening to plunder enabled Khalid ben Walid to fall upon Mohammed's rear, is the only break in the grim wall. Recking with heat, its surface produces not one green shrub or stunted tree, not a bird or beast appeared upon its inhospitable sides, and the bright blue sky glaring above its bald and sullen brow made it look only the more repulsive."—Burton's Pilgrimage to Mecca, vol. ii. pp 236, 237.

1 Extracts from their war-songs are given by Ibn ul-Ashir, vol. ii. p. 118.

"Courage! Ye sons of Abd ud-Dār, Courage! defenders of women! strike home with the edges of your swords." Another runs thus, "We are daughters of the Star of the Moon (Fārik), we tread softly on silken cushions (nāmārik); face the enemy boldly, and we shall press you in our arms; fly, and we shall shun you, shun you with disgust."

2 This disobedience is referred to in the Koran, sura iii. ver. 146.


4 Tabari says that Talha, the standard-bearer of the idolaters, a man of heroic bravery, placed himself before Ali, and brandishing his sabre, defied
THE LIFE OF MOHAMMED

The efforts of the idolaters were, however, principally directed towards Mohammed, who, surrounded by a few disciples and separated from the main body of his people, became now the chief object of their assaults. His friends fell fast around him. Though wounded and bleeding he did not forget their loving hearts, and blessed the hand that tried to stanch the blood which flowed from his forehead. But rescue was nigh. The brave warriors who under Ali had been fighting in the centre with the energy of despair, succeeded in retreating to a point on the hill, where they were secure from the attacks of the enemy, but full of consternation at the loss, as they supposed, of their great Master. Seeing, however, their brethren still fighting in another part of the field, they rushed down into the midst of the idolaters. Penetrating to the place where the small group of Moslems yet defended the Prophet, and finding that he still lived, they succeeded, after great exertions, in retreating with him to the heights of Mount Ohod, where they breathed again. Ali fetched water in his shield from the hollow of a rock. With this he bathed Mohammed's face and wounds, and with his companions offered up the mid-day prayers sitting.

The Koreish were too exhausted to follow up their advantage, either by attacking Medina or driving the Moslems from the heights of Ohod. They retreated from the Medinite territories after barbarously mutilating their slain enemies. The wife of Abu Sufian, Hind, the daughter of Othba, with the other Koreishite women, showed the greatest ferocity in this savage work of vengeance, tearing out the heart of Hamza, and making bracelets and necklaces of the ears and noses of the dead.

The barbarities practised by the Koreish on the slain created among the Moslems a feeling of bitter exasperation. Even Mohammed was at first so moved by indignation as to

1 Ibn al-Athir, vol. ii, p. 144, and Abulfeda, p. 44, mention the date of the battle of Ohod as the 7th of Shawwa'il; Tabari, vol. iii, p. 21, mentions the 8th; Ibn-Hisham, the 6th, and several others the 11th. C. de Perceval, however, calculates the 11th to have been the real date of the battle, as according to all the chronicles the day was a Saturday, and the 11th of Shawwa'il (26th of January) fell on a Saturday. Hist des Arabes, vol. iii, p. 96, note.
declare that the dead of the Koreish should in future be treated in like manner.\(^1\) But the gentleness of his nature conquered the bitterness of his heart. "Bear wrong patiently," he preached; "verily, best it will be for the patiently enduring." \(^2\) And from that day the horrible practice of mutilation which prevailed among all the nations of antiquity was inexorably forbidden to the Moslems.\(^3\)

On his return to Medina the Prophet directed a small body of the disciples to pursue the retreating enemy, and to impress on them that the Moslems, though worsted in battle, were yet unbroken in spirit, and too strong to be attacked again with impunity. Abû Sufiân, hearing of the pursuit, hastened back to Mecca, having first murdered two Medinites whom he met on his route. He, however, sent a message to the Prophet, saying that he would soon return to exterminate him and his people. The reply as before was full of trust and faith—"God is enough for us, a good guardian is He!" \(^4\)

The moral effect of this disastrous battle was at once visible in the forays which the neighbouring nomads prepared to make on the Medinites territories. Most of them, however, were repressed by the energetic action of Mohammed, though some of the hostile tribes succeeded in enticing Moslem missionaries into their midst, under the pretence of embracing Islâm, and then massacred them. On one such occasion seventy Moslems were treacherously murdered near a brook called Bîr-Ma‘ûna, within the territories of two tribes, the Bani-‘Âmir and the Bani-Sulaim, chiefly through the instrumentality of the latter. One of the two survivors of the slaughter escaped towards Medina. Meeting on the way two unarmed Arabs belonging to the Bani-‘Âmir who were travelling under a safe-conduct of the Prophet, and mistaking

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\(^2\) Koran, sura xvii ver. 127; Ibn-Hishâm, pp 584, 585; Zamakhshari (the Kashshâf), Egypt ed., p 446.

\(^3\) The Jews used to burn their prisoners alive, and most barbarously mutilate the slain. The Greeks, the Romans, and the Persians all practised similar barbarities. Christianity effected no improvement in these frightful customs, for as late as the sixteenth century we read of the most horrible mutilations.

\(^4\) Ibn-Hishâm, p. 590; Koran, sura iii. ver. 167.
them for enemies, he killed them. When Mohammed heard of this he was deeply grieved. A wrong had been committed by one of his followers, though under a mistake, and the relatives of the men that were killed were entitled to redress. Accordingly orders were issued for collecting the diyat (the Wehr Geld) from the Moslems and the people who had accepted the Charter. The Jewish tribes of the Bani un-Nazir, the Kuraizha, and others were bound equally with the Moslems to contribute towards this payment.\(^2\) Mohammed himself, accompanied by a few disciples, proceeded to the Bani un-Nazir, and asked from them their contribution. They seemingly agreed to the demand, and requested him to wait awhile. Whilst sitting with his back to the wall of a house, he observed sinister movements amongst the inhabitants, which led him to divine their intention of murdering him.

But to explain the hostility of the Jews we must trace back the course of events. We have seen with what bitter animosity they dogged Mohammed's footsteps from the moment of his arrival at Medina. They tried to sow disaffection among his people. They labelled him and his followers. They mispronounced the words of the Koran so as to give them an offensive meaning. But this was not all. By their superior education and intelligence, by their union with the party of the Munafikin (the Disaffected), and by the general unanimity which prevailed among them (so different from the disunion of the Arabs), the Jews formed a most dangerous element within the federated State which had risen under the Teacher of Islam. Among unadvanced nations poets occupy the position and exercise the influence of the press in modern times.\(^3\) The Jewish poets by their superior culture naturally

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1 See ante, pp 58-59
2 Ibn ul-Athir, vol iii p 133. Tabari, vol iv p 50. Muir and Sprenger have strangely garbled this part of the affair. Sir W. Muir does not find any authority for M. C. de Perceval's saying, that the Jews were bound by treaty to contribute towards the Diyat. If he had referred to Tabari he would have seen the following statement: "En suite il ordonna de réunir cette somme, ou la répartissant sur la ville de Medina, et d'y faire contribuer également les Juifs, tels que les Bani Nadhir, les Kuraizha et ceux de Fadak, qu'y étaient obligés par le traité"—Zotenberg's transl vol iii p. 50. So also Ibn ul-Athir, vol ii p 133
3 An example of the influence which poets and rhapsodists exercise among unprogressed nations is afforded by one of the episodes connected with the
HOSTILITY OF THE JEWS

exercised a vast influence among the Medinites; and this influence was chiefly directed towards sowing sedition among the Moslems, and widening the breach between them and the opposing faction. The defeat of the idolaters at Badr was felt as keenly by the Jews as by the Meccans. Immediately after this battle a distinguished member of their race, called Ka'b, the son of Ashraf, belonging to the tribe of Nazîr, publicly deplored the ill-success of the idolaters, proceeded towards Mecca. Finding the people there plunged in grief, he spared no exertion to revive their courage. By his satires against the Prophet and his disciples, by his elegies on the Meccans who had fallen at Badr, he succeeded in exciting the Koreish to that frenzy of vengeance which found vent on the plains of Ohod. Having attained his object, he returned to his home near Medina in the canton of Nazîr, where he continued to attack Mohammed and the Musulmans in ironical and obscene verses, not sparing even the women of the Believers, whom he addressed in terms of the grossest character. His acts were openly directed against the commonwealth of which he was a member. He belonged to a tribe which had entered into the Compact \(^1\) with the Moslems, and pledged itself for the internal as well as the external safety of the State. Another Jew of the Nazîr, Abû Râfî’e Sallâm, son of Abu’l Hukaik, was equally wild and bitter against the Musulmans. He inhabited, with a fraction of his tribe, the territories of Khaibar, four or five days’ journey to the north-west of Medina. Detesting Mohammed and the Musulmans, he made use of every endeavour to excite the neighbouring Arab tribes, such as the Sulaim and the Ghatafân, against them. It was impossible for the Musulman Common-wealth to tolerate this open treachery on the part of those to

\(^1\) See ante, p. 58.
whom every consideration had been shown, with the object of securing their neutrality, if not their support. The very existence of the Moslem community was at stake; and every principle of safety required that these traitorous designs should be quietly frustrated. The sentence of outlawry was executed upon them by the Medinites themselves—in one case by a member of the tribe of Aus, in the other by a Khazrajite.

Christian controversialists have stigmatised these executions as "assassinations." And because a Moslem was sent secretly to kill each of the criminals, in their prejudice against the Prophet, they shut their eyes to the justice of the sentence, and the necessity of a swift and secret execution. There existed then no police court, no judicial tribunal, nor even a court-martial, to take cognisance of individual crimes. In the absence of a State executioner any individual might become the executioner of the law. Those men had broken their formal pact; it was impossible to arrest them in public, or execute the sentence in the open before their clans, without causing unnecessary bloodshed, and giving rise to the feud of blood, and everlasting vendetta. 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 existence of the republic, and the maintenance of peace and order within the city, depended upon the prompt execution of the sentence passed upon the culprits before they could rally their clansmen round them.

The fate of these two traitors, and the expulsion of their brethren the Banū-Kainukā' from the Medinite territories, had given rise to a bitter feeling of animosity among the Nazīr against the Prophet. The circumstances connected with the banishment of the Kainukā' require a brief notice. Whilst the other Jewish tribes were chiefly agricultural, the Banū-Kainukā' hardly possessed a single field or date plantation. They were

1 Our Christian historians forget that the "wise" Solon himself, for the safety of his small city, made it obligatory on the Athenians to become executioners of the law, by pursuing the factions, or taking one or two sides in a public riot. They also forget that even the laws of Christian England allow any person to pursue and kill "an outlaw."
for the most part artisans employed in handicraft of all kinds. Seditious and unruly, always ready for a broil like their co-religionists of Alexandria, the Banû-Kainukâ' were also noted for the extreme laxity of their morals. One day a young girl from the country came to their bazaar or market (Sûk) to sell milk. The Jewish youths insulted her grossly. A Moslem passer-by took the part of the girl, and in the fray which ensued the author of the outrage was killed; whereupon the entire body of the Jews present rose and slaughtered the Moslem. A wild scene then followed. The Moslems, enraged at the murder of their compatriot, flew to arms, blood flowed fast, and many were killed on both sides. At the first news of the riots, Mohammed hastened to the spot, and, by his presence, succeeded in restraining the fury of his followers. He at once perceived what the end would be of these seditions and disorders if allowed to take their course. Medina would be turned into an amphitheatre, in which members of hostile factions might murder one another with impunity. The Jews had openly and knowingly infringed the terms of their compact. It was necessary to put a stop to this with a firm hand, or farewell to all hope of peace and security. Consequently Mohammed proceeded at once to the quarter of the Bani-Kainukâ', and required them to enter definitely into the Moslem Commonwealth by embracing Islam, or to vacate Medina. The reply of the Jews was couched in the most offensive terms “O, Mohammed, do not be elated with the victory over thy people (the Koreish) Thou hast had an affair with men ignorant of the art of war. If thou art desirous of having any dealings with us, we shall show thee that we are men.”

They then shut themselves up in their fortress, and set Mohammed’s authority at defiance. But their reduction was an absolute duty, and siege was accordingly laid to their stronghold without loss of time. After fifteen days they surrendered. At first it was intended to inflict some severe punishment on them, but the clemency of Mohammed’s nature

1 Tabari, vol iii p 8
2 Ibn-Hishâm, p. 545. Tabari gives the speech of the Kamukâ with a slight variation. But all historians agree in its being defiant and offensive. I cannot understand whence Gibbon obtained the excessively meek reply he puts into the mouth of these people
overcame the dictates of justice, and the Bani-Kainukâ‘ simply banished.

All these circumstances were rankling within the breasts of the Bani un-Nazîr. They only waited for a favourable opportunity to rid themselves of Mohammed, and therefore looked upon his arrival amongst them as providential. But their sinister designs, as we have before said, did not escape the eye of the Prophet. He immediately left the place without raising the suspicions of the Jews, and thus saved himself and his disciples from almost certain destruction.¹

The Bani un-Nazîr had now placed themselves in exactly the same position as the Bani-Kainukâ‘ had previously done. They had by their own act put themselves outside the pale of the Charter; and therefore on his arrival at Medina, Mohammed sent them a message of the same import as that which was sent to the Kainukâ‘. Relying on the support of the Munâfikîn and Abdullah ibn-Ubayy, the Bani un-Nazîr returned a defiant answer. Disappointed, however, in the promised assistance of Abdullah, and of their brethren, the Bant-Kuraizha, after a siege of fifteen days² they sued for terms. The previous offer was renewed, and they agreed to evacuate their territories. They were allowed to take all their movables with them, with the exception of arms.³ In order to prevent the Moslems from occupying their dwellings, they destroyed these before leaving.⁴

Their lands, warlike materials, etc., which they could not carry away, were distributed by the Prophet with the consent and cordial approval of the Ansâr, among the Muhâjirîn, who, up to this time had been entirely dependent for support on the generosity of the Medinites. Notwithstanding the strong brotherly love which existed between the “Refugees” and the “Helpers,”⁵ Mohammed knew that the assistance of the Medinites afforded

¹ As any betrayal of suspicion by Mohammed or his disciples of the intents of the Jews would have made these people desperate, and precipitated matters, the Prophet went away by himself, leaving his followers behind, which led the Jews to suppose he was not gone far, and would quickly return.
² Tabari says eleven days (vol iii p 54)
⁴ Koran, sura lix ver 5 (See ante, p. 53.)
but a precarious means of subsistence. He accordingly assembled the principal men from among the Ansâr, and asked them whether they had any objection to his distributing among their poor brethren who had followed him from Mecca the goods left behind by the Jews. With one voice they answered, "Give to our brothers the goods of the Jews; assign to them even a portion of ours: we willingly consent." Upon this the Prophet divided the property among the Muhâjirîn and two of the Ansâr who were extremely poor.1

The expulsion of the Bâni un-Nazîr took place in the month of Rabi' I. of the fourth year.2 The remaining portion of this year and the early part of the next were passed in repressing the spasmodic hostile attempts of the nomadic tribes against the Moslems, and in inflicting punishments for various murderous forays on the Medînite territories.3

Meanwhile the enemies of the Faith were by no means idle. Far and wide the idolaters had sent their emissaries to stir up the tribes against the Moslems. The Jews were the most active in these efforts. Some of the Bâni-Nazîr had remained behind with their brethren settled near Khaibar, and there, fired with the hope of vengeance, had set themselves to the work of forming another league for the destruction of the Believers.4 Their efforts were successful beyond their utmost hopes. A formidable coalition was soon formed; and an army, consisting of ten thousand well-appointed men, marched upon

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2 A principle was henceforth established that any acquisition, not made in actual warfare, should belong to the State, or the chief of the State, and that its application should depend upon his discretion (vade Droit Musulman by M. Querry, p. 337). Sura lxix of the Koran treats almost entirely of the circumstances connected with the banishment of the Bâni un-Nazîr.
3 According to Ibn-Hishâm, p. 653, and Abulfedâ, p. 49; Tabari, vol. III p. 55, says it was the month of Safar.
4 Of this nature was the expedition against the Christian Arabs of Dûmat ul-Jandal (a place according to Abulfedâ, about seven days' journey to the south of Damascus), who had stopped the Medînite traffic with Syria and even threatened a raid upon Medina; these marauders, however, fled on the approach of the Moslems, and Mohammed returned to Medina, after concluding a treaty with a neighbouring chief, to whom he granted permission of pasturage on the Medînite territories—C. de Perceval, vol. III p. 129; Tabari, vol. III p. 60.

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Medina, under the command of the relentless Abu Sufian. Meeting no opposition on their way, they soon encamped within a few miles of Medina, on its most vulnerable side, towards Ohod. To oppose this host the Moslems could only muster a body of three thousand men. Forced thus by their inferiority in numbers, as well as by the factious opposition of the Munafiqin within the city, to remain on the defensive, they dug a deep trench round the unprotected quarters of Medina, and, leaving their women and children for safety in their fortified houses, they encamped outside the city, with the moat in front of them. In the meantime they relied for the safety of the other side, if not upon the active assistance, at least upon the neutrality of the Banu Kuraizha, who possessed several fortresses at a short distance, towards the south-east, and were bound by the Compact to assist the Moslems against every assailant. These Jews, however, were persuaded by the idolaters to violate their pledged faith, and to join the Koreish. As soon as the news of their defection reached Mohammed, he deputed "the two Sa’ds," Sa’d ibn-Mu’az and Sa’d ibn-Ubada, to entreat them to return to their duty. The reply was defiant and sullen: "Who is Mohammed, and who is the Apostle of God that we should obey him? There is no bond or compact betwixt us and him."

As these Jews were well acquainted with the locality, and could materially assist the besiegers by showing them the weak points of the city, the consternation among the Moslems became great, whilst the disaffected body within the walls increased the elements of danger.

The idolaters and the Jews, failing in all their attempts to

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1 Ibn-Hisham, p 678
2 Referred to in the Koran, sura xxxiii vers 12, 13, 14, etc.
3 Ibn-Hisham, p 675; Muir, vol iii p 259
4 The whole scene is so beautifully painted in the Koran, sura xxxiii. (Surat ul-Ahzab, "The Confederates"), that I cannot resist quoting a few verses here: "When they assailed you from above you and from below you, and when your eyes became distracted, and your hearts came up into your throats, and ye thought divers thoughts of God, then were the Faithful tried, and with strong quaking did they quake, and when the disaffected and diseased of heart (with impiety) said, 'God and His Apostle have made us but a cheating promise.'"
draw the Moslems into the open field, or to surprise the city under the direction of Jewish guides, determined upon a regular assault. The siege had already lasted twenty days. The restless tribes of the desert, who had made common cause with the Koreish and their Jewish allies, and who had expected an easy prey, were becoming weary of this protracted campaign. Great efforts were made at this critical moment by the leaders of the beleaguering host to cross the trench and fall upon the small Moslem force. Every attempt was, however, repulsed by untiring vigilance on the part of the Prophet. The elements now seemed to combine against the besieging army; their horses were perishing fast, and provisions were becoming scanty. Disunion was rife in their midst, and the far-seeing chief of the Moslems, with matchless prudence, fomented it into actual division. Suddenly this vast coalition, which had seemed to menace the Moslems with inevitable destruction, vanished into thin air. In the darkness of night, amidst a storm of wind and rain, their tents overthrown, their lights put out, Abû Suflân and the majority of his formidable army fled, the rest took refuge with the Bani-Kuraizha.1 Mohammed had in the night foretold to his followers the dispersion of their enemies. Daybreak saw his prognostications fulfilled, and the Moslems returned in joy to the city.2

But the victory was hardly achieved in the opinion of the Moslems as long as the Bani-Kuraizha remained so near, and in such dangerous proximity to the city of Islâm. They had proved themselves traitors in spite of their sworn alliance, and had at one time almost surprised Medina from their side,—an event which, if successful, would have involved the general massacre of the faithful. The Moslems therefore felt it their duty to demand an explanation of the treachery. This was doggedly refused. The consequence was that the Jews were besieged, and compelled to surrender at discretion. They made only one condition, that their punishment should be left to the judgment of the Ausite chief, Sa'd ibn-Mu'âz. This man, a fierce soldier who had been

1 Ibn-Hishâm, p 683, Ibn ul-Athir, vol II p 140
2 In Moslem annals this war is called the "War of the Trench"
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 Moslems; and this sentence was carried into execution.\(^1\) "It was a harsh, bloody sentence," says Lane-Poole, "worthy of the episcopal generals of the army against the Albigenses, or of the deeds of the Augustan age of Puritanism; but it must be remembered that the crime of these men was high treason against the State during a time of siege; and those who have read how Wellington’s march could be traced by the bodies of deserters and pillagers hanging from the trees, need not be surprised at the summary execution of a traitorous clan."\(^2\)

The punishment inflicted on the various Jewish tribes has furnished to the Christian biographers of the Prophet, like Muir, Sprenger, Weil and Osborn, a ground for attack. The punishment meted out to the Bani-Kainukah and Bani un-Nazir was far below their deserts. The Bani-Kuraizha alone were treated with severity.

Human nature is so constituted that, however criminal the acts of an individual may be, the moment he is treated with a severity which to our mind seems harsh or cruel, a natural revulsion of feeling occurs, and the sentiment of justice gives place to pity within our hearts. No doubt the sentence on the Bani-Kuraizha, from our point of view, was severe. But, however much we may regret that the fate of these poor people should have been, though at their own special request, left in the hands of an infuriated soldier—however much we may regret that the sentence of this man should have been so carried into effect—we must not, in the sentiment of pity, overlook the stern question of justice and culpability. We must bear in mind the crimes of which they were guilty—their treachery, their open hostility, their defection from an alliance to which they were bound by every sacred tie. Nor must we altogether forget the temptations which they, the worshippers of the pure Jehovah, held out to the heathen Arabs to continue in the


\(^2\) Selections from the Koran, Introd. p lxxv.
HOSTILITY OF THE JEWS

practice of idolatry. Some Moslems might naturally be inclined to say, with the Christian moralist: "It is better that the wicked should be destroyed a hundred times over than that they should tempt those who are yet innocent to join their company." 1

These Moslems might say with him, with only the variation of a word: "Let us but think what might have been our fate, and the fate of every other nation under heaven at this hour, had the sword of the Arab 2 done its work more sparingly. The Arab's sword, in its bloodiest executions, wrought a work of mercy for all the countries of the earth to the very end of the world." If the Christian's argument is correct and not inhuman, certainly the Moslem's argument cannot be otherwise. Other Moslems, however, might look upon this fearful sentence on the Banl-Kuraizha in the same light as Carlyle looks upon the order of Cromwell for the promiscuous massacre of the Irish inhabitants of Drogheda: "An armed soldier solemnly conscious of himself that he is the soldier of God the Just,—a consciousness which it well becometh all soldiers and all men to have always,—armed soldier, terrible as death, relentless as doom; doing God's judgment on the enemies of God."

We, however, are not disposed to look at the punishment of these Jews from either of these points of view. We simply look upon it as an act done in complete accordance with the laws of war as then understood by the nations of the world: "a strict application of admitted customs of war in those days." 3 These people brought their fate upon themselves. If they had been put to death, even without the judgment of Sa'd, it would have been in consonance with the principles which then prevailed. But they had themselves chosen Sa'd as the sole arbiter and judge of their fate; they knew that his judgment was not at all contrary to the received notions, and accordingly never murmured. They knew that if they had succeeded they would have massacred their enemies without compunction. People judge of the massacres of King David according to the

2 In the original, of course, Israelites.
"lights of his time." Even the fearful slaughters committed by the Christians in primitive times are judged according to certain "lights." Why should not the defensive wars of the early Moslems be looked at from the same standpoint? But, whatever the point of view, an unprejudiced mind will perceive that no blame can possibly attach to the Prophet in the execution of the Bani-Kuraizha.

The number of men executed could not have been more than 200 or 250.

In the distribution of the surviving people, it is said, a young Jewess of the name of Raihâna was allotted to the Prophet. Some say she was previously set apart. The Christian historians, always ready to seize upon any point which to their mind offers a plausible ground for attacking Mohammed, have not failed to make capital of this story. Leaving the examination of the question of slavery to a later chapter, we will here only observe that the allotment of Raihâna, even if true, furnishes no ground for modern attack, as it was perfectly consonant with the customs of war recognised in those days. The story about Raihâna becoming a wife of the Prophet is a fabrication, for, after this event, she disappears from history and we hear no more of her, whilst of others we have full and circumstantial accounts.

1 2 Sam viii 2. "The conquered Ammonites he treated with even greater ferocity, tearing and hewing some of them in pieces with harrows, axes, and saws, and roasting others in brick kilns" (ix. 31). Maitland, Jewish Literature and Modern Education, p 21. Compare also Stanley's Lectures on the Jewish Church, vol ii p 99.

I can only remember M. Barthélemy St. Hilaire, Mr. Johnson, and Mr. Stanley Lane Poole among Europeans who have not been carried away by prejudice.
CHAPTER VI

MOHAMMED'S CLEMENCY

...the formidable coalition formed by the Jews and the idolaters to compass the destruction of the new commonwealth of Medina had utterly failed, well might the Moslems say, miraculously. But the surrounding tribes of the desert, wild and fierce, were committing depredations, accompanied with murders, on the Medinite territories and the existence of the State required the employment of stern measures for their repression. Several expeditions were despatched against these marauders, but the slippery sons of the desert generally evaded the approach of the Moslems. The Bani-Lihyân, who had requested Mohammed to send a few of his disciples among them to teach the precepts of Islâm, and who, on the arrival of the missionaries, had killed some and sold the rest to the Meccans,—had, up to this period, remained unpunished. But the time had come when this crime should be avenged. In the month of Jumâdî I. of this year, a body of troops, under the personal command of the Prophet, marched against the Bani-Lihyân. The marauders, however, receiving timely notice of the Prophet's approach, fled into the mountains, and the Moslems returned to Medina without having accomplished their purpose.

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1 Comp. Koran, sura xxxiii. ver. 9
A few days had only elapsed when a chief of the Banu Fizâra, a branch of the nomad horde of Ghatafân (Khâib Ghatafân), suddenly fell upon the open suburbs of the city, and drove off a large herd of camels, murdering the man who had charge of them, and carrying off his wife. The Moslems were immediately on their track, and a few of the animals were recovered; but the Bedouins escaped into the desert with the larger portion of their booty.

It was about this time that the Prophet granted to the monks of the monastery of St. Catherine, near Mount Sinai, and to all Christians, a Charter which has been justly designated as one of the noblest monuments of enlightened tolerance that the history of the world can produce. This remarkable document, which has been faithfully preserved by the annalists of Islâm, displays a marvellous breadth of view and liberality of conception. By it the Prophet secured to the Christians privileges and immunities which they did not possess even under sovereigns of their own creed; and declared that any Moslem violating and abusing what was therein ordered, should be regarded as a violater of God’s testament, a transgressor of His commandments, and a lighter of His faith. He undertook himself, and enjoined on his followers, to protect the Christians, to defend their churches, the residences of their priests, and to guard them from all injuries. They were not to be unfairly taxed; no bishop was to be driven out of his bishopric; no Christian was to be forced to reject his religion; no monk was to be expelled from his monastery; no pilgrim was to be detained from his pilgrimage. Nor were the Christian churches to be pulled down for the sake of building mosque or houses for the Moslems. Christian women married to Moslems were to enjoy their own religion, and not to be subjected to compulsion or annoyance of any kind on that account. If Christians should stand in need of assistance for the repair of their churches or monasteries, or any other matter pertaining to their religion, the Moslems were to assist them. This was not to be considered as taking part in their religion but as merely rendering them assistance in their need, an complying with the ordinances of the Prophet which were made in their favour by the authority of God and of His Apostle.
Should the Moslems be engaged in hostilities with outside Christians, no Christian resident among the Moslems should be treated with contempt on account of his creed. Any Moslem so treating a Christian should be accounted recalcitrant to the Prophet.

Man always attaches an idea of greatness to the character of a person who, whilst possessing the power of returning evil for evil, not only preaches but practises the divine principle of forgiveness. Mohammed, as the chief of the State and guardian of the life and liberty of the people, in the exercise of justice sternly punished every individual guilty of crime. Mohammed the Prophet, the Teacher, was gentle and merciful even to his greatest enemies. In him were combined the highest attributes that the human mind can conceive—justice and mercy.

A chief of the tribe of Hanifa, named Thumâma, son of Uthâl, was taken prisoner by the Moslems in one of their expeditions against the unruly Arabs of the desert. He was brought to Medina, where he was so affected by the kindness of the Prophet, that from an enemy he soon became the most devoted follower. Returning to his people he stopped the transport to Mecca of provisions from Yemâma, and this stoppage by Thumâma reduced the Meccans to the direst straits. Failing to move the Hanafites, they at last addressed themselves to Mohammed, and besought him to intercede for them. The Prophet's heart was touched with pity, and he requested Thumâma to allow them to have whatever they wanted; and at his word the convoys were again permitted to reach Mecca.

Endless instances might be cited of Mohammed's merciful nature. We will, however, only instance two. A daughter of his—a beloved child—was, after the treaty of Hudaibiya, fleeing from Mecca. She was far advanced in pregnancy, and as she was mounting her camel, a Koreish named Habrâr, with characteristic ferocity, drove the butt end of his lance against her, throwing her to the ground, and eventually causing her death. On the conquest of Mecca, the murderer was proscribed. After hiding for some time he presented himself before the Prophet, and threw himself on the mercy of the bereaved father. The wrong was great; the crime was
atrocious—but the injury was personal. The man was to all appearance sincere in his penitence and the profession of the Faith. Pardon was unconditionally granted. The Jewess who attempted his life at Khubar, and Ikrima, the son of Abū Jahl, who was bitterly personal in his animosity towards the Prophet, were freely forgiven.

A tribe of Christian Bedouins (the Bani-Kalb), settled about Dūmat ul-Jandal, had, in their depredations, appeared on the Medinite territories. An expedition was now despatched to summon them to embrace Islam and forego their lawless practices. Whilst delivering his injunctions to the captain who headed this small force, Mohammed used the memorable words, "In no case shalt thou use deceit or perfidy, nor shalt thou kill any child." 1

In his instructions to the leaders of the expeditions against marauding and hostile tribes and people, he invariably enjoined them in peremptory terms never to injure the weak. "In avenging the injuries inflicted upon us," he said to his troops, whom he despatched against the Byzantines, "molest not the harmless inmates of domestic seclusion; spare the weakness of the female sex; injure not the infant at the breast, or those who are ill in bed. Abstain from demolishing the dwellings of the unresisting inhabitants; destroy not the means of their subsistence, nor their fruit trees; and touch not the palm.' Abū Bakr, following his master, thus enjoined his captain. "O Yezīd! be sure you do not oppress your own people, nor make them uneasy, but advise with them in all your affairs, and take care to do that which is right and just; for those that do otherwise shall not prosper. When you meet your enemies quit yourselves like men, and do not turn your backs; and if you gain the victory, kill not little children, nor old people, nor women. Destroy no palm trees, nor burn any fields of corn. Cut down no fruit trees, nor do any mischief to cattle, only such

1 Ibn Hishām, p 992. Compare these injunctions of the Arabian Prophet as also the historic words of Abū Bakr (the first Caliph) to Yezīd bin Abū Sufiān, when despatching him against the Byzantines, with the commands of the Israēlite Prophet. "Thus saith the Lord of Hosts... Now go and smite Amalek, and utterly destroy all that they have, and spare them not; but slay both man and woman, infant and suckling, ox and sheep, camel and ass," I. Sam. xv 3. "Slay utterly old and young, both maids, and little children, and women" Ezek. ix. 6.
as you kill for the necessity of subsistence. When you make any covenant or article, stand to it, and be as good as your word. As you go on, you will find some religious persons that live retired in monasteries, who propose to themselves to serve God that way. Let them alone, and neither kill them nor destroy their monasteries." ¹ These injunctions contrast strangely with the fearful denunciations of the Christians, Catholic, Protestant and Greek, from the days of St. Lactantius to those of the Covenanters.² The followers of the "Prince of Peace" burnt and ravished, pillaged and murdered promiscuously, old and young, male and female, without compunction, up to recent times. And his vicegerents on earth, popes and patriarchs, bishops, priests, and presbyters, approved of their crimes, and frequently granted plenary absolution for the most heinous offences.

In the month of Sha'bān of this year (November-December, 627) an expedition was directed against the Bani-Mustalik. These people had up to this time been on friendly terms with the Moslems. But, recently, instigated by their chief Hārith, the son of Abū Zirār,³ they had thrown off their allegiance, and committed forays on the suburbs of Medina. The expedition was entirely successful, and several prisoners were taken, amongst whom was a daughter of Hārith, called Juwairiya.

Six years had now passed since the exiles of Mecca had left their homes and their country for the sake of their faith, and of him who had infused into them a new consciousness such as they had never felt before, awakening in them the spirit of union, love, and brotherhood. People flocked from every part of Arabia to listen to the words of the wondrous man who had achieved all this; to ask his counsel in the affairs of everyday life, even as the sons of Israel consulted of old the prophet Samuel.⁴

¹ Compare Mill’s History of Muhammadanism, pp 45, 46, and Gagnier, Vie de Mahomet, in loco
² The massacre of 5000 Chinese men, women and children at Blagovestchenk in Manchuria in the twentieth century by the troops of a great Christian power needs no mention.
³ With a ḥadd; Ibn-Hishām, p 725, Ibn ul-Athīr, vol. ii p. 146
⁴ Stanley’s Lectures on the Jewish Church, vol. i in loco.
But the hearts of these exiles still yearned sadly for the place of their birth. Driven from their homes, they had found refuge in a rival city; expelled from the precincts of the sacred Kaaba, which formed the glorious centre of all their associations,—the one spot round which gathered the history of their nation,—for six years had they been denied the pilgrimage of the holy shrine, a custom round which time, with its hoary traditions, had cast the halo of sanctity. The Teacher himself longed to see the place of his nativity with as great a yearning. The temple of the Kaaba belonged to the whole Arab nation. The Koreish were merely the custodians of this shrine, and were not authorised by the public law of the country to interdict the approach even of an enemy, if he presented himself without any hostile design, and with the avowed object of fulfilling a religious duty.¹

The season of the pilgrimage had approached; the Prophet accordingly announced his intention of visiting the holy places. At once a thousand voices responded to the call. Preparations were rapidly made, and, accompanied by seven hundred Moslems, Ansâr and Muhâjirîn, all perfectly unarmed, he set out on the pilgrimage.² The animosity of the Koreish, however, was not yet extinguished.³ They posted themselves, with a large army, some miles in advance of Mecca, to bar the way, but soon after fell back on the city, in order to keep every point of access closed to the Moslems. They swore solemnly not to allow the followers of the Prophet to enter the shrine, and maltreated the envoy who was sent to them to solicit permission to visit the Kaaba. A body of the Meccans went round the Prophet’s encampment with the avowed object of killing any unwary Moslem who might leave the camp. They even attacked the Prophet with stones and arrows.⁴ Finding

¹ Tabari, vol iii p 84; Caussin de Perceval, vol iii pp. 174, 175 et seq.
³ When some of these men were seized and brought before the Prophet, he pardoned and released them, Ibn-Hishâm, p 745. It was on this occasion that the Moslems took the pledge, called “The Agreeable Pledge” (Bâ’î al-ar-Rašîdîn), or “The Pledge of the Tree” (Bâ’î al-usb-Shajara). Osmân being sent to the Koreish to repeat the request for permission, they seized and detained him. The Moslems, fearful of his murder, flocked round Mohammed, and solemnly swore to avenge his death. Ibn-Hishâm, p 746, Koran, sura xlvi. ver. 17; comp. also Muir, vol. iv. p. 32.
the idolaters immovable, and wishful himself to end the state of warfare between the Moslems and the Koreish, Mohammed expressed himself willing to agree to any terms the Meccans might feel inclined to impose. After much difficulty a treaty was concluded, by which it was agreed that all hostilities should cease for ten years; that anyone coming from the Koreish to the Prophet without the permission of the guardian or chief, should be re-delivered to the idolaters; that any individual from among the Moslems going over to the Meccans should not be surrendered; that any tribe desirous of entering into alliance, either with the Koreish or with the Moslems, should be at liberty to do so without hindrance; that the Moslems should retrace their steps on this occasion, without advancing farther; that they should be permitted in the following year to visit Mecca and to remain there for three days with their travelling arms, namely, their "scimitars in sheaths."  

The moderation and magnanimity displayed by Mohammed in concluding this treaty caused some discontent among the more impulsive of his followers, in whose hearts the injuries and cruelties inflicted by the Koreish yet rankled. In virtue of the third stipulation of the treaty, by which the Moslems bound themselves to surrender every idolater who came over to their cause without the permission of their patron or chief, the Koreish demanded the surrender of several of the Prophet's disciples; and their demand was immediately complied with by Mohammed, in spite of the murmurs of some of the Moslems.  

On his return to Medina, Mohammed, in pursuance of the catholic wish by which he was inspired, that his religion should

1 I.e. the Silah ur-râhib; Ibn-Hishâm, p 747; Ibn ul-Athîr, vol ii. p. 156; Mishkât, bk xvii. chap 10, part 1. It was on the occasion of this peace that a Koreishite envoy who was sent to the Moslem encampment, struck with the profound reverence and love shown to the Prophet by his followers, on his return to the Koreish, told them they had seen sovereigns like the Chosroes (Kesrâ), the Cæsar (Kaiser), and the Negus (Nâjâsh), surrounded with all the pomp and circumstance of royalty, but he had never witnessed a sovereign in the midst of his subjects receiving such veneration and obedience as was paid to Mohammed by his people; Ibn-Hishâm, p 745; Ibn ul-Athîr, vol ii. p. 154; Tabarî, vol iii p 87; and Abûlfeâdâ, p 61.  

As women were not included in the treaty, the demand of the idolaters for the surrender of the female Moslems was peremptorily declined.
embrace all humanity,\textsuperscript{1} despatched several envoys to invite the neighbouring sovereigns and their subjects to drink of the cup of life offered to them by the Preacher of Islâm. Two of the most noted embassies were to Heraclius, the Emperor of the Greeks, and to Khusru Parviz, the Ksrā of Persia. The King of Kings was amazed at the audacity of the fugitive of Mecca in addressing him, the great Chosroes, on terms of equality, and enraged at what he considered the insolence of the letter, tore it to pieces, and drove the envoy from his presence with contumely. When the news of this treatment was brought to the Prophet, he quietly observed, "Thus will the empire of Ksrâ be torn to pieces."\textsuperscript{2} The fulfilment of the prophecy is engraved on the pages of history. Heraclius, more polite or more reverential, treated the messenger with great respect, and returned a gracious and careful reply. Before, however, leaving Syria he tried to acquaint himself better with the character of the man who had sent him the message. With this object he is said to have summoned to his presence some Arab merchants who had arrived at Gaza with a caravan from Arabia. Among them was the notorious Abû Sufiān, still one of the bitterest enemies of the Prophet. The Greek emperor appears to have questioned him with regard to Mohammed, and his replies, as preserved in the traditions, are almost identical with the summary which Ja'far gave to the Negus of the teachings of Mohammed: "What are the doctrines Mohammed advances?" asked Heraclius of Abû Sufiān. "He bids us abandon the worship of our ancient idols and to adore one God; to bestow alms to observe truth and purity; to abstain from fornication and vice, and to flee abominations." Asked if his followers were increasing in number, or if they were falling off, the reply was, "his adherents are increasing incessantly, and there has not been one who has forsaken him."

Another ambassador sent soon afterwards to the Ghassanide prince, a feudatory of Heraclius, residing at Busra, near Damascus, instead of receiving the reverence and respect due to an envoy, was cruelly murdered by another chief of the

\textsuperscript{1} Koran, sura vii. vers 157, 158
\textsuperscript{2} Ibn ul-Athir, vol ii. pp. 163, 164.
same family, and Ameer of a Christian tribe subject to Byzantium. This wanton outrage on international obligations became eventually the cause of that war which placed Islam in conflict with the whole of Christendom. But of this we shall treat later.
CHAPTER VII

THE DIFFUSION OF THE FAITH

في ما تطأرب أمام العبدمات اليه - ما وفوه من كرم الاخلاق و السليم

The Jewish tribes, in spite of the reverses they had already suffered were still formidable,—still busy with their machinations to work the destruction of the Moslems. They possessed, at the distance of three or four days' journey to the north-east of Medina, a strongly fortified territory, studded with castles, the principal of which, called al-Kamûs, was situated on an almost inaccessible hill. This group of fortresses was called Khaibar, a word signifying a fortified place. The population of Khaibar included several branches of the Banî-Nazîr and the Kuraizha, who had taken refuge there. The Jews of Khaibar had shown an active and implacable hatred towards Mohammed and his followers, and since the arrival of their brethren among them, this feeling had acquired greater force. The Jews of Khaibar united by an ancient alliance with the Bedouin horde of the Banî-Ghatafân, and other cognate tribes, worked incessantly for the formation of another coalition against the Moslems.¹ These latter were alive to the power possessed by the desert-races to injure them, and prompt measures were needed to avert the evils of another league against Medina. Accordingly, early in the month of Muharram of this year, an expedition, consisting of about 1400 men, was despatched against Khaibar. The Jews now solicited the assistance of their allies. The Banî-Fizâra hastened to their

support, but afraid of the Moslems turning their flank, and surprising their flocks and herds in their absence, speedily retreated. The Jews were thus left alone to bear the brunt of the war. Terms were offered to them by the Moslems, but were refused. In spite of the most determined resistance on the part of the Jews, fortress after fortress opened its gate. At last came the turn of the most formidable castle, al-Kamûs. After a spirited defence, it also fell into the hands of the Moslems. The fate of this, their principal fortress, brought the remaining Jewish townships to see the utter futility of further resistance. They sued for forgiveness, which was accorded. Their lands and immovable property were guaranteed to them (on condition of good conduct), together with the free practice of their religion; and, as they were exempt from the regular taxes, the Prophet imposed upon them the duty of paying to the Commonwealth, in return for the protection they would thenceforth enjoy, half the produce of the land. The movable property found in the fortress was sold. The reign of religious toleration and the peace, and some of their chief men had been among the idolaters. This exception of a slight resistance by Ikrîma, assassinated it med, the head of their respective clans, in which number of were killed, Mohammed entered Mecca after losses incurred pilgrimage. Thus, at length, Mohammed entered Mecca. When every loss is reckoned as one in part members of the immediately by his immediately the blessings at the Prophet, who overawed and various others who

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1 Ibn ul-Athîr, vol ii p 292.
2 Koran, sura ex., comp. Zefir, 490, 491. The verse is given with the tâl. (taal).
4 See Hawâzin, the Thakîf, in the Kashshâf. Egypt ed., pt ii of Chapter ix, post.
5 Erceval, vol ii, p 234.
Lesser Pilgrimage—rites which every pilgrim of Islâm has now to observe. The Koreish would, however, have nothing to say to the pilgrims, and hold no converse with them. For the three days during which the ceremonies lasted, they evacuated the city, and from the summits of the neighbouring heights watched the Moslems performing the rites. "It was surely a strange sight," says Muir, with an unconscious thrill, "which at this time presented itself in the vale of Mekka,—a sight unique in the history of the world. The ancient city is for three days evacuated by all its inhabitants, high and low, every house deserted; and, as they retire, the exiled converts, many years banished from their birthplace, approach in a great body, accompanied by their allies, revisit the empty homes of their childhood, and within the short allotted space, fulfil the rites of pilgrimage. The outside inhabitants, climbing the heights around, take refuge under tents, or other shelter among the hills and glens; and ions to work the overhanging peak of Aboo-Kubeys, the possed, at the distance's of the visitors days' journey to the north-east byv make the strongly fortified territory, studded with between the principal of which, called al-Kamûs, are if situated on an almost inaccessible hill. This group of fort, some was called Khaibar, a word signifying a fortified place, possible population of Khaibar included several branches of the tstrict Nazîr and the Kuraizha, who had taken refuge there. after Jews of Khaibar had shown an active and implacable hatdaytowards Mohammed and his followers, and since the arrivals their brethren among them, this feeling had acquired grealous force. The Jews of Khaibar united by an ancient alliance writers the Bedouin horde of the Bani-Ghatafân, and other cognate tribes, worked incessantly for the formation of another coalition against the Moslems.¹ These latter were alive to the power possessed by the desert-races to injure them, and prompt measures were needed to avert the evils of another league against Medina. Accordingly, early in the month of Muharrar of this year, an expedition, consisting of about 1400 men, w despatched against Khaibar. The Jews now solicited assistance of their allies. The Bani-Fizâra hastened to thv a.

The murder of the Moslem envoy by a feudatory 1 of the Greek emperor was an outrage which could not be passed over in silence, and unpunished. An expedition, consisting of three thousand men, was despatched to exact reparation from the Ghassanide prince. The lieutenants of the Byzantine emperor, instead of disavowing the crime, adopted it, and thus made the sequel an imperial one. Uniting their forces, they attacked the Moslems near Mūta, a village not far from Balkā in Syria, the scene of the murder. The Byzantines and their allies were routed, but the disparity of numbers was too great, and the Moslems retreated to Medina 2.

It was about this time that the Koreish and their allies the Bani-Bakr, in violation of the terms of peace concluded at Idabiyah, attacked the Bani-Khuzā'a, who were under the protection of, and in alliance with, the Moslems. They assailed a number of the Khuzā'a, and dispersed the rest. The Banū-Khuzā'a brought their complaints to Mohammed, who asked for justice. The reign of iniquity and oppression lasted long at Mecca. The Meccans had themselves violated the peace, and some of their chief men had taken part in the massacre of the Khuzā'a. The Prophet immediately executed it. He archet ten thousand men against the idolaters.

The number of exception of a slight resistance by Ikrīma, 3 and the losses incurred by the head of their respective clans, in which were killed, Mohammed entered Mecca after having received the remainder of the money he was once a fugitive and persecuted. Members of the 'Abbasid clan, among every heart, says the chronicler, by his gracious mercy, and benevolence. Carrying with him the blessings which he had bestowed on the whole people, he returned to the Prophet, who overcame him with thanks and praises. 4

The formidable Bedouin tribes, the Hawâzin, the Thakīf, and various others who pastured their flocks on the territories

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2 Koran, sura cx, comp. Zamakhsari (the Kasha'd), Egypt ed., pt ii, p. 490, 491. The verse is given at the head of Chapter IX post
3 Ishq With a g (tāh)
4 With a j (zā)
outrages upon inoffensive men and women, and even upon the lifeless dead, were now completely at his mercy. But in the hour of triumph every evil suffered was forgotten, every injury inflicted was forgiven, and a general amnesty was extended to the population of Mecca. Only four criminals, whom justice condemned," made up Mohammed's proscription list when he entered as a conqueror the city of his bitterest enemies. The army followed his example, and entered gently and peaceably; no house was robbed, no woman was insulted. Most truly has it been said that through all the annals of conquest, there has been no triumphant entry like unto this one. But the idols of the nation were unrelentingly struck down. Sorrowfully the idolaters stood round and watched the downfall of the images they worshipped. And then dawned upon them the truth, when they heard the old voice, at which they were wont to scoff and jeer, cry, as he struck down the idols, "Truth has come, and falsehood vanishes; verily, falsehood is evanescent," how utterly powerless were theirs.

A'shūr, destroying these ancient idols and abolishing the custom, Mohammed delivered a sermon to the assembly which he dwelt first upon the natural equality and brotherhood of the races. He was called Kūsa. "Descendants of Koreish, how do you bear the population of Kūsa towards you?" "With kindness and love," replied they. At these words, the Jews of Khāibar had into the eyes of the Prophet Joseph, as they arrived among them, the Bedouin horde of the Bani-Ghāfān, and other cognate tribes, worked incessantly for the formation of another coalition against the Moslems. These latter were alive to the power possessed by the desert-races to injure them, and prompt measures were needed to avert the evils of another league against Medina. Accordingly, early in the month of Muharram of this year, an expedition, consisting of about 1,400 men, was despatched against Khāibar. The Jews now solicited the assistance of their allies. The Bani-Fizāra hastened to their aid.

commit larceny, adultery, or infanticide; they would not utter falsehood, nor speak evil of women.”

Thus were the words of the Koranic prophecy fulfilled, “When arrives victory and assistance from God, and seest thou men enter in hosts the religion of God, then utter the praise of thy Lord, and implore His pardon; for He loveth to turn in mercy (to those who seek Him).” Mohammed now saw his Mission all but completed. His principal disciples were despatched in every direction to call the wild tribes of the desert to Islam, and with strict injunctions to preach peace and good-will. Only in case of violence were they to defend themselves. These injunctions were loyally obeyed with one exception. The men of Khâlid bin-Walid, under the orders of this fierce and newly-converted warrior, killed a few of the Bani Jazîma Bedouins, apparently mistaking them for hostile soldiers; but the other Moslems interfering, prevented further sacrifice. The news of this wanton bloodshed deeply grieved the Prophet, and he cried, raising his hands towards heaven, “O Lord! I am innocent of what Khâlid has done.” He immediately despatched Ali to make every possible reparation to the Bani Jazîma for the outrage committed on them. This was a mission congenial to Ali’s nature, and he executed it faithfully. He made careful inquiries as to the number of persons killed by Khâlid, their status, and the losses incurred by their families, and paid the Diyât strictly. When every loss was made good, he distributed the remainder of the money he had brought among the kinsmen of the victims and other members of the tribe, gladdening every heart, says the chronicler, by his gentleness and benevolence. Carrying with him the blessings of the whole people, he returned to the Prophet, who overwhelmed him with thanks and praises.

The formidable Bedouin tribes, the Hawâzin, the Thakîf, and various others who pastured their flocks on the territories

2 Koran, sura cx., comp. Zamakhshâri (the Kashshâf), Egypt ed., pt. ii. 9a 490, 491. The verse is given at the head of Chapter ix. post
3 With a أدل (adl)
5 With a ﷕ (ta)
bordering Mecca, and some of whom possessed strongly fortified towns like Tāyef, unwilling to render obedience to the Moslems without resistance, formed a league, with the intention of overwhelming Mohammed before he could make preparations to repulse their attack. His vigilance, however, disappointed them. After a well-contested battle fought near Hunain, a deep and narrow defile about ten miles to the north-east of Mecca,¹ the idolaters were defeated with great loss.² Separating their forces, one body of the enemy, consisting principally of the Thakif, took refuge in their city of Tāyef, which only eight or nine years before had driven the Prophet from within its walls with insults; the rest fled to a fortified camp in the valley of the Autās. This was forced, and the families of the Hawāzin, with all their worldly effects,—their flocks and herds,—fell into the hands of the Moslems. Tāyef was then besieged, but after a few days Mohammed raised the siege, well knowing that the pressure of circumstances would soon force the Tāyefites to submit without bloodshed. Returning to the place where the captured Hawāzin were left for safety, he found a deputation from this powerful tribe awaiting his return to solicit the restoration of their families. Aware of the sensitiveness of the Arab nature regarding their rights, Mohammed reproved the Bedouin deputies that he could not force his people to abandon all the fruits of their victory, and that they must at least forfeit their effects if they would regain their families. To this they consented, and the following day, when Mohammed was offering the mid-day prayers,³ with his disciples ranged behind him, they came and repeated the request "We supplicate the Prophet to intercede with the Moslems, and the Moslems to intercede with the Prophet, to restore us our women and children." Mohammed replied to the deputies, "My own share in the captives, and that of the children of Abd ul-

¹ Cauvin de Perceval, vol. ii p 248; in the Kāmūs, Hunain is merely said to be on the road from Mecca to Tāyef. In the Mu'jam al-Buldān the distance between Mecca and Hunain (lying to the south of Zu'il Majāz) is given as three nights' journey, vol. ii p 35

² This battle is referred to in the Koran, sura ix, vers. 25, 26, Ibn-Hishām, p. 840, Ibn ul-Athir, vol. ii pp. 200, 201

³ Tabari says morning prayer, vol. iii, p. 155
T HE DIFFUSION OF THE FAITH

Muttalib, I give you back at once." His disciples, catching his spirit, instantaneously followed his example, and six thousand people were in a moment set free.1 This generosity won the hearts of many of the Thakif,2 who tendered their allegiance, and became earnest Moslems. The incident which followed after the distribution of the forfeited flocks and herds of the Hawâzin, shows not only the hold the Prophet had over the hearts of the Medinites, and the devotion he inspired them with, but it also proves that at no period of his career had he any material reward to offer to his disciples. In the division of the spoil a larger proportion fell to the share of the newly-converted Meccans than to the people of Medina. Some of the Ansâr looked upon this as an act of partiality, and their discontent reaching the ear of the Prophet, he ordered them to be assembled. He then addressed them in these words: "Ye Ansâr, I have learnt the discourse ye hold among yourselves. When I came amongst you, you were wandering in darkness, and the Lord gave you the right direction; you were suffering, and He made you happy; at enmity amongst yourselves, and He has filled your hearts with brotherly love and concord. Was it not so, tell me?" "Indeed, it is even as thou sayest," was the reply; "to the Lord and His Prophet belong benevolence and grace" "Nay, by the Lord," continued the Prophet, "but ye might have answered, and answered truly, for I would have testified to its truth myself. 'Thou camest to us rejected as an impostor, and we believed in thee; thou camest as a helpless fugitive, and we assisted thee poor, and an outcast, and we gave thee an asylum, comfortless, and we solaced thee.' Ye Ansâr, why disturb your hearts because of the things of this life? Are ye not satisfied that others should obtain the flocks and the camels, while ye go back unto your homes with me in your midst? By Him who holds my life in His hands, I shall never abandon you. If all mankind went one way and the

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2 The people of Tayef were so called. The story told by Muir (vol IV p. 149), as a curious illustration of the Prophet's mode of life, is apocryphal. It must be remembered, firstly, that the division of the booty had not taken place, and consequently the Prophet could not have given away as gift part of his own share, but thus he had promised to the deputies before the division to restore to the Hawâzin. The story is a fabrication, and utterly worthless.
Ansâr another, verily I would join the Ansâr. The Lord be favourable unto them, and bless them, and their children, and their children's children!" At these words, says the chronicler, they all wept until the tears ran down upon their beards. And they all cried with one voice, "Yea, Prophet of God, we are well satisfied with our share." Thereupon they retired happy and contented.¹

Mohammed soon after returned to Medina.

¹ Ibn-Hishâm, p. 886; Ibn ul-Athîr, vol ii p. 268; Abûlefâdâ, p. 82.
CHAPTER VIII

THE YEAR OF DEPUTATIONS

\[\text{Kasidâl-ul-Burda.}\]

\[\text{Rânaí Suád.}\]

The ninth year of the Hegira was noted for the embassies which flocked into Medina to render homage to the Prophet of Islam. The cloud which so long had rested over this land, with its wild chivalry, its blood-feuds, and its heathenism, is now lifted for ever. The age of barbarism is past.

The conquest of Mecca decided the fate of idolatry in Arabia. The people, who still regarded with veneration those beautiful moon-goddesses, Manût, Lât, and 'Uzzâ, and their peculiar cult, were painfully awakened by the fall of its stronghold. Among the wild denizens of the desert the moral effect of the submission of the Meccans was great. Deputations began to arrive
from all sides to tender the allegiance and adherence of tribes hitherto most inimical to the Moslems. The principal companions of the Prophet, and the leading citizens of Medina, at his request, received these envoys in their houses, and entertained them with the time-honoured hospitality of the Arabs. On departure, they always received an ample sum for the expenses of the road, with some additional presents, corresponding to their rank. A written treaty, guaranteeing the privileges of the tribe, was often granted, and a teacher invariably accompanied the departing guests to instruct the newly-converted people in the duties of Islam, and to see that every remnant of idolatry was obliterated from their midst.

Whilst thus engaged in consolidating the tribes of Arabia under the new gospel, the great Seer was alive to the dangers which threatened the new confederation from outside.

The Byzantines seem about this time to have indulged in those dreams of Arabian conquests which had, once before, induced the founder of the Roman Empire to despatch expeditions into that country. Heraclius had returned to his dominions elated by his victories over the Persians. His political vision could not have been blind to the strange events which were taking place in Arabia, and he had probably not forgotten the repulse of his lieutenants, at the head of a large army, by a handful of Arabs. During his stay in Syria he had directed his feudatories to collect an overwhelming force for the invasion of Arabia. The news of these preparations was soon brought to Medina, and caused some consternation among the Moslems. If the report was true it meant a serious danger to the Islamic commonwealth. Volunteers were summoned from all quarters to repel the threatened attack. Unfortunately, a severe drought had lately afflicted Hijaz and Najd; the date crops had been ruined, and the beasts of burden had died in large numbers; and the country people at large were unwilling to engage at this juncture on an expedition far from their homes. To some, the time of the year seemed unseasonable; whilst the intensity of the heat, the hardships of the journey and the marvellous stories regarding the power of ti

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2 I allude to the expedition of Aelius Gallus under Augustu
Byzantine empire added largely to the fears of the timorous. Many applied to be exempted from service; and the Prophet acceded to the prayers of those who were either too weak or too poor to take up arms or leave their homes, and such others as had no one besides themselves to look after their families.  

The unwillingness of the lukewarm was aggravated by the machinations of the Munāṣṣikin, who spared no endeavours to fan it into discontent. The example, however, of the principal disciples and other sincere followers of the Faith, infused vitality into the hearts of the timorous, and shamed the backsliders into enthusiasm which soon spread among the people. Contributions poured in from all sides. Abū Bakr offered all he possessed towards the expenses of the expedition; Osmān equipped and supplied at his own expense a large body of volunteers, and the other prominent and affluent Moslems were equally generous. The women brought their ornaments and jewellery and besought the Prophet to accept the same for the needs of the State. A sufficient force was eventually collected, and accompanied by the Prophet the volunteers marched towards the frontier.

During his absence from Medina the Prophet left Ali in charge of the city. The Munāṣṣikin, with Abdullah ibn-Ubayy, had proceeded with the army as far as "the Mount of Farewell," but they quietly fell back from there and returned to the city. Here they spread the report that the Prophet had not taken his cousin with him as he was apprehensive of the dangers of the expedition. Stung by the malicious rumour, Ali seized his arms and hastened after the army. Overtaking the troops, he told the Prophet what he had heard. Mohammed pronounced

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1 These were called the al-Bakhāḍūn, the Weepers, as they were distressed by their inability to join in the sacred enterprise of repelling a dangerous enemy.—Ibn Hishām, p 791, al-Halālīn, Insān al-'Uyūn, vol iii p 75

2 The machinations of the Disaffected are censured in Sura IX, v 82. These secret conspirators had for their rendezvous the house of a Jew named Suwailim near the suburb of Jāfūm. This house was ultimately turned to the ground. It was at this time that the great Teacher made the prophecy that there will always be Munāṣṣikin in Islam to thwart the endeavours of the true followers of the Faith to do good to their people.

3 It was called the fasḥ al-'asr, "the army of distress," owing to the difficulties with which it was collected. Ibn Hishām, p 795

4 Thīnāt ul-Wadā' with a ت, Mu'jam ul-Buldān, vol i, p 937.
it to be a base calumny. "I have appointed thee my Vice-
gerent (Khalîfa) and left thee in my stead. Return then to
thy post, and be my deputy over my people and thine. O Ali,
art thou not content that thou art to me what Aaron was to
Moses." Ali accordingly returned to Medina.

The sufferings of the troops from heat and thirst were
intense. After a long and painful march they reached Tabûk,
a place situated midway between Medina and Damascus, where
they halted. Here they learnt to their amazement, and
perhaps to their relief, that the apprehended attack was a
Grecian dream, and that the emperor had his hands full at
home. Finding, therefore, nothing at the moment to threaten
the safety of the Medinite commonwealth, the Prophet ordered
the Moslems to retrace their steps. After a sojourn of twenty
days at Tabûk, where they found abundance of water for them-
selves and forage for their famished beasts of burden, the
Moslems returned to Medina in the mouth of Ramazân.

The Prophet’s return to Medina was signalled by the arrival
of a deputation from the refractory and hard-hearted idolaters
of Tâyef, the very people who had driven the poor Preacher
from their midst with insults and violence. ‘Orwa, the Tâyefite
chief, who had been to Mecca after the Hudaibiya incident as
the Koreishite envoy, was so impressed with the words of the
Teacher and his kindness, that shortly after the accomplish-
ment of his mission he had come to the Prophet and embraced
his religion. Though repeatedly warned by Mohammed of the
dangers he ran among the bigoted of his city, he hastened back
to Tâyef to proclaim his abjuration of idolatry, and to invite

\[\text{Ibn-Hîshâm}\]

p. 897.

According to the Shâhs, the Prophet distinctly indicated in these words
that Ali should be his successor.

3 According to C. de Perceval, middle of December 640. Chapter iv.
of the Koran treats vividly of these events. At Tabûk Mohammed received
the submission of many of the neighbouring chiefs; Ibn ul-Athîr, vol. ii.
p. 215.
his fellow-citizens to share in the blessings imparted by the new Faith. Arriving in the evening, he made public his conversion and called upon the people to join him. The following morning he again addressed them; but his words roused the priests and worshippers of 'Uzza into frenzy, and they literally stoned him to death. With his dying breath he said he had offered up his blood unto his Master for the good of his people, and he thanked God for the honour of martyrdom, and as a last wish prayed his friends to bury him by the side of the Moslems who had fallen at Hunam. The dying words of 'Orwa had a greater effect upon his compatriots than all his endeavours whilst living. The martyr’s blood blossomed into faith in the hearts of his murderers. Seized with sudden compunction, perhaps also wearying of their hostility with the tribes of the desert, the Tâyeftes sent the deputation to which we have referred above, to pray for forgiveness and permission to enter the circle of Islâm. They begged, however, for a short respite for their idols. First they asked two years, then one year, and then six months, but all to no purpose. The grace of one month might surely be conceded, they argued as a last appeal. Mohammed was immovable. Islâm and the idols could not exist together. They then begged for exemption from the daily prayers. Mohammed replied that without devotion religion could be nothing. Sorrowfully, at last, they submitted to all that was required of them. They were excused, however, from destroying the idols with their own hands, and the notorious Abu Sufiân, the son of Harb, the father of the well-known Mu‘āwiyah, the Judas Iscariot of Islâm, one of those who have been stigmatised as the Mu’allaqat ul-Kulûb (the nominal believers) for they had adopted the Faith from policy, and Mughîrah, the nephew of ‘Orwa, were selected for that work. They executed their commission amidst uproarious cries of despair and grief from the women of Tâyeft.

2 Ibn ul-Athîr, vol. ii p. 217
3 Ibn-Hishâm, pp. 917, 918. Tabari, vol. iii pp. 161-163. The great number of deputations received by Mohammed in the ninth year has led to it being called the “Year of Deputations”. (wafâd, pl. of wafa’d). The principal adhesions which followed immediately upon the conversion of the Thakif
The tribe of Tay had about this time proved recalcitrant, and their disaffection was fostered by the idolatrous priesthood. A small force was despatched under Ali to reduce them to obedience and to destroy their idols. 'Adî, the son of the famous Hâtim, whose generosity and munificence have been sung by poets and minstrels throughout the Eastern world, was the chief of his tribe. On the approach of Ali he fled to Syria; but his sister, with some of his principal clansmen, fell into the hands of the Moslems. They were conducted, with every mark of respect and sympathy, to Medina. Mohammed at once set the daughter of Hâtim and her people at liberty, and bestowed on them many valuable gifts. She proceeded to Syria, and told her brother of the nobleness of Mohammed. Touched by gratitude, 'Adî hastened to Medina to throw himself at the feet of the Prophet, and eventually embraced Islâm. Returning to his people, he persuaded them to abjure idolatry, and the Bani-Tay, once so wedded to fetishism, became thenceforth devoted followers of the religion of Mohammed.1

Another notable conversion which took place about the same time as that of the Bani-Tay is deserving of more than passing notice. Ka'b ibn-Zuhair, a distinguished poet of the tribe of Mozayna, had placed himself under the ban by trying to incite hostilities against the Moslems. His brother was a Moslem

were of the Illimani princes of Yemen, of Mahra, of Oman, of the country of the Bahrâm, and of the tribes domiciled in Yemâma

1 Ibn Hishâm, pp 948, 919. Ibn al-Athir, vol ii p 218. Insân al-Uyûn, vol iii p 234. The conversion of 'Adî occurred in Rabi'î of the ninth year (July August, 630 A.D.), and accordingly, ought to have been placed before the expedition to Tabûk. But I have followed the order of the Arab historians. When the daughter of Hâtim, whose name was Sufâna, came before the Prophet, she addressed him in the following words: "Apostle of God, my father is dead, my brother, my only relation, fled into the mountains on the approach of the Moslems. I cannot ransom myself, it is thy generosity which I implore for my deliverance. My father was an illustrious man, the prince of his tribe, a man who ransomed prisoners, protected the honour of women, nourished the poor, consoled the afflicted, never rejected any demand. I am Sufâna, daughter of Hâtim." "Thy father," answered Mohammed, "had the virtues of a Muslim," if it were permitted to me to invoke the mercy of God on any one whose life was passed in idolatry, I would pray to God for mercy for the soul of Hâtim." Then addressing the Moslems around him, he said: "The daughter of Hâtim is free, her father was a generous and humane man. God loves and rewards the merciful." And with Sufâna, all her people were set at liberty. The Persian poet Sa'di has some beautiful lines in the Bostân concerning this touching episode.
and had counselled him strongly to renounce idolatry and embrace Islām. Ka‘b, following the advice of his brother, came secretly to Medina, and proceeded to the mosque where Muḥammad was wont to preach. There he saw a man surrounded by Arabs listening to his words with the greatest veneration. He at once recognised the Prophet, and penetrating into the circle, said aloud, “Apostle of God, if I should bring before thee Ka‘b as a Musulman, would you pardon him?” “Yes,” answered Muḥammad. “It is I who am Ka‘b, the son of Zuhair.” Several people around the Prophet wanted leave to put him to death “No,” said the Prophet, “I have given him grace.” Ka‘b then begged permission to recite a Kasīda¹ (poem) which has always been considered a masterpiece of Arabic poetry. When he came to the lines quoted at the head of this chapter, the Prophet bestowed on the poet his own mantle, which was afterwards sold by his family to Mu‘āwiyyah for 40,000 dirhems, and, after passing into the hands of the Ommeyades and Abbasides, is now in the possession of the Ottoman Caliphs.²

Hitherto no prohibition had issued against the heathens entering the Ka‘ba, or performing their old idolatrous rites within its sacred precincts. It was now decided to put an end to this anomalous state, and remove once for all any possibility

¹ Called the Kasīda of Būnāt Su‘ād from the opening words of the poem, which begins with the prologue usual in Arabic Kasīdas. The poet tells his grief at the departure of Su‘ād (his beloved), she has left him, his heart is drooping, distracted and unhappy, following her train like a captive in chains. He praises her beauty, her sweet soft voice, her bright laughter, her winsome smile. The theme suddenly changes, and the poet reaches the climax when he bursts forth into a song of praise of his great subject. The language throughout is sonorous and affords a quality often wanting in the poems of later times, and the rhythmical swing and cadence are maintained, with extraordinary evenness, up to the last.

² “The Prophet is the torch which has lighted up the world, he is the sword of God for destroying ungodliness.”

³ Called the Khirka sharif (the Holy Mantle) which is taken out as the national standard in times of great emergency. The Kasīda of Būnāt Su‘ād, which is sometimes also called the Kasīdat ‘l Burda (the Kasīda of the Mantle), is different from the Kasīdat ‘l Burda of Abū Abdullah Muḥammad ibn Sa‘īd, who flourished in the reign of Malik Zāhr, which opens with the following lines...

For translation see Appendix
of a relapse into idolatry on the part of those upon whom the new and pure creed hung somewhat lightly. Accordingly, towards the end of this year, during the month of pilgrimage, Ali was commissioned to read a proclamation to the assembled multitudes, on the day of the great Sacrifice (Yeum-un-Nahr), which should strike straight at the heart of idolatry and the immoralities attendant upon it: "No idolater shall, after this year, perform the pilgrimage; no one shall make the circuit (of the temple) naked;¹ whoever hath a treaty with the Prophet, it shall continue binding till its termination; for the rest, four months are allowed to every man to return to his territories; after that there will exist no obligation on the Prophet, except towards those with whom treaties have been concluded."²

This "Declaration of Discharge," as it is styled by Moslem writers, was a manifestation of far-sighted wisdom on the part of the Prophet. It was impossible for the state of society and morals which then existed to continue; the idolaters mixing year after year with the Moslem pilgrims, if allowed to perform the lascivious and degrading ceremonies of their cult, would soon have undone what Mohammed had so laboriously accomplished. History had already seen another gifted, yet uncultured, branch of the same stock as the Arabs, settling amongst idolaters; their leaders had tried to preserve the worship of Jehovah by wholesale butcheries of the worshippers of Baal. They had failed miserably. The Israelites had not only succumbed under the evil influences which surrounded them, but had even surpassed those whom they at first despised in the practice of nameless abominations. Mohammed felt that any compromise with heathenism would nullify all his work. He accordingly adopted means seemingly harsh, but yet benignant in their ultimate tendency. The vast concourse who had listened to Ali returned to their homes, and before the following year was over the majority of them were Moslems.

¹ Alluding to a disgraceful custom of the idolatrous Arabs
CHAPTER IX

THE FULFILMENT OF MOHAMMED'S MISSION

During this year, as in the preceding, numerous embassies poured into Medina from every part of Arabia to testify to the adhesion of their chiefs and their tribes. To the teachers, whom Mohammed sent into the different provinces, he invariably gave the following injunctions: "Deal gently with the people, and be not harsh; cheer them, and contemn them not. And ye will meet with many people of the books who will question thee, what is the key to heaven? Reply to them (the key to heaven is) to testify to the truth of God, and to do good work." 3

The mission of Mohammed was now achieved. In the midst of a nation steeped in barbarism a Prophet had arisen "to rehearse unto them the signs of God to sanctify them, to teach them the scriptures and knowledge,—them who before had been in utter darkness." 4 He found them sunk in a degrading and sanguinary superstition; he inspired them with the belief in one sole God of truth and love. He saw them disunited,

1 In the tenth year of the Hegira took place the conversions of the remaining tribes of Yemen and of Hijāz. Then followed the conversions of the tribes of Ḥazramūt and Kinda.
2 Christians, Jews, and Zoroastrians.
3 Koran, sura lxii. vers. 2-5.
and engaged in perpetual war with each other; he united them by the ties of brotherhood and charity. From time immemorial, the Peninsula had been wrapped in absolute moral darkness. Spiritual life was utterly unknown. Neither Judaism nor Christianity had made any lasting impression on the Arab mind. The people were sunk in superstition, cruelty, and vice. Incest and the diabolical custom of female infanticide were common. The eldest son inherited his father’s widows, as property, with the rest of the estate. The worse than inhuman fathers buried alive their infant daughters; and this crime, which was most rife among the tribes of Koreish and Kinda, was regarded, as among the Hindu Rajpootts, a mark of pride. The idea of a future existence, and of retribution of good and evil, were, as motives of human action, practically unknown. Only a few years before, such was the condition of Arabia. What a change had these few years witnessed! The angel of heaven had veritably passed over the land, and breathed harmony and love into the hearts of those who had hitherto been engrossed in the most revolting practices of semi-barbarism. What had once been a moral desert, where all laws, human and divine, were contemned and infringed without remorse, was now transformed into a garden. Idolatry, with its nameless abominations, was utterly destroyed. Islâm furnishes the only solitary example of a great religion which though preached among a nation and reigning for the most part among a people not yet emerged from the dawn of an early civilisation, had succeeded in effectually restraining its votaries from idolatry. This phenomenon has been justly acknowledged as the pre-eminent glory of Islâm, and the most remarkable evidence of the genius of its Founder. Long had Christianity and Judaism tried to wean the Arab tribes from their gross superstition, their inhuman practices, and their licentious immorality. But it was not till they heard “the spirit-stirring strains” of the “Appointed of God” that they became conscious of the God of Truth, overshadowing the universe with His power and love. Henceforth their aims are not of this earth alone; there is something beyond the grave—higher, purer, and diviner—calling them to the practice of charity, goodness, justice, and universal love. God is not
merely the God of to-day or of to-morrow, carved out of wood or stone, but the mighty, loving, merciful Creator of the world. Mohammed was the source, under Providence, of this new awakening—the bright fountain from which flowed the stream of their hopes of eternity; and to him they paid a fitting obedience and reverence. They were all animated with one desire, namely, to serve God in truth and purity; to obey His laws reverently in all the affairs of life. The truths and maxims, the precepts which, from time to time during the past twenty years, Mohammed had delivered to his followers, were embalmed in their hearts, and had become the ruling principles of every action. Law and morality were united. "Never, since the days when primitive Christianity startled the world from its sleep, and waged a mortal conflict with heathenism, had men seen the like arousing of spiritual life,—the like faith that suffered sacrifices, and took joyfully the spoiling of goods for conscience' sake." 1

The Mission of Mohammed was now accomplished. And in this fact—the fact of the whole work being achieved in his lifetime—lies his distinctive superiority over the prophets, sages, and philosophers of other times and other countries. Jesus, Moses, Zoroaster, Sakya-Muni, Plato, all had their notions of realms of God, their republics, their ideas, through which degraded humanity was to be elevated into a new moral life; all had departed from this world with their aspirations unfulfilled, their bright visions unrealised; or had bequeathed the task of elevating their fellow-men to sanguinary disciples or monarch pupils. 2 It was reserved for Mohammed to fulfil his mission, and that of his predecessors. It was reserved for him alone to see accomplished the work of amelioration—no royal disciple came to his assistance with edicts to enforce the new teachings. May not the Moslems justly say, the entire work was the work of God?

The humble preacher, who had only the other day been hunted out of the city of his birth, and been stoned out of the

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1 Muir, vol. ii p 269. Coming from an avowed enemy of Islam, this observation is of the utmost value.

2 A Joshua among the Israelites, an Asoka among the Buddhists, a Darius among the Zoroastrians, a Constantine among the Christians.
place where he had betaken himself to preach God’s words, had, within the short space of nine years, lifted up his people from the abysmal depths of moral and spiritual degradation to a conception of purity and justice.

His life is the noblest record of a work nobly and faithfully performed. He infused vitality into a dormant people; he consolidated a congeries of warring tribes into a nation inspired into action with the hope of everlasting life; he concentrated into a focus all the fragmentary and broken lights which had ever fallen on the heart of man. Such was his work, and he performed it with an enthusiasm and fervour which admitted no compromise, conceived no halting; with indomitable courage which brooked no resistance, and allowed no fear of consequences; with a singleness of purpose which thought of no self. The religion of divine unity preached on the shores of Galilee had given place to the worship of an incarnate God; the old worship of a female deity had revived among those who professed the creed of the Master of Nazareth. The Recluse of Hirâ, the unlettered philosopher--born among a nation of unyielding idolaters--impressed ineffaceably the unity of God and the equality of men upon the minds of the nations who once heard his voice. His “democratic thunder” was the signal for the uprise of the human intellect against the tyranny of priests and rulers. In “that world of wrangling creeds and oppressive institutions,” when the human soul was crushed under the weight of unintelligible dogmas, and the human body trampled under the tyranny of vested interests, he broke down the barriers of caste and exclusive privileges. He swept away with his breath the cobwebs which self-interest had woven in the path of man to God. He abolished all exclusiveness in man’s relations to his Creator. This unlettered Prophet, whose message was for the masses, proclaimed the value of knowledge and learning. By the Pen, man’s works are recorded. By the Pen, man is to be judged. The Pen is the ultimate arbiter of human actions in the sight of the Lord. His persistent and unvarying appeal to reason and to the ethical faculty of mankind, his rejection of miracles, “his thoroughly democratic conception of divine government, the universality of his religious ideal, his simple humanity,”—all serve to differentiate
him from his predecessors, "all affiliate him," says the author of Oriental Religions, "with the modern world." His life and work are not wrapt in mystery. No fairy tale has been woven round his personality.

When the hosts of Arabia came flocking to join his faith, the Prophet felt that his work was accomplished, and under the impression of his approaching end, he determined to make a farewell pilgrimage to Mecca. On the 25th of Zu’l-Ka’da (23rd February 632), the Prophet left Medina with an immense concourse of Moslems. On his arrival at Mecca, and before completing all the rites of the pilgrimage, he addressed the assembled multitude from the top of the Jabal al-Rafah (8th Zu’l-Hijja, 7th March), in words which should ever live in the hearts of all Moslems.

"Ye people! listen to my words, for I know not whether another year will be vouchsafed to me after this year to find myself amongst you at this place."

"Your lives and property are sacred and inviolable amongst one another until ye appear before the Lord, as this day and this month is sacred for all; and (remember) ye shall have to appear before your Lord, who shall demand from you an account of all your actions. Ye people, ye have rights over your wives, and your wives have rights over you. . . . Treat your wives with kindness and love. Verily ye have taken them on the security of God, and have made their persons lawful unto you by the words of God. "Keep always faithful to the trust reposed in you, and avoid usury. "Usury is forbidden. The debtor shall return only the principal, and the beginning will be made with (the loans of) my uncle Abbâs,

1 Koran, sura ex.
2 Ibn-Hishâm, p. 900. Ibn al-Athir, vol. ii, p. 236. It is said that from 90,000 to 190,000 people accompanied the Prophet. This pilgrimage is called the Hajj al-Balqâ, the Great Hajj, or Harâkat al-Islâm, the Hajj of Islam, and sometimes Hajj al-Balqâ, Pilgrimage of Farewell.
3 Rabâ or interest in land was prohibited but not legitimate profit on advances or loans for purposes of business or trade. No one who realises the economic condition of Arabia can fail to appreciate the wisdom of this rule. In fact the same reasons which impelled the great Prophet to forbid usury in his country, induced the Christian divines, up to nearly the end of the seventeenth century of the Christian era, to anathematise against usury. The elder D’Aubry’s chapter on this subject in his Curiosities of Literature is most interesting.

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son of Abd ul-Muttalib. Henceforth the vengeance of blood practised in the days of paganism (Jāhilya) is prohibited, and all blood-feud abolished, commencing with the murder of Ibn Rabī’ah, son of Hārith son of Abd ul-Muttalib. 

"And your slaves! See that you feed them with such food as ye eat yourselves, and clothe them with the stuff ye wear; and if they commit a fault which ye are not inclined to forgive, then part from them, for they are the servants of the Lord, and are not to be harshly treated."

"Ye people! Listen to my words and understand the same. Know that all Moslems are brothers unto one another. Ye are one brotherhood. Nothing which belongs to another is lawful unto his brother, unless freely given out of good-will. Guard yourselves from committing injustice."

"Let him that is present tell it unto him that is absent. Haply he that shall be told may remember better than he who hath heard it." 3

This Sermon on the Mount, less practically beautiful, certainly less mystical, than the other, appeals by its practicality and strong common-sense to higher minds, and is also adapted to the capacity and demands of inferior natures which require positive and comprehensible directions for moral guidance.

Towards the conclusion of the sermon, the Prophet, overcome by the sight of the intense enthusiasm of the people as they drank in his words, exclaimed, "O Lord! I have delivered my message and accomplished my work." The assembled host below with one voice cried, "Yea, verily thou hast." "O Lord, I beseech Thee, bear Thou witness unto it." 

With these words the Prophet finished his address, which, according to the traditions, was remarkable for its length, its eloquence, and enthusiasm. Soon after, the necessary rites of

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1 This shows that Abbās must have been a rich man. In the application of the rule against Riba and blood-feud, the Prophet set to his fiery people the example of self-denial in his own family.

2 Ibn Rabī’ah, a cousin of the Prophet. He was confided, in his infancy, to the care of a family of the Banū Lath. This child was cruelly murdered by members of the tribe of Huzail, but the murder was not yet avenged.

3 After each sentence the Prophet stopped and his words were repeated in a stentorian voice by Rabī’ah, the son of Ommeyya, son of Khalaf, who stood below, so that whatever was said was heard by the entire assembled host.
the pugrimage being finished, the Prophet returned with his followers to Medina.¹

The last year of Mohammed’s life was spent in that city. He settled the organisation of the provinces and tribal communities which had adopted Islâm and became the component parts of the Moslem federation. In fact, though the Faith had not penetrated among the Arab races settled in Syria and Mesopotamia, most of whom were Christians, the whole of Arabia now followed the Islâmic Faith. Officers were sent to the provinces and to the various tribes for the purpose of teaching the people the duties of Islâm, administering justice, and collecting the tithe or zakât. Mu‘āz ibn-Jabal was sent to Yemen, and Mohammed’s parting injunction to him was to rely on his own judgment in the administration of affairs in the event of not finding any authority in the Koran. To Ah, whom he deputed to Yemâmâ, he said, “When two parties come before you for justice, do not decide before hearing both.”

Preparations were also commenced for sending an expedition under Osâma, the son of Zaid, who was killed at Mûta, against the Byzantines to exact the long-delayed reparation for the murder of the envoy in Syria. In fact, the troops were already encamped outside the city ready for the start. But the poison which had been given to the Prophet by the Jewess at Khaibar, and which had slowly penetrated into his system, began now to show its effects, and it became evident that he had not long to live. The news of his approaching end led to the stoppage of the expedition under Osâma. It had also the effect of producing disorder in some of the outlying provinces. Three pretenders started up claiming divine commission for their reign of licentiousness and plunder. They gave themselves out as prophets, and tried by all kinds of imposture to win over their tribes. One of these, the most dangerous of all, was Ayhâla ibn-Ka‘b, better known as al-Aswad (the black).

¹ Abdullah the son of Ubayy, the head of the Mundžîqin, died in the month of Zu‘l Ka‘da (February, 631 A.C.). In his last moments he solicited the Prophet to say the funeral prayers over him. Mohammed, who never rejected the wishes of a dying man, against the remonstrances of Omar who reminded him of the persistent opposition and calumny of Abdullah, offered the prayers and with his own hands lowered the body into the grave.
was a chief of Yemen, a man of great wealth and equal sagacity, and a clever conjuror. Among his simple tribesmen, the conjuring tricks he performed invested him with a divine character. He soon succeeded in gaining them over, and, with their help, reduced to subjection many of the neighbouring towns. He killed Shahr, who had been appointed by Mohammed to the governorship of Sanā', in the place of Bāzān, his father, who had just died. Bāzān had been the viceroy of Yemen under the Chosroes of Persia, and after his adoption of Islam was continued in his viceroyalty by the Prophet. He had during his lifetime exercised great influence, not only over his Persian compatriots settled in Yemen, who were called by the name of Abnā', but also over the Arabs of the province. His example had led to the conversion of all the Persian settlers of Yemen Al-Aswad, the impostor, had massacred Shahr, and forcibly married his wife Marzbāna. He was killed by the Abnā', assisted by Marzbāna, when he was lying drunk, after one of his orgies. The other two pretenders, Tulaiha, son of Khawailid, and Abū Thumama Hārān, son of Habib, commonly called Mosailima, were not suppressed until the accession of Abū Bakr to the Caliphate. Mosailima had the audacity to address the Prophet in the following terms: “From Mosailima, prophet of God, to Mohammed, prophet of God, salutations! I am your partner: the power must be divided between us: half the earth for me, the other half for your Koreishites. But the Koreishites are a grasping people, not given to justice.” Mohammed’s reply reveals his sterling nature. “In the name of God the merciful and compassionate, from Mohammed, the Prophet of God, to Mosailima the Liar! Peace is on those who follow the right path. The earth belongs to God; He bestows it on such of His servants as He pleaseth. The future is to the pious [i.e. only those prosper who fear the Lord]!”

The last days of the Prophet were remarkable for the calmness and serenity of his mind, which enabled him, though weak and feeble, to preside at the public prayers until within three days of his death. One night, at midnight, he went to the place where his old companions were lying in the slumber of death, and prayed and wept by their tombs, invoking God’s

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1 Kazāb, superlative of Kāzīb.
blessings for his "companions resting in peace." He chose Ayesha's house, close to the mosque, for his stay during his illness, and, as long as his strength lasted, took part in the public prayers. The last time he appeared in the mosque he was supported by his two cousins, Ali and Fazl, the son of Abbâs. A smile of inexpressible sweetness played over his countenance, and was remarked by all who surrounded him. After the usual praises and hymns to God, he addressed the multitude thus: "Moslems, if I have wronged any one of you, here I am to answer for it; if I owe aught to any one, all I may happen to possess belongs to you." Upon hearing this, a man in the crowd rose and claimed three dinhâms which he had given to a poor man at the Prophet's request. They were immediately paid back, with the words, "Better to blush in this world than in the next." The Prophet then prayed and implored heaven's mercy for those present, and for those who had fallen in the persecutions of their enemies; and recommended to all his people the observance of religious duties and the practice of a life of peace and good-will, and concluded with the following words of the Koran: "The dwelling of the other life we will give unto them who do not seek to exalt themselves on earth or to do wrong; for the happy issue shall attend the pious." ⁱ

After this, Mohammed never again appeared at public prayers. His strength rapidly failed. At noon on Monday (12th of Rabi I., 11 A.H.–8th June 632 A.C.), whilst praying earnestly in whisper, the spirit of the great Prophet took flight to the "blessed companionship on high." ²

So ended a life consecrated, from first to last, to the service of God and humanity. Is there another to be compared to his, with all its trials and temptations? Is there another which has stood the fire of the world, and come out so unscathed? The humble preacher had risen to be the ruler of Arabia, the equal of Chosroes and of Caesar, the arbiter of the destinies of a nation. But the same humility of spirit, the same nobility

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¹ Koran, sura xxviii ver 83, Ibn ul-Athîr, vol ii p 241, Tabari, vol iii, p 207 et seq
of soul and purity of heart, austerity of conduct, refinement and delicacy of feeling, and stern devotion to duty which had won him the title of al-Amin, combined with a severe sense of self-examination, are ever the distinguishing traits of his character. Once in his life, whilst engaged in a religious conversation with an influential citizen of Mecca, he had turned away from a humble blind seeker of the truth. He is always recurring to this incident with remorse, and proclaiming God’s disapprobation.¹ A nature so pure, so tender, and yet so heroic, inspires not only reverence, but love. And naturally the Arabian writers dwell with the proudest satisfaction on the graces and intellectual gifts of the son of Abdullâh. His courteousness to the great, his affability to the humble, and his dignified bearing to the presumptuous, procured him universal respect and admiration. His countenance reflected the benevolence of his heart. Profoundly read in the volume of nature, though ignorant of letters, with an expansive mind, elevated by deep communion with the Soul of the Universe, he was gifted with the power of influencing equally the learned and the unlearned. Withal, there was a majesty in his face, an air of genius, which inspired all who came in contact with him with a feeling of veneration and love.²

His singular elevation of mind, his extreme delicacy and refinement of feeling, his purity and truth, form the constant theme of the traditions. He was most indulgent to his inferiors,

¹ The Sura in connection with this incident is known by the title of “He frowned,” and runs thus —

“The Prophet frowned, and turned aside,
Because the blind man came to him
And how knowest thou whether he might not have been cleansed from his sins
Or whether he might have been admonished, and profited thereby?
As for the man that is rich,
Him thou receavest graciously;
And thou carest not that he is not cleansed
But as for him that cometh unto thee earnestly seeking his salvation,
And trembling anxiously, him dost thou neglect
By no means shouldst thou act thus”

After this, whenever the Prophet saw the poor blind man, he used to go out of his way to do him honour, saying, “The man is three times welcome on whose account my Lord hath reprimanded me”; and he made him twice governor of Medina. See the remark of Bosworth Smith on Muir about this incident.

² Mishkât, Bk. xxiv, chap. 3, pt 2.
and would never allow his awkward little page to be scolded whatever he did. “Ten years,” said Anas, his servant, “was I about the Prophet, and he never said so much as ‘Uff’ to me.”

He was very affectionate towards his family. One of his boys died on his breast in the smoky house of the nurse, a blacksmith’s wife. He was very fond of children. He would stop them in the streets, and pat their little cheeks. He never struck any one in his life. The worst expression he ever made use of in conversation was, “What has come to him? May his forehead be darkened with mud!”

When asked to curse some one, he replied, “I have not been sent to curse, but to be a mercy to mankind.”

He visited the sick, followed every bier he met, accepted the invitation of a slave to dinner, mended his own clothes, milked his goats, and waited upon himself, relates summarily another tradition. He never first withdrew his hand from another’s palm, and turned not before the other had turned. His hand was the most generous, his breast the most courageous, his tongue the most truthful; he was the most faithful protector of those he protected; the sweetest and most agreeable in

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1 Ibid. Bk xxiv. chap 4, pt. 1.
2 Ibid. Bk xxiv chap 4, pt. 1.
3 Mr. Poole’s estimate of Mohammed is so beautiful and yet so truthful that I cannot resist the temptation to quote it here: “There is something so tender and womanly, and withal so heroic, about the man, that one is in peril of finding the judgment unconsciously blinded by the feeling of reverence and well-nigh love that such a nature inspires. He who, standing alone braved for years the hatred of his people, is the same who was never the first to with draw his hand from another’s clasp, the beloved of children, who never passed a group of little ones without a smile from his wonderful eyes and a kind word for them, sounding all the kinder in that sweet-toned voice. The frank friendship, the noble generosity, the dauntless courage and hope of the man, all tend to melt criticism into admiration.”

“‘He was an enthusiast in that noblest sense when enthusiasm becomes the salt of the earth, the one thing that keeps men from rotting whilst they live. Enthusiasm is often used contemptuously, because it is joined to an unworthy cause, or falls upon barren ground and bears no fruit. So was it not with Mohammed. He was an enthusiast when enthusiasm was the one thing needed to set the world aflame, and his enthusiasm was noble for a noble cause. He was one of those happy few who have attained the supreme joy of making one great truth their very life-spring. He was the messenger of the one God, and never to his life’s end did he forget who he was, or the message which was the marrow of his being. He brought his tidings to his people with a grand dignity sprung from the consciousness of his high office, together with a most sweet humility, whose roots lay in the knowledge of his own weakness.”

4 Mishkāt, Bk. xxiv. chap 4, pt. 2.
conversation; those who saw him were suddenly filled with reverence; those who came near him loved him; they who described him would say, "I have never seen his like, either before or after." He was of great taciturnity; and when he spoke, he spoke with emphasis and deliberation, and no one could ever forget what he said. "Modesty and kindness, patience, self-denial, and generosity pervaded his conduct, and riveted the affections of all around him. With the bereaved and afflicted he sympathised tenderly... He shared his food even in times of scarcity with others, and was sedulously solicitous for the personal comfort of every one about him." He would stop in the streets listening to the sorrows of the humblest. He would go to the houses of the lowliest to console the afflicted and to comfort the heart-broken. The meanest slaves would take hold of his hand and drag him to their masters to obtain redress for ill-treatment or release from bondage.¹ He never sat down to a meal without first invoking a blessing, and never rose without uttering a thanks-giving. His time was regularly apportioned. During the day, when not engaged in prayers, he received visitors and transacted public affairs. At night he slept little, spending most of the hours in devotion. He loved the poor and respected them, and many who had no home or shelter of their own slept at night in the mosque contiguous to his house. Each evening it was his custom to invite some of them to partake of his humble fare. The others became the guests of his principal disciples.² His conduct towards the bitterest of his enemies was marked by a noble clemency and forbearance. Stern, almost to severity, to the enemies of the State, mockings, affronts, outrages, and persecutions towards himself were, in the hour of triumph—synonymous with the hour of trial to the human heart—all buried in oblivion, and forgiveness was extended to the worst criminal.

Mohammed was extremely simple in his habits. His mode of life, his dress and his belongings, retained to the very last a character of patriarchal simplicity. Many a time, Abû Hurairā reports, had the Prophet to go without a meal. Dates and

¹ Hayat-ul-Kulūb (Shāhu) and the Rouzat-ul-Akhbāb (Sunmi).
water frequently formed his only nourishment. Often, for
months together, no fire could be lighted in his house from
scantiness of means. God, say the Moslem historians, had
indeed put before him the key to the treasures of this world,
but he refused it!

The mind of this remarkable Teacher was, in its in-
tellectualism and progressive ideals, essentially modern.
Eternal "striving" was in his teachings a necessity of human
existence: "Man cannot exist without constant effort"; 1
"The effort is from me, its fulfilment comes from God." 2
The world, he taught, was a well-ordered Creation, regulated
and guided by a Supreme Intelligence overshadowing the
Universe—"Everything is pledged to its own time," 3 he
declared. And yet human will was free to work for its own
salvation. His sympathy was universal; it was he who
invoked the mercy of the Creator on all living beings. 4 It
was he who pronounced the saving of one human life as
tantamount to the saving of humanity.

His social conception was constructive not disintegrating.
In his most exalted mood he never overlooked the sanctity of
family life. To him the service of humanity was the highest
act of devotion. His call to his faithful was not to forsake
those to whom they owed a duty; but in the performance of
that duty to earn "merit" and reward. Children were a
trust from God, to be brought up in tenderness and affection;
parents were to be respected and loved. The circle of duty
embraced in its fold kindred, neighbour, and the humble being
"whose mouth was in the dust."

Fourteen centuries have passed since he delivered his
message, but time has made no difference in the devotion
he inspired, and to-day as then the Faithful have in their
hearts and on their lips those memorable words:—

"May my life be thy sacrifice, O Prophet of God."

1 نَبَيُّ أَبِيعَاتُوْبُ وَأَمْامُ قَلْبِهِ
2 وَهُمْ أَمْرُ مِنْ حَمْرُوْبُ رَبِّكَ قَلَبٌ
3 وَهُمْ أَمْرُ مِنْ حَمْرُوْبُ رَبِّكَ قَلَبٌ
4 وَهُمْ أَمْرُ مِنْ حَمْرُوْبُ رَبِّكَ قَلَبٌ
CHAPTER X

THE APOSTOLICAL SUCCESSION

THE spiritual life the Prophet had infused into his people did not end with his life. From the first it was an article of faith that he was present in spirit with the worshippers at their prayers, and that his successors in the ministry were his representatives. The immanence of the Master’s spirit during the devotions establishes the harmony between the soul of man and the Divine Essence. Amongst all the dynastic rivalries and schismatic strife this mystical conception of his spiritual presence at the prayers has imparted a force to the Faith which cannot be over-estimated.

The two great sects into which Islâm became divided at an early stage are agreed that the religious efficacy of the rites and duties prescribed by the Law (the Shari’at) depends on the existence of the vice-gerent and representative of the Prophet, who, as such, is the religious Head (Imâm) of the Faith and the Faithful.

The adherents of the Apostolical Imâms have a development and philosophy of their own quite distinct from “the followers of the traditions.” According to them the spiritual heritage bequeathed by the Prophet devolved on Ali and his descendants by Fâtimâ, the Prophet’s daughter. They hold that the Imâmate descends by Divine appointment in the apostolic line. They do not regard the Pontificate of Abû Bakr, Omar and Osman as rightful; they consider that Ali, who was indicated by the Prophet as his successor, was the first rightful.
Caliph and Imâm of the Faithful, and that after his assassination the spiritual headship descended in succession to his and Fâtima's posterity in "the direct male line" until it came to Imâm Hasan al-Askari, eleventh in descent from Ali, who died in the year 874 A.C. or 260 of the Hegira in the reign of the Abbaside Caliph Mu'tamid. Upon his death the Imamate devolved upon his son Mohammed, surnamed al-Mahdi (the "Guide"), the last Imam. The story of these Imâms of the House of Mohammed is intensely pathetic. The father of Hasan was deported from Medina to Sâmarra by the tyrant Mutawakkil, and detained there until his death. Similarly, Hasan was kept a prisoner by the jealousy of Mutawakkil's successors. His infant son, barely five years of age, pining for his father, entered in search of him a cavern not far from their house. From that cavern the child never returned. The pathos of this calamity culminated in the hope, the expectation, which fills the hearts of all Shiahis, that the child may return to relieve a sorrowing and sinful world of its burden of sin and oppression. So late as the fourteenth century of the Christian era, when Ibn Khaldûn 1 was writing his great work, the Shiahis were wont to assemble at eventide at the entrance of the cavern and supplicate the missing child to return to them. After a long and wistful waiting, they dispersed to their homes, disappointed and sorrowful. This, says Ibn Khaldûn, was a daily occurrence. "When they were told it was hardly possible the child could be alive," they answered that, "as the Prophet Khûzîr 2 was alive why should not their Imâm be alive also?" This Imâm bears among the Shiahis the titles, the Muniazzar, the Expected—the Hujja or the Proof (of the Truth), and the Kâim, the Living.

The philosophical student of religions will not fail to observe the strange similarity of the Shiah and the Sunni beliefs to older ideas. Among the Zoroastrians the persecution of the Seleucidæ engendered the belief that a divinely appointed Saviour, whose name was Sosiosch, would issue from Khorasân to release them from the hated bondage of the foreigner. The same causes gave birth to that burning anticipation

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1 See post, p. 126.  
2 See Appendix III.
among the Jews in the advent of the Messiah. The Jew, believes that the Messiah is yet to come; the Sunni, like him, believes that the Saviour of Islam is still unborn. The Christian believes that the Messiah has come and gone, and will come again; the Asma-asharia, like the Christian, awaits the reappearance of the Mahdi, the Guide, who is to save the world from evil and oppression. The origin of these conceptions and the reasons of their diversity are traceable to like causes. The phenomena of the age in which the idea of the Mahdi took shape in its two distinct forms were similar to those visible in the history of the older faiths. Every eventide the prayer goes up to heaven in Islam, as in Judaism and Christianity, for the advent of the divinely-appointed Guide, to redeem the world from sorrow and sin.

The Shia believes that the Imam though ghâbib (absent), is always present in spirit at the devotions of his fold. The expounders of the law and the ministers of religion are his representatives on earth; and even the secular chiefs represent him in the temporal affairs of the world. Another point of difference between them and the Sunnis consists in the qualities required for the Imamate. According to the Shiahs the Imam must be sinless or immaculate (m'asâm), a quality which their Imams alone possess, and that he must be the most excellent (afzal) of mankind.

The Sunni doctrines which govern the lives, thoughts, and conduct of the bulk of the Moslem world are diametrically opposed to the Shia conception. The Sunni religious law insists that the Imam must be actually present in person to impart religious efficacy to the devotions of the Faithful; and that, where it is not possible for him to lead the prayers, he should be represented by persons possessing the necessary qualifications.

These doctrines are enunciated in detail in most works on jurisprudence and scholastic theology. The Khilafat, it is explained, is the Vice-gerency of the Prophet; it is ordained by Divine Law for the perpetuation of Islam and the continued observance of its laws and rules. For the existence of Islam, therefore, there must always be a Caliph, an actual and direct

\[1\] See post, p. 344.
representative of the Master. The Imâmate is the spiritual leadership; but the two dignities are inseparable; the Vicegerent of the Prophet is the only person entitled to lead the prayers when he can himself be present. No one else can assume his functions unless directly or indirectly "deputed" by him. Between the Imâm and the māmīm\(^1\) or congregation, there is a spiritual tie which binds the one to the other in the fealty to the Faith. There is no inconsistency between this dogma and the rule that there is no priesthood in Islâm. Each man pleads for himself before his Lord, and each soul holds communion with God without the intermedation of any other human being. The Imâm is the link between the individual worshipper and the evangel of Islâm. This mystical element in the religion of Islam forms the foundation of its remarkable solidarity.

The above remarks serve to emphasise the statement in the Durr-ul-Mukhtar that Imâmate is of two kinds, the Imâmât-al-Kubrâ and the Imâmât-as-Sughrâ, the supreme spiritual Headship and the minor derivative right to officiate at the devotions of the Faithful. The Imâm al-Kabir, the supreme Pontiff, is the Caliph of the Sunni world. He combines in his person the spiritual and temporal authority which devolves on him as the vicegerent of the Master. Secular affairs are conducted by him in consultation with councillors as under the first four Caliphs, or, as in later times, by delegates, collectively or individually. Similarly with religious and spiritual matters. But in the matter of public prayers, unless physically prostrate, he is bound to conduct the congregational service in person.

Among the Shiâhs, even Friday prayers and prayers offered at the well-known festivals, may validly be performed individually and in private. According to the Sunni doctrines congregational prayers, where mosques or other places of public worship are accessible, are obligatory; abstention from attendance without valid reason is a sin, and the defaulters incur even temporal penalties. In Najd, under the rule of the Wahâbis, who have been called the Covenanters of Islâm,

\(^1\) This is the term used in the Ilatâwâi-Alamgir. The individual follower is usually called the Mukhâdi.
laggards were whipped into the mosque. And to-day under Ibn S‘aūd, his followers who designate themselves *Ikhwān*, or “Brothers in faith,” pursue the same method for enforcing the observance of religious rites. Prayers *bi‘l jamā‘at* being obligatory (*fār‘a‘i‘n*) naturally made the presence of the Imām absolutely obligatory.¹

The Sunnis affirm that when stricken by his last illness the Prophet deputed Abū Bakr to lead the prayers. On his death, but before he was consigned to his grave, the Master’s nomination was accepted by the “congregation” and Abū Bakr was installed as his vicegerent by the unanimous suffrage of the Moslems. And this has ever since been the universal practice in all regular lines.

Amongst the qualifications necessary for occupying the pontifical seat, the first and most essential is that he must be a Moslem belonging to the Sunni communion, capable of exercising supreme temporal authority, free of all outside control. The Sunnis do not require that the Imām should be *ma‘ṣūm*, or that he should be “the most excellent of mankind,” nor do they insist on his descent from the Prophet. According to them he should be an independent ruler, without any personal defects, a man of good character, possessed of the capacity to conduct the affairs of State, and to lead at prayers. The early doctors, on the authority of a saying of the Prophet, have included a condition which comes at the end of the passage relating to the qualities necessary for the Imāmat—viz., that the Calif-Imām should be a Koreish by birth. The avowed object of inserting this condition, as is stated both in the *Dīwān-ul-Mukhtār* and the *Radd-ul-Mukhtār*, was to nullify the Shi‘ah contention that the Imāmate was restricted to the House of Mohammad, the descendants of Ah and Fātima, and to bring in the first three Caliphs, and the Ommeyyade and the Abbaside Caliphs, into the circle of legitimate Imāms. The great jurist and historian, Ibn Khaldūn,² a contemporary of Tamerlane, who died in the year 1406 A.C., long before the

¹ There is absolute consensus on these points among the different Sunni schools. The Jurist Khalīl ibn Ishāk, the author of the monumental work on Mālikī Law, enumerates the rules in the same terms as the Hanafīs and the Şafī‘is.

² For many years Mālikite Chief Kāzī of Cairo
House of Othman attained the Caliphate, has dealt at great length with this condition in his Mukaddamât (Prolegomena). He does not dispute the genuineness of the saying on which it is based, but explains that it was a mere recommendation which was due to the circumstances of the times. He points out that when the Islamic Dispensation was given to the world the tribe of Koreish were the most advanced and most powerful in Arabia; and in recommending or desiring that the temporal and spiritual guardianship of the Moslems should be confined to a member of his own tribe, the Prophet was thinking of the immediate future rather than of laying down a hard and fast rule of succession. At that time a qualified and capable ruler of Islam could only be found among the Koreish; hence the recommendation that the Caliph and Imam should be chosen from among them. This view eloquently expressed by one of the most learned of Sunni Jurists is universally accepted by the modern doctors (the Mutâkhûrin), that subject to the fulfilment of all other conditions the law imposes no tribal or racial restriction in the choice of an Imam. Abu Bakr before his death had nominated Omar his successor in the Vicegerency, and the appointment was accepted by the "universality" of the people, including the House of Mohammed. Omar died from the effects of a mortal wound inflicted on him by a Christian or Magian fanatic who considered himself aggrieved by the acts of this great Caliph. To avoid all imputation of favouritism Omar had, before his death, appointed an electoral committee consisting of six eminent members of the Moslem congregation to choose his successor. Their choice fell on Osmân, a descendant of Onmeyya, who was installed as Caliph with the suffrage of the people. On Osmân’s unhappy death, Ah, the son-in-law of the Prophet, who, according to the Shahs, was entitled by right to the Imamate in direct succession to the Prophet, was proclaimed Caliph and Imam. The husband of Fatima united in his person the hereditary right with that of election. But his endeavour to remedy the evils which had crept into the administration under his aged predecessor raised against him a host of enemies. Mu‘awiyah, an Ommeyyade by descent, who held the governorship of Syria under Osmân, raised the
standard of revolt. Ali proceeded to crush the rebellion but, after an indecisive battle, was struck down by the hand of an assassin whilst at his devotions in the public Mosque of Kūfa in 'Irak. With 'Ali ended what is called by the early Sunni doctors of law and theologians, the Khilāfat-al-Kāmilah; "the Perfect Caliphate," for in each case their title to the rulership of Islām was perfected by the universal suffrage of the Moslem nation.

On Ali's death Mu'āwiyyah obtained an assignment of the Caliphate from Hasan, the eldest son of Ali, who had been elected to the office by the unanimous voice of the people of Kūfa and its dependencies; and received the suffrage of the people of Syria to his assumption of the high office. This happened in 661 A.C.

It should be noted here that the Ommeyyades and Hāshimides were two offshoots from one common stock, that of Kureish. Bitter rivalry existed between these families which it was the great aim of the Prophet throughout his ministry to remove or reconcile. The Hāshimides owe their designation to Hāshim, the great grandfather of the Prophet. His son Abdul Muttahib had several sons, one of them, Abbās, was the progenitor of the Abbāside Caliphs. Abū Tahib, another son, was the father of Ali the Caliph, whilst the youngest, Abdullāh, was the Prophet's father.

Mu'āwiyyah was the first Caliph of the House of Ommeyya. On the death of Mu'āwiyyah's grandson, another member of the same family belonging to the Hakamite branch, named Merwān, assumed the Caliphate. Under his son ‘Abdul Malik and grandson Walid, the Sunni Caliphate attained its widest expansion; it extended from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean and from the Tagus to the sands of the Sahara and the confines of Abyssinia. In 749 A.C. Abu'l Abbās, surnamed Saffāh, a descendant of Abbās, the uncle of the Prophet, overthrew the Ommeyyade dynasty and was installed as Caliph, in place of Merwān II, the last Pontiff of that House, in the Cathedral Mosque of Kūfa, where he received the Bawāt 1 of the people. He then ascended the pulpit, recited the public sermon which the Imām or his representative delivers at the public prayers.

1 The sacramental oath of fealty.
This notable address, religiously preserved by his successors, is to be found in the pages of the Arab historian Ibn-ul-Athîr. It is in effect a long vindication of the rights of the children of Abbâs to the Caliphate. Abu’l Abbâs was henceforth the legitimate ruler of the Sunni world and the rightful spiritual Head of the Sunni Church. His first six successors were men of remarkable ability, those who followed were of varying capacity, but a few possessed uncommon talent and learning. Mansûr, the brother of Saifàh, who succeeded him in the Caliphate, founded Bagdad, which became their capital and seat of Government, and was usually called the Dár-ul-Khildât and the Dár-us-salâm, “The Abode of the Caliphate” and “The Abode of Peace.” Here the house of Abbâs exercised undisputed spiritual and temporal authority for centuries. Their great rivals of Cairo became extinct in Saladin’s time; the brilliant Ommeyyade dynasty of Cordova disappeared in the first decade of the eleventh century. The Almohades, the Almoravides, and the many Berber and Arab dynasties which, on the decline of the Almoravides, followed each other in succession in Morocco, had no valid title to the headship of the Sunni Church. The right of the Abbâsides to the Sunni Imâamate stood unchallenged from the Atlantic to the Ganges, from the Black Sea and the Javartes to the Indian Ocean. In 493 of the Hegira (1009 A.D.) Yusuf bin Tâshfin, the Almohade conqueror after the epoch-making battle of az-Zallâka, where the Christian hordes were decisively beaten, obtained from the Abbâsade Caliph al-Muktadi, a formal investiture with the title of Ameer-ul-Muslimin, and this was confirmed to him by the Caliph al-Mustazhir. It should be borne in mind that neither the “Caliphs” of Cordova nor any of the Moslem sovereigns in after ages assumed the dignity of the representative of the Prophet (Khalifat-ar-Rasûl) or arrogated the title of Ameer-ul-Mominnin.

For full five centuries Bagdad was the centre of all intellectual activity in Islam, and here the rules and regulations appertaining to the Caliphate, as also to other matters, secular and religious, were systematised. And the conception that the Caliph-Imâm was the divinely-appointed Vice-gerent of the Prophet became, as it is to-day, welded into the religious life of
the people. It will thus be seen that according to the Sunni doctrines the Caliph is not merely a secular sovereign; he is the religious head of a Church and a commonwealth, the actual representative of Divine government.¹

The Abbâside Caliphate lasted for five centuries from its first establishment until the destruction of Bagdad by the Mongols in 1258 of the Christian era. At that time Musta’sim b’Illah was the Caliph, and he, together with his sons and the principal members of his family, perished in the general massacre; only those scions of the House of Abbâs escaped the slaughter who were absent from the capital, or succeeded in avoiding detection.

For two years after the murder of Musta’sim b’Illah the Sunni world felt acutely the need of an Imâm and Caliph; both the poignancy of the grief at the absence of a spiritual Head of the Faith, and the keenness of the necessity for a representative of the Prophet to bring solace and religious merit to the Faithful, are pathetically voiced by the Arab historian of the Caliphs.² The devotions of the living were devoid of that religious efficacy which is imparted to them by the presence in the world of an acknowledged Imâm; the prayers for the dead were equally without merit. Sultan Baibars felt with the whole Sunni world the need of a Caliph and Imâm. The right to the Caliphate had become vested by five centuries of undisputed acknowledgment in the House of Abbâs; and a member of this family, Abu’l Kâsim Ahmed, who had succeeded in making his escape from the massacre by the Mongols, was invited to Cairo for installation in the pontifical seat. On his arrival in the environs of Cairo, the Sultan, accompanied by the judges and great officers of State, went forth to greet him. The ceremony of installation is described as imposing and sacred. His descent had to be proved first before the Chief Kâzi or Judge. After this was done, he was installed in the chair and acknowledged as Caliph, under the title of al-Mustansir b’Illah, “Seeking the help of the Lord.” The first to take the oath of Bat’at was the Sultan Baibars himself, next came the Chief Kâzi Taj-ud-din, the principal sheikhs and the ministers of State, and lastly the

¹ Suyûtî. ² Ibid.
nobles, according to their rank. This occurred on May 12th, 1261, and the new Caliph's name was impressed on the coinage and recited in the Khutba. On the following Friday he rode to the mosque in procession, wearing the black mantle of the Abbâsides,¹ and delivered the pontifical sermon. As his installation as the Caliph of the Faithful was now complete, he proceeded to invest the Sultan with the robe and diploma so essential in the eyes of the orthodox for legitimate authority.

The Abbâsâde Caliphate thus established in Cairo lasted for over two centuries and a-half. During this period Egypt was ruled by sovereigns who are designated in history as the Mameluke Sultans. Each Sultan on his accession to power received his investiture from the Caliph and “Imâm of his time” (Imâm-ul-Wâli) and he professed to exercise his authority as the lieutenant and delegate of the Pontiff. The appointment of ministers of religion and administrators of justice was subject to the formal sanction of the Caliph. Though shorn of all its temporal powers, the religious prestige of the Caliphate was so great, and the conviction of its necessity as a factor in the life of the people so deep-rooted in the religious sentiments of the Sunni world, that twice after the fall of Bagdad the Musulman sovereigns of India received their investiture from the Abbâsâde Caliphs. The account of the reception in 1343 A.D. of the Caliph's envoy by Sultan Mohammed Juna Khan Tughlak, the founder of the gigantic unfinished city of Tughlakabad, gives us an idea of the veneration in which the Pontiffs were held even in Hindustan, in those days said to be full six months' journey from Egypt. On the approach of the envoy the King, accompanied by the Syeds and the nobles, went out of the capital to greet him; and when the Pontiff's missive was handed to the Sultan he received it with the greatest reverence. The formal diploma of investiture legitimised the authority of the King. The whole of this incident is celebrated in a poem still extant in India by the poet laureate, the famous Badr-ud-din Châch.

¹ Black was the colour of the Abbâsides, white of the Ommeyyades and green of the Fatimides, the descendants of Mohammed
About the end of the fifteenth century the star of Selim I.,
also surnamed Saffâh, of the House of Othman, rose in the
horizon. His victories over the enemies of Islâm had won for
him the title of “Champion of the Faith”; and no other
Moslem sovereign—not even his great rival Shah Isma‘îl,
the founder of the Sîfî dynasty in Persia and the creator of
the first orthodox Shiâh State,—equalled the Osmanli monarch
in greatness and power.

The closing decades of that century had witnessed a vast
change in the condition of Egypt, and the anarchy that had set
in under the later Mameluke Sultans reached its climax some
years later. Invited by a section of the Egyptian people to
restore order and peace in the distracted country, Selim easily
overthrew the incompetent Mamelukes, and incorporated
Egypt with his already vast dominions. At this period the
Caliph who held the Vice-gerency of the Prophet bore the
pontifical name of Al-Mutawakkil ‘alâ-Allâh (“Contented
in the grace of the Lord”). According to the Sunni records,
he perceived that the only Moslem sovereign who could com-
bine in his own person the double functions of Caliph and
Imâm, and restore the Caliphate of Islâm in theory and in
fact, and discharge effectively the duties attached to that
office, was Selim. He accordingly, in 1517, by a formal deed
of assignment, transferred the Caliphate to the Ottoman
conqueror, and, with his officials and dignitaries, “made the
Bai‘at on the hand of the Sultan.” In the same year Selim
received the homage of the Sharif of Mecca, Mohammed
Abu‘l Barakât, a descendant of Ali, who presented by his son
Abu Noumy on a silver salver the keys of the Kaaba and took
the oath by the same proxy. The combination in Selim of the
Abbâside right by assignment and by Bai‘at, and the adhesion
of the representative of the Prophet’s House who held at the
time the guardianship of the Holy Cities, perfected the Ottoman
Sultan’s title to the Caliphate, “just as the adhesion of (the
Caliph) Ali had completed the title of the first three Caliphs.”

The solemn prayers with the usual Khutbas offered in Mecca
and Medina for the Sultan gave the necessary finality to the
right of Selim. Henceforth Constantinople, his seat of govern-
ment, became the Dâr-ul-Khîlafât, and began to be called
"Istanbul," "The City of Islam." Before long envoys arrived in Selim's Court and that of his son, Solyman the Magnificent, from the rulers of the Sunni States to offer their homage; and thus, according to the Sunnis, the Caliphate became the heritage of the House of Othman, which they have enjoyed for four centuries without challenge or dispute.