

Muhammad

MUHAMMAD (whose name means “praiseworthy,” commonly also pronounced Mohammad), is founder of the religious system called Islam (or Ḥanifism). Muhammad died, according to the ordinary synchronism, on the seventh of June, A.D. 632 (12 Rabiʿa, A.H. 11), and his birthday was exactly sixty-three or sixty-five years earlier, the latter number being evidently an interpretation in lunar years of a number thought to refer to solar years. The lunar system was introduced into Arabia by Muhammad himself quite at the close of his career. That which existed before was certainly solar, as it involved a process of intercalation, which, however, seems to have been arbitrarily manipulated by priests, whence certain synchronisms cannot be got for the events in the Lawgiver’s career. The number 63 for the years of his life may rest on tradition, though it is unlikely that such matters were accurately noted; it can also be accounted for by a priori combination. A Meccan, it is said, became a full citizen at the age of 40; this then would be the age at which the mission might be started. The Medina period (of which count was kept) lasted ten to eleven years; for the Meccan period ten years would seem a likely length. Finally it was known that for some years, about three, the mission had been conducted secretly. The only event in

contemporary history to which the Quar'an alludes in its earlier parts is the Persian conquest of Palestine in A.D. 616. Clearly Muhammad had begun to have religious and spiritual experiences at that date.

Before the rise of Islam, Muhammad's native place, Mecca, appears to figure nowhere in historical records, unless there be a reference to it in the "valley of Baca" (Psalms 84:6). Its sacred and archaic name is Bakkah; hence the identification of the name with that of the sanctuary Makoraba, known to the Greek geographers, is not philologically tenable; although so eminent a linguist as Dozy evolved a theory of the origin of the city from this name, which appears to be South Arabian for "sanctuary," and has no connection with Hebrew (as Dozy supposed). In the third century of Islam the mythology of Mecca was collected and published in book form, but we learn little more from it than names of tribes and places; it is clear that there was no record of the mode in which the community inhabiting the place had got there, and that little was remembered with accuracy of the events which preceded the rise of its Lawgiver. The city had a sanctuary, called the Cube (ka'ba), of which the nucleus was the "Black Stone," probably to be identified with Allah, the god of the community; both still exist, or rather their legitimate substitutes, as the Ka'ba has been repeatedly reconstructed, and the original Black

Stone was stolen by the Carmathians in the fourth century of Islam; they afterwards returned one, but it may or may not have been the same as that which they removed. At some time in the sixth century, said to have been the birth-year of the Lawgiver, but really much earlier, an Ethiopian invader raided Mecca with the view of abolishing this sanctuary; but for some reason had to desist. This expedition, known as the "Raid of the Elephant," one of these animals being employed in it, seems to be of great importance for explaining the rise of Islam; for a sanctuary which can repel an invader acquires tremendous reputation. Some verses in the Quar'an which are perhaps not genuine, record the miracle whereby Allah repelled the "People of the Elephant." The sanctuary was apparently in the possession of the tribe Koreish (Quraish), the origin of whose name is unknown, said to have come originally from Cutha in Mesopotamia. They were known (we are told) as the people of Allah, and, by wearing a badge, were sacrosanct throughout Arabia. If this be true, it was probably a privilege earned by the miraculous defense of the Ka'ba, and is sufficient to account for the rise of Meccan commerce of which we hear much in the biography of the Lawgiver, and to which some verses of the earliest part of the Quar'an allude; for merchants who were safe from attacks by bandits would have an enormous advantage. The records seem, however, to be inconsistent with this assertion; and the growth of the Meccan commerce is sufficiently accounted for

by the fact that after the Ethiopian invasion pilgrimage to the Ka'ba became the practice of numerous Arab tribes, and for four months in the year (selected by Meccan priests) raiding was forbidden, in order to enable the pilgrimage to be safely made. In addition to this it would seem that all Mecca counted as sanctuary, that is, no blood might under any circumstances be shed there. The community lived by purveying to pilgrims and the carrying trade; and both these operations led to the immigration of strangers.

There seems to be no doubt that Muhammad was himself a member of the tribe Koreish, and indeed too many of his relatives figure in history to permit of his parentage being questioned. His cousin 'Ali, fourth caliph, was the son of Abū Ṭālib, whose name attests the historical character of the kindred name 'Abd al-Moṭṭalib, Muhammad's grandfather: for the fact that this name is in part enigmatical is certainly no argument against its genuineness. In the third century of Islam, a document was shown in which a man of San'a in Yemen acknowledged that he had borrowed from 'Abd al-Moṭṭalib 1000 silver dirhems of the Hudaida standard, and Allāh with the two "angels" (probably a euphemism for the goddesses Al-lāt and al-'Uzzā) served as witness; it is difficult to see why such a document should have been forged. The name Hāshim (for 'Abd al-Moṭṭalib's father) may or may not

be historical; here, as in the ascending line throughout, we have subjects without predicates. The name of ‘Abd al-Moṭṭalib’s son, who was Muhammad’s father, is given as ‘Abdallāh; the correctness of this has been questioned, because “Servant of Allah” would seem to be too appropriate, and the name was often given by the Lawgiver to converts as a substitute for some pagan appellation. This, however, is hypercritical, as the name of the father could not easily be altered, when relatives abounded, and it would seem that at one time the Lawgiver made no theological use of the name Allah, for which he intended to substitute Raḥmān. The name of his mother is given as Āminah, and with this one of his own titles, Amīn, agrees; although the Arabs do not appear to bring the two into connection. Her father’s name is given as Wahb, and she is brought into relation with a Medinese tribe called the Banū ‘Adī bin al-Najjār, to whom she is said to have brought her son in his early infancy. The circumstances may have been suggested by his later connection with that place; yet in what seems a historical narrative her grave is mentioned as known to be at Abwa, midway between the two cities, whence this early bond between the Lawgiver and his future home may have really existed.

His own name is given in the Quar’an in the forms Aḥmad and the familiar Muḥammad; in contemporary poetry we also find

the form Maḥmūd. Similar variation between derivatives from the same root is found in proper names which occur in early poetry; the meaning of all would be “the praised,” if the root be given its Arabic signification, “the desired” if interpreted from the Hebrew.

The form Muḥammad (ordinarily transliterated Mohammed; Muhammad, Mehmet, etcetera, represent the Turkish pronunciation) is found in a pre-Islamic inscription, and appears to have been fairly common in Arabia. In Haggai 2:7 a derivative of the Hebrew equivalent root occurs in the prophecy “and the desired of all nations shall come,” and this passage has suggested the idea that the name may have been taken by the Lawgiver as the equivalent of “Messiah,” while the Muslims themselves find its equivalent in the Paraclete of the Fourth Gospel, though this identification requires more ingenuity. His kunyah (that is, the Arab title of respect, in which a man is called after his son) is Abu’l-Qāsim; other names by which he is called are titles of honor, such as Muṣṭafā “chosen.” (See further the genealogical table, ad fin.)

In the Quar’an, Allah says that He found the Lawgiver an orphan, poor and astray; it is possible that all these expressions should be understood figuratively, like the “poor, naked, blind” of Christian hymns; the Arabs, however,

take them literally, and Muhammad is said to have been a posthumous child, whose mother died a few months or years after his birth, and who was brought up first by his grandfather, and then by his uncle Abū Ṭālib, one of the poorer members of the family; in the controversy between the Alid and Abbasid pretenders of the second century of Islam the Abbasid Maṣṣūr claims that his ancestor fed the ancestor of ‘Ali, that is, Abū Ṭālib, otherwise he would have had to beg. There was evidently an apparent inconsistency between Muhammad’s being a poor orphan and the favorite grandchild of the eminent and wealthy ‘Abd al-Moṭṭalib; and it was solved in this way. There was a tradition that in his early years he was sent into the desert to acquire the habits and the language of the Bedouins; and this seems to have been attested by the Lawgiver himself. In a tribal fight he is said to have acted as armour-bearer to one of his uncles, Zubair. There seems no doubt that he often accompanied Meccan caravans to the countries with which the Meccans had trade relations; such especially were Syria and south Arabia, and perhaps Egypt and Mesopotamia. It is conceivable that he may have visited Ethiopia by sea. For though accurate knowledge is nowhere to be found in the Quar’an, it exhibits a large amount of miscellaneous information, such as a trader might well pick up. His career as a caravan-conductor appears to have terminated with his marriage to Khadija, daughter of Khuwailid, represented by the tradition as a wealthy widow,

fifteen years his senior and forty years of age at the time of the union. As she became the mother of a numerous family, a special rule was discovered by Muslim physiologists extending the child-bearing period of Korashite women beyond that of others. Since it is claimed for Muhammad that he first gave Arab women the right to inherit property, the difficulty noticed is not the only one connected with this marriage; and Robertson Smith has called attention to some others, unconnected with his theory of "marriage and kinship in early Arabia." After his marriage Muhammad appears to have been partner in a shop in Mecca; where he apparently sold agricultural produce. His style is strongly marked by phrases and metaphors drawn from trade, though as a statesman he never displayed any financial ability.

Writing in the monumental script of South Arabia had been known for centuries in the peninsula; and shortly before the rise of Islam a cursive script, the parent of the ordinary Arabic character, had been started in the Christian state of Hira, with which the beginnings of modern Arabic literature are connected. A modification of this had been introduced into Mecca, and was probably used for contracts and similar documents. The word *ummī*, literally "popular" or "plebeian" (according to one etymology), applied to Muhammad in the Quar'an, is said to mean "one who can neither read nor write,"

and the most generally accepted view is that he could do neither, a supposition which enters into the doctrine of the miraculous nature of the Quar'an. According to another interpretation the word means "Meccan," that is, native of "the Mother of the Villages" (Umm al-Qura); and the most probable theory is that he could do both, but unskilfully. Indeed on one historic occasion he erased certain words in a document; and where in the Quar'an he rebuts the charge of "taking notes," he does not employ the obvious retort that he could not write, but gives a far less convincing answer. For poetry, which seems to have been cultivated in Arabia long before his time, he possessed no ear; but we have little reason for supposing that either writing or versification had yet entered into Arabian education. The former would be acquired by those who needed it, the latter was regarded as a natural gift. There is reason for thinking the language of the Quar'an incorrect and ungrammatical in parts, but as it afterwards became the ultimate standard of classical Arabic, this point is not easy to prove. On the whole then his early life seems to have been such as was normal in the case of a man belonging to one of the more important families in a community which had not long been started on a career of prosperity.

Pertaining to the organization of that community, we, unfortunately, know very little, though we hear of a council-chamber, and, as has been seen, of an age-qualification for admission to it. It is, however, certain that the theory of decision by majority was absolutely unknown to Muhammad's second successor, whence we learn little from this tradition (even if it be authentic) of the mode whereby the tribes who together formed the Meccan population managed their common concerns, whether commercial or political. The form of government seems to have been a rudimentary oligarchy, directed by some masterful individual; before the Flight we read of various prominent personages, after the Flight and the battle of Badr (A.H. 2) one chieftain, Abū Sofiān, appears to take the lead whether in war or in policy. It would seem, however, that the right of independent action belonged to the individual tribes, even to the extent of refusing to take part in a campaign. For the settlement of ordinary disputes recourse was had (it appears) rather to soothsayers, near or distant, than to any regularly constituted authority or tribunal. On the other hand we are furnished with a list of officials who were concerned with different parts of the festal performances and the ordinary worship. Of these we may mention the Custodian of the Ka'ba, and the official whose duty was siqāyah ("watering"), said to mean furnishing the pilgrims with water, but more ingeniously interpreted in recent times as "rain-bringing," a

function which even in the second century of Islam the governor in some places was supposed to exercise.

Of Arabian paganism we possess no trustworthy or complete account; since we hear of no theological literature belonging to it, probably no such account could have been given. There were doubtless a variety of practices, many of which have been continued to this day in the ceremonies of the pilgrimage, and offerings of different sorts to various deities, interpreted variously by the worshippers in accordance with their spiritual, intellectual and moral levels; such as actual stones, or as men (or more often women) residing in the stones or otherwise connected with them, or bearing a similar relation to trees, or stars, etcetera In general every tribe had its patron of the kind, and where there were aggregations of tribes, connections were established between these deities, and affiliation-theories excogitated; hence the theory attributed in the Quar'an to the Meccans that the goddesses al-'Uzzā, etcetera were the daughters of Allah, may well represent the outcome of such speculation. These, however, were known to few, whereas the practices were familiar to all. Some of these were harmless, others barbarous; many offensive, but not very reprehensible, superstitions.

Before Muhammad's time Arabian paganism had already been attacked both from the outside and from the inside. On the one hand the northern tribes had gradually been christianized, owing to the influence of the Byzantine empire; on the other hand south Arabia had fallen successively under Jewish, Ethiopian and Persian influence; and the last, though little is known of Persian rule, is unlikely to have favored pagan cults. Christianity had also some important representation in Najran far south of Mecca, while Jewish settlements were prospering north of Mecca in the Lawgiver's future home Yathrib and its neighborhood. Power, civilization and learning were thus associated with monotheism (Judaism), dualism (Mazdaism) and tritheism (as the Arabs interpreted Christianity); paganism was the religion of ignorance (jāhiliyyah, interpreted by Goldziher as "barbarism," but the difference is not very considerable). Mecca itself and the neighboring and allied Ṭāif are said to have produced some monotheists or Christians, who identified the Allah of Mecca with the Allāhā or God of the Syrian Christians, called by the Ethiopian Christians "Lord of the Regions," and by the Jews "the Merciful" (Raḥmānā); one such is said to have been a cousin of Khadija, Muhammad's wife; his name is given as Warāqah, son of Naufal, and he is credited with copying or translating a Gospel. We even hear of flagellant monks and persons vowed to total abstinence among the precursors of Islam.

With these persons Muhammad had little in common, since they do not appear to have claimed to enforce their views upon others, or to have interfered with politics. He appears mainly to have been struck by the personality of the founders of the systems dominant in the civilized world, and to have aspired from the first to occupy the place of legislator or mouthpiece of the Deity; and that he was this was and is the main proposition of the Islamic creed. The “Lawgiver” or “Apostle” (at different times he employed both the Jewish and the Christian phrase) was the divinely appointed dictator of his community; if he were not obeyed, divine vengeance would overtake the disobedient. At this proposition Muhammad arrived by induction from the records of the Biblical Lawgivers, as well as others who seem to have figured in Arabian mythology, such as the destruction of the tribe Thamūd (mentioned by Pliny, and therefore historical) for their disobedience to their Lawgiver Ṣāliḥ, and of ‘Ad (probably mythical) for their similar treatment of Hūd. The character of the message did not affect the necessity for obedience; at times it was condemnation of some moral offence, at others a trivial order. Divine vengeance overtook those who disobeyed either.

This is the theory of the Religious and spiritual office which pervades the Quar'an, wherein the doctrine is formulated that every nation had its divine guide and that Mecca before Muhammad's time had none. This place, then, Muhammad felt a divine call to fill. But we are never likely to ascertain what first put the idea into his mind. The fables which his biographers tell on this subject are not worth repeating; his own system, in which he is brought into direct communication with the Deity, though at a later period the angel Gabriel appears to have acted as intermediary, naturally leaves no room for such speculations; and since his dispensation was thought to be absolutely new, and to make a tabula rasa of the pagan past, his first followers, having broken with that past, left no intelligible account of the state of affairs which preceded their master's call. Some generations therefore elapsed before that past was studied with any sort of sympathy, and details could not then be recovered, any more than they can now be supplied by conjecture.

So far as Muhammad may be said from the first to have formulated a definite notion of his work, we should probably be right in thinking it to be the restoration of the religion of Abraham, or (as the Quar'an calls him) Ibrahim. Though we have no reason for supposing the name of Abraham or

Ishmael to have been known in Mecca generally before Muhammad's time, the Biblical ethnology was not apparently questioned by those who were told of it, and there are stories, not necessarily apocryphal, of precursors of Muhammad going abroad in search of the "religion of Abraham." One feature of that system, associated in the Bible with the name of Ishmael as well, was circumcision, which was actually observed by the Meccan tribes, though it would appear with technical differences from the Jewish method; the association of monotheism with it would seem reasonable enough, in view of Jewish traditions, such as Muhammad may have heard on his travels; why the doctrine of the future life should be coupled with it is less obvious. That the Meccan temple and its rites had been founded by these two patriarchs appears to have been deduced by Muhammad himself, but perhaps at a later stage of his career. That these rites, so far as they were idolatrous, were in flagrant defiance of the religion of Abraham must have struck anyone who accepted the accounts of it which were current among Jews and Christians. The precursors, however, appear to have felt no call to reform their fellow-citizens; whereas it is evident that Muhammad regarded himself as charged with a message, which he was bound to deliver, and which his God would in some way render effective.

As it was obvious that the claim to be God's mouthpiece was to claim autocracy, Muhammad employed the utmost caution in his mode of asserting this claim; on the question of his sincerity there have been different opinions held, and it is not necessary to take any view on this matter. For three years his followers were a secret society; and this period appears to have been preceded by one of private preparation, the first revelation being received when the Lawgiver was in religious retirement, a ceremony called taḥannuth, of which the meaning is uncertain, but which can have no connection with the Hebrew teḥinnōth ("supplications"), on Mount Ḥirā, near Mecca.

If the traditional dates assigned to the suras (chapters) of the Quar'an are correct, the earliest revelations took the form of pages or rolls which the Lawgiver was to read by the "grace of God," as Joseph Smith, the founder of the Mormon religion, said of the power given him to read the "Egyptian" characters on the gold plates which he had found. The command to read is accompanied by the statement that "his most generous Lord had taught man by the pen (calamus) that which he did not know." Waraqah, to whom the event is said to have been communicated by Khadija, called these communications "the Greater Law" (nomos). The Lawgiver was directed to communicate his mission at the first only to his nearest

relatives. The utterances were from the first in a sort of rhyme, such as is said to have been employed for solemn matter in general, such as oracles or prayers. At an early period the production of a written communication was abandoned for oral communications, delivered by the Lawgiver in trance; their delivery was preceded by copious perspiration, for which the Lawgiver prepared (in accordance with instructions found in the Quar'an) by wrapping himself in a blanket. Trusty followers were instructed to take these utterances down, but the phenomena which accompanied their delivery at least in one case suggested imposture to the scribe, who apostatized in consequence. It is extraordinary that there is no reason to suppose that any official record was ever kept of these revelations; the Lawgiver treated them somewhat as the Sibyl of Apollos did her leaves. This carelessness is equally astounding whether the Lawgiver was sincere or insincere.

If the matter afterwards collected in the Quar'an be genuine, the early revelations must have been miscellaneous in content, magical, historical and homiletic. To some strange oaths are prefixed. Apparently the purpose to be compassed was to convince the audience of their miraculous origin. The formulation of doctrines belongs to a later period and that of jurisprudence to the latest of all. In that last period also,

when Muhammad was despot of Medina, the Quar'an served as an official chronicle, well compared by Sprenger to the leading articles on current events in a ministerial organ. Where the continuous paragraph is substituted for the ejaculation, the divine author apologizes for the style.

Certain doctrines and practices (such as washing of the person and the garments) must have been enjoined from the first, but our authorities scarcely give us any clear notion what they were. The doctrines to which the Lawgiver himself throughout assigned most value seem to have been the unity of God and the future life, or resurrection of the body. The former necessitated the abandonment of the idolatrous worship which formed part of the daily life of Mecca, and in which Muhammad and Khadija had been accustomed to take their part. Yet it seems to have been due to the initiative of the proselytes themselves rather than to the Lawgiver's orders that the Meccan worship was actually flouted by them; for the anecdote which represents the Lawgiver and his young cousin attempting to pull down the images in or about the Ka'ba appears to be apocryphal. The first Muslim ceremony would appear to have been the religious meeting for the purpose of hearing the delivery of revelations, of which after the Lawgiver's death the sermon (khuṭbah) took the place. After various provisional meeting-places, the

house of one al-Arqam on Mount Safa was adopted for this purpose; and here proselytes were initiated.

The names which the new community received from its founder are both philological puzzles; for the natural sense of Muslim (“Muslim”) appear to be “traitors,” and to this a contemporary war-song of Muhammad’s enemies alludes; while Ḥanīf (especially applied in the Qur’an to Abraham) seems to be the Hebrew word for “hypocrite.” The former is explained in the Qur’an to mean “one who hands over his face or person to God,” and is said to have been invented by Abraham; of the latter no explanation is given, but it seems to signify from the context “devotee.” Since the divine name Raḥmān was at one time favored by Muhammad, and this was connected with one Maslama of the tribe Ḥanīfa, who figures in politics at the end of Muhammad’s career but must have been a religious leader far earlier, it has been suggested that the names originally belonged to Maslama’s community. The honor of having been Muhammad’s first convert is claimed for three persons: his wife Khadīja, his cousin Ali, who must have been a lad at the commencement of the mission, and Abū Bekr, son of Abū Quḥāfah, afterwards Muhammad’s first successor. This last person became Muhammad’s alter ego, and is usually known as the Ṣiddiq (Hebrew word signifying “the saint,” but to the Arabs meaning “faithful friend”). His

loyalty from first to last was absolutely unswerving; he was selected to accompany Muhammad on the most critical occasion of his life, the Flight from Mecca; Muhammad is said to have declared that had he ever made a confidant of anyone, that person would have been Abū Bekr; implying that there were things which were not confided even to him. The success of the Lawgiver's enterprise seems to have been very largely due to the part played by this adherent, who possessed a variety of attainments which he put at Muhammad's service; who when an intermediary was required was always ready to represent him, and who placed the commendation of the Lawgiver above every other consideration, private or public. The two appear to have regularly laid siege to those persons in Mecca whose adherence was desirable; and the ability which many of the earlier converts afterwards displayed, whether as statesmen or generals, is a remarkable testimony to their power of gauging men. It seems clear that the growth of wealth in Mecca had led to the accentuation of the difference between persons of different station, and that many were discontented with the oligarchy which governed the city. Converts could, therefore, be won without serious difficulty among the aliens and in general those who suffered under various disqualifications. Some members of the Jewish community seem also to have joined; and some relics of the Ethiopian expedition (that is, descendants of the invaders).

Among the most important converts of the Meccan period were Muhammad's uncle Ḥamza, afterwards for his valor called "the Lion of God"; 'Abd al-Raḥman (Abdar-raḥman) son of 'Auf; Othman, son of 'Affān, who married two of the Lawgiver's daughters successively, and was Muhammad's third successor; and, more important than any save Abū Bekr, Omar, son of al-Khattāb, a man of extraordinary force of character, to whom siege seems to have been laid with extraordinary skill. At some time he received the honorable title Fārūq ("Deliverer"); he is represented as regularly favoring force, where Abū Bekr favored gentle methods; unlike Abū Bekr, his loyalty was not always above suspicion. His adherence is ascribed to the period of publicity.

The secrecy which marked its early years was of the greatest value for the eventual success of the mission; for when Muhammad came forward publicly, he was already the head of a band of united followers. His own family appear to have been either firm adherents, or violent enemies, or lukewarm and temporizing, this is the best which can be said for 'Abbās, eponymus of the Abbasid dynasty; or finally espousers of his cause, on family grounds, but not as believers.

Rejecting accounts of Muhammad's first appearance as a public preacher, which are evidently comments on a text of

the Quar'an, we have reason for supposing that his hand was forced by ardent followers, who many times in his career compelled him to advance. The astute rulers of the community perceived that the claim made by Muhammad was to be dictator or autocrat; and while this was naturally ridiculed by them, some appear to have been devoted adherents of the gods or goddesses whom he attacked. The absence of dated documents for the period between this open proclamation (which in any case commenced before A.D. 616) and the Flight to Medina in A.D. 622 renders the course of events somewhat conjectural, though certain details appear to be well established. Apparently there was a war of words, followed by a resort to diplomacy and then to force; and then a period in which Muhammad's attention was directed to foreign conversions, resulting in his being offered and accepting the dictatorship of Yathrib.

Of the war of words we have an imperfect record in the Meccan suras of the Quar'an, which occasionally state the objections urged by the opponents. In the course of the debate the theological position of both parties seems to have shifted, and the knowledge of both was probably increased in various ways. The miracle of the Quar'an, which at first consisted in its mode of production, was transformed into a marvel connected with its contents; first by Muhammad's

claiming to tell historical narratives which had previously been unknown to him; afterwards by the assertion that the united efforts of mankind and Jinn would be unable to match the smallest passage of the Quar'an in sublimity. Probably the first of these claims could not be long maintained, though A. J. Davis, "the Seer of Poughkeepsie," in our own time brought a similar one in regard to his Principles of Nature. Indeed both parties evidently resorted to external aid. To those who undertook to name the man who dictated stories of the ancients to Muhammad day and night, he replied that the individual whom they had in mind was a foreigner, whereas the Quar'an was in pure Arabic. This was obviously a quibble, for it was scarcely asserted that he delivered the matter dictated to him without alteration. The purity of the Arabic also appears to have been very questionable; for several expressions appear to be Ethiopic rather than Arabic, and the person whom the Meccans had in mind is likely to have been an Ethiopian Christian, since the Christian technicalities of the Quar'an are mainly derived from the Ethiopic Gospels and Acts. On one occasion when some questions suggested by learned foreigners had been propounded to the Lawgiver he required a fortnight's delay before the revelation which solved them came; the matter contained in his reply was certainly such as required research. His sources of information seem at all times to have been legendary rather than canonical; and the community

which seemed to his opponents to agree best with his views was that of the Sabians or Mandaeans.

It has been suggested that Muhammad first threatened the Meccans with temporal punishment, and only when this threat failed to take effect resorted to the terrors of the Day of Judgment and the tortures of Hell; it seems however a mistake to distinguish between the two. These threats provided the Lawgiver with his most powerful sermons. The boasts of incomparable eloquence which the Quar'an contains are evidence that his oratorical power was effective with his audiences, since the more successful among the Arabic poets talk of their compositions somewhat in the same way. These discourses certainly led to occasional conversions, perhaps more frequently among women than men.

The diplomatic war seems to have been due to the Lawgiver's increasing success, which led to serious persecution of Muhammad's less influential followers, though, as has been seen, no blood could be shed in Mecca. Abū Ṭālib, moreover, prevented him from being exiled, though he probably had to endure many personal insults. Something however had to be done for the persecuted Muslims, and (perhaps at the suggestion of his Ethiopian helper) Muhammad endeavored

to find a refuge for them in the realm of Axum. Ethiopia was doubtless connected in every Meccan mind with the "Expedition of the Elephant"; and such an alliance secured by Muhammad was a menace to the existence of the Meccan community. A deputation was therefore sent by the Meccan leaders to demand extradition of the exiles; and as chief of this expedition the future conqueror of Egypt, 'Amr bin al-'Āṣ (see 'Amr ibn el-Ass), first figures in history. To frustrate his efforts Muhammad sent his cousin Ja'far armed with an exposition of the Lawgiver's beliefs and doctrines afterwards embodied in the Quar'an as the Sura of Mary (Number 19; though with the addition of some anti-Christian matter). The original document contained an account of the Nativity of Christ with various miracles not known to either the canonical or even the apocryphal gospels which have been preserved, but which would be found edifying rather than unorthodox by a church one of whose most popular books is The Miracles of the Virgin Mary. To this there were added certain notices of Old Testament Lawgivers. The Ethiopian king and his ecclesiastical advisers took the side of Muhammad and his followers, whom they appear to have regarded as persecuted Christians; and an attempt made probably by the astute 'Amr to embroil them with the Ethiopians on the difficult question of the Natures of Christ failed completely. There seems reason for thinking that the Ethiopian king contemplated bringing back the exiles by

force, but was diverted from this purpose by frontier wars; meanwhile they were safely harbored, though they seem to have suffered from extreme poverty. The want of an Ethiopian chronicle for this period is a serious disadvantage for the study of Islamic origins. The sequel shows that regular correspondence went on between the exiles and those who remained in Mecca, whence the former were retained within the fold of Islam, with occasional though rare apostasies to Christianity.

Muhammad's diplomatic victory roused the Meccan leaders to fury, and they decided on the most vigorous measures to which they could rise; Abū Ṭālib, Muhammad's protector, and the clan which acknowledged him as sheikh, including the Lawgiver and his family, were blockaded in the quarter which they occupied; as in other sanctuaries, though blood might not be shed, a culprit might be starved to death. That this did not occur, though the siege appears to have lasted some months at least, was due to the weak good nature of the Meccans, but doubtless also to the fact that there were enlisted on Muhammad's side many men of great physical strength and courage (as their subsequent careers proved), who could with impunity defy the Meccan embargo. After a time however the besieged found the situation intolerable, and any assistance which they might have expected from the

king of Axum failed to come. The course adopted by Muhammad was retraction of those of his utterances which had most offended the Meccans, involving something like a return to paganism. A revelation came acknowledging the effectiveness of the Meccan goddesses as well as Allah, and the Meccans raised the siege. News of the reconciliation reached the Ethiopian exiles and they proceeded to return.

By the time they reached the Arabian coast the dispute had recommenced. The revelation was discovered to be a fabrication of the Devil, who, it appears, regularly interpolates in religious and spiritual revelations; such at least is the apology preserved in the Quar'an, whence the fabricated verses have been expunged. Since our knowledge of this episode (regarded as the most disgraceful in the Lawgiver's career) is fragmentary, we can only guess that the Lawgiver's hand had once more been forced by the more earnest of his followers, for whom any compromise with paganism was impossible. The exiles went back to Ethiopia; and about this time both Abū Ṭālib and Khadīja died, leaving the Lawgiver unprotected.

He fled to the neighboring oasis of Ṭāif, where wealthy Meccans had possessions, and where the goddess al-ʿUzza was worshipped with special zeal, where she is said still to

exist in the form of a block of stone. He had but little success there in proselytizing, and indeed had to cease preaching; but he opened negotiations with various Meccan magnates for a promise of protection in case of his return. This was at last obtained with difficulty from one Moṭʿim bin ʿAdi. It would appear that his efforts were now confined to preaching to the strangers who assembled at or near Mecca for the ceremonies connected with the feasts. He received in consequence some invitations to come and expound his views away from Mecca, but had to wait some time before one came of a sort which he could wisely accept.

The situation which led to Muhammad's Flight (hijra, anglicized incorrectly hejira) was singularly favorable to Muhammad's enterprise, and utilized by him with extraordinary caution and skill. At the palm plantation called Yathrib, afterwards known as al-Medina, Medina, "the City" (that is, of the Lawgiver), there were various tribes, the two most important, called Aus and Khazraj, being pagan, and engaged in an internecine feud, while under their protection there were certain Jewish tribes, whose names have come down to us as Qainuqā, Naḍīr and Quraiza, implying that the Israelites, as might be expected, imitated the totem nomenclature of their neighbors. The memory of these Israelites is exclusively preserved by the Muslim records; the

main stream of Jewish history flowed elsewhere. In the series of combats between the Aus and Khazraj the former had generally been worsted; the Jews, as usual, had avoided taking any active part in the fray. Finally, owing to an act of gross perfidy, they were compelled to fight in aid of the Aus; and in the so-called battle of Bu'āth the Aus aided by the Jews had won a victory, doubtless attributed to the God of the Jews. As has been seen, the divine name employed by Muhammad (Raḥmān) was one familiar to the Jews; and the Yathribites who visited Mecca at feast-time were naturally attracted by a professed representative of al-Raḥmān. The first Yathribite converts appear to have been Khazrajites, and one As'ad, son of Zurarah, is the most prominent figure. Their idea may have been in the first place to secure the aid of the Israelitish Deity in their next battle with the Aus, and indeed the primary object of their visit to Mecca is said to have been to request assistance for their war. For this the plan was substituted of inviting the Lawgiver to come to Mecca as dictator, to heal the feud and restore order, a procedure to which Greek antiquity offers parallels. The new converts were told to carry on secret propaganda in Yathrib with this end in view. At the next feast some of the rival faction embraced Islam. A trusty follower of Muhammad, Mus'ab bin'Umair, who resembled Muhammad in personal appearance, was sent to Yathrib to assist in the work. The correspondence between this person and the Lawgiver would,

if we possessed it, be of the greatest value for the study of Islamic antiquity. We first hear at this time of the conditions of Islam, that is, a series of undertakings into which the convert entered: namely, to abstain from adultery, theft, infanticide and lying, and to obey Muhammad in licitis et honestis. The wholesale conversion of Yathrib was determined by that of two chieftains, Usaid bin Ḥuraith and Sa'd bin Mu'adh, both Ausites. The example of these was quickly followed, and iconoclasm became rife in the place. At the next Meccan feast a deputation of seventy Yathribites brought Muhammad a formal invitation, which he accepted, after imposing certain conditions. The interviews between Muhammad and the Yathribites are known as the 'Aqabah (probably with reference to a text of the Quar'an). The attitude of the Jews towards the project appears to have been favorable.

Among the conditions imposed by Muhammad on his new adherents appears to have been the protection and harboring of the older proselytes, whom Muhammad most wisely determined to send before him to Yathrib, where, in the event of the Yathribite loyalty wavering, they could be counted on with certainty. The welcome given these refugees (muhājirūn), as they were from this time known in contradistinction to the helpers (anṣār) or allies from Yathrib,

is said to have been of the warmest; a Helper with two wives would hand one over to a wifeless Refugee. A yet more important condition which preceded the Flight was readiness to fight men of all colours in defense of the faith.

Although the transactions with the people of Yathrib had been carried on with profound secrecy, the nature of Muhammad's contract with his new adherents was somewhat divulged to the Meccan magnates, and the danger of allowing an implacable enemy to establish himself on the high-road of their north-bound caravans flashed upon them. The rule which forbade bloodshed in the sacred city had at last to be suspended; but elaborate precautions were to be taken whereby every tribe (except Muhammad's own clan) should have their share in the guilt, which would thus be spread over the whole community fairly. When the committee appointed to perpetrate the crime reached Muhammad's house, they found that it was too late; Muhammad had already departed, leaving Ali in his bed.

The actual Flight from Mecca to Yathrib has naturally been a favorite subject for romance, and indeed appears to have been executed with the greatest cunning. Accompanied by Abū Bekr only, Muhammad took refuge in a cave of Mount Thaur, in the opposite direction to that which he intended to

take finally, and there remained for three days; provision had been made of every requisite, food, powerful camels, a trusty and competent guide. The date at which he reached Kuba, on the outskirts of Yathrib, where there was already some sort of Muslim oratory, is given as 8 Rabia I., of the year A.H. 1; the fact that he arrived there on the Jewish Day of Atonement gives us the date September 20, A.D. 622. The Meccans, who had employed professional trackers to hunt down the fugitives, proceeded to confiscate the houses and goods of Muhammad and of his followers who had fled.

The safe arrival of Muhammad at his destination marks the turning-point in his career, which now became one of almost unbroken success; his intellectual superiority over both friends and enemies enabling him to profit by defeat little less than by victory. His policy appears

to have been to bind his followers to himself and them to each other by every possible tie; he instituted brotherhoods between the Refugees and Helpers, which were to count as relationships for legal purposes, and having himself no sons, he contracted numerous marriages partly with the same end in view; such as with the infant daughter of Abū Bekr, Ayesha (‘A’ishah), whose ability he appears to have discerned; and the unamiable Ḥafṣa, daughter of Omar. Of his own daughters three were given to faithful allies, the one by whom his line

is supposed to have been continued to our time, Fāṭima, was reserved for his cousin Ali. Owing to his efforts the alliance between the Refugees and Helpers resisted numerous attempts on the part of enemies to break it up, and only towards the end of the Lawgiver's life, when he appeared to favor Meccans unduly, do we hear of any bitterness between the two communities.

The population of Yathrib, or, as it may now be called, Medina, soon divided into three groups: Muhammad's united followers; the Jews; and a party known as the "Hypocrites," that is, professing Muslims, who were lukewarm, or disaffected, among whom the most prominent is

ʿAbdallah bin Ubayy, a Khazrajite chieftain, who is said to have himself aspired to be despot of Yathrib, and who till nearly the end of Muhammad's career figures somewhat as a leader of the opposition; of his importance there is no question, but the reason for it and the mode whereby he made it felt are often obscure. It would seem that the pagans remaining in Yathrib speedily adopted Islam after the Lawgiver's arrival, whence we hear little of serious opposition on their part. Coming in the capacity of Lawgiver of the Israelitish God, Muhammad at first seems to have courted alliance with the Jews, and to have been ready to adopt their system with very slight modifications, similar to

those which, according to his opinion, Jesus had come to introduce. The Jews met these advances by submitting him to examination in the intricacies of the Torah, and, finding him very poorly equipped, proceeded to denounce him as an imposter; one of his examiners is said to have even translated the Torah into Arabic with a view of convicting him of ignorance and imposture. They are further charged with exercising their magical arts on the Lawgiver and his followers, and to have succeeded thereby in producing barrenness among the Muslim women. Their conduct must not of course be judged by the statement of their enemies; it is however clear that Muhammad soon found that there was no possibility of compromising with them on religious questions, or of obtaining their loyal support; meanwhile he discovered that they were incapable of united and persistent action, and useless as warriors except against each other. He therefore resolved on their extermination. His ruthlessness in their case compared with his patience and forbearance in the case of the "Hypocrites" was consistent with his principle (always faithfully observed) that no inquiry was permissible into the motives of conversion, and with his division of mankind into the two antagonistic factions Believers and Unbelievers. The latter principle, as will be seen, was somewhat modified before the end of his life.

Muhammad's failure to effect a compromise with the Jews caused a reaction in his mind towards paganism, and after about a year's residence at Medina the direction of prayer, which had till then been towards Jerusalem, was turned southward to the pagan temple at Mecca.

With this change we may perhaps couple the adoption of the name Allah for the Deity; in the Muslim formula "in the Name of Allah the Raḥmān the Merciful," the translation attached to the word Raḥmān, and the prefixing to it of the name Allah furnish clear evidence of theological transition, though the stages are not recorded; we know, however, that the Meccans approved of the name Allah, but objected to the name Raḥmān. Prayer (ṣalāt), said to have been prescribed on the occasion of the Lawgiver's ascent into heaven after a miraculous journey from Mecca to Jerusalem, began to assume a stereotyped form in the place of assembly built by Muhammad immediately after his arrival; the attitudes of prayer in use among many communities (such as the Jewish standing, the prostration of some Christian sects) were combined. In general it was Muhammad's principle, while taking over a practice from some other sect, to modify it so as to render the Muslim method absolutely distinct; thus when a summons to prayer became requisite, a new mode (by the voice of a crier called muaddhin or muezzin) was preferred to the Christian hammer; a new sacred day was adopted, in lieu of the Jewish Saturday and the Christian

Sunday, in the weekday on which he had safely reached Kuba, Friday; but the sanctity was reduced to the actual time occupied by public worship. On the subject of food he was satisfied with the regulations of the Council of Jerusalem, recorded in Acts xv.; which were observed by few if any Christian sects. The prohibition of wine, which was enacted in A.H. 3, is said to have been occasioned by the riotous conduct of one of his followers when under the influence of liquor; Palgrave saw in it (perhaps with justice) a deliberate attempt to prevent harmony between Muslims and Christians, in whose most sacred rite wine is used. The Fast of Ramaḍān, in which food both liquid and solid is forbidden from sunrise to sunset, is said to be a pagan or semi-pagan institution; its importance for military training and discipline is not likely to have been overlooked by the Lawgiver. When the direction of prayer was altered, it is probable that Muhammad already intended to introduce into his system the whole of the pagan pilgrimage with its antique ceremonial (with, of course, a new interpretation); before this he is supposed to have aimed at the abolition of the Ka'ba and all that appertained to it.

The difference between religious and civil law has never been recognized by Islamic jurists, whose manuals deal equally with the law of contract and the amount of the body to be

washed before prayer; the Lawgiver's ordinances on both subjects were suggested by the occasion in each case, and it would seem that the opinions of trusted advisers were regularly heard before a revelation was issued. Even when this had been done the ordinance might be cancelled by an abrogating revelation; it being "easy for Allah" to substitute for a text already revealed another that was better or at least as good.

As Islam began to spread outside the limits of Medina both conversion to Islam and persistence therein were reduced to simple tests; the pronunciation of the double formula of belief in Allah and Muhammad was sufficient to indicate conversion, whilst payment of an income-tax, called by the Jewish names for alms (zakāt and ṣadaqah), was evidence of loyalty. This income-tax, of which the definite assessment perhaps belongs to a later period, was for the support of necessitous converts, an element in the community whose presence accounts for the mode in which the development of the Islamic state proceeded.

The industries in which the Meccan Refugees had been engaged were not of a sort which they could exercise at Medina, where the palm took the place of the camel as the basis of society. Moreover the Lawgiver seems to have given

some disastrous advice on the subject of palmiculture, and thereby to have accentuated the poverty of the place. He had, therefore, to find some fresh source of revenue in order to deal with this difficulty, and one of the Helpers is said to have suggested the plan which he adopted, namely, of attacking the Meccan caravans. With this view he organized a series of expeditions, taking the lead himself sometimes, while at others he gave it to one of his veteran followers; and at first only Refugees took part in them. The leaders of the caravans, however, were expert in evading attacks of this sort, which were doubtless regularly attempted by the desert tribes; and in the first year of his despotism Muhammad did not score a single success of the kind intended. The attempts were not wholly fruitless; for while on the one hand he accustomed his followers to campaigning, on the other he made a series of agreements with the chieftains of the tribes through whose territory the caravans ordinarily passed. Finding continued failure intolerable, he resolved to take advantage of his power to bind and to loose by sending an expedition of seven men under his cousin 'Abdallah bin Jaḥsh to attack a caravan at the beginning of the sacred month Rajab, when, as raiding during such a season was unknown, success was practically certain. The commander on this, the Nakhlah raid, was given sealed orders, to be opened after two days' march; the men were then to be given the option of retiring, if they disapproved. Of this no one seems definitely to have availed

himself, and the raid ended successfully, for considerable booty was captured, while of the four persons who escorted the caravan two were made prisoners, one escaped, and one, ʿAmr bin al-Ḥaḍrami, was killed; he was the first person slain fighting against an Islamic force. The violation of the sacred month seems to have caused considerable scandal in Arabia, but led to no serious consequence; on the other hand the shedding of blood created a feud between the people of Mecca and the Refugees, with whom the Meccans long declined to identify the people of Medina. The fact that the man who had been killed was a client, not a citizen, made no difference. The circumstance that booty had been actually acquired appears to have helped the Lawgiver's cause very considerably.

Both these consequences, the Meccan desire to avenge the blood that had been shed and the anxiety of the Medinese to take part in a successful raid, manifested themselves a few months later, when an expedition was organized by Muhammad to attack a caravan returning from Syria, which had escaped him the previous year. Many desired to take part in the raid, and finally some 300 persons were selected, including a large number of "Helpers." The leader of the caravan learned somehow that an attack was being organized by Muhammad on a large scale, and sent to Mecca for aid,

while hurrying home by forced marches. This is the first historical appearance of Abū Sofiān (the leader of the caravan), who now for some years played the part of president in the Meccan opposition to Muhammad, and whose son was destined to found the second Islamic dynasty (see Caliphate). The day before the battle to be fought at Badr, near the point where the northern road leaves the coast to turn eastwards to Mecca, the Muslim army learned that the Meccan succor (some 1000 strong) was near, but that the caravan had escaped. The Meccans, it is asserted, would have returned home now that their object was secured, but the patrons of the man who had been killed in the former raid were compelled to strike for vengeance.

The battle (Ramadān 19, A.H. 2, usually made to synchronize with March 17, A.D. 624) ended in a complete victory for Muhammad, whose followers killed seventy of the enemy and took seventy prisoners, if we may trust what seem to be round numbers; it was attributed by him to divine cooperation, taking the form of an illusion wrought on the enemy, and the dispatch of a regiment of angels to the assistance of the Believers, while on the other hand the treachery of the Devil did mischief to the Meccans. The popular tradition attributed it to the prowess of some of Muhammad's followers, especially his uncle Ḥamza and his

cousin Ali. In the narratives which have come down and which seem to be authentic the result is amply accounted for by the excellence of the Muslim discipline and the complete absence of any on the Meccan side. Muhammad himself is said to have fainted at the first sight of blood, and to have remained during the battle in a hut built for him to which swift camels were tied, to be used in case of a defeat; yet these accounts make him responsible for the tactics, whilst assigning the credit for the strategy to one Ḥobab bin al-Mondhir. Several of Muhammad's old enemies and friends of Meccan days perished on this occasion; notably one Abu Jahl, his uncle, but represented as an implacable enemy; another hostile uncle, Abu Lahab, who is cursed in the Quar'an, was not present but died shortly after the battle.

The day is called in the Quar'an by a Syriac expression the "Day of Deliverance," and both for internal and external politics it was of incalculable advantage to Islam. The booty and the ransoms of the prisoners provided the means for dealing with distress; the story of supernatural aid soothed the feelings of the defeated Meccans and had a tendency to disarm resistance elsewhere; whilst Muhammad in the popularity acquired by his victory was able to strike forcibly at his enemies in Medina. One of the sequels to the victory

was a series of assassinations whereby critics of his actions were removed.

The defeat at Badr naturally led to efforts on the part of the Meccans to avenge their dead and besides to secure the commerce, by which they lived, from an enemy who was gradually getting all the seaboard that lay between Jeddah and Yanbo within his sphere of influence; and the year after Badr (A.H. 3) Abū Sofiān was able to lead a force said to be three times as great as that which had been defeated, and so numbering some 3000 men, against Medina itself; part of it was under Khālid bin al-Walid, one of the greatest of Arab captains, afterwards conqueror of Syria. It is said that Muhammad's plan was to remain in Medina itself, and leave it to the Meccan commander to discover some way of taking the place; but that his hand was forced by his more ardent followers. Others, however, assign this advice to Abdallah bin Ubayy, and make the Lawgiver anxious to fight from the first. A battle was in consequence fought under Mount Uḥud (or Ohod), north-west of Medina, wherein Khālid succeeded in inflicting a severe defeat on Muhammad's forces; his uncle Ḥamza, hero of Badr, was killed on this occasion. Fortunately for the Muslims, the Meccans considered that they had finished their task when they discovered that they had killed a number of the former equal to those who had fallen at Badr

on their own side; instead therefore of pursuing their victory they went home. The immediate effect on Arabia appears to have been to dissipate the illusion that the Lawgiver could count on supernatural assistance in his wars; and we hear of some blows being dealt him from outside. Meanwhile his relations towards the Medinese Jews had grown more and more hostile, and these are credited with doing their best to rouse the Meccans to a sense of the danger which threatened them in the continuance of the Lawgiver's power, and in general to stir up hostility against him in Arabia. Whether this part was played by them or not, in the fifth year of the Lawgiver's stay at Medina a fresh invasion of the territory took place by a vast confederate force of Meccans with their allies, the tribes Fazarah, Asad, Murrah, etcetera, to the number, it is said, of 10,000. This time the intention of the leaders was undoubtedly to stamp out Islam. For the first time in Arab warfare Muhammad resorted to the expedient of defending his city by a trench, called by a Persian name, and suggested by a Persian convert. But he also employed agents to sow dissension among the confederates, and succeeded with this no less than with the other expedient. After a brief stay, and scarcely striking a blow, the confederacy dispersed, leaving the Jews who still remained in Medina to the summary vengeance of the Lawgiver. The want of records written from the Meccan standpoint renders the abortiveness

of this last attempt at storming the Lawgiver's stronghold scarcely intelligible.

From this time, however, the road towards the eventual taking of Mecca became easy, and we are told that such was the importance attached to that city throughout Arabia that its acquisition meant for the Lawgiver the acquisition of the whole peninsula. The next year (A.H. 6) he deemed it advisable to make a truce with the Meccans (the Truce of Ḥodaibiyah), whereby he secured for his followers the right of performing the pilgrimage in the following year; on this occasion he even consented to forgo his title "Lawgiver of Allah," when the Meccans refused to sign a deed in which it was employed, greatly to the scandal of his more earnest followers, including Omar; they were however too deeply committed to Islam to be able to defy the Lawgiver. When the pilgrimage was performed (A.H. 7), Muhammad not only won important converts in the persons of Khālid and the no less able 'Amr bin al-'Aṣ, but in general impressed the population with the idea that his was the winning side. An excuse was easily found for invading Mecca itself in the following year, when Abū Sofiān took the opportunity of embracing Islam before it was too late. Very little resistance was now made by the Meccans, whose chiefs were already in Muhammad's camp, and Muhammad used his victory with great

moderation; his proscription list was finally reduced to two. The theory that all offences were cancelled by conversion was loyally observed. Moreover the Lawgiver incurred the displeasure of his Medinese friends by the anxiety which he displayed to soothe the feelings of his former enemies and antagonists. The Medinese, however, prevailed upon him to maintain their city as his political capital, while making Mecca the religious center of his system; and this arrangement accounts perhaps more than anything else for the persistence of the system amid so many dynastic changes.

In the main he appears to have introduced little alteration into the government of Mecca, and it is said that he even declined to retaliate on those who had confiscated the possessions of the Refugees. Even the Ka'ba was left in the keeping of its former custodian, though of course its interior as well as its precincts were cleansed of all that could offend monotheists. In the following year the pilgrimage was for the first time conducted by a Muslim official, Abū Bekr. A proclamation was made on that occasion, forbidding idolaters in future to take part in the pilgrimage, and giving all Arabs who were not as yet converted four months' grace before force was to be brought to bear upon them. In the following year Muhammad conducted the Pilgrimage himself.

This solemn occasion (the "Farewell Pilgrimage") was also employed for the delivery of an important proclamation, wherein the Lawgiver declared that God had completed their religion. The principle whereon he specially insisted was the brotherhood of Islam; but there is some difficulty in enucleating the original sermon from later additions.

It would seem that Muhammad's enterprise originally comprised the conversion of Mecca only, and that he thought of himself as sent to his fellow-citizens only, as had been the case with earlier Lawgivers, whose message was for their "brethren." His views took a somewhat different direction after his brief exile to Ṭāif, and the conquest of Arabia was in a way forced upon him in the course of his struggle with the Meccans. It is not indeed perfectly clear by what process he arrived at the resolution to exclude paganism from Arabia; at first he appears to have tolerated it at Medina, and in some of his earlier contracts with neighboring tribes he is represented as allowing it, though some of our texts make him reserve to himself the right of enforcing Islam if he chose; only the Meccans were at first, according to the most authentic documents, excluded from all truce or treaty. At the battle of Badr he appears to have formulated the rule that no one might fight on his side who had not embraced Islam; and when once he had won fame as a successful campaigner,

those who wished to share his adventures had to pass the Islamic test. After the battle of Uhud (Ohod) we hear of a tribe demanding missionaries to instruct them in Islamic principles; and though in the case recorded the demand was treacherous, the idea of sending missionaries appears not to have been unfamiliar even then, albeit the number sent (70), if rightly recorded, implies that the Lawgiver suspected the good faith of the applicants. After the taking of Mecca, whereby the chief sanctuary at any rate of north Arabia had been cleared of all idolatrous associations, and consecrated to monotheism, paganism in general was conscious of being attacked; and the city had scarcely been brought under the new régime before the Lawgiver had to face a confederation of tribes called Hawāzin and Thaqīf. The battle which ensued, known as the Day of Honain, was near ending disastrously for Islam; some of Muhammad's sturdiest followers fled; but the terrible danger of a defeat in the neighborhood of recently conquered Mecca roused the Lawgiver and Ali to heroism, and they saved the day. Emissaries were now sent far and wide demanding the destruction of idols, and only Ṭāif appears to have made any considerable resistance; against this place for the first time the Lawgiver made use of siege artillery, such as was employed by the Byzantines; though compelled by the bravery of the inhabitants to raise the siege, he was afterwards able to take the city by capitulation. It has been observed that here only do we read

of much attachment to the old deities; in most places they were discarded with few regrets when once their impotence had been found out. After the taking of Mecca and the victory of Honain there appears to have been a general desire, extending even to the extreme south of Arabia, to make the best terms with the conqueror so soon as possible; iconoclasm became general. Flatterers of various kinds, including poets, came to seek the favor of the sovereign; and a mock war of words appears to have been substituted by some tribes for more serious fighting, to terminate in surrender. For warfare of his sort Muhammad had a powerful helper in the poet Ḥāssan bin Thābit, for whose effusions a pulpit was erected in the Medina mosque, and whose verses were said to be inspired by the Holy Spirit; though, as has been seen, Muhammad was not himself able to judge of their artistic merit. It was not, however, found easy to enforce the payment of the alms on these new converts; and this taxation caused an almost general revolt so soon as Muhammad's death had been ascertained.

Although the central portions of the peninsula in Muhammad's time were practically independent, large portions of the north-west and south-east were provinces of the Byzantine and Persian empires respectively, whence any scheme for the conquest of Arabia would necessarily involve

the conqueror in war with these great powers. The conquest of Persia is said to have been contemplated by the Lawgiver as early as A.H. 5, when the famous Trench was being dug; but it was not till the year A.H. 7, on the eve of the taking of Mecca, that the Lawgiver conceived the idea of sending missives to all known sovereigns and potentates, promising them safety if, but only if, they embraced Islam. The text of these letters, which only varied in the name of the person addressed, is preserved (doubtless faithfully) by the Muslim Oral Tradition; in the middle of the last century a French explorer professed to discover in Egypt the original of one of them, addressed to the mysterious personage called the Muqauqis (Muḳauḳis) of Egypt, and this, it appears, is still preserved amid other supposed relics of the Lawgiver in Constantinople, though there is little reason for believing it to be genuine. The anecdotes dealing with the reception of these letters by their addressees are all fabulous in character. Two appear to have sent favorable replies: the king of Axum, who now could send the exiles whom he had so long harbored to their successful master; and the Egyptian governor, who sent Muhammad a valuable present, including two Coptic women for his harem. The emperor Heraclius is claimed as a secret convert to Islam, on whom pressure had to be put by his advisers to conceal his convictions. The Persian king is said to have sent orders to have Muhammad arrested; his messengers arrived in Medina, but were unable to carry out

the commands of their master, who died while they were there. Two of the letters are said to have had important results. One was addressed to the Himyarite chiefs (called by the south Arabian appellation qail) in Yemen, and effected their conversion; another to the governor of Bostra in Roman Arabia, who put the bearer of this insolent message to death; a force was dispatched by Muhammad immediately afterwards (beginning of A.H. 8) to avenge this outrage; and though the Muslims were defeated in their first encounter with the Byzantine forces at Muthah, they appear to have given a good account of themselves; it was here that Ja'far, cousin of the Lawgiver, met his death. In A.H. 9 a successful expedition was led by the Lawgiver himself northward, in which, though no Byzantine force was encountered, a considerable region was withdrawn from the Byzantine sphere of influence, and made either Islamic or tributary to Islam. At the time of his death (of fever, after a short illness) he was organizing an expedition for the conquest of Syria.

The Lawgiver claimed throughout that his revelation confirmed the Jewish and Christian Scriptures, and this claim is on the whole reasonable, though his acquaintance with both was in the highest degree vague and inaccurate. Still he reproduced the Old Testament as faithfully as he could, and though he patriotically endeavors to shed some lustre on his

supposed ancestor Ishmael, he does not appear to have questioned the Biblical theory according to which the founder of the north Arabian nations was the son of a slave girl. On neither the truth of the Biblical history and miracles nor the validity of the Mosaic legislation does he appear to have cast any doubt. He even allows that Israel was the chosen people. The Gospel was known to him chiefly through apocryphal and heretical sources, which cannot certainly be identified; but he accepted the doctrine of the Virgin-birth, the miracles of healing the sick and raising the dead, and the ascension; the crucifixion and resurrection were clearly denied by the sect from whom he had received his information, and rejected by him, though certainly not because of any miracle which the latter involved. His quarrel with the Jews at Medina appears to have been by no means of his own seeking, but to have arisen unavoidably, owing to his particular view of his office being such as they could not accept; and his attempt to discredit, not the Mosaic Law, but the form in which they presented it, was an expedient to which he resorted in self-defense. An attempt was made shortly after his arrival at Medina to settle the relations between the two communities by a treaty, according to which, while their equality was guaranteed there should be little interference between the two; this, however, was found unworkable, and each victory of Muhammad over the Meccans was followed by violent measures against the

Medinese Israelites. When experience had shown him their military incompetence he appears to have been unable to resist the temptation to appropriate their goods for the benefit of his followers; and his attack on the flourishing Jewish settlement of Khaibar, after the affair of Ḥodaibiyah, appears to have been practically unprovoked, and designed to satisfy his discontented adherents by an accession of plunder. Yet the consciousness that this process was economically wasteful suggested to him an idea which Islamic states are only now abandoning, namely, that of a tolerated caste, who should till the soil and provide sustenance for the Believers who were to be the fighting caste. Whereas then his former plan in dealing with Israelites had been to banish or massacre, he now left the former owners of Khaibar (who had survived the capture of the place) in possession of the soil, of whose produce they were to pay a fixed proportion to the Islamic state. The same principle was adopted in the case of later conquests of Jewish settlements.

Disputes with Christians occur somewhat later in the Lawgiver's career than those with Jews, for neither at Mecca nor Medina were the former to be found in any numbers; individuals are likely to have been found in both cities, and we hear of one Medinese "Abu'Amir the Monk," who after

Muhammad's arrival at Medina branded him as an impostor, and, going himself into exile, made many an abortive attempt to discredit and injure Muhammad's cause. The notices of him are meagre and obscure. Muhammad's manifesto to the world, about the time of the taking of Khaibar, appears to represent his definite breach with Christianity; and when in the "year of the embassies" the Christians of Najran sent a deputation to him, they found that the breach between the two systems was not to be healed. Of the three alternatives open to them, conversion, internecine war, and tribute, they chose the last. The Christian tribes of north Arabia showed greater inclination towards the first. The Lawgiver's policy was to give Christians lighter terms than Jews, and though the Quar'an reflects the gradual adoption by the Lawgiver of an attitude of extreme hostility to both systems, its tone is on the whole far more friendly to the former than to the latter. Some other communities are mentioned in the Quar'an, but merely in casual allusions: thus we know that Muhammad's sympathy was with the Byzantines in their struggle with Persia, but in his most tolerant utterance the Magians or Mazdians as well as the Sabians (with whom his followers were identified by the Meccans) are mentioned with respect.

The financial requirements of Muhammad's state were of the simplest kind, for there is no trace of any form of governmental department having been instituted by him, even when he was master of the peninsula; nor can we name any permanent officials in his employ except

his muaddhin Bilal, and perhaps his court-poet Hassān. A staff of scribes was finally required both to take down his revelations and to conduct correspondence; but although he encouraged the acquisition of penmanship (indeed some of the prisoners at Badr are said to have been allowed to ransom themselves by teaching it to the Medinese), we know of no regular secretaries in his employ. As despot of Medina he combined the functions of legislator, administrator, general and judge; his duties in the last three capacities were occasionally delegated to others, as when he appointed a governor of Medina during his absence, or leaders for expeditions, with provision for successors in case of their falling, but we hear of no permanent or regular delegation of them. Till near the end of his career at Medina he maintained the principle that migration to that city was a condition of conversion; but when, owing to the extension of his power, this was no longer practicable, his plan was in the main to leave the newly converted communities to manage their internal affairs as before, only sending occasional envoys to discharge special duties, especially instruction in the Quar'an and the principles of Islam, and to collect the Alms; quite

towards the end of his life he appears to have sent persons to the provinces to act as judges, with instructions to judge according to the Quar'an, and where that failed, the practice (sunna), that is, the practice of the community, for which a later generation substituted the practice of the Lawgiver. There were, therefore, no regular payments to permanent officials; and the taxation called Alms, which developed into an income-tax, but was at first a demand for voluntary contributions, was wholly for the support of the poor Muslims; it might not be used for the maintenance of the state, that is, Muhammad and his family. For them, and for public business, such as the purchase of war material and gratuities to visitors, provision was made out of the booty, of which Muhammad claimed one-fifth (the chieftain's share had previously, we are told, been one-fourth), while the remainder, or at least the bulk of it, was distributed among the fighting men; the Lawgiver appears to have prided himself on the justice of his distribution on these occasions, and doubtless won popularity thereby, though we hear occasionally of grumbling; for difficulties occurred when a defeated tribe embraced Islam, and so could claim equality with their conquerors, or when portions of the spoil were irregularly employed by Muhammad to allay resentment: the persons whose allegiance was thus purchased were euphemistically termed "those whose hearts were united." What afterwards proved the main source of revenue in

Islamic states dates from the taking of Khaibar; for the rent paid to the state by tolerated communities for the right to work their land developed long after Muhammad's time into a poll-tax for Unbelievers, and a land-tax for all owners of land. Immediately after the taking of Khaibar certain communities, of which the most notable was Fadak, sent tribute before they had been attacked and reduced; their land was regarded by Muhammad as his private domain, but after his death it was withdrawn from his heirs by his successor Abū Bekr, in virtue of a maxim that Lawgivers left no inheritance, which in the opinion of Fāṭima was contrary to Quar'anic doctrine, and invented by Ayesha's father expressly for the purpose of excluding her and her husband from their rights; and this is likely to have been the case.

As a military organizer Muhammad, as has been seen, was anxious to adopt the most advanced of contemporary methods, and more than once is said to have scandalized the Arabs by foreign innovations, as at a later time the Muslim chiefs who first used gunpowder scandalized their co-religionists. The unit in his armies seems to have been, as of old, the tribe, under its natural leader; that he introduced no more scientific division, and nothing like a hierarchy of officers was perhaps due to the difficulty of reconciling such a system with the equality of all Muslims.

As has been seen, the Quar'an only assumed the character of a civil code as the need for one arose; and for some time after Muhammad's arrival at Medina old-fashioned methods of settling disputes continued in use, and doubtless in accordance with precedent where such was known. For difficult cases, even in Arab opinion, divine inspiration was required; and since Muhammad naturally claimed to be in sole enjoyment of this, his utterances soon became the unique source of law, though he did not at first think of organizing a code. Such a plan is said to have occurred to him, and he even wished to dictate a code upon his deathbed; but his friends supposed or professed to suppose him to be delirious. A table regulating the "Alms" was left by him, it is said, in the possession of Abū Bekr; but other traditions assign another origin to this document.

Just as there were no regular officials for the arrangement of business, so there were none for its execution; when punishment was to be administered, any follower of Muhammad might be called upon to administer it. In the case of the massacre of the Banū Quraizah care was taken to see that some of the heads were struck off by their former allies, in order that the latter might be unable at any time to bring a demand for vengeance. The Lawgiver hoped by the mere

terror of his name to make complete security reign throughout Arabia, and there is no evidence that any system of policing either it or even Medina occurred to him.

Until the death of Khadija the Lawgiver's private life seems to have been normal and happy, for though the loss of his sons in infancy is said to have earned him a contemptuous epithet, he was fortunate in his adoption of Zaid bin Ḥarithah, apparently a prisoner ransomed by Khadija or one of her relatives, who appears as dutiful almost to excess and competent in affairs. The marriages of his daughters seem all to have been happy, with, curiously, the exception of that between Fāṭima and Ali. His domestic troubles, to which an unreasonable amount of space seems to be devoted, even in the Quar'an, began after the Migration, when, probably in the main for political reasons, he instituted a royal harem. One of these political motives was the principle which long survived, that the conquest of a state was consummated by possession of the former monarch's wife, or daughter; another, as has been seen, the desire to obtain the securest possible hold on his ministers. In his marriage with the daughter of his arch-enemy Abū Sofiān, before the latter's conversion, we can see a combination of the two. Few, therefore, of these marriages occasioned scandal; yet public morality seemed to be violated when the Lawgiver took to

himself the wife of his adopted son Zaid, whose name has in consequence the honor of mention in the Quar'an in the revelation which was delivered in defense of this act. Its purpose was, according to this, to establish the difference between adoptive and real filiation. Serious trouble was occasioned by a charge of adultery brought against the youthful favorite Ayesha, and this had to be refuted by a special revelation; the charge, which was backed up apparently by Ali, seems to have been connected with some deeper scheme for causing dissension between the Lawgiver and his friends. Yet another revelation is concerned with a mutiny in the harem organized by Omar's daughter Hafsa, owing to undue favor shown to a Coptic concubine (Mary, mother of a son called Ibrahim, who died in infancy; his death was marked by an eclipse, January 27, A.D. 632); and various details of factions within the harem are told us by Muhammad's biographers.

Of the members of this harem the only prominent one is Ayesha, married to the Lawgiver shortly after the Flight, when she had scarcely passed the period of infancy, but who appears to have been gifted with astuteness and ambition that were quite beyond her years, and who maintained her ascendancy over the Lawgiver in spite of the fact that many carping criticisms of his revelations are attributed to her.

Some of this may have been due to the obligations (including pecuniary obligations) under which her father had laid Muhammad; but her reputation seems to have been greatly enhanced by the sending down of a revelation to exonerate her (A.H. 6), for which she thanked God and not the Lawgiver. Each accession to the harem rendered the building of a house or room necessary for the newcomer's accommodation; a fact in which Robertson Smith perhaps rightly saw a relic of the older system whereby the tent was the property of women. The trouble noticed above seems to have arisen from the want of a similar arrangement in the case of slave girls, with whom Muhammad's system permits cohabitation. When Muhammad, whether in consequence of the fatigue incurred by the "Farewell Pilgrimage," or, as others thought, by the working of some poison put into his food some years before by a Jewess of Khaibar, was attacked by the illness which proved fatal, it was to the house of Ayesha that he was transferred (from that of another wife) to be nursed; and he apparently died in the arms of the favorite, on whose statements we have to rely for what we know of his last hours.

The traditional description of Muhammad is "of middle height, greyish, with hair that was neither straight nor curly; with a large head, large eyes, heavy eyelashes, reddish tint in

the eyes, thick-bearded, broad-shouldered, with thick hands and feet”; he was in the habit of giving violent expression to the emotions of anger and mirth. The supposition that he at any time suffered from physical weakness seems absolutely refuted by his career as a leader of difficult, dangerous and wearisome expeditions, from his migration to Medina until his death; indeed, during his last years he exhibited a capacity for both physical and intellectual activity which implies a high degree of both health and strength; and without these the previous struggle at Mecca could scarcely have been carried on. The supposition that he was liable to fits (epileptic or cataleptic) was intended to account for certain of the phenomena supposed to accompany the delivery of revelations; some of these however rest on very questionable authority: and the greater number of the revelations give evidence of careful preparation rather than spontaneity.

The literary matter ascribed to the Lawgiver consists of (1) the Quar’an; (2) certain contracts, letters and rescripts preserved by his biographers; (3) a number of sayings on a vast variety of topics, collected by traditionalists. The references in the Quar’an to a form of literature called “Wisdom” (ḥikmah) suggest that even in the Lawgiver’s time some attempts had been made to collect or at least preserve

some of the last; the general uncertainty of oral tradition and the length of time which elapsed before any critical treatment of it was attempted, and the variety of causes, creditable and discreditable, which led to the willful fabrication of Religious and spiritual utterances, render the use to which Number 3 can be put very limited. Thus the lengthy description of the journey to heaven which Sprenger was inclined to accept as genuine is regarded by most critics as a later fabrication. It is very much to be regretted that the number of pièces justificatives (number 2) quoted by the biographers is so small, and that, for these, oral tradition was preferred to a search for the actual documents, some of which may well have been in existence when the earliest biographies were written. Their style appears to have been plain and straightforward, though the allusions which they contain are not always intelligible.

In his personal relations with men Muhammad appears to have been able to charm and impress in an extraordinary degree, whence we find him able to control persons like Omar and Khalid, who appear to have been self-willed and masterful, and a single interview seems to have been sufficient to turn many an enemy into a devoted adherent. Cases (perhaps legendary) are quoted of his being able by a look or a word to disarm intending assassins.

Although the titles which he took were religious in character, and his office might not be described as sovereignty, his interests appear to have lain far more in the building up and maintenance of empire than in ecclesiastical matters. Thus only can we account for the violent and sudden changes which he introduced into his system, for his temporary lapse into paganism, and for his ultimate adoption of the cult of the Black Stone, which, it is said, gave offence to some of his sincere adherents (such as Omar), and seems hard to reconcile with his tirades against fetish-worship. The same is indicated by his remarkable doctrine that the utterance of the creed constituted a Muslim and not its cordial acceptance, and his practice of at times buying adhesion. Even an historian so favorable to the Lawgiver as Prince Caetani recognizes that ultimately what he regarded as most important was that his subjects should pay their taxes. And in general his system was not favorable to fanaticism (*al-ghulū fi'l-dīn*); he repeatedly gave permission for concealment of faith when the profession of it was dangerous; he took care to avoid institutions which, like the Jewish Sabbath, interfered seriously with military expeditions and the conduct of business, and permitted considerable irregularity in the matters of prayer and fasting when circumstances rendered it desirable. In his theory that Quar'anic texts could be abrogated he made wise provision

against the danger of hasty legislation, though some of its usefulness was frustrated by his failure to provide for such abrogation after his death.

As has been seen, Muhammad claimed to introduce a wholly new dispensation, and a maxim of his law is that Islam cancels all that preceded it, except, indeed, pecuniary debts; it is not certain that even this exception always held good. Hence his system swept away a number of practices (chiefly connected with the camel) that were associated with pagan superstitions. The most celebrated of these is the arrow-game, a form of gambling for shares in slaughtered camels, to which poetic allusions are very frequent. More important than this was his attitude towards the blood-feud, or system of tribal responsibility for homicide (whether intentional or accidental), whereby one death regularly led to protracted wars, it being considered dishonorable to take blood-money (usually in the form of camels) or to be satisfied with one death in exchange. This system he endeavored to break down, chiefly by sinking all earlier tribal distinctions in the new brotherhood of Islam; but also by limiting the vengeance to be demanded to such as was no more than the equivalent of the offence committed, and by urging the acceptance of money-compensation instead, or complete forgiveness of the offence. The remembrance of pre-Islamic quarrels was

visited by him with condign punishment on those who had embraced Islam; and though it was long before the tribal system quite broke down, even in the great cities which rose in the new provinces, and the old state of things seems to have quickly been resumed in the desert, his legislation on this subject rendered orderly government among Arabs possible.

Next in importance to this is the abolition of infanticide, which is condemned even in early Suras of the Quar'an. The scanty notices which we have of the practice are not altogether consistent; at times we are told that it was confined to certain tribes, and consisted in the burying alive of infant daughters; at other times it is extended to a wider area, and said to have been carried out on males as well as females. After the taking of Mecca this prohibition was included among the conditions of Islam.

In the laws relating to women it seems likely that he regulated current practice rather than introduced much that was actually new, though, as has been seen, he is credited with giving them the right to inherit property; the most precise legislation in the Quar'an deals with this subject, of which the main principle is that the share of the male equals that of two females. Our ignorance of the precise nature of the

marriage customs prevalent in Arabia at the rise of Islam renders it difficult to estimate the extent to which his laws on this subject were an improvement on what had been before. The pre-Islamic family, unless our records are wholly misleading, did not differ materially from the Islamic; in both polygamy and concubinage were recognized and normal; and it is uncertain that the text which is supposed to limit the number of wives to four was intended to have that meaning. The "condition of Islam" whereby adultery was forbidden is said to have been ridiculed at the time, on the ground that this practice had never been approved. Yet it would seem that certain forms of promiscuity had been tolerated, though the subject is obscure. Against these services we must set the abrogation of some valuable practices. His unfortunate essay in astronomy, whereby a calendar of twelve lunar months, bearing no relation to the seasons, was introduced, was in any case a retrograde step; but it appears to have been connected with the abrogation of the sanctity of the four months during which raiding had been forbidden in Arabia, which, as has been seen, he was the first to violate. He also, as has been noticed, permitted himself a slight amount of bloodshed in Mecca itself, and that city perhaps never quite recovered its sacrosanct character. Of more serious consequences for the development of the community was his encouragement of the shedding of kindred blood in the cause of Islam; the consequences of the abrogation of this taboo

seem to have been felt for a great length of time. His assassinations of enemies were afterwards quoted as precedents in books of Tradition. No less unfortunate was the recognition of the principle whereby atonement could be made for oaths. On the question how far the seclusion of women was enjoined or countenanced by him different views have been held.

Besides the contemporary documents enumerated above (Quar'anic texts, rescripts and authentic traditions) many of the events were celebrated by poets, whose verses were ostensibly incorporated in the standard biography of Ibn Ishāq; in the abridgment of that biography which we possess many of these are obelized as spurious, and, indeed, what we know of the procedure of those who professed to collect early poetry gives us little confidence in the genuineness of such odes. A few, however, seem to stand criticism, and the diwan (or collection of poems) attributed to Ḥassan bin Thābit is ordinarily regarded as his. Though they rarely give detailed descriptions of events, their attestation is at times of value, such as for the story that the bodies of the slain at Badr were cast by the Lawgiver into a pit. Besides this, the narratives of eyewitnesses of important events, or of those who had actually taken part in them, were eagerly sought by the second generation, and some of these were committed to

writing well before the end of the 1st century. The practice instituted by the second Caliph, of assigning pensions proportioned to the length of time in which the recipient had been a member of the Islamic community, led to the compilation of certain rolls, and to the accurate preservation of the main sequence of events from the commencement of the mission, and for the detailed sequence after the Flight, which presently became an era (beginning with the first month of the year in which the Flight took place). The procedure whereby the original dates of the events (so far as they were remembered) were translated into the Muslim calendar, for something of this sort must have been done, is unknown, and is unlikely to have been scientific.

Muhammad's conduct being made the standard of right and wrong, there was little temptation to "whitewash" him, although the original biography by Ibn Ishāq appears to have contained details which the author of the abridgment omitted as scandalous. The preservation of so much that was historical left little room for the introduction of miraculous narrations; these therefore either belong to the obscure period of his life or can be easily eliminated; thus the narratives of the Meccan council at which the assassination of Muhammad was decided, of the battles of Badr, Uḥud and Ḥonain, and the death of Sad' b. Mu 'adh, would lose nothing

by the omission of the angels and the devil, though a certain part is assigned the one or the other on all these occasions. We should have expected biographies which were published when the 'Abbasids were reigning to have falsified history for the purpose of glorifying 'Abbās, their progenitor; the very small extent to which this expectation is justified is a remarkable testimony to their general reliability.